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GLASS HOUSE UNDER ATTACK

PAGÁN GANG STONES SQUAT!



JOHN PENLEY

KOPS RAID COMMUNITY BOARD MEETING!!
COUNCILWOMAN FREED SAVES PAGÁN'S ASS!!

(COMPLETE COVERAGE BEGINS ON PAGES 4 + 5)

"LUXURY" RENT DE-CONTROL: REAL ESTATE INDUSTRY SCORES COUP IN ALBANY!!

Will Low-Income Tenants be Next?

By Bill Weinberg

After weeks of haggling and a bitter Albany battle between downstate urban legislators and their upstate, upscale counterparts, the real estate industry finally managed to weaken New York State's rent stabilization law. With Albany in gridlock, several deadlines for passing a new rent law before the state legislature breaks for summer had to be extended--leaving low-income New Yorkers panicked that no new law would be passed in time, leaving tenants with no protection from rent-hikes or eviction. But at the 11th hour on July 7, three weeks after the first deadline had expired, the Democrat-controlled Assembly capitulated to the high-pressure tactics of the Republican-controlled Senate, and passed a new rent stabilization law granting the real estate industry nearly all it was demanding.

SLEAZY DEALS

Under a deal worked out between Senate majority leader Ralph Marino of Long Island and Assembly speaker Saul Weprin of Queens, the legislature voted to approve--and Governor Mario Cuomo signed into law--a bill granting the real estate industry "luxury decontrol." The deal amounted to blackmail, since Marino's Republicans pledged to shoot down any bill which did not cave in to the real estate industry--and they had the votes to do it.

Four New York City Republican Senators betrayed their own constituents by closing ranks with Marino and the majority. They are:

- Serphin Maltese of Queens
- Christopher Mega of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn
- John Marchi of Staten Island
- Guy Velella of North Bronx

Only two city Republican Senators, Frank Padovan of Queens and Roy

Goodman of the Upper East Side, stuck by their constituents and opposed the rent law changes. Only 15 Democrats voted against the bill in the Assembly, and they were mostly from New York City.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing, a city tenants rights advocacy group, sent busloads of tenants up to Albany to oppose the changes. But Met Council's Jenny Laurie says that once the deal kicked in, grassroots activists were frozen out. "We had absolutely no involvement in the negotiations. There was no invitation to tenant advocates to get involved in the decisions. It all went on behind closed doors."

TENANTS SHAFTED

The real estate industry and its upstate Republican allies in Albany argue that the new law only affects the wealthy. But tenant advocates say it is the industry's foot in the door towards total decontrol. It sets a dangerous precedent, and the real estate barons will be back next year to shake Albany down for still more concessions.

The new law completely deregulates all apartments renting for more than \$2,000 a month, and also subjects all tenants earning over \$250,000 a year to complete deregulation. Deregulation means the landlord can raise the rent to whatever he wants when the current lease expires.

The law also contains provisions which directly affect low-income tenants. It allows for a 1/40th rent increase per month for any improvements in any apartment, based on the cost improvements. Jenny Laurie of the Metropolitan Council on Housing explains what this will mean for neighborhoods like the Lower East Side. "The landlord is likely to take an apartment renting for \$400, strip it of appliances, put in new sinks, new sheetrock--make \$40,000 worth of improvements. The new rent is \$1,400. He doesn't have to file with the

state or anything. The new tenant could challenge it in housing court if he or she suspects the improvements didn't really cost \$40,000. But most tenants don't. So it will have the effect of raising rents in the neighborhood generally." The new law also lowers the landlord penalty for illegally raising rent. Under the old law, landlords had to pay three times the overcharge in "trouble damages" to the tenant. Under the new law, "trouble damages" are eliminated. Now the penalty is a mere pittance of \$5 per apartment (paid to the state).

RENT HIKES SPARK RUCKUS AT POLICE HQ

The new law is but the latest episode in a long and sordid history of official concessions to landlord greed. Rent control was the law in New York City from 1947 to 1971. Then "vacancy decontrol" was instated, allowing landlords to raise rent as old tenants moved out. Rent control tenants who are still hanging on have no leases. They face 7% increases each year if there are no violations in their building. The Emergency Tenant Protection Act of 1974 instated "rent stabilization." Rent-stabilized tenants have leases, and face rent increases with each new lease. The rate of increase is set by the mayor-appointed NYC Rent Guidelines Board.

On June 22, as the Rent Guidelines Board met to determine next year's rent increases, a public hearing at 1 Police Plaza exploded into a shouting ruckus between the Small Property Owners of New York (SPONY), a real estate industry front group, and angry tenants. The Rent Board finally approved 3% increases on new 1-year leases and 5% increases on new 2-year leases. The Board also approved new "vacancy allowances," granting landlords the right to raise rents on newly vacated apartments by 5% if the monthly rent is less than \$500, or 3% if the rent is between \$500 and \$1,000. Metropolitan Council on Housing calls this a "harassment bonus" that rewards landlords for evicting tenants or prompting them to move out by failing to maintain buildings.

"It's a disaster facing New York City," says Edith Kamiat of Met Council. "The number of homeless will increase astronomically, people will be forced out by

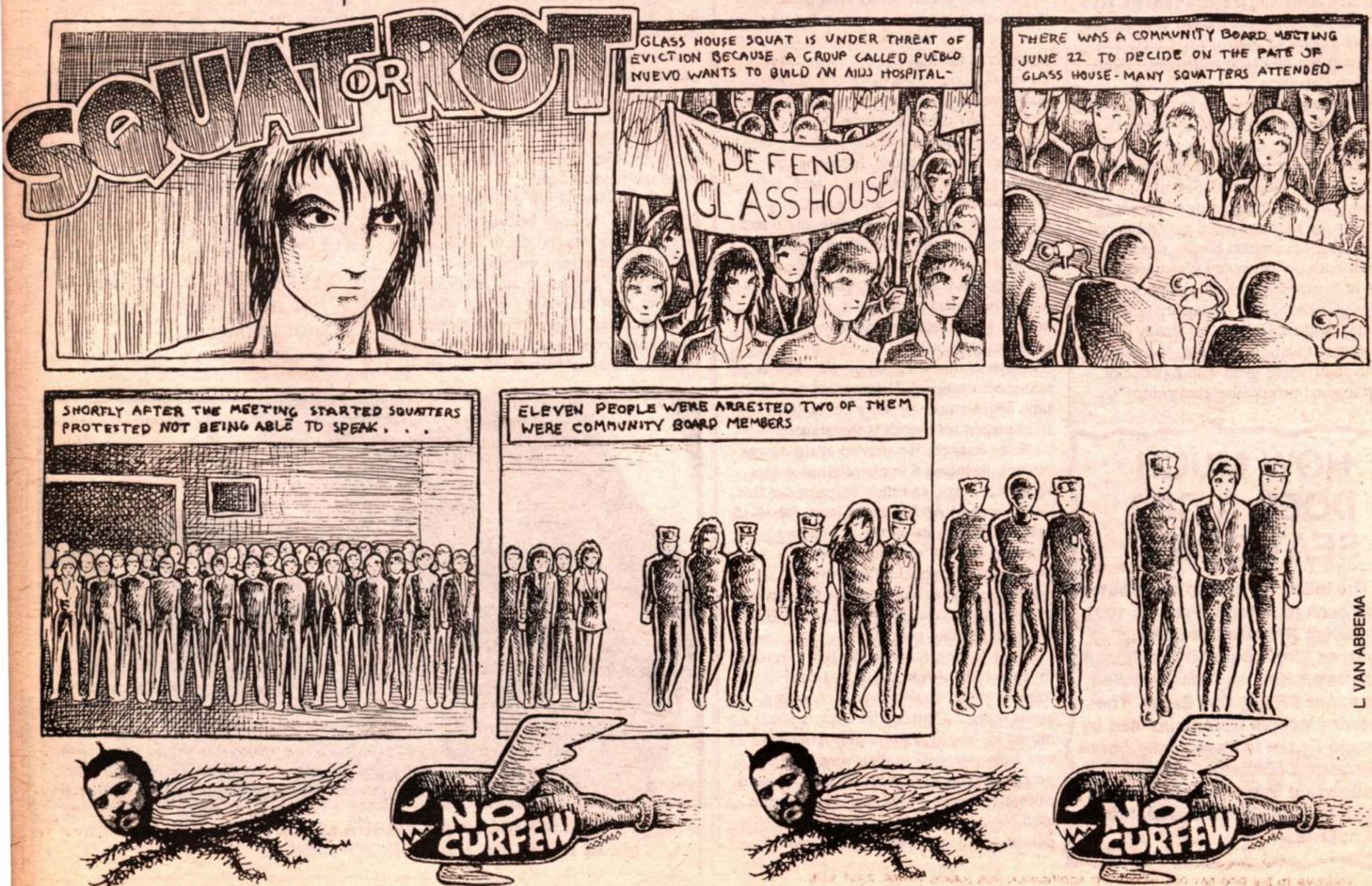
high rents, businesses will be further squeezed out by high rents, people who earn \$250,000 or more will leave and take their taxes with them. They'll have to have a gestapo to spy on people and determine who earns that much--a vast bureaucracy which is quite intolerable from a civil libertarian point of view."

Kamiat also points out that not all tenants in \$2,000-per-month apartments are living in "luxury" conditions. "Five tenants sharing a small apartment--that's not luxury, that's slum dwelling. With a 10% turnover each year, it won't be long before we're all faced with unaffordable rents."

REAL ESTATE PACS FLEX ALBANY MUSCLE

Heavy real estate contributions to Albany Republicans were instrumental in pushing through the rent law changes. The *New York Times*, a major city real estate investor which editorialized heavily in favor of "luxury decontrol" ("Time to Make Sense on Rent Control," June 14; "The Courage to Reform Rent Controls," June 22), reported on June 17 that "three political actions committees representing landlords and other real-estate interests have given generously in recent years to Republicans in the legislature. The Real-Estate Board PAC, the Rent Stabilization Association PAC, and the Neighborhood Preservation Political Action Fund contributed a total of \$401,605 to legislative incumbents and campaign committees in 1992, according to a study by New York State Common Cause and the New York Public Interest Research Group. Of that amount, \$355,585 went to Republicans, with \$222,500 going to the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, which is controlled by Mr. Marino."

The editorial pages of other city dailies also lined up behind "luxury decontrol," further highlighting the degree to which Real Estate and Big Media have become an indistinguishable power bloc in New York City. The *Daily News* remains under real estate magnate Mortimer Zuckerman, the floundering *New York Post* was just recently divested by real estate magnate Peter Kalikow and *Newsday* is owned by Times-Mirror, a top power broker in Southern California's real estate industry.



L. VAN ABBEMA

CB3 CHAIR ATTEMPTS SUICIDE -SAVED BY KATHRYN FREED

By Stuart Frankel + Chris Flash

COPS BEAT AND ARREST DEMONSTRATORS AT JUNE 22 CB3 MEETING

One curious feature of New York is that local community boards are supposed to provide public access into city government, but people attending a public meeting of our local community board may be beaten by the cops or arrested at the request of the board chair. (The Serbian parliament in Belgrade works the same way, although for some reason their government is a "dictatorship" and ours is a "democracy.")

The June 22nd meeting of Community Board Three was closed down after cops directed by CB3 chair Luis Soler beat demonstrators, evicted the audience and arrested a dozen people, including two CB3 members arrested at Soler's request.

The issue was the "Glass House," a squatted building at 139-41 Avenue D [See "Glass House Squatters Threatened By Pagánites" in this issue].

There was never any question of the squatters getting a fair hearing by any of the CB3 committees - most of the board consists of property owners, non-profit housing groups, and gentrifiers, who differ among themselves, but all of whom hate the squatters for various reasons. Still, the board is supposed to provide citizen input, but the squatters couldn't even get themselves treated as human beings.

The agenda items that brought a large number of Glass House supporters were recommendations by two CB3 committees controlled by Pagán appointees that had met weeks earlier. Both the Housing Committee (chaired by landlord and Pagán appointee Krystyna Piorkowska) and the Human Services Committee voted to approve a proposed 40 unit AIDS hospice to be built on the Glass House site.

Despite Glass House supporters' speaking out against using their homestead for the project since it would involve evicting more than 40 people from Glass House, including many who are HIV positive, both committees passed the motion granting site control to Pueblo Nuevo, a so-called housing group run by Pagán crony and CB3er Roberto Caballero.

Especially offensive was the Human Services committee, where the chair Estelle Rubin repeatedly told the squatters things like, "You're not people, you're just bodies" or "You're not neighbors." She tried to deny the squatters the opportunity to speak: she said that the squatters were not "residents" citing "English common law," a stunning display of both prejudice and ignorance; she refused to accept petitions of support from the neighborhood that the squatters had carefully gathered. When she finally did allow some squatters to speak, she constantly interrupted them with a patter of belittling and provocative comments ("I

don't want to hear from any lawyer," when one squatter started to read a letter from activist attorneys Ron Kuby and William Kunstler; "You're not an expert" when an EMS technician attempted to voice a medical opinion). The *LONGEST* that any squatter was allowed to speak uninterrupted at the meeting was 25 seconds.

Faced with contemptuous treatment by the governmental body that is supposed to welcome their input, the squatters decided to disrupt the full board meeting on June 22.

Audience emotions ran high during the "public session" as supporters of the Cooper Square Committee and the Municipal Housing Association (MHA) picked apart a smear campaign being directed against them by supporters of city councilman Antonio Pagán. Pagánists, most wearing lapels that read "LESUTA" (for "Lower East Side United Tenants Association"), were outnumbered by more than 50 to one and kept their presence quiet except for a few occasional outbursts. Other speakers described the threat against Glass House.

There was a new sign-in procedure for speaking during public session at the meeting, which caused an extremely long line to build up (new, unworkable procedures are a hallmark of Soler's leadership). Fifty people were allowed to sign in, patiently observed by CB3 staff. Each had 2 minutes to speak. Total time allotted for all the speakers: 60 minutes. So, a lot of people stood in line a long time, were allowed to sign up to speak, and then told that they couldn't speak after all. It was when Soler announced that no more members of the public could address the board that about 100 squatters and their supporters stood up and began chanting, "We are people!" (There's something definitely wrong when people have to disrupt a meeting in order to assert this simple biological fact.)

Disruptions are hardly new to CB3, and the one on June 22 wasn't even particularly strenuous compared to some in the past. By now, the board has a well worked-out set of procedures for dealing with them; Soler knows all about them, since he's been a board member for a long time and used to be vice-chair. They go something like this: The chair announces at the beginning of the meeting that anyone disrupting the meeting will be removed, blah, blah, blah. When people disrupt the meeting, they are removed or, if that isn't feasible, the board adjourns and waits while the police clear the aisles or something similar. The policy of the police is basically to put themselves under the orders of the chair, and not to arrest anyone unless specifically requested to do so by the chair.

None of this works unless the chair is non-confrontational. However, as one long-time acquaintance of Soler put it, "Luis freaks when his control is threatened."

Soler freaked. He glanced at the scores of cops, including 6 in plainclothes at the back of the hall, and then whipped out...his video camera! And he stood there for 10-15 minutes filming the demo. In previous meetings he had "warned" (his word) people that he would bring his video camera - in other words, rather than trying to calm things down, he was EXPLICITLY trying to provoke people.

After filming, Soler finally told everyone to leave or be arrested. He told cops "remove them, do whatever is necessary, arrest them..." Cops led by Captain Sino moved in, beating and pushing demonstrators and bystanders in their way. Several people were arrested with the help of plainclothes cops who pulled hair, twisted arms, used chokeholds and added kicks and punches on people being handcuffed.



STRAIGHT ARROW (Left) MAKES HIS POINT AS
LUIS SOLER TRIES TO IGNORE HIM

As cops continued pushing and beating, the auditorium was filled with screams from women. Soler pointed out specific people for the cops to arrest - of course, he had no idea what he was doing, and the cops busted people who hadn't done anything at all. They pushed one man's face down on the ground and started clubbing him on the back of the head. CB3 member Marguerita Lopez protested the violence being used on demonstrators who were already prone on the floor. Soler suddenly ran up and told cops "Officer, officer, lock her up, lock her up," adding that he would press charges against her. Board member Joyce Ravitz, who had been talking to the borough president's rep told the cops, "She's a board member" - which was true but, as Ravitz found out within seconds, didn't count for shit: Soler pointed HER out to the cops, too, and told them to arrest her too.

It was clear to dozens of witnesses that the board members were not being disruptive or were engaged in any actions that could have been interpreted as disruptive, and speculation about Soler's motive in ordering their arrests was rife. Some board members believe that Soler dislikes Lopez and Ravitz personally and was being, as one put it, "a vindictive bastard." Several other board members noted what one called "simple arithmetic" and speculated that Soler may have deliberately monkey-wrenched the election for CB3 chair also scheduled for that evening.

Pagán himself had actively campaigned for Soler's re-election, surely an act of desperation. He had approached board member Sandi Andersen - not one of his political allies - and offered to use some of his "discretionary funds" to purchase three vacant lots for community gardens, projects dear to Andersen's heart. (The offer was declined; Boro Prez Ruth Messenger provided the funds instead.)

Soler received a call from the Boro Prez's office the night before the board meeting - this is according to Messenger's rep Raul Gueverrez - warning Soler what was perfectly obvious to any intelligent observer, that the board meeting was likely to be disrupted. There were uniformed and plainclothes cops in and around the room when the meeting started. But instead of

trying to end the disruption, Soler just stood there with his video camera, and instead of protecting members of his board, he told the cops to collar them.

Some copycats jumped on Soler's bandwagon. District Manager Martha Danziger (the top civil servant on the board and a longtime Pagán ally) tried to have the cops arrest board member Robert Schoen-bohm (it didn't work). Board member and Pagán appointee Albert Fabozzi pointed to community activist (and Gentle Soul) Michael Farrin and said to the cops, "Arrest him! Arrest him!" - Fabozzi may have been mad at Farrin since Farrin had described him with uncanny accuracy as "so dumb it's almost endearing." The cops ignored Fabozzi.

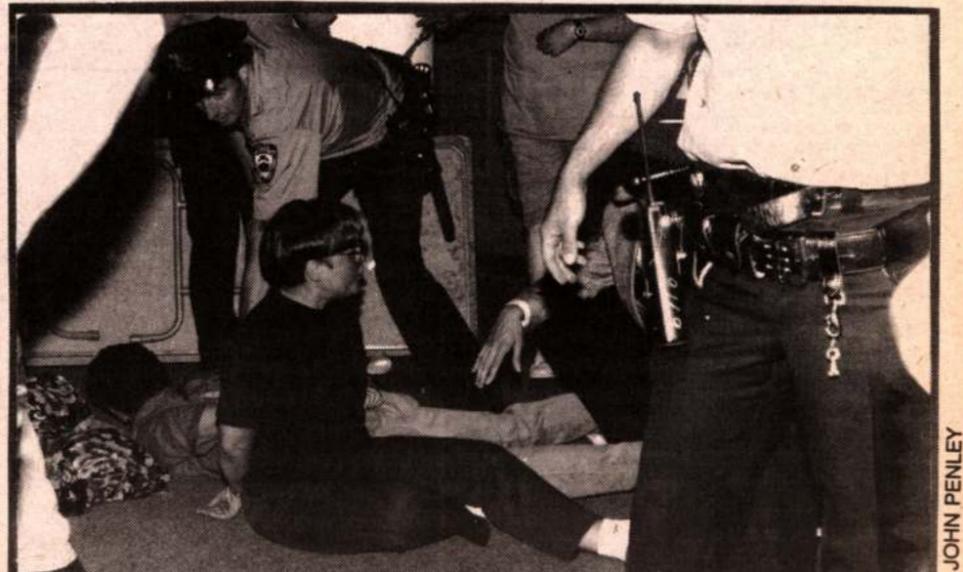
Outside the 7th precinct where the arrestees were taken, about 50 people gathered. According to police, 11 people had been arrested. The two board members were charged with inciting to riot and some throwaway offenses, and released about four hours later. One squatter was released at the same time after being charged with misdemeanor riot, criminal mischief, disorderly conduct, and interfering with governmental administration. Two homeless people were released the next day without any charges. Two squatters were charged with felony riot charges and released the next day on a total of \$2000 bail. The other people, charged with various misdemeanors, were released the next day after going through the system for 24 hours.

Soler's supporters flooded the boro prez's office the next day with lying messages blaming the arrested board members for the trouble. Soler himself finally realized that something had gone wrong, and phoned several board members, saying that he hadn't ordered the arrests of the board members (a flagrant lie, contradicted by numerous witnesses, police policy, a tape recording, and Soler himself immediately after the meeting).

See CB3 SUICIDE On Page 19
(For more Pagán sleaze,
turn to pages 8 + 9)

HOW MUCH DOES A CB3 SEAT COST?

The following people contributed \$100 each to Antonio Pagán's 1991 campaign: Roberto Caballero, Krystyna Piorkowska, Steve Vincent (his roommate Lisa Ramaci kicked in another \$75), Zulma Zayas. The following people were appointed by Antonio Pagán to Community Board 3: Roberto Caballero, Krystyna Piorkowska, Steve Vincent (without his roommate), Zulma Zayas. Maybe just coincidence?



CB3 MEMBER MARGUARITA LOPEZ ON FLOOR
IN HANDCUFFS AND UNDER ARREST

JOHN PENLEY

JOHN PENLEY



JOHN PENLEY

PIGS JUMP AND BEAT SQUATTERS AT 6/22 CB3 MEETING

GLASS HOUSE SQUATTERS THREATENED BY PAGÁNITES

By Chris Flash

A pair of formerly abandoned city-owned buildings housing more than 40 people has been targeted for eviction and development by a housing group connected to City Councilman Antonio Pagán.

The building site, located at 139-41 Avenue D, was a biscuit factory in the 1920s before being acquired by General Glass Industries, which produced commercial glass there. On May 25, 1978, the buildings were taken by the City of New York through an "In-Rem" foreclosure action for "non-payment of assessments." Since then, it remained sealed up until it was opened by squatters more than two years ago and dubbed the "Glass House."

Since then, the Glass House squatters have undone almost twenty years of damage from neglect by repairing the roof, replacing rotted joists and floors, and building individual living spaces. They are now planning to build a community center where building and neighborhood residents can learn and practice various skills, like wood and metalworking, printing, music, and arts and crafts, among others.

PAGÁNITES EYE GLASS HOUSE SITE

Late last year, a proposal for the site was brought before Community Board Three by Pueblo Nuevo, a so-called housing group controlled by Pagán henchman Roberto Caballero, who has since been appointed to CB3 by Pagán. Caballero claims that his project, a hospice for AIDS patients with a 45 bed capacity, would require \$3.7 million from HPD (Dep't. of Housing Preservation and Development) for renovations and an annual \$1.3 million from the Human Resources Administration to operate. The project would only serve as a place for AIDS patients to go to die.

Caballero and other Pagán appointees have been actively campaigning against another proposed AIDS housing project, sponsored by Housing Works (an off-shoot of ACT-UP), an organization with a successful track record in providing AIDS housing and out-patient services, which is to be built on a vacant lot on East 7th Street, between Avenues B and C.

Pagán's people claim that Caballero's project, to be called "El Yunque" (the rainforest), to be built on the site of the Glass House Squat, only 5 blocks away from the Housing Works site, is preferable because it would require that patients are not active drug users before they could be admitted.

Housing Works on the other hand, in addition to housing persons with AIDS, would also provide clean needles and bleach kits as well as medication to active drug users in an effort to stem the rising tide of AIDS on the street.

In their efforts to prevent the Housing Works project, Pagán's people have mounted a massive disinformation campaign, including multiple phone calls and faxes to elected officials and the media, and claiming in testimony before community boards and city agencies that the Housing Works site is in a "drug-free zone", while not mentioning the rampant heroin dealing on the same block. The three most vehement Pagánites behind the effort are John Harrington, and CB3 members (and Pagán appointees) Elizabeth Acevedo and Susan Vaughn, members of the "East Village Association."

Also actively fighting Housing Works is Pagán's Tompkins Square Neighborhood Coalition, run by yuppie real estate speculator Samuel Turvey, consisting of residents of luxury housing surrounding Tompkins Square Park.

None of these people live on the block, yet they claim to speak for residents there. SHADOW sources tell us that the Pagánites have been complaining to elected officials and the media that it is "racist and classist" to have the Housing Works project built in their neighborhood, yet these people, who are white and affluent, are supporting the Pueblo Nuevo project in an even poorer neighborhood on Avenue D.

According to various SHADOW sources, councilman Pagán and his people are pushing the Pueblo Nuevo project because of a large amount of money available for the project, which they don't have to account for. The sources say that the Pagánites oppose the Housing Works project because it will occupy prime real estate a half block from Tompkins Square Park and, because it will be a legitimate AIDS facility, there will no money in it for them.

Among Pagán supporters opposed to Housing Works are the East 7th Street drug dealers, operating a brisk business there for the past 20 years with the full knowledge of 9th precinct cops.

See GLASS HOUSE On Page 19

BRONX SQUATTERS EVICTED!

By Paul DeRienzo

New York City's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) evicted 32 families on July 8th from two squatted buildings in the South Bronx. The squatters had been living in the building for more than two years. The city plans to sell the buildings, at 670 and 675 East 170th Street near Boston Post Road and Crotona Park to a consortium of private developers.

The developers plan to renovate the properties, which contain 86 units, for \$6.2 million. The purchase price of \$2 million is coming from a loan by the Community Preservation Corporation, a development bank with close ties to the city. The development cost of \$4 million is coming from HPD. After renovation, nine units will be made available to homeless people, and the balance of the units will go to low and moderate income tenants. According to HPD spokesperson Valerie Bradley, moderate income tenants are those families earning \$19,000 or more per year. The majority of the squatters were unemployed and had incomes of a few thousand dollars a year and less.

HPD circumvented state housing law that prohibits evicting people who have occupied a building for more than 30 days by claiming that the buildings were unsafe and then getting a vacate order to immediately remove the occupants. HPD spokesperson refused to acknowledge that the buildings had been occupied, accusing the squatters of simply "trespassing" in the buildings.

At about 5:00 A.M., more than 150 police officers backed up by four large moving vans and representatives of various city agencies rolled in to enforce the eviction. Police forced their way into the buildings, banging on doors and ordering the squatters out. One squatter was so distraught at the sight of the police that he threatened to jump from the roof of one building.

Enrique Deoleo walked to the edge of the roof where he prayed and made the sign of the cross just as police grabbed him from behind. He was taken to Bellevue Hospital for observation.

Deoleo asked police "Why are you people doing this to me? This is my home." Standing on the precipice of the building Deoleo told police "You treat drug dealers better than you treat us."

The next morning the buildings had been sealed off from the street and demolition crews were smashing out windows and gutting walls that had once separated the apartments of the squatters. Police operated from a massive Temporary Headquarters Vehicle ("THV") similar to the one used at Tompkins Square Park after hundreds of police closed the park against the wishes of neighborhood residents. Charles Commodore, a neighbor and witness to the eviction, was cooling off at a fire hydrant on this sweltering July day. He said the eviction was "unfair, they just threw them out."

Matthew Lee is a director of Inner-City Press--Community On the Move, an organization of more than 10 squatted buildings in the South Bronx. Lee says the city's development plan for the Bronx is squeezing poor people out because the construction costs have to be recouped by rents that are higher than most Bronx residents can afford to pay. According to Lee, one of the developers of the 170th Street buildings is Ralph Langston Associates, which manages more than 100 buildings in the South Bronx. Lee says HPD computers list more than 8,000 housing code

violations in those buildings.

"There are a certain number of small companies that are being given whole blocks in the South Bronx," says Lee, and he adds, "the perception of most people here is that the same private landlords that abandoned the South Bronx 15 years ago, milked it and walked away from it, are being given city money to take it back over."

The squatters have been trying to win legal control over their homes. In February they asked a sub-committee of the City Council to bar the sale of the buildings. But, according to Lee, no record of the sub-committee meeting was presented to the full Council which perfunctorily voted to approve the sale. The squatters then appealed to the State Supreme Court, which was about to decide on the squatters' argument that the City Council had not given proper consideration to their objections over the sale of their buildings. Lee says that HPD should have responded to "substantial allegations of fact" that the developers have so many maintenance code violations against their other buildings.

A hearing was scheduled for August 2, but the city moved in and evicted the tenants before that date, rendering the issue moot. HPD maintains the court hearing was on the issue of the sale of the buildings and didn't deal with the "illegal" occupation of the buildings. But the Legal Aid Society believes that there is a question of due process because the city did nothing about the alleged "trespassers" for two years -- moving the squatters out only weeks before a crucial court hearing. On that basis Legal Aid decided to represent the squatters the day after the eviction. Matthew Lee says the eviction was an attempt by the city "not only to smash the lawsuit but to smash the squatters' right to speak and raise issues with HPD."

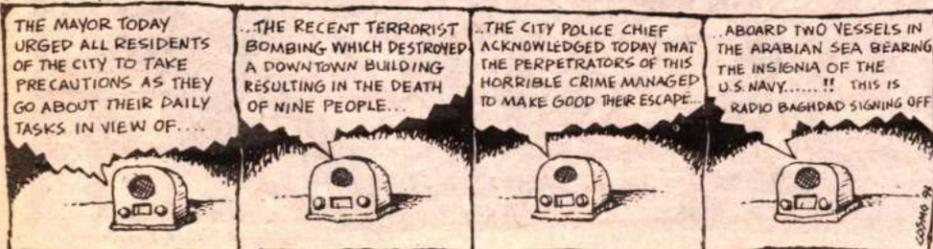
On Friday, July 16, Manhattan Civil Court Judge Carl Arber signed an order stopping the city from further demolition at the buildings until a hearing later this month. That same day the squatters had filed a lawsuit against Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly and HPD Commissioner Felice Michetti seeking restoration of the buildings, repairs to the apartments and monetary damages.

The court papers say more than 150 police officers physically and verbally abused the squatters as they forced them out of the buildings. In the ensuing panic, many of the residents were forced to leave behind immigration papers, furniture, pets and personal savings as demolition crews began smashing windows and breaking down doors. The complaint was filed by the Legal Aid Society.

Meanwhile, the evicted squatters have been transported to a temporary shelter on Fox Street where they will stay until the city can find permanent housing. HPD officials say that may take several months.

(For more info on the Bronx squats, see SHADOWS #15 + #16)

ADVERTIZE IN THE SHADOW



VIOLENCE FLAIRS AT 20TH ANNUAL SMOKE-IN

By Barbara Lee + Chris Flash

What promised to be the greatest Smoke-In ever in New York, following a twenty year tradition of free music, free pot and fun in Washington Square Park, ended in a mini-riot leaving several people injured and many wondering what happened and why.

SMOKE-IN HISTORY

Smoke-Ins in New York City began in 1973, on the first Saturday in May, organized by Yippie founders Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, High Times Magazine founder Tom Forcade, and others.

By the late 1970s, Abbie and Rubin had left the Yippies and the Smoke-Ins were effectively controlled by newcomer Dana Beal. According to past organizers, Beal's strategy for getting marijuana legalized was to fill the jails with demonstrators and clog the courts with marijuana cases. At about this time, Jerry The Peddler also joined the Smoke-In crew.

Smoke-Ins of the early 1980s took place in Washington Square Park, then climaxed with marches to Central Park where Rock Against Racism (RAR) concerts were set up by Beal, featuring various ethnic groups and musical styles.

Organizers say Beal was ready to give up RAR concerts by 1983 after sensing his failure to rally the Black community around marijuana rights. His next effort was attaching himself to the Greens Movement, using marijuana as an ecological issue. After antagonizing and getting kicked out of the NY Greens Party, Beal searched for something else to latch on to. He then discovered the Ibogaine legalization movement. (Ibogaine is derived from Iboga, a tree bark in the African rainforest. Ibogaine has been found to help heroin and cocaine addicts lose their desire to use those drugs without the pain and agony of withdrawal. Best of all, Ibogaine is totally natural, with no side-effects, other than an insightful experience similar to an LSD trip. Not surprisingly, the U.S. government has made it illegal.)

Aware of the link between drug addiction and AIDS, Beal sought connections with ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power), the Lower East Side Needle Exchange, and other activist groups he could use to gain political clout and acceptance. By promoting "medical marijuana" for AIDS patients and Ibogaine for drug addicts, Beal tried to rally the Black community and ecological-minded and marijuana rights activists together.

THE SMOKE-IN SPLIT

The Tompkins Square Police Riot of August 6-7, 1988, in which more than 400 cops battled with neighborhood residents till dawn, resulted in a newly-organized coalition of anarchists, activists, squatters, and punks, all around the issues of police violence, gentrification, street organizing, and squatting. Jerry The Peddler was in the center of this group, having known most everyone before the riot.

Unlike Beal, Jerry was not concerned with accumulating power and connections. He was more interested in the recreational aspects of marijuana, including creating recipes for "apple jack pot" and marijuana liquor. Jerry's jovial personality made working with him more pleasant than with Beal, who seemed to want to control everyone around him.

The publicity from the riot resulted in offers from various media and television shows, such as Morton Downey, to hear from Tompkins Square activists who could state their case publicly. Jerry and others used the media to explain what was going on on the Lower East Side and have fun doing it, while Beal sought to use the media attention to advance his own agenda. Beal's feeling that Jerry and others were competing with him over airtime led to arguments between them.

After Abbie Hoffman died in April 1989, Tompkins Square activists working with Beal on planning the 1989 Smoke-In wanted it to end in Central Park since that had been the traditional site of Be-Ins, Smoke-Ins, and Love-Ins sponsored by the Yippies in the past. Beal instead insisted on a 118 block march from Washington Square Park to Congressman Charles Rangel's office on West 125th Street in Harlem. Organizers questioned the wisdom of this since Rangel would not be there on a Saturday, and because Rangel is very popular in Harlem.

By this time, arguments between Beal and Jerry escalated to open fighting. One

dispute concerned Beal's desire to hand out fake marijuana joints made from Damiana, a legal herb that doesn't get anyone high, at the Smoke-Ins. Jerry insisted that real pot be given out. Another major difference between them was that Jerry sought pot legalization while Dana pushed for Ibogaine legalization.

After a fist fight between Jerry and Beal, which resulted in Jerry being arrested, the split in the marijuana movement became official. Beal had press connections, organizing space and a lot of money to spend, while Jerry had people with energy, enthusiasm, and free labor.

Since Beal already had the permit for Washington Square Park, Jerry and the TSP activists decided to hold a real Smoke-In in Central Park. Beal placed full page newspaper ads for his Smoke-In and he paid wheatpasting crews to cover up Jerry's Smoke-In posters.

The 1989 Smoke-In in Washington Square Park was fully controlled by Beal, who refused to allow the Tompkins Square activists to announce their Central Park Smoke-In. He also hired guards to prevent them from getting on the stage. Undaunted, the Tompkins Square crew gave out leaflets with Abbie holding a lit bomb and a map directing them to the Central Park Smoke-In.

As Beal's march made its way up Fifth Avenue after the rally in the park, the lead was taken over by Jerry and friends at 23rd Street. From there, they directed the marchers into Central Park. The remaining marchers followed Beal until they were directed into Central Park at the 72nd Street entrance by Pope Mickey Cesar (of the Church of Realized Fantasies.) Beal ended up with only a few dozen marchers willing to follow him to Harlem. He later claimed that Jerry owed him money because he had advertised in the Village Voice and had lost his marchers to Jerry's Smoke-In.

After that, Jerry and Beal began organizing separate demonstrations and events. In 1990, two Smoke-Ins ran simultaneously on the same day for the first time. Beal swore he would stop Jerry from using Washington Square Park if he got the park permit before Jerry. When Jerry got it first, Beal flipped out. Jerry offered Beal a speaking slot in spite of Beal's exclusion plan, but Beal refused.

Beal began his event with rallies at several points in Manhattan, beginning at Congressman Rangel's office and working its way downtown to Washington Square Park. The timing of Dana's parade was strangely perfect--his parade crossed paths with Jerry's parade at the corner of 42nd Street + 5th Avenue as Jerry's headed up to Central Park after a huge rally in Washington Square.

Beal's march ended at the park, where the remaining crowd and normal park goers were treated to a concert by the Chambers Brothers, for which Beal had to pay them several thousand dollars. Beal later took credit for attracting the large numbers of people in the park. Unlike the traditional Smoke-In, there was no pot smoked at Beal's event.

Since then, Dana tried to ally himself with ACT-UP, Dhoruba Bin Wahad, the Libertarian Party and other groups, maintaining his close ties to NORML and High Times Magazine. He tried to keep attention focused on himself as the marijuana rights spokesman in NYC and circumvent Jerry The Peddler and the Tompkins Square activists.

Beal has continually tried to snag the permit for Washington Square Park for the first Saturday in May, the traditional Smoke-In day, before Jerry. He failed again for the 1991 and 1992 Smoke-Ins, which went well under the guidance of Jerry and activist Lori Rizzo, leaving Beal to his futile demos uptown.

High Times Magazine tried to get all activists to work together in a coalition for the 1992 Smoke-In, offering their offices as meeting space and \$500 as a clean up bond required by the Parks Department, and other money for stickers, posters, etc. Beal refused the offer to join the group. The Smoke-In had many speakers, on FIJA (the Fully-Informed Jury Amendment), medical marijuana, pot busts, the LA riots, the Democratic Convention, and many musical groups as well as lots of pot circulated. According to Lori, the Smoke-In attracted about 3,000 people.

1993 SMOKE-IN BLOWS UP

In December, 1992, shortly after finishing a 40 day jail sentence for attempting to smuggle two pounds of pot through an airport security checkpoint, Beal succeeded in getting the 1993 park permit for Saturday, May 1st, before the TSP crew, though they protested that they had had the first Saturday in May for the past 20 years. Beal paid his lawyer Jerry Greenburg to convince the Parks Dept lawyers to let him keep the permit.

See SMOKE-IN On Page 20



GAYS MARCH IN WASHINGTON & NYC

By Barbara R. Lee

Hundreds of thousands of gays, lesbians, bi's and their supporters gathered in Washington, D.C. for the 1993 March on Washington. The theme of the parade was Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. As early as Friday, April 23, people from all over the nation came together to rally, party, and show much love.

Events gay-and-lesbian-related abounded all over the city, from workshops to leather fetish parties. As a warm-up to Sunday's march, the Lesbian Avengers sponsored the DYKE March on Saturday night. Thousands of DYKES from all walks of life streamed into the streets of D.C., shouting proclamations of DYKE power. The march went past the White House, whereupon women demanded that Hillary Rodham Clinton come out and join them.

Sunday started off with a march and kick-off prayer by Rev. Jesse Jackson; the march took off from the Washington Monument. There was a strong emphasis on the issue of the military ban on gays and lesbians. Gays and lesbians marched wearing military attire, demanding their "rights" as Americans to kill for their country.

In a sharp contrast, a huge anarchist "black bloc" contingent ran down Pennsylvania Avenue shouting, "Be all you can be; don't join the Army" and "We're Fuckin' Anarchists; we'll fuck whomever we want!"

The march ended at the foot of the Capitol building where people hung out to hear speakers and performers at the rally. For all his supposed support, President Billy-Boy Clinton didn't show.

24TH ANNUAL GAY PRIDE MARCH IN NEW YORK CITY

The N.Y.C. Heritage of Pride, 24th Annual Gay and Lesbian March 93, started off under threatening cloud cover and ended in bright sunshine. One would hope that's an accurate comparison to the Gay & Lesbian Rights movement it represents.

Publicity hounds Mayor David Dinkins and Borough President Ruth Messinger showed up, shamelessly posing for photo opportunities. They showed their support by walking only from 42nd Street to 23rd Street where the grandstands were. What kept them from walking to the heart of the gay community in the West Village?

Even more pathetic was the small contingent of "openly" gay City Council member Antonio Pagán (before his election, he announced he was gay only to "safe" groups), who rode in a white convertible a couple of blocks behind the large Housing Works contingent. Pagán is trying to kill a proposed Housing Works treatment center and residence for HIV+ addicts on East 7th Street, in order to keep the neighborhood safe for real estate. Housing Works carried a huge banner that said: WHAT DOES ANTONIO PAGAN HAVE AGAINST PEOPLE WITH AIDS? Pagán started getting booed and, rather than face the music, he chicken shitted out and left the parade at 23rd Street.

Thousands of spectators crowded the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue and the Village to see Gay and Lesbian political groups. AIDS awareness activists and floats of beautiful men and women were flaunting their sexuality. Arches of rainbow balloons led the way to a festival on the piers.

A lot of the cops looked as if they'd rather have been eating stale donuts than being surrounded by out, loud and proud lesbians, bi's and gays. There was also a strong



presence by gay and lesbian police officers who flaunted their police shield emblem with a LAMBDA in the center.

By their huge representation in the parade, lesbians are really becoming a welcome majority; there were many lesbian groups, like the Lesbian Avengers. All in all, it was a wonderful weekend that ended with a beautiful fireworks display and people dancing into the night. Next year, the march will be going to the U.N.

Be there!



RANDALL TERRY CRADLES HIS "BABY" AT WASHINGTON DEMO

RANDALL TERRY SENTENCED!!

By Paul DeRienzo

On June 11, Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry was sentenced to 5 months in federal prison by U.S. District Judge Robert J. Ward for his role in violating a federal injunction during last summer's Democratic National Convention. Operation Rescue fanatics are infamous for violently trying to enforce their anti-choice views on women by blocking clinics that perform abortions. After Operation Rescue announced they would attempt to present then presidential candidate Bill Clinton with an aborted fetus, Judge Ward issued an injunction banning the group from interfering with abortion clinics or disrupting convention business. But Terry and his associate, a Catholic priest named Mahoney, tore up a

copy of the injunction on the steps of the federal courthouse in lower Manhattan, saying they "answered to a higher authority" than the court.

The next day, Rev. Mahoney intercepted Clinton at a campaign stop and presented him with an aborted fetus. Although Terry wasn't there, he was charged with criminal contempt for his role in organizing the confrontation with Clinton. After a five day non-jury trial, Terry was convicted and for the first time sentenced to federal jail time.

At the sentencing, Terry was allowed to address the court, where he claimed he was a "political prisoner" who was being persecuted for his ideas. Terry told the court that he was engaged in "classic civil disobedience" and he likened Operation Rescue's blockading of abortion clinics to the underground railroad, suffragettes, Martin Luther King, ACT-UP and anti-apartheid movements.

Terry went on to describe his family

background to explain his calling to the anti-choice crusade. He said he was "conceived out of wedlock" in 1959 and that his parents "did the honorable thing in those days and got married." Terry told the court that if abortion had been legal then, he would have been a "prime candidate" for the procedure. He said that in 1959 "abortionists would have been tried in state courts" and that "if my parents had undertaken similar actions to mine they would have become "cultural heroes."

Terry's views look back on a mythical past that never existed but represent in his mind a more perfect and stable society. The changes that occurred in the 1960's, liberating women, lesbians and gays, and opposing the Vietnam War and stultifying pre-civil rights atmosphere of the 1950's have struck terror in the hearts of certain social groups that can't handle the changes that have occurred in America.

Terry put it this way: "Men have forgotten god and our nation is deteriorating, our nation has changed for the worse." He directly attacked Attorney General Janet Reno, saying "our nation has deteriorated so much that when the Attorney General took office she said she'd come after me and not homosexuals who sat in at Saint Patrick's Cathedral and desecrated the Eucharist." Randall Terry's attorney Patrick Monaghan said the court should "put oil on the water" to "protect the system," apparently from anti-choicers who are losing faith and respect for the government.

Prosecutor Sanford Cohen took the curious position that "without respect for judicial decrees no rights under the constitution would long endure." Cohen argued that the "defendant's speech rights are best protected because of this prosecution." Cohen really didn't elaborate except to bring up the murder of abortion provider Dr. David

See RANDALL TERRY On Page 14



BABY "TIA" MEETS THE PRESS (Williamsville, NY, 4/92) OPERATION RESCUE CLAIMED SHE WAS ABORTED, BUT A MEDICAL EXAMINER DETERMINED THAT SHE WAS STILLBORN.



CITY COUNCILMAN ANTONIO PAGÁN FILES FALSE SWORN STATEMENTS!!

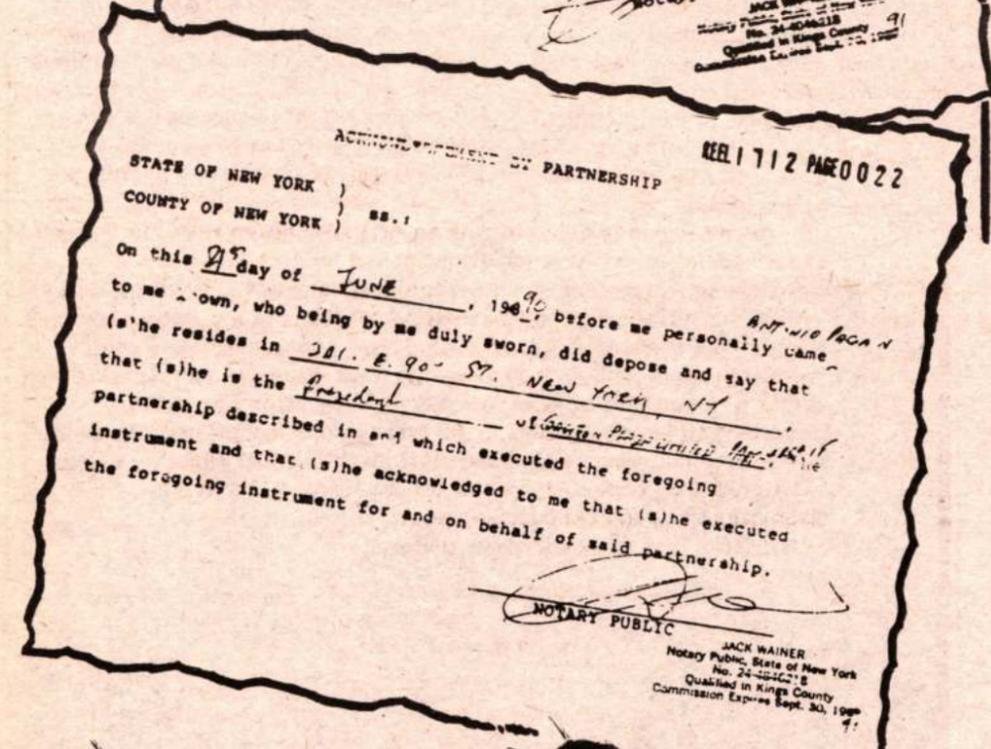
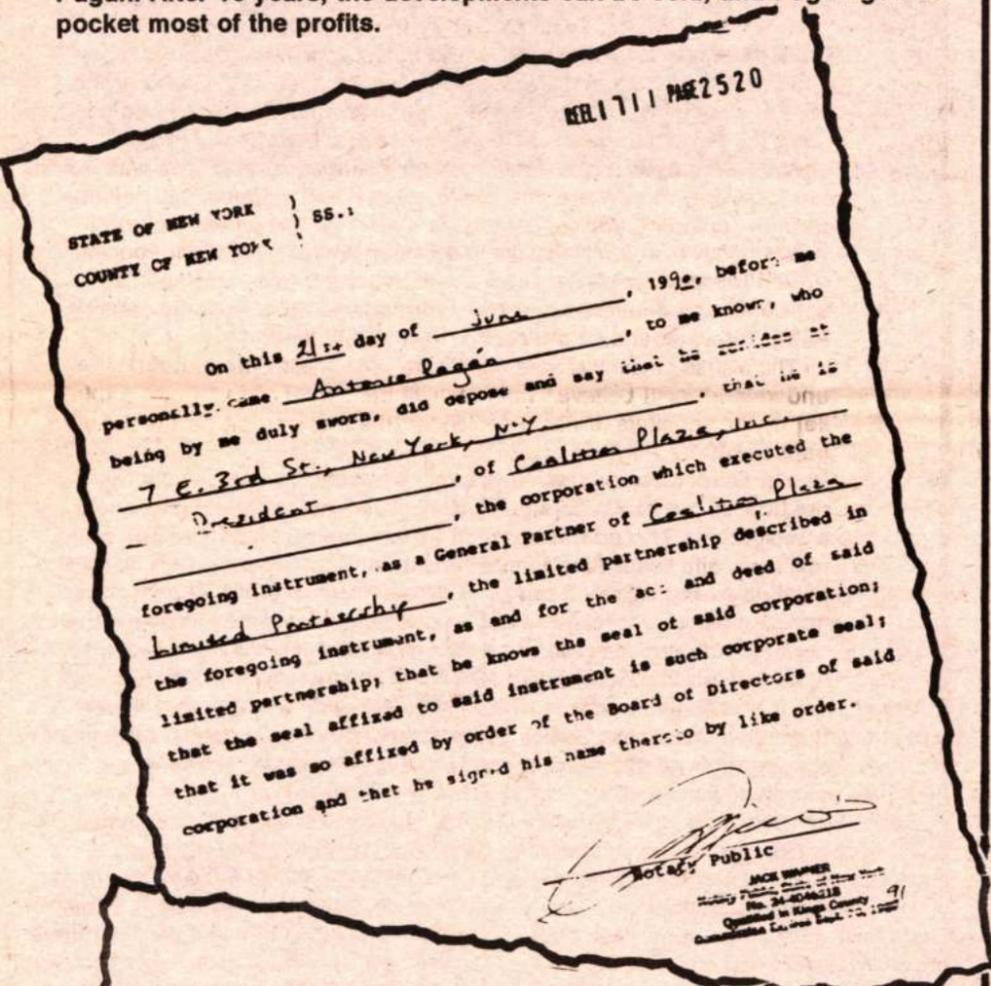
--OR--

WHOSE DISTRICT DOES PAGÁN REALLY LIVE IN?

By Stuart Frankel

Giving literal meaning to the charge that he is "shifty," City Council Member Antonio Pagán swore before a notary public that he had two different legal residences, one on East 3rd Street, and one on East 90th Street, on the same day (June 21, 1990). 7 East 3rd Street is supposed to be his only legal residence, but some of his tricks tell The SHADOW that as recently as last year, the furnishings consisted only of a stained mattress and some empty vodka bottles; he has since moved his mother in.

These phony papers were filed to set up one of Pagán's typically bogus "low-income housing" schemes. The details are complicated, but essentially the deal is this: Pagán puts in \$99 (ninety-nine dollars), and the city kicks in another \$2.9 million. Two sites are developed (181-183 E 2nd Street, and 67 Avenue D) by "Coalition Plaza," a group headed by Pagán. After 16 years, the developments can be sold, and Pagán gets to pocket most of the profits.



COMMUNITY BOARD THREE REPORT

By Stuart Frankel

The May CB3 meeting ended contentiously although, somewhat oddly, not on a matter that had come before the board - which was precisely the problem. The issue was the Cooper Square Task Force, created by board chair Luis Soler last October to look into the issue of the Cooper Square Committee and MHA's low-income housing in the area of East 3rd and 4th Streets between 2nd and 3rd Avenues. The objection to Cooper Square by followers of city councilman Antonio Pagán is that it places low-income tenants in prime real-estate; as one repeatedly shouted at the May meeting, "If you can't afford to live there, why don't you move to Avenue D?" The Task Force had been meeting semi-secretly and by May had not produced a report. CB3 member (and Cooper Square supporter) Lisa Kaplan asked why the task force was holding secretive meetings and expressed concern that the whole issue was being dragged out too long. CB3 member Robert Schoenbohm moved that the task force be disbanded. Soler (appointed by Pagán) ruled Schoenbohm's motion out of order, on the grounds that task forces serve only at the discretion of the chair. Schoenbohm said he thought that the entire board should be able to vote on the matter and asked for a ruling from the parliamentarian. Soler said that a ruling wasn't "necessary" since he had already made a decision.

The pro-Cooper Square members of the board erupted with anger, shouting at Soler to permit the parliamentarian to rule. Soler tried to shout them down - 15 against 1 isn't very good odds, but he was helped by several anti-Cooper Square board members who were making loud personal remarks about Schoenbohm. Schoenbohm had planted himself, arms akimbo, in front of Soler, refusing to budge. Soler attempted to continue the meeting, to no avail until half a dozen of the pro-Cooper Square board members marched out in frustration.

At that point, Soler allowed parliamentarian Marion Fox to rule; and she ruled that Schoenbohm was wrong, that task forces serve only at the discretion of the chair and that the full board does not have a say in them. "Whether that should be the case or not is another matter," ethics committee chair (and Pagán appointee) Anthony Pupello told the SHADOW later, "but that's the way the by-laws are set up right now."

Although the room had calmed down considerably by then, there were too few members left for a quorum, and the meeting was adjourned.

The most surprising occurrence during the meeting (before the surprise ending, anyway) was the rejection of the proposal to extend the Village Alliance's 8th Street Business Improvement District (BID) to St.

Mark's Place. In BIDs, merchants pay a mandatory fee to fund private sanitation and security guards. Board member Krystyna Piorkowska, a local property owner and chair of the housing committee, spoke vehemently against the proposal. "We should not create a two-tier system," she said, "where those who can afford to pay for services will get them and then give the city an excuse to cut back on services to other areas." She said that the board should instead unite to demand from the city the services that our tax dollars are already paying for.

Piorkowska, another Pagán appointee, is widely regarded as one of the most right-wing members of the community board, but progressives have argued against BIDs on precisely the grounds that Piorkowska did, and applauded her vigorously at the same time their jaws dropped in astonishment. Board Member and Pagán appointee Kate Walter, who helps run the St. Marks 2nd-3rd block association, pleaded for the BID, citing the unique problems of her block. But the proposal was defeated on a vote of 14 to 14 with 5 abstentions (abstentions count as "no" votes). Afterwards, various pro-BID people were heard muttering imprecations against Piorkowska, but it seems that they had taken her support for granted even though she has consistently opposed BIDs.

Fifteen new members of the board were announced. Half of the 50 community board members are appointed by the Borough President (Ruth Messinger), and one quarter by each of the two City Council members for the district, Kathryn Freed and Antonio Pagán. Several of the anti-Pagán members, who did not want to be identified, complained that while Messinger and Freed took care to insure that all segments of the community were represented by their appointments, all of Pagán's appointments shared the same ideology and politics. A pro-Pagán member told the SHADOW that Pagán's appointments were his prerogative and that "he doesn't have to answer to you."

Well, no he doesn't. But for a public servant, he doesn't seem very responsive to anyone. He skipped the April, May, and June CB3 meetings, as usual; his representative refused to make a public presentation or take questions, as usual, and the printed reports he sends have been getting sloppier - the office doesn't even bother to run them through a spell checker. Perhaps they have better things to do with their time.

Most of the board members who had been appointed by former city councilmember Miriam Friedlander have been reappointed by the Borough President. One board member not reappointed was Terri Hagen, a (former?) Pagán supporter, who differed with the councilmember on the issue of an AIDS residence and treatment center proposed by Housing Works for East 7th Street which Pagán opposes. Pagán doesn't tolerate dissent.

An Election Held Hostage?

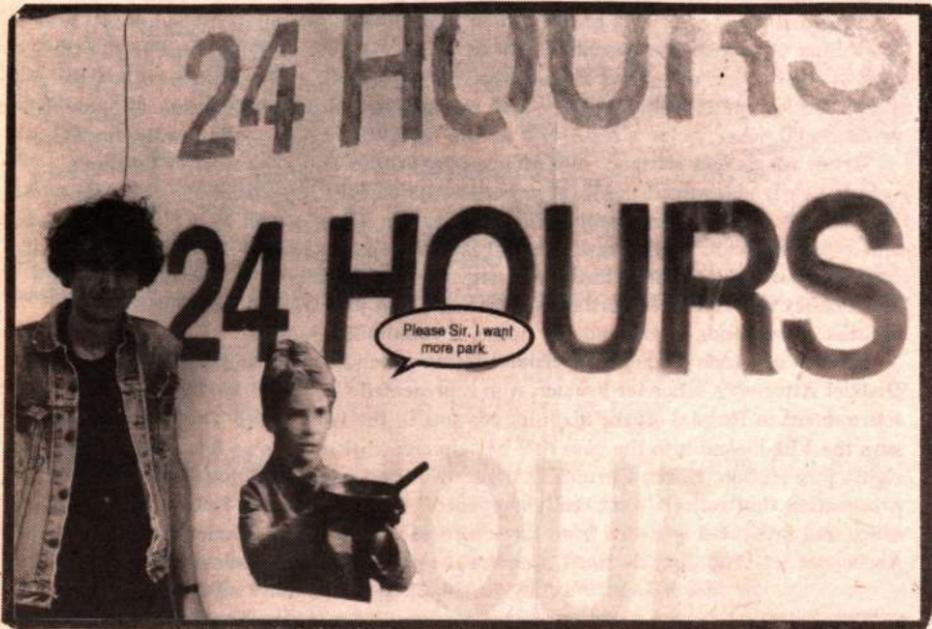
- Was the 1980 Presidential election "held hostage?"
- Did the Reagan-Bush campaign enter into secret negotiations with the Iranian revolutionary leadership to delay the release of the hostages until after the Reagan-Carter election?

Startling new evidence has been uncovered to add credibility to these charges and Congress has authorized an investigation of the October Surprise. Find out more about this Constitutional crisis with the October Surprise video and the Information Resource and Campus Organizing Packet. Both will shed light on the issue.

Send inquiries to: Christic Institute; 1324 North Capitol Street, NW; Washington D.C.; 20002 (202) 797-8106 - ATTN: Eric Manton

PAGÁNITES TERRORIZE CIVILIANS IN TOMPKINS SQUARE

By Stuart Frankel



JOHN PENLEY

PHILLIPO WITH HIS PAINTING AT "ART AROUND THE PARK"

Some of Councilmember Antonio Pagán's creatures seem at least as interested in thought control as in political control, and throw hissy fits when their absolute authority is questioned. The setting was BEVA's Second Annual (some people see the word "Annual" as a threat) Art Around The Park, an event that last year generated a large number of anti-Pagan, anti-Parks Commissioner Gotbaum, and anti-BEVA pieces of art by neighborhood artists. (BEVA, which once stood for "Better East Village Association", is now renamed "Businesses in the East Village Association")

At the event on June 19, a table was set up in Tompkins Square Park by Housing Works, an ACT-UP spinoff which is proposing to build a residence and day-treatment center for HIV+ addicts half a block away from Tompkins Square Park - i.e., prime real-estate land. Pagán had campaigned for the city council on a platform of "no new social programs" in the neighborhood, and the Housing Works proposal is the first big project he has an opportunity to squash. The patterns of his lies and deceptions about the project have been traced elsewhere.

Local landlord and Pagán-appointed Community Board 3 member Krystyna Piorkowska could not abide some of the literature that Housing Works displayed on its table at the BEVA event since it criticized the councilmember by name. This, in her mind made it political, and therefore (in her mind) illicit.

Politely but firmly, Piorkowska voiced her objections to the Housing Works rep (who declined to remove the literature), but eventually backed off since she had no legal grounds to enforce her objections. However odious her politics, Piorkowska is not stupid.

The same cannot be said of Elizabeth Acevedo and Albert Fabozzi, two other Pagán appointees to the Community Board, both of whom not only lost their tempers, but gave free and public reign to their astonishingly immature rage for over an hour. Acevedo stormed over to one of the BEVA directors and told him that he *had to* get the Housing Works people out. When asked who she was, Acevedo refused to identify herself, saying only that she was on the Community Board. Maybe she thinks of the Community Board as some kind of secret thought police - it's not clear why otherwise she thought anyone should take her seriously, since the normal reaction of people confronted with a screaming anonymous lunatic is not to follow the lunatic's orders.

The Acevedo-Fabozzi-Piorkowska triumvirate waylaid various people in the area, accosting those who defended Housing

Works. Totally out of control, a red-faced Fabozzi repeatedly yelled at one elderly man, "You're out of control! You're out of control!" while Piorkowska tried to calm him down by stroking his shoulder, "There, there Albert." Acevedo, also red-faced, yelled (REALLY SHOUTED) "You don't live right there! I live right there!" In her anger, she must have forgotten where she lives, since she really lives a block away.

Housing Works director Charles King later referred to the triumvirate's actions as a "public-relations plus" for Housing Works. He seems to know something that Pagán's people don't.

Acevedo has previously displayed signs of mental instability. At a block meeting called to discuss Housing Works' proposal, she shouted impassionately that her husband had died of AIDS and there was nobody to help him so people currently dying of AIDS didn't deserve any help either. Most of the audience was embarrassed for her, and nobody had the heart to tell her that she was making a fool of herself.

And at the Children's Liberation Day Care Center, where Acevedo does secretarial work, her co-workers say that nobody takes her seriously because "she's just an asshole."

In spite of his professed concern for the neighborhood, Pagán himself did not show to BEVA's Art Around The Park, probably because he knows how much he is detested. One canvas hung on the fence for the event had a painting of him with devil's horns and a long, long nose in the shape of a skyscraper to symbolize his connection to real-estate interests. (If he's detested so much, how come he was elected, the Pagán people ask. We can let the councilmember himself answer: he said recently that he preferred to hang out in the wealthy area of Gramercy Park rather than in our neighborhood, because there aren't any poor people up there.)

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EDITOR: UNCLE JUNKY

PAGÁN GETS THE RUNS; SENDS RESULTS TO THE PRESS

By Stuart "this stuff sure smells bad" Frankel

The "honorable" city councilman Antonio Pagán released the following letter in an attempt to make political hay of the squatters' disruption at the June 22 Community Board 3 meeting. For falsehoods per square inch, it outdoes anything this side of Andy Stein's hair. Even the *salutation* is a lie.

[Editorial comments are in square brackets.]

Dear Borough President Messinger: [the letter was actually intended for the news media; Pagán faxed copies all over town several days before sending a copy to Messinger - he obviously wanted to get his digs in before Messinger could respond]

I can no longer fathom your insistence that Margarita Lopez and Joyce Ravitch [spelled wrong] (among others) be appointed to Community Board #3. [Lopez and Ravitz were the two CB3 member singled out by Pagán's man Luis Soler for arrest at the June 22 meeting.] Over my most strenuous objections, you appointed this pair, who have once again been successful in helping to disrupt yet another full board meeting ["Yet another"? Ravitz had never even been accused of helping to disrupt a full board meeting]. As an elected official who is expected to act in the best interests of our communities [this sounds odd, coming from someone whose major campaign contributors were out-of-area real-estate interests], it is unconscionable that you would continue to sanction their behavior. [Of course, it's not their behavior, it's Pagán's wild accusations.] Your continued silence on this matter does not help either. [What does "either" mean, here?]

In their attempt to prevent the re-election of the current Chair, the approval of a well documented and very critical report on the Cooper Square Committee [if he's admitting to having read the draft report, he's guilty of a gross impropriety], and the approval of a much needed development for people with AIDS [?? - they didn't want to block the proposal; they SUPPORTED it] these board appointees decided to incite riot and melee [Bullshit]. Members such as Margarita Lopez who neither live nor work in the district [Pagán must know this is a lie; he can easily get a list of the addresses of board members. Lopez lives in the district] were again at the forefront of the disruption [no, Lopez was not in the forefront; I was there and saw it; Pagán had skipped the meeting, as is his custom]. Additionally, because she has had a past record of violent behavior and absenteeism I opposed and protested her appointment by you [absenteeism? her record was better than one of Pagán's appointees, Ruth Jiménez, who never showed up at a single meeting; Pagán's own attendance record is very nearly as bad.]

The events of last Tuesday night were coordinated [note: not "I understand" or "I believe," but a simple statement of fact - and a total lie] by the squatters, Miriam Friedlander [the first person on the list who happens to be Pagán's opponent in the upcoming primary], Lisa Kaplan, Robert Schoenbaum [spelled wrong], Francis Goldin [no, she's not on the board], Joyce Ravitz [spelled right, this time], and Armando Perez among others. [An odd assortment - the squatters don't like any of the politicians, and the feeling is mostly mutual.] Ms. Lopez and Ms. Ravitch [spelled wrong, again: 2 out of 3] were even arrested [after Luis Soler, had them arrested; this was not a politically neutral act]. It seems that now that they can not [sic] win a vote by a fair democratic process they have decided to stifle all board actions. [Actually, after the meeting broke up, it was Pagán's people who tried to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee, which consists entirely of Soler's appointees, to ram through all of their proposals; this undemocratic action was stopped by the people Pagán has just named.]

There was no secret of the alliance between the Glass Factory squatters and Cooper Square Committee [this is too weird: Cooper Square supported the Pagánist proposal for using the Glass House site for his crony Roberto Caballero's project and opposed the squatters]. It was quite obvious just prior to the smoke bomb [actually, it was a stink bomb] attack, that most of the Cooper Square Committee leadership moved to the back of the room and made for the door [Bullshit]. This was a coordinated, vicious and dangerous attack. These attacks [In the previous sentence there was one attack; now there seem to be several] were no different from a childish tantrum: if you can't have your way then just act up. [ACT UP - get it? Pagán is trying to sink an ACT UP-backed HIV+ residence and treatment center because it's proposed for prime real-estate land and because his cronies won't get to pocket any of the grant monies.]

Now that all the world [a little rhetorical flight of fancy] has witnessed the caliber of some of your Community Board appointees, I urge you to revisit your decision to appoint these, the most disruptive, disrespectful and callous members. The time for reminders and warnings has passed [according to Messinger, this is the first communication from Pagán on the subject; and now he says the TIME HAS PASSED already - where did it go?] and I hope that this time actions will be taken to prevent this disgraceful situation from occurring again.

Sincerely, [bet he wasn't really sincere!]

Antonio Pagán

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Ben Edmund Aherley

LES RESIDENT REMOVES CURFEW SIGN FROM PARK AND GETS BEATEN BY POLICE!!! By Bill Weinberg

Lower East Side resident Lyle Cheswick, 19, was hanging out with friends in Tompkins Square Park at around 9 PM on the Saturday evening of May 29 when he noticed that one of the signs announcing the park's midnight curfew was askew. The sign, on the outside fence of the playground at St. Marks Place and Ave. A, was hanging from a wire at one corner, according to Lyle, and with a single swift kick he sent it flying to the ground.

Spotted by one of the green uniformed Parks Department officers, who shouted at him from several yards away, Cheswick decided to hoof it. However, at the northwest corner of the intersection, he literally ran into a group of five or six cops. Cheswick says he was immediately grabbed by one cop who threw him to the pavement and smashed his chin into the sidewalk. Cheswick, who is of slight build, says he didn't resist as three cops held him down for the few minutes before the Parks Department officers arrived, their knees pressing into his back. He was then turned over to the Parks officers, who brought him to the Ninth Precinct in a Parks Department vehicle.

Charged with resisting arrest and disorderly conduct, Cheswick was taken to Central Booking at 1 Police Plaza. The following day he was transferred to the city court building at 100 Center Street, where he spent the following night. His shoulder and chin torn open and bleeding from the police beating, Cheswick requested bandages. This request was repeatedly denied.

When he was finally brought before a judge after two nights behind bars, Cheswick's resisting arrest charge was dropped and he was released. He still faces three days community service for the disorderly conduct charge, to which he pled guilty. He had to receive tetanus shots for the chin injury at Beth Israel Hospital.

Cheswick has reported the incident to both the Police Department's Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) and the American Civil Liberties Union. He is considering litigation, but he has not been able to learn the identity of the officers who assaulted him. While a large crowd had gathered during the assault, none of the witnesses had the presence of mind to get the names and badge numbers of the offending officers.

Cheswick is in touch with activist attorney Stanley Cohen, and is waiting for the CCRB ruling before considering litigation. "I have more anger toward the whole police system, and this has only excited me to stir up more trouble," says Cheswick. "It's crazy how much power they have over us."

FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS INQUIRY INTO MURDER OF GRADY ALEXIS

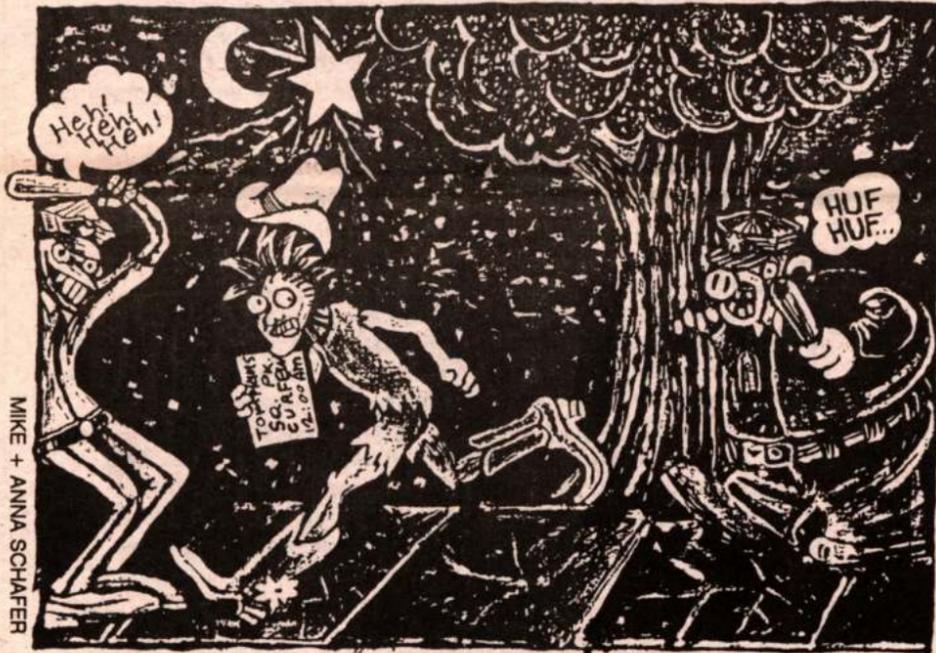
By Paul DeRienzo

The Civil Rights Division of the United States Justice Department is looking into the killing of Lower East Side artist Grady Alexis. The review might lead to the filing of civil-rights charges against former New York City police officer Richard Frazier and Terry Presley, an associate. Frazier, who recently left the force to pursue a career as a professional boxer, holds a black belt in Tae Kwon-Do, a potentially deadly martial art.

Grady Alexis and a friend were attacked by Frazier and Presley after Frazier's vehicle nearly sideswiped the Haitian born artist on East 8th Street and 5th Avenue on May 4, 1991. Police investigators called his death a fluke, caused by a blow to the head and a "brittle skull." Both Presley and Frazier were arrested and charged with one count each of misdemeanor assault. Charges against Frazier were eventually dropped and Presley was convicted earlier this year in a non-jury trial and sentenced to four months of weekends in jail and 100 hours of community service.

Friends of Alexis demanded a federal investigation because they say the Manhattan District Attorney's office let Frazier, who represented the NYPD boxing team in a tournament in Russia, off the hook for his role in the fatal brawl. The *New York Times* says the FBI looked into the case and has concluded there was no basis for a civil-rights prosecution. Karen Burdick, a friend of Alexis, says that "there needs to be a prosecution that reflects what really happened." District Attorney Robert Morgenthau's office had presented evidence from three witnesses that officer Frazier had struck Alexis, yet a Grand Jury declined to indict the officer in the artist's death.

(See SHADOWS #18, 22, 24, 25 + 28 for more info.)



MIKE + ANNA SCHAFER

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TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CONCERT OF THE RIOT SAT. AUG. 7TH 5-9PM.



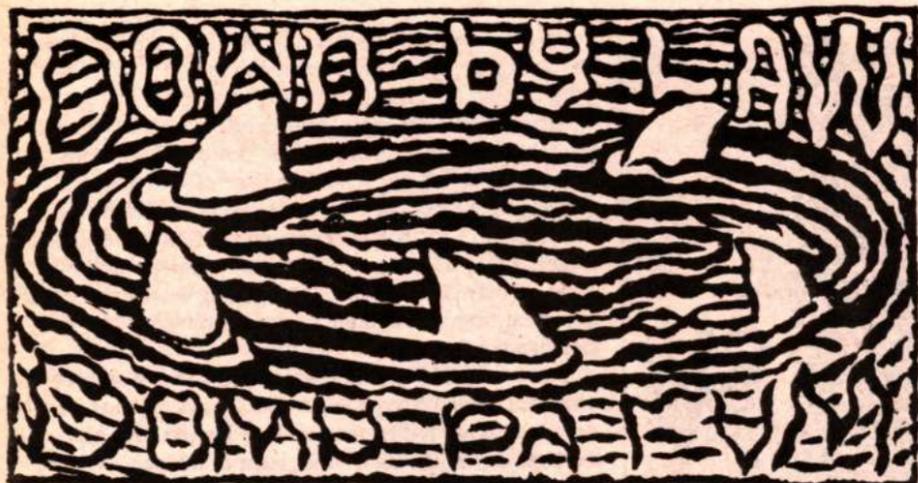
Music By:
ROGER MANNING
EAST SIDE BANDITS
SLACKERS
BLITZSPEER
BLACK RAIN

Poetry By:
ALLEN GINSBERG
Master of Ceremonies:
MIKE SHENKER
Theatre By:
CARLA

FREE VEGETARIAN FOOD SERVED 4:00 + 8:00 PM

RAIN DATE: August 8th

SPONSORS: TOMPKINS SQUARE ANARCHISTS, KAOS



DOWN BY LAW ANSWERS YOUR QUESTIONS!

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

Dear Attorneys:

If a person had an argument and ended up stabbing another person and subsequently plead guilty and then they were sentenced to two years of probation which they then skipped out on--what is likely to happen to that person when caught?

Answer: This hypothetical person will go to jail for two years.

Seriously, one of the leading causes of incarceration today is failure to live up to earlier non-jail sentences and conditions. And it's just stupid. You have already beat the system by avoiding jail in exchange for raking the leaves in Tompkins Square Park on Saturdays. So why go to jail instead?

Of course, most people blow off their obligations for the same reasons they got into trouble in the first place--they fucked up. And having missed a court date or reporting date, they procrastinate until they miss another. Then, so much time has gone by that you might as well change your name and go underground, living a hunted existence.

Sooner or later, though, you will be walking down the street somewhere between hoot and holler, and a cop will stop you, demand identification, and then that old, old warrant will pop up, as fresh and operative as if it was issued yesterday. Then you will go directly to jail.

Of course, much of this can be avoided. If you have an outstanding legal obligation, clear your calendar and get ready to deal with it. Remember, turning yourself in voluntarily to face the music always looks good. And while it may not guarantee that you will be released on bail, waiting to be caught assures that you will not be released on bail.

If you skipped out from a New York City criminal court, the best thing to do is to show up early in the morning and tell the Legal Aid lawyer on duty you are there to turn yourself in. It is helpful if you go to the same court you skipped out on and if you bring some document with your docket number on it. After spending most of the morning waiting, you will probably be released. If you skipped out from any other court, including a Supreme Court, try to contact a lawyer first to make arrangements for your surrender.

Everyone likes a repentant sinner.

Dear Kunstler and Kuby:

I read your self-defense column, but still have a question. What about when your attacker is obviously bigger and stronger than you? Even if you do not have a weapon, can you protect yourself with a chair or club? What if more than one person is attacking? Can you use a weapon?

Answer: Several copies of The SHADOW, rolled tightly together, makes an effective club that has not yet been labelled a deadly weapon by the courts.

Seriously, though, generally speaking, the standards of self-defense are those of "reasonableness." Assuming that you cannot retreat with complete safety, and assuming that the attack is not taking place in your home, you may still use that degree of force necessary to repel the attack. Obviously, the more people who are attempting to harm you, the more reasonable it is to use a weapon. The same is true when your assailant is twice your size, a karate black-belt, or someone clearly capable of dismembering subcompact foreign automobiles with his teeth.

However, the degree of damage you inflict with the weapon must be reasonable in proportion to the attack. You can probably get away with swinging a club and breaking the arm of a much larger and bigger unarmed attacker. You will not get away with riddling his body with machine-gun fire.

Lawyers:

I was reading about this thing called "adverse possession." It seems to mean that people who use a piece of property long enough get to keep it. Wow! Is this true? Can it help the squatters?

Answer: Yeah sure. But only on April Fools' Day and only then when the Easter Bunny sees his shadow.

There is a way to obtain property by "adverse possession," but it will not help anyone we know.

Basically, every case has a statute of limitations--a period of time in which someone has to bring a lawsuit. The time periods vary from a short one of four months all the way up to twenty years. The idea behind a statute of limitations is that sooner or later, society is best served by relatively prompt resolution of disputes, rather than letting them smoulder year after year.

The same is true with respect to lawsuits brought to recover title to land. If a property owner knows that someone has squatted their property, he or she has an obligation to bring a lawsuit to establish title. Otherwise, once the limitations period goes by, the owner loses the right to sue to remove the squatters. Sounds pretty good so far, right?

Well, a private landlord has 10 years to bring the action. As squatters have learned, private landlords usually act within days of a squat being established. Hence, most squats (if not all squats) are on publicly-owned land in public-owned buildings. But a public landlord has 20 years to bring the suit--the longest statute of limitations known to the law.

So if you can stick it out for (gulp!) 20 years, does that mean you own it? Well, no. You must also be able to show that the property owner knew that you were there and that you were claiming ownership. Further, you have to prove that the owner did not give you permission to remain there, either expressly or tacitly. So write to us again in 2013 and we will talk about it some more.

SPECIAL NOTE: COURT PANEL REFUSES TO SUSPEND DOWN BY LAW ATTORNEY KUNSTLER FROM THE PRACTICE OF LAW

A while ago, attorney William M. Kunstler accurately but intemperately told Judge "Central Park Jogger" Galligan that he was a disgrace to the bench. Of course, a lot of people feel that we are a disgrace to the bar, and say so. But instead of an energetic dialogue, Kunstler was held in contempt and a disciplinary committee was appointed to decide whether he should be suspended from the practice of law. On May 26, 1993, the committee released its findings, in a 22-page opinion that reads more like an awards speech than a punishment. Our favorite selection:

"[Kunstler] has served long and hard, many times without fees, as counsel in difficult and most-times unpopular causes. Now a septuagenarian, he has devoted the better part of three decades in a commendable attempt to ensure justice to the needy and to preserve the personal liberties of oppressed and threatened members of society. At least in part, respondent's strenuous efforts have resulted in significant improvements in our social and political order."

In refusing to suspend Kunstler, the panel majority found:

"Based on [Kunstler's] long, laudatory--and continuing--career as a defender of civil rights, particularly among the oppressed, a suspension would be more likely to do a disservice to our common purpose of justice for all. . . ."

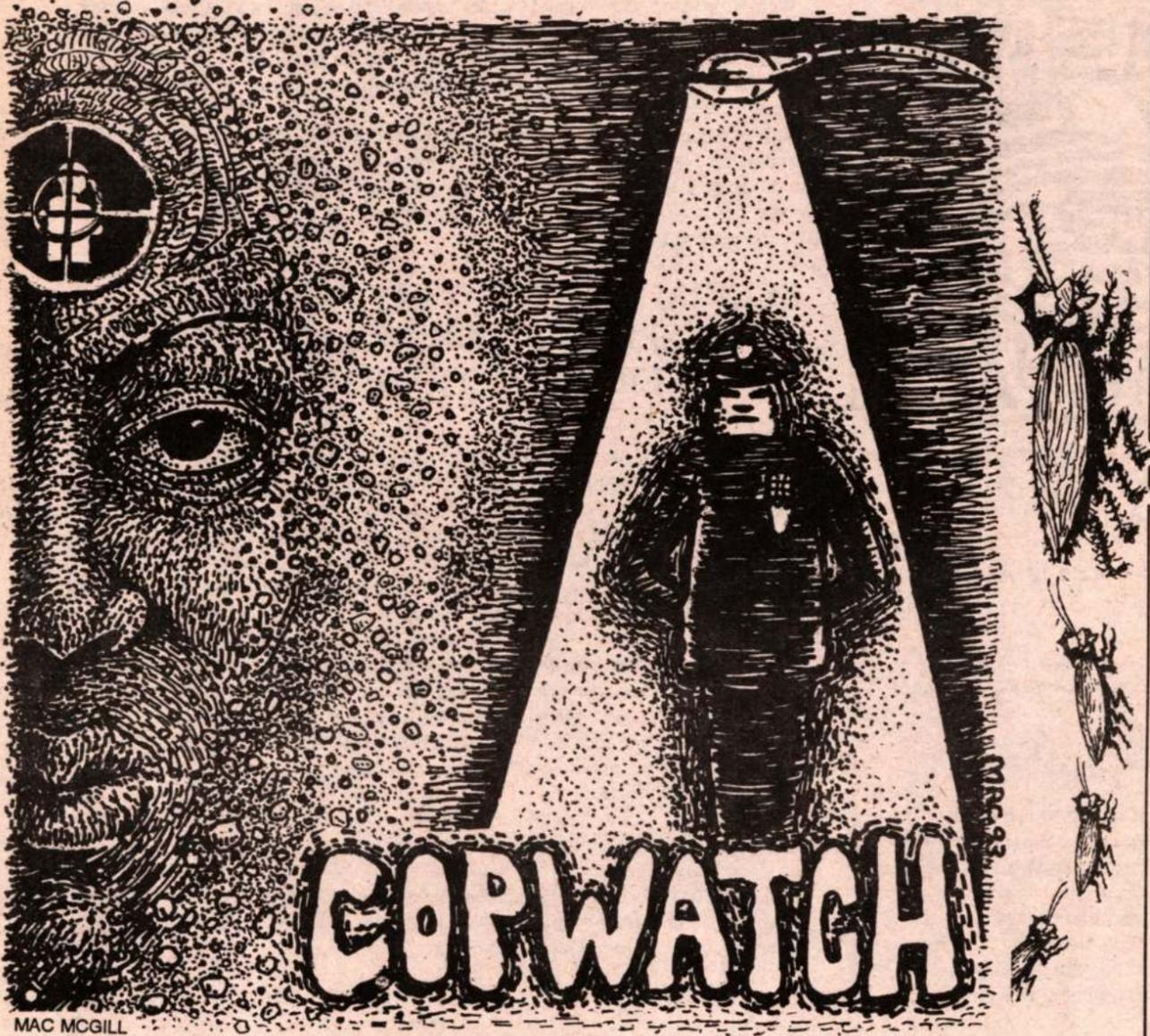
YEAH!

We wish to extend a special thanks to David Little, now a third year law student at Columbia, who is wasting his summer as our law clerk when he could be helping rich people get richer on Wall Street. Thanks Dave!

Any questions? Send yours to DOWN BY LAW
c/o The SHADOW, P.O.Box 20298, New York, NY 10009



TULI KUPFERBERG



MAC MCGILL

Well, here we are again! Just in time for the long hot summer, they've switched 9th precinct commanders again. This time, FBI agent Captain Richard Seta is back, fresh from commanding the adjacent 13th precinct (practice for the 9th?) Some have advanced the theory that with his FBI connections, Seta may have been assigned to address the rampant corruption at the 9th (or at least appear to), but a SHADOW kop source tells us that the 9th is what they call a "promotion precinct" and that the only way Seta can make Deputy Inspector is through another tour of duty at the 9th.

Even so, it would be nice if Seta did something about the corruption--a wife of a former 9th precinct kop tells us that the 9th precinct is the most corrupt of all the precincts he has been assigned to.

Well, it looks like it's business as usual in Tompkins Square Park--in the absence of activists who can stop them, 9th precinct kops have been harrasing and terrorizing the homeless in and around the park. This includes rousing sleeping persons along Avenue A and 7th Street at 4:30AM, forcing elderly Polish men from the park in the early evening to avoid dealing with them at the midnight curfew, and even spraying Lysol on a homeless man's armpits, ass and on the park bench he had been sitting on. The Parks Department crews are only too happy to join in the harrassment by using gas-powered air blowers to push garbage around the park, creating noise, dust and pollution that disturbs the homeless and other park users.

Kop-Watchers report that P.O. Matthew Rosenthal of the 9th is behind a lot of the harrassment, which he seems to genuinely enjoy. We wonder how these kops would feel if they got canned and found themselves living on the streets, only to be harrassed by some well-fed smug suburban kops like themselves?

On one recent night, just after the midnight curfew, P.O. Gunning was seen attempting to assault an elderly man in the park because he was unable to get off a bench. She swung her club in his face and threatened to hit him. He tried to wave her away with his cane, and she reached for her sidearm. Bystanders yelled at her, told her she was being watched and warned her not to try it. She told them to mind their own business, and then said that he was threatening her with his cane!! (Who approached and threatened whom first?) Finally, two other cops arrived and carried the man gently out of the park.

She then tried to defend herself, claiming "I feed these people" and she said "you don't know anything about what goes on here." As she engaged the bystanders in a debate, four plainclothes cops stationed at the 9th precinct suddenly arrived to back her up, wielding their radios as weapons. Lt. Gerald Heinz, who was with them, told the people to leave or get arrested. One of the plainclothes challenged the bystanders to a fight: "Come on, let's go. Just me and you, one on one" (Real tough coming from a cop with a gun, back-up and the ability to arrest if you just breath on him!!

This same cop once threatened SHADOW editor Chris Flash with "Some day I'm gonna get you in a dark alley somewhere." This one and his partner, the two most threatening ones, arrived in a grey unmarked Plymouth, Plate# AVX-839. The other two came in an undercover taxi cab, Hack# 6Y31.

As the bystanders stood across the street from the park, they observed the two from the grey Plymouth steal food from a local merchant's store. The fat cop (Badge #30133) wolfed down two hot dogs and a soda in the rear of the store where he thought he couldn't be seen by kop watchers. When he finished, his partner who was looking for the fight, (Badge #17066), entered and left with a free coffee!!

Kops have also been routinely harrassing anyone hanging out on Avenue A in groups of three or more.

On May 29, kops chased and beat the shit out of a young man who they claim tried to make off with a Tompkins Square Park curfew sign.

Not too long after that, kops jumped and badly beat a woman on roller skates who was walking her dog in the park. Apparently, she didn't like them putting their hands all over her when they told her to stop roller skating and

walking her dog at the same time, so they beat her down and then charged her with assaulting them!!

Hey Kops!! (We know you read Kop-Watch!!) Now's your chance to take P.O. Michael Dowd's "Coke Cops Corruption Test." The June 11th issue of Newsday reports convicted coke-dealing drug-taking kop corruption ring leader Dowd's method of recruiting fellow kops to join his "Losers Club." First, he would get his prospects to drink while on duty. The next step was getting them to accept a free meal from a restaurant owner, then taking free merchandise from stores.

From what SHADOW reporters and Kop-Watchers have witnessed, plainclothes kops in and around the park have already passed the first two levels of Dowd's test, especially the kops driving AVX-839 that night at the park. We are sure that given enough time, they will go beyond the expectations of their guru Mike Dowd, if they haven't already.

On June 9, a Kop Watcher passing a parked blue Ford van at the corner of 4th Street and Bowery heard someone inside screaming and pleading for his life. Looking inside, the watcher saw a young black man on his knees frantically begging two white men in the front not to beat him. When the watcher jotted down the van's plate number (XH-2950), one of the men got out and told him in a threatening manner to mind his own business. When the watcher questioned him, he said "get the fuck outta here" and produced a pistol. The watcher went to a phone booth and called 911, then waited across the Bowery to see what happened. A patrol car arrived, but barely slowed down at the intersection before continuing up Bowery. The watcher ran after the kop car and caught up to it at a red light. "Are you responding to the call?" he asked. The cop inside replied, "Yessir, they were police officers!" The caller walked away with a sarcastic "Charming!"

Another Kop-Watcher tells us that he hears 9th precinct cops using official radio channels for private conversations. Like CB radio operators, cops call each other up using different "handles" and then switch to another frequency where they can talk privately (or so they think) about meeting for drinks, getting laid, etc. Some nicknames the kops use are "Tough Guy" "Big Guy" "Bad Boy" "Robocop" and even "SHADOW"!!

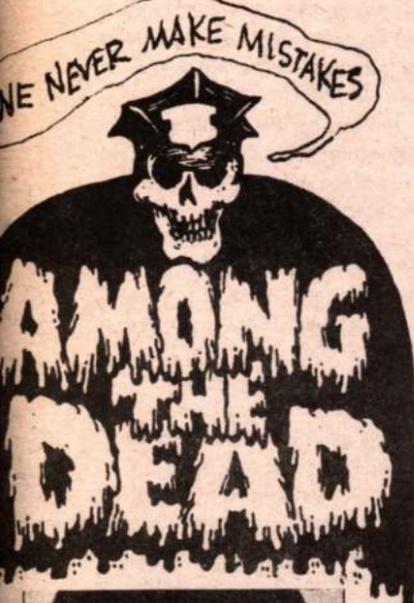
When our last issue came out at the end of April, a cop was seen tearing out the Kop-Watch page and gingerly folding it and putting it in his pocket. More info to add to their files?

And last, but not least, Kop-Watchers report that while two kops stationed in the paddy wagon at 10th Street and Avenue A were scarfing some pizza (standard kop fare) at Nino's two blocks away, their windshield was blown out by an M-80 firecracker. When they returned and saw the damage, one said to the other: "It's been a really shitty day, you know that?"

We now have more Kop-Watchers than ever before. Even so, there can never be too many Kop-Watchers!! If you have any info (stories, eyewitness reports, photos, plate numbers, badge numbers, etc) that you would like to see published in the SHADOW and added to our files, please send it to: P.O.Box 20298, New York, NY 10009.

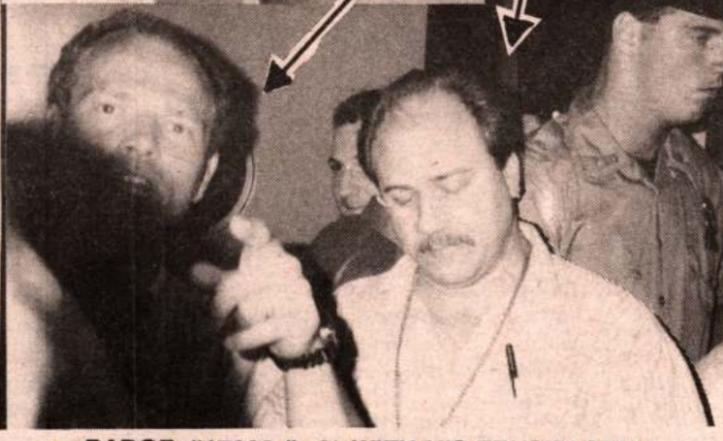
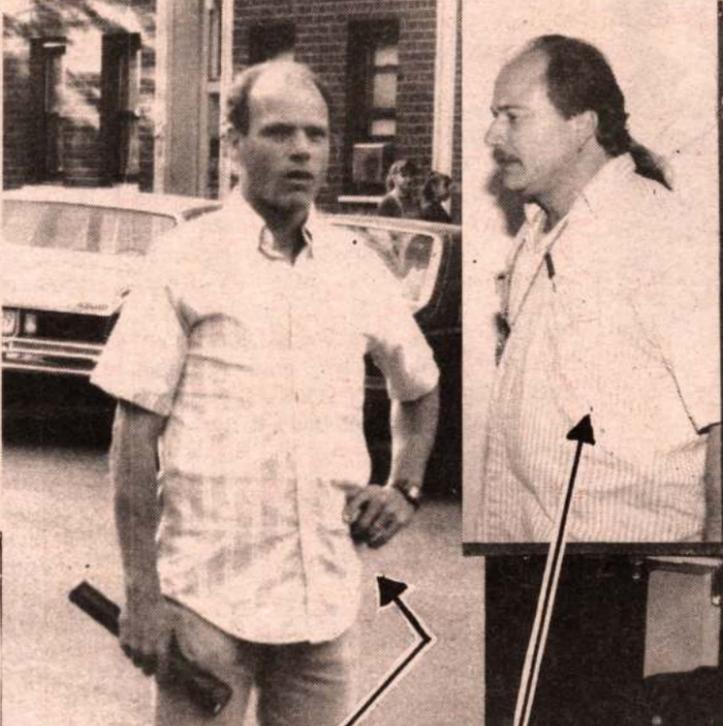


Our people are now in the process of putting together the ultimate "Kop Watch" "Kop Shot Book" that will aid victims of police violence and corruption in identifying the perpetrators. We can use any and all photos and identification of plainclothes cops for inclusion in the book. Even if they aren't doing anything at the time you take their photos, you can be sure that if they're we'll already have them on file. Now, with more cops on the streets than ever before, keep on watching those kops!



Lenas Kakkouras

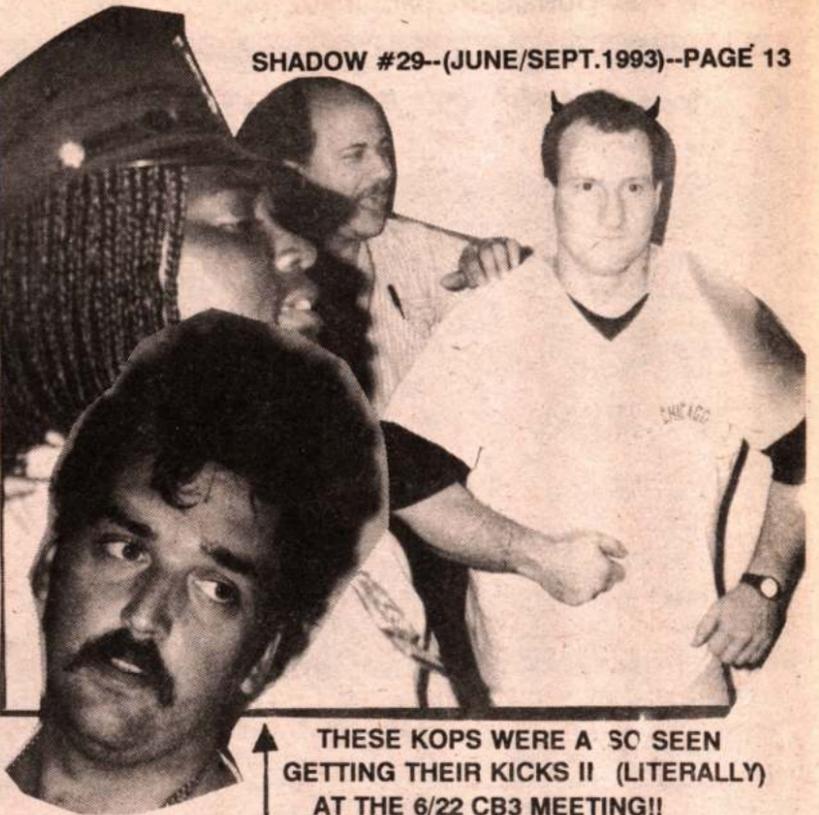
family attorney Barry Albin said young Dr. Lenas Kakkouras was probably frightened when police detectives Anthony Rozzi and Joseph dzinski, both in plainclothes, blocked his path with their cadillac on a desolate street... These two must have appeared as muggers or car-jackers...Kakkouras had been chased by muggers a week before the shooting...the Dr. had apparently lost his way...cops claim Kakkouras 'aimed' his car at them and they fired 4 shots in 'self-defense'..."



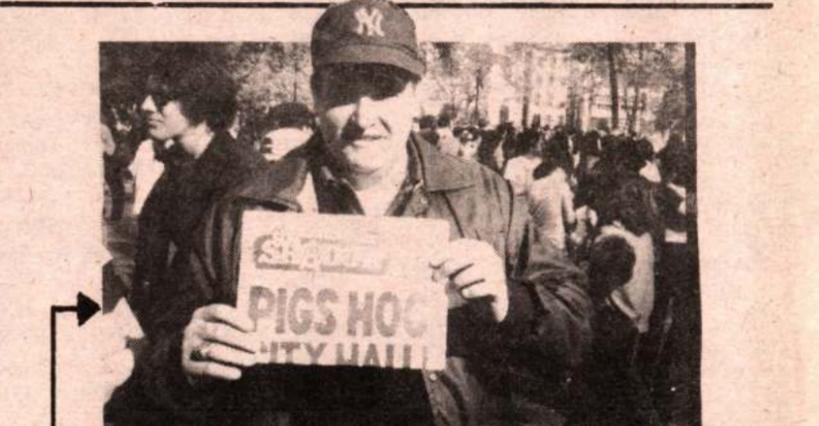
BADGE #17066 (Left) WITH HIS TRUSTY STEEL FLASHLIGHT IN BROAD DAYLIGHT (JUST IN CASE!!) AND BADGE #30133 (Right) AT THE 6/22 CB3 MEET (See their story in this Kop-Watch)



THIS KOP WAS SEEN AT THE 5/8 SMOKE-IN IN WASHINGTON SQUARE PARK JUST BEFORE THE RIOT-- WHEN THE SHIT HIT, HE WAS THE FIRST TO RUN!!



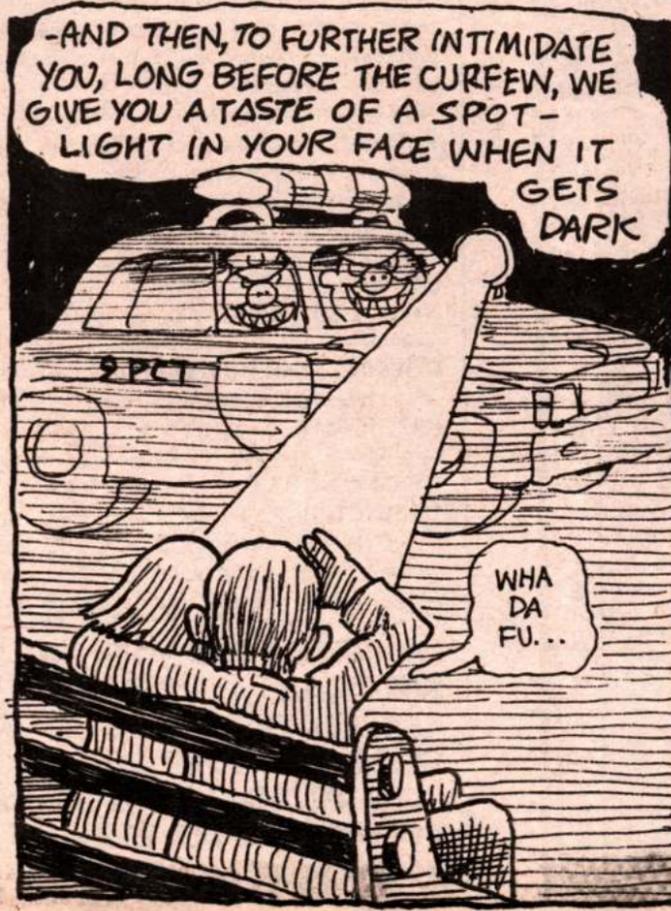
↑ THESE KOPS WERE A SC SEEN GETTING THEIR KICKS II (LITERALLY) AT THE 6/22 CB3 MEETING!!



↑ LT. KIERNAN, HEAD OF MANHATTAN SOUTH'S 'ANTI-CRIME' (Plainclothes kops) DETAIL, SHOWS US HIS FAVORITE NEWSPAPER AND HEADLINE!!



↑ THESE KOPS WERE SEEN AT THE SQUATTER MAYDAY CONCERT IN THE PARK ON 5/1



EVENTS & ANNOUNCEMENTS



JULY 22+23--INDEPENDENT VIDEOS: By various artists, at Info Gallery, 411 East 9th St., at 8:00PM. \$5 donation.

JULY 23--NEW MUSIC FESTIVAL: Featuring Roger Manning, Mongrel Bitch, Sheep Shit, Hat Bros., and surprise guests. At Gargoyle Mechanique, 28 Ave B, 10:00PM. \$5 donation. Call 505-8991.

JULY 24--FILM-MAKERS CO-OPERATIVE: Films By Karen Kramer: Coney Island Mermaid, Last of the NY Cigar Rollers, Moko Jumbie, Rice and Peas. At Anthology Film Archives, 32 Second Ave, 8:30PM. Call 505-5181.

JULY 24--ABC NO RIO BENEFIT YARD SALE: Donated items needed to sell to raise money for maintaining one of the few alternative performance spaces left on the Lower East Side. Donations needed before noon, sale begins at noon. At 156 Rivington St.(Bet. Clinton + Suffolk Sts.)

JULY 24--FREE JAZZ CONCERT: By Haze Greenfield and group, at 6th St.+ Ave. B garden, 7:00PM.

JULY 26--OPEN MIKE NIGHT: Speak your mind or perform to your heart's content. Sign-up at 8:30PM. From 9:00 thru midnight. At Gargoyle Mechanique, 28 Ave. B. Call 505-8991.

JULY 26--FREE POETRY READINGS: At 6th St.+ Ave.B garden, 7:45PM.

JULY 27--TIE-DYE WORKSHOP: With Joannie Freedom, at 6th St.+ Ave. B garden, 7:00PM.

JULY 27--CONTAMINATED ART SHOW: L.A. artist Cory Roberts-Auli shows his artwork made using HIV infected body fluids drawn from himself and friends--blood, semen, saliva, mucous, urine and even some paint. At Gargoyle Mechanique, 28 Ave. B, at 8:00PM. \$5 donation. Call 505-8991.

JULY 28--FIERCE PUSSY FESTIVAL: Female dancers, musicians, and poets forum. Performers to be announced. In Tompkins Sq. Park, Noon to 7:00PM.

JULY 29--FREE PHOTO SLIDE SHOW: By Gottfried Arlene, at 6th St.+ Ave. B garden, 9:00PM.

JULY 24 + 31--TIPPED UTERUS: Theater piece on unplanned pregnancy by Jenna Freedman, at Info Gallery, 411 East 9th St. 8:00PM. \$5 donation.

JULY 30--MUMIA ABU-JAMAL BENEFIT CONCERT: Features Disease, The Proles, Disassociate, and more! At ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington (Bet. Clinton + Suffolk Sts.), at 6:00PM.

JULY 30--GLASSHOUSE SQUAT BENEFIT CONCERT: Several surprise groups to be announced. Bring canned food to donate. Inside Tompkins Sq. Park, 4:00-8:00PM.

JULY 31--LEON TROTSKY-ABBIE HOFFMAN-MADONNA TOUR: Includes history of Tompkins Sq.Park, the Young Lords, Madonna's little known progressive history and the Catholic Worker. Meet in front of St. Mark's in the Bowery Church, 2nd Ave + 10th St. at 1:00PM. For info, call 718-492-0069.

AUG.1--MUMIA ABU-JAMAL BENEFIT CONCERT: Features Hell No, 13, Disassociate, Drop Dead, Angel Rot, Disrupt, Final warning, at CBGB's, 315 Bowery, at 7:00PM.

AUG.7--5TH TSP RIOT ANNIVERSARY CONCERT: Organizers have gone through some heavy shit to put this together--first, the Pks Dep't denied them Aug.6, then some political dis-organizers tried to steal the permit for the show!! Music by Roger Manning, East Side Bandits, Slackers, Blitzspeer, Black Rain. Poetry by legendary beat poet Allen Ginsberg. Free vegetarian food served at 4:00 + 8:00PM. In Tompkins Sq. Park, 5:00-9:00PM. Don't be fooled by misleading posters!!

AUG.7--FREE JOAN BAEZ CONCERT: At Summer Stage in Central Park, Rumsey Playfield, 72nd St., mid-park. For info, call 360-CPSS.

AUG.13-15--POPE PICKET 93: American Atheists will picket the Denver Colorado archdiocese conference where the Pope will speak on August 15. For info, write: P.O.Box 140195, Austin, Texas, 78714-0195, or call: 512-458-1244.

SEPT.11--COUNTER KKK MARCH: Anarchists from all over plan to hit KKK march in Tennessee. For info, call Neither East Nor West: 718-499-7720.

SEPT.14--CITY COUNCIL ELECTION PRIMARY: If you are into voting, casting yours against Antonio Pagan will help tilt the balance of power away from fascist gentrifiers on the Lower East Side.

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

MID-ATLANTIC REGIONAL ANARCHIST GATHERING 1993: Philadelphia Anarchists are organizing 4 days of workshops, networking, music, schmoozing and cruising, sometime in July/August. They need help with organizing, publicity, money, etc. Call Wooden Shoe Books: (215)569-2477.

EXCHANGE YOUR USED NEEDLES for new ones. Bleach kits, condoms and other supplies FREE. At the Lower East Side Needle Exchange, 39 Avenue C (between 3rd + 4th Streets). Wed.+ Sat: 11:00AM-2:00PM, Fri: 7:00-10:00PM. For info, call (212)228-7734.

NENA HEALTH CENTER PROVIDES A WIDE VARIETY OF SERVICES on a sliding scale for those without insurance. Weekdays, 8:30AM-4:30PM, Weds till 7:00PM. 279 East 3rd Street, or call 477-8500 for more info.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED for the Village Temple Soup Kitchen, to prepare food and serve meals, no experience necessary. Saturdays at 10:00AM and 2:30PM at 33 East 12th Street. Call Joan at 924-1719.

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

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

RECYCLABLES NOW BEING COLLECTED: At the lot at 211 East 7th Street (between Avenues B + C). Please separate plastics and metals.

NEED EXTRA MONEY? WE NEED HELP WITH AD SALES, RETAIL SALES AND STREET SALES. DROP US A LINE AT: D.O.BOX 20298, NY, NY 10009, OR CALL 212-465-2548.

RANDALL TERRY....

(Continued From Page 7)

Gunn by a deranged anti-choicer in Pennsylvania, Florida. Cohen said Gunn was killed because the climate of hate and confrontation created by Operation Rescue's "targeting" of Gunn inflamed unstable followers of the group.

Judge Ward then sentenced Terry to 5 months of a possible six months in federal prison. Ward said that Terry had shown "no remorse, no contrition, no respect for the law", in passing sentence. Terry defiantly said he would appeal and he remains free on bail while the appeal is being considered.

After the sentencing, Planned Parenthood's Alexander Sanger, grandson of birth control pioneer Margaret Sanger, said he was happy with the sentence. Sanger added that he supports Freedom of Access bills in the New York City Council and the state legislature in Albany that would increase penalties for people who blockade abortion clinics. He said the New York City law needs the approval of speaker Peter Vallone before it can come up for a vote.

The issue of what effect these new laws targeting Operation Rescue will have on progressive civil rights disobedience and protest actions hasn't received much attention. Some of these same laws that pro-choice progressives are supporting to control Randall Terry may come back to haunt progressive movements in the future, in much the same way that "RICO" anti-racketeering laws intended to attack the mafia became tools to prosecute some progressive groups in the 1980's. The SHADOW will continue to watch and report developments in this realm.



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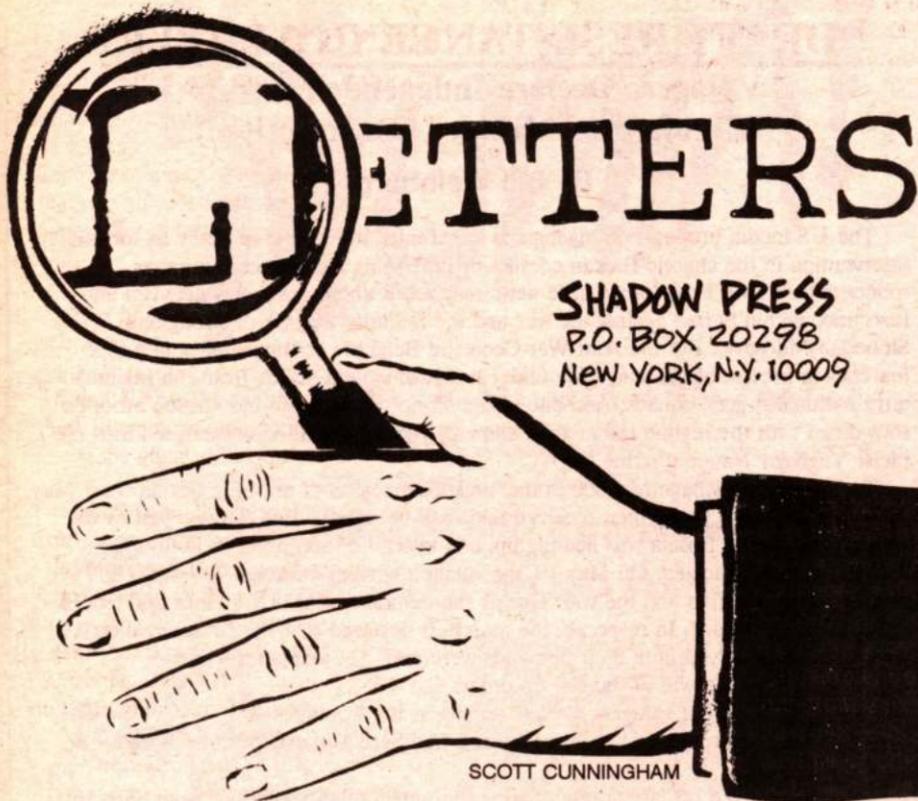
THE 1993 MID-ATLANTIC ANARCHIST GATHERING

JULY 30 THRU AUGUST 2

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NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

SCOTT CUNNINGHAM

To The Editor:

As a frequent reader of the SHADOW, I was disgusted to find that the author of your SHADOW Updates column on the release of activist Kenny Tolia (SHADOW #28) shares with lunatic elements of the christian right the belief that AIDS is a form of divine retribution: "Judge Failla's karma came back to him just over one year later, on April 11, when he died of AIDS..." The judge's sentencing of Kenny was obviously unfair. If the writer feels that it was so unfair that the judge deserved to contract AIDS and die for it, that's his problem, but maybe he should state that as his own opinion instead of hiding behind "karma"--a concept that he distorts to his own punitive ends. AIDS is not retribution. Karma is a christian judgement. The SHADOW should keep in mind, before it adopts the cruel and stupid AIDS-as-punishment rhetoric of the christian right, that much of its Lower East Side readership lives with or loves people who live with AIDS.

And why did the writer choose to mention that the judge was openly gay? Did his sexuality, as well as his severity, invite his "karmic" punishment? Sure reads that way. Or was it included to explain how he became infected, which would be, perhaps, worse. Think about it.
John Welch, NYC

Dear John,

You make some very good points, but this is not a gay rights issue. As far as we are concerned, it doesn't matter how he died--Judge Failla's bad karma came back to him. Being openly gay and a member of a long persecuted group of people, Failla should have known better than to participate in the persecution of political activists, especially since he was a former prosecutor himself. By playing his role as a member of the establishment repressing political dissent, and by announcing his intention to give anyone found guilty the maximum possible sentence BEFORE THE MAYDAY 29 TRIAL WAS EVEN FINISHED, Judge Failla demonstrated his evil karma. (The jury found all the other remaining defendants not guilty after 37 cops testified, and the video clearly showed the cops starting the riot.)

We can only wonder how many other people's lives Failla fucked up with jail sentences he dished out in his zeal to enforce this bullshit system's bullshit laws. Failla knew Kenny was in college, that Kenny was raising and supporting his young daughter and that Kenny had no previous convictions, had steady employment, and roots in the community. Failla received many letters from community members and even mem-

bers of the jury, all of whom urged Failla not to put Kenny in jail. These are standard criteria judges use to determine whether or not to impose a jail sentence. Since Kenny was found guilty of a misdemeanor, jail time was not mandatory!! In spite of all this, Failla gave Kenny the maximum--a one year sentence!!

Recognizing the concerns of our gay readership, we asked several gay friends for their opinions before we ran the piece. None thought it was anti-gay in any way.

It is unfortunate for anyone to get AIDS, but since when does having AIDS make saints out of scumbags like Failla? Many good and evil heterosexual and gay people get cancer, AIDS, and other fatal diseases. We feel bad that the good ones die and sometimes mourn them, but we sure as hell don't miss the evil ones. Judge Failla was one of the evil ones!!

Chris Flash, Editor

SHADOW,

We are beginning to see the adversity and hidden side of our created governments. "Star Wars" didn't need to make further sequels, we as people get to see them first hand. David Koresh and his followers were the force...(or were they?)...& the evil empire was our beloved government. In the 51 days the followers of the force only survived, trapped in their holding compound. Meanwhile, as in the movie, the evil empire simply called for reinforcements. It wasn't a matter of power. The empire already knew it had superior fire power, it was a far greater concern. These people stood for the last dying ideals of a free society. To be able to worship their own way. To the empire it was more force than could be allowed...so the decision was made to eliminate them...men, women & children.

This was a sad day for america, the land of the free & home of the brave. Freedom was lost forever & there simply were no brave citizens.

In the future we will all pay for the atrocities of our government against others. We give it the power to act by inaction on our part. So the next time you think "It couldn't happen to me," pause and think a moment. Who are you for, the evil empire or the free? If you are in line with the empire and its goals, you may be safe for a while, yet if you are a christian, mormon, adventist, or any non-conformist, you may be safe for now...but eventually you too will be on the elimination lists. Which will you choose? The laws of the empire or the universal laws of free choice?

The choice is ours to make and the time is running out...
James Justin

Dear SHADOW:

The Constitution and Bill of Rights and any vestiges of the past are dated. What we are seeing instead is a "movement of the people" which will probably end the stranglehold of megastructure government which, in 150 years, has fucked over the PLANET! As for the failure of the 60s movements, it ended because of government intervention in the form of various COINTELPROs (see Ward Churchill's "Agents Of Repression"). The people never had a clue as to what was going on or the sincere intentions of the victims of COINTELPRO.
Carol, Florida

Dear SHADOW:

My boyfriend and I recently got busted for 6 hits of acid and 3 dimes of weed. They chased us on bikes and roughed him up. I could have gotten away, but I saw how my boyfriend was being treated and headed full speed on my bike straight toward a fat pig standing there and hit him.

I got slapped with an "Aggravated Assault" charge and "Resisting Arrest." The cops tried to get my boyfriend for "Distribution of Illegal Substances" because he had a beeper, but there wasn't enough, so he got a possession charge. We got sent to Central Booking and spent the night in jail because night court was over.

When we were busted, the cops took our bikes, my boyfriend's beeper, and his \$90.00. After we got out, he got his \$90.00 and a "vouched items receipt." We went to 3 different buildings to get our stuff and we were told it was in Long Island City being analyzed.

If there is anyone out there who is going through a similar situation, please write in the SHADOW because I feel helpless. I need information regarding my rights.
Erica, NYC

SHADOW!

Myself and several friends are trying to move out to the boonies and live free. Far from the meddlesome tentacles of church and state. We've discovered that finding a spot is not all that difficult, but acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills is considerably harder. With a budget of almost nothing and ideals that tend to limit, I am asking like-minded people to help us. We need practical knowledge and are willing to travel, work or whatever. Presently, I am on the road, hitchhiking across Canada to the anarchist gathering in Vancouver, BC with the hope of learning to be self-sufficient.

Help,
Max Nomad
P.O.Box 2814,
Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Canada, C1A, 8C4

PRISONER MAIL

Dear SHADOW,
I'm in the 4th year of a 20 year sentence. I refuse to conform to these rules and living conditions so I doubt that I'll get out early.
Gerald Kummer #211852
Waupun Corr. Institute
P.O.Box 351
Waupun, WI 53963-0351

Hello!

I will be eligible for parole in August, 1996, but the KKKops may decide to keep me until October 2003. (The "A.S.A.T." anti-drug brainwashing class is required for parole eligibility. I was kicked out of the class for telling the truth about cannabis.)
Dale R. Gowin #91-B-0209
P.O.Box 500
Elmira, NY 14902

★ ★ ★ ENDEAVOR ★ ★ ★
Live Voices from Death Row Across the U.S.A.

Going National
March 31 April

Who are these people the public deems "incorrigible" and "expendable"? The answer to this and much, much more concerning Capital Punishment and the people involved, can be found in *The Endeavor*, a newspaper written by condemned prisoners and their loved ones...

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MARTIAL LAW IN GUATEMALA

Special Eyewitness Report By Peter LeVasseur



PETER LEVASSEUR

KIDS RUN AFTER TOSSING DEBRIS AT RIOT KOPS

The streets of Guatemala City were deceptively empty. Few vendors or pedestrians were around and no dense blue clouds of diesel fumes hung over the streets of the capital as they usually do. Two blocks from my hotel, phalanxes of police and soldiers in riot gear with attack dogs had many blocks of the city center closed to autos and people. All four daily papers had headlines blaring the fact that there was a transportation stoppage due to continued student protests. Two days previous to my arrival, high school students, with the help of university student activists, held a protest outside congress criticizing the imposition of school uniforms, bus rate hikes and especially the new student ID, which many considered a precursor to draft registration.

During the protest, a videotape captured a congressman's bodyguard shooting and killing a high school student. This led to two weeks of protests from May 12-26. The protestors blocked traffic by burning tires and held hit and run attacks against lines of police, throwing rocks and bottles at a fearless close range. Fifty people were injured, including 38 police at one protest where students blocked the entrance to the university. In another incident, students set fire to two buses to protest fare hikes. The biggest protest was May 22 when 10,000 unionists, students, workers and poor people peacefully protested in front of the national palace against the proposed electric rate hike, the third in nine months, the militarization of Guatemala and in support of the students' demands. An assassination attempt was made against the congressman whose bodyguard killed the student.

None of these events could be described as seriously threatening national security, but on May 25, President Jorge Serrano used these events as a pretext for an auto-coup similar to Fujimori's "self" coup in Peru and, like Fujimori, Serrano suspended the Constitution, the supreme and constitutional courts, dissolved congress and outlawed any criticism of his decisions by the press, which was enforced by surrounding their offices with troops. Serrano said his actions "were necessary to keep the country's stability from being undermined by street protests, to cleanse Guatemala's politics of corruption, and to fight drug trafficking." He claimed that the Guatemala National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), a leftist guerrilla movement active for 30 years, had organized students to create chaos and bring the country to the point of social explosion.

His opponents gave different reasons: the president's growing isolation, his inability to push through economic austerity measures and, most importantly, the press revelations the day before he took dictatorial powers that he illicitly enriched himself while in office, enabling him to buy vast tracts of land and a personal jet. By dissolving congress, the supreme court, and suspending the constitution, Serrano eliminated any checks and balances that may have existed. This enabled him to preserve his own power and reputation by curtailing investigations into his corruption. In addition, the military could not be held accountable for human rights violations considered by many to be the worst in Latin America.

The coup lasted one week. For the first time in Guatemala's history, a surprising alliance of conservatives and liberals, businessmen and unionists, students and workers raised enough opposition that even the military had a hard time going along with it. The military, which had ruled the country uninterrupted from 1954 to 1986, finally withdrew their support of Serrano, caving into national and international pressure. They replaced him with the vice president who was a stronger military ally than Serrano. The opposition continued, but by this time the dissolved congress had been reelected. They took the initiative, voting in the government's human rights ombudsman, Ramiro de Leon, as president. De Leon comes from Guatemala's elite political establishment. He belongs to the same class of white Spanish (the minority) which has ruled and exploited the Indian majority for 500 years. He became popular for his outspoken criticism of the Army and its role in human rights abuses. Ironically, he appointed hard-line General Perussina as defense minister, who is believed to have played a role in planning the coup. Although he has condemned Serrano, he has not condemned the military for its initial support of the coup.

Guatemalan history has been dominated by colonialism, imperialism, class and racial exploitation. A long series of revolts, none strong enough to totally overthrow the oligarchy and military, have also not been able to bring about a government in the last 500 years which has served the best interests of the Indian majority. It remains unclear what conditions the Army has placed on de Leon's presidency.

[For more up to date info on what is happening in Guatemala, contact NISGUA: 1500 Massachusetts Ave NW #241, Washington, DC 20005, (202)223-6474.]

DRAFT RESISTANCE IN SERBIA!!

Villagers Declare Independence from Serbia over Military Conscription!!

By Bill Weinberg

The US media propaganda machine is apparently attempting to ready us for military intervention in the chaotic Balkan conflict by portraying the Serbian nation as monolithically evil. Predictably, little news reaches us about grassroots activism and resistance within Serbia against the war and the militarist regime of strongman Slobodan Milosevic. But the Anti-War Center in Belgrade continues to hold public marches in protest of the war, even under threat of violent attack from the regime's ultra-nationalist goon squads. And one village in northern Serbia has chosen an open showdown with the regime rather than allow its young men to be conscripted into the racist Yugoslav National Army (JNA).

Tresnjevac is a village of 2,000 in the Vojvodina region of northern Serbia. Last May, 200 of Tresnjevac's young men received their call-up papers. But this was just as the war in neighboring Bosnia was heating up, and instead of accepting the call-up, Tresnjevac got organized. On May 10, the village's women marched 700-strong in protest of conscription and the war. During the demonstration, JNA tanks and troops surrounded the village. In response, the marchers declared that the demonstration would not be dissolved until their demands were met. The demands were:

- *the withdrawal of the call-up orders
- *the return of villagers already serving at the frontlines
- *the free return of villagers who had fled Serbia to escape conscription

The JNA backed off, apparently fearing the public relations fallout from Serbian troops attacking Serbs in Serbia. The troops made no effort to enter the village or induct the 200 young men—although the conscription orders were not dropped.

The marchers did indeed stay together, camping out for the next month in a local village bar called the Zitzer Club. They received visitors from other parts of Serbia, and were joined by young men from other parts of the country who wanted to take a stand against the draft and the war.

On June 26, the protest movement dubbed itself the Zitzer Spiritual Republic, an irreverent comment on the nationalism now sweeping the ex-Yugoslavia. The Zitzer protestors have drawn up a Constitution, elected a president, and adopted an official hymn—Ravel's Bolero. They have also adopted a coat of arms—a pizza pie surrounded by three billiard balls.

The Zitzer Spiritual Republic is "spiritual" in the sense that it has, in the words of its own Constitution, "no territory or borders." It exists in the same sense that the "Woodstock Nation" declared by Abbie Hoffman at the 1968 Chicago 7 trial existed—in the consciousness of its citizens. The Zitzer Spiritual Republic is united in its rejection of any law that "forces citizens to act against their free will and conscience."

On January 30, police searched the village for 40 local reserve troops who had publicly declared that they would not report back to the JNA and were instead choosing civilian alternative service. Police captured five of the men and turned them over to the JNA. They were forcibly inducted and, according to Antiviolence Forum, a peace group in Hungary which is in touch with the Zitzer Spiritual Republic, some of them were beaten.

However, the 200 original draft resisters are still holding out at Tresnjevac. In May 1993, the Zitzer Spiritual Republic held a celebration of the first year of the village draft resistance movement. The celebration also served as a meeting for peace activists from throughout Vojvodina.

The Zitzer Spiritual Republic can be contacted either directly, or, more reliably, through their Hungarian support people:

Zitzer Club, Tresnjevac, Horvath Janos u. 10, Vojvodina, Yugoslavia

Alba Kor, H-1461 Budapest, Pf 225

(E-mail: H6551FAR@HUELLA.BITNET)

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CROATIAN ANARCHISTS SEEK SUPPORT

By Bill Weinberg

A group of young people in Zagreb, capital of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia, have declared ZAPO—the Zagreb Anarcho-Pacifist Organization. The ZAPO folks have been holding demonstrations, producing anti-war propaganda posters and publishing a zine called *Communitas 2/3*, which they describe as "contra-Nazism and racism." They are now planning to demand a building for a community center from the city, or find a vacant one to squat. ZAPO is also seeking international contacts for *Communitas 2/3*.

ZAPO can be reached at:
Tkalciceva 38 41000 Zagreb,
Croatia

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FREE MUMIA!

POLITICAL PRISONER MUMIA ABU-JAMAL FIGHTS FOR HIS LIFE: Benefits And Demos For Mumia Increase Support and Awareness

By Barbara Lee and Sara Valentine



SCOTT CUNNINGHAM

Pam and Ramona Africa and a man named Yahatma, who told the group "We will not stand by and allow Mumia and other political prisoners to die." The march, led by Pam Africa with her children and musicians, followed by Lower East Side New York squatters and anarchists, New Jersey anarchists, members of Q.U.I.S.P., P.E.A.C.E. and members of the Black Panther, made its way to Independence Hall. Along the way, car drivers honked their support and people joined the march, increasing the group from 400 to 700.

At the corner of 13th and Locust, where Mumia had been framed for killing a cop, Pam Africa told the marchers "I want to explain what was going on. Mumia, who was moonlighting as a cab driver, had stopped here. He looked over and saw a man being beaten up. In his journalistic curiosity, he got out of the car and went to help. He saw that the man being beaten was his brother." Africa told how Mumia had been framed and then noted that no human rights organizations were present.

At the plaza at Fifth and Market, representatives from different contingents spoke. Pam read a letter from Mumia, and his wife Wadiya thanked everyone for marching. She said that she knew "down to the second" the time that her husband had been away from her.

The next day, July 4th, hundreds marched in the sweltering heat to protest South African President F.W. de Klerk's being awarded the Liberty Medal at Independence Hall.

The question on most marchers' minds was: who has Independence in Philadelphia? Certainly not Black Philadelphian Radical activists who didn't show up to march. While an ad hoc group of clergymen, politicians and lawyers led the way down Market Street, not one recognizable Black Philadelphian Radical activist was seen. Not Ramona nor Pam Africa, nor any Black Panthers.

One would guess that Pennsylvania State Senator David Richardson wouldn't have the same fear of the Philadelphia Police and the feds as somebody like Ramona Africa, one of two survivors of the MOVE bombing who spent seven years as a political prisoner in the Pennsylvania prison system.

The police were in full force and in control of the march. They herded the marchers like sheep from the rally in "Love" Park to the Judge Lewis Quadrangle, not far from Independence Hall. The amount of marchers was pretty impressive, a lot more than the Free Mumia march the previous day. It was ironic that hundreds of people showed up to give support to Mandela, but did not turn out for a march of support for their fellow Philadelphian political prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal.

At the rally, a huge video screen showed the Liberty Medal ceremony. Clusters of white racists stood around watching the screen while carrying large picket signs that said "Pres. de Klerk is #1" and "Stop Immigration of Arabs, Cubans and Haitians". There was hardly any

In the ongoing fight to save the life of former Black Panther, respected journalist, MOVE defender, Mumia Abu-Jamal, there was a benefit on May 30th at the Gas Station on Avenue B to raise money for his legal defense. Several speakers, such as civil rights lawyer William Kunstler and MOVE member Pam Africa, spoke on behalf of Mumia, who is still on death row in the Pennsylvania penal system.

The event also included many popular acts like Marc Ribot, King Stone and Sidereal Time. Also, a video, "Notes from Death Row," which features Mumia, was shown.

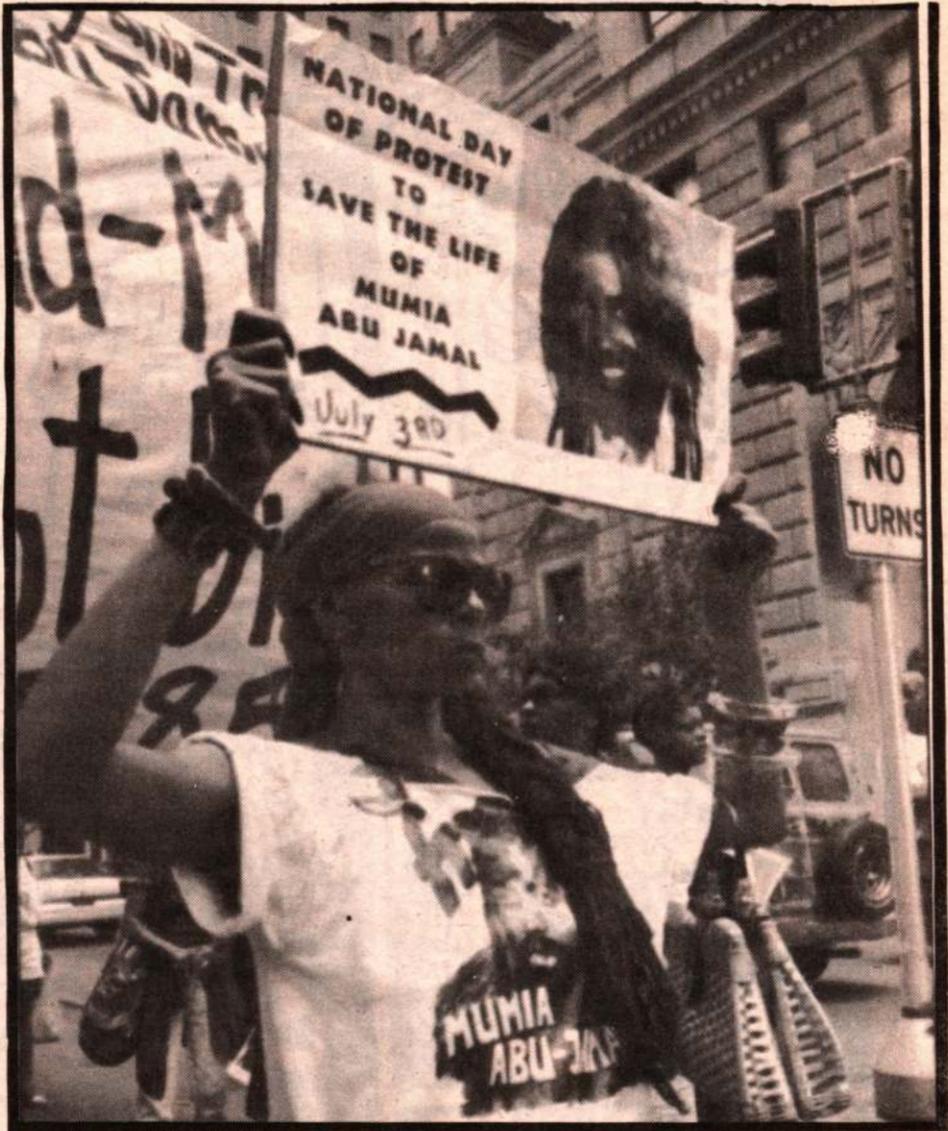
Another "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal" benefit at the Lion's Den on Sunday, June 20th, was a huge success. Not in a long time has there been such a diverse program and audience that blended together so harmoniously. Everyone attended to raise money for buses to take people to Philadelphia on July 3rd for a demonstration in support of Mumia.

Some highlights of the shows included recitations from local poets Cenen, Riot Grrrls, Sara Valentine and John Patterson, who performed excerpts from Mumia's sentencing hearing that led to his death penalty. Lively reggae music was performed by a new band called Agent 99. Bushmon rocked the club in a frenzy that had the club workers a little tense, but the cool security provided by the "Free Mumia Coalition" kept everything mellow.

A TALE OF TWO DEMOS: AGAINST DE KLERK, FOR MUMIA

On July 3rd, during a weekend of festivities to celebrate the completion of a new convention center in Philadelphia, and the awarding of the Philadelphia Liberty Medal to South African President F.W. de Klerk, a protest march demanding the release of Mumia from Death Row was held. Also in town for the ceremonies were African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and President Clinton.

The march was led by MOVE members



BARBARA LEE

MUMIA'S WIFE WADIYA MARCHES IN PHILLY

confrontation between either groups, except when the racists tore down an anti-de Klerk banner.

The anti-de Klerk protest on Sunday, July 4th, and the Free Mumia demonstration showed that unless Black Activists show stronger leadership and unification, the needs of the Black community will be ignored and thwarted by the police. It seems the only way America, or especially Philadelphia, is going to realize that Blacks are not going to accept a racist police state version of "Independence" is when Blacks all over the country and Philadelphia in particular riot. Different

Black activist factions must eventually learn to get over their conflicts and work together towards a common goal of Black independence without bloodshed.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

Upcoming benefits for Mumia will be held July 30 at ABC No Rio (156 Rivington Street, at 6 PM) and August 1st at C.B.G.B.'s (315 Bowery, at 7 PM).

People are urged to send letters to Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey at: Main Capitol Building Room 225 Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

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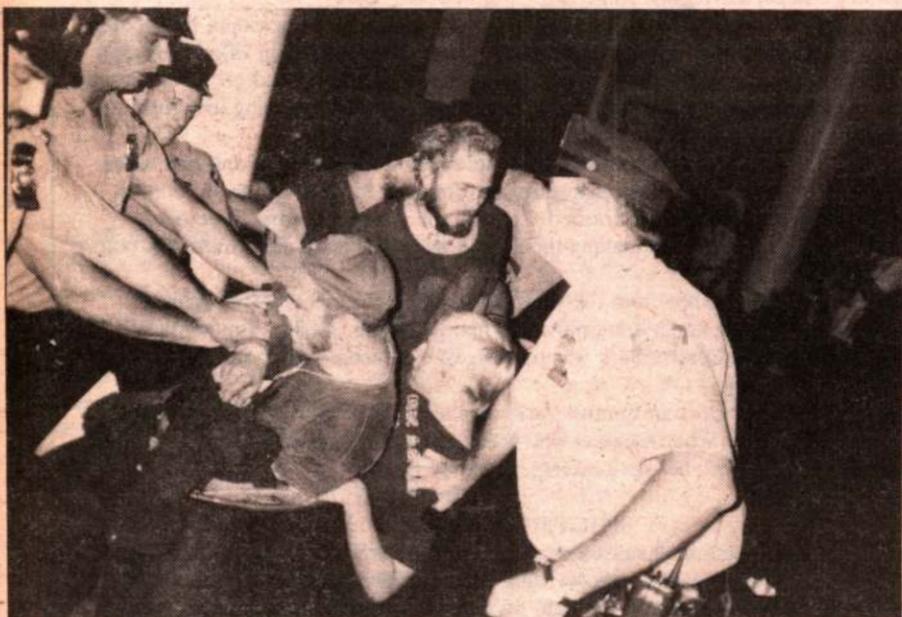


BUT WAIT, I DO HAVE FAMILY NOW THE KIDS I LIVE WITH, THE KIDS WHO HAVE BEEN HERE BEFORE ME. WE LOOK OUT FOR EACH OTHER AND SHARE LOVE THAT I RAN AWAY FOR. HERE ON THE STREETS OF THE LOWER EAST SIDE.

STORY BY: BARBARA ROBIN LEE, ART BY: SETH TOBOCKMAN

SETH TOBOCKMAN

CB3 SUICIDE...



JOHN PENLEY

PIGS PUSH DEMONSTRATORS OVER CHAIRS, MAKING THEM BREAK

Digging himself in deeper, Soler told Lillie Higgins, the boro prez's Director of Community Services, that Armando Perez, his opponent in the election for CB3 chair, had met with the squatters the night before to plan the disruption, a position so absurd that it can most charitably be attributed to a fit of insanity: (1) it's provably wrong (the squatters don't even LIKE Perez); (2) Perez had nothing to gain from the disruption - in contrast to Soler, who was expected to lose the election for board chair; and (3) Soler could not explain why, having been handed a loaded gun by the squatters, he proceeded to stick it up his own asshole and pull the trigger. [See Pagán's letter to Messinger in this issue.]

Soler's allies moved to call a meeting of the board's executive committee (all of whose members are handpicked by Soler) in order to vote on all of the agenda items without the full board (another reason why Soler had everything to gain, and Perez everything to lose, by the disruption.)

However, some hours after the meeting broke up, some Perez supporters on the board found a little-known part of the board's by-laws which says that a full board meeting can be called by written request from one-third of the board's members. As a result, a new meeting was set up at the YMHA on East 14th Street for June 30.

COUNCILWOMAN FREED TO THE RESCUE

The June 30 meeting was tightly controlled. It appeared that Pagán's forces used the week delay to set things up their way. There was no "public session" and only twenty members of the public were allowed inside. By some strange coincidence, they were nearly all Pagán supporters. Soler then claimed that the room was filled to capacity, but a sign on the wall signed by the Fire Commissioner clearly read "Capacity: 200." (We counted only 104 heads, which included CB3 members, cops, reporters and reps of elected officials.)

Outside stood 50-60 people, who demanded entry to the meeting, but were kept behind police barriers and ignored by cops. Inside, Soler tried to have Cooper Square Committee head Francis Goldin physically removed by the cops, claiming that she exceeded the 20 person public capacity limit he had set, though several empty chairs stood nearby. Before cops could act, a man volunteered to leave so she could stay.

Boro Prez Ruth Messinger showed up and read a mushy letter in an angry voice, telling the board to work together and suggesting the use of professional conflict-resolution services - completely overlooking the point that CB3 isn't interested in resolving conflicts, except by steam-roller tactics.

The elections for community board officers was an anti-climax. The slate of Pagán-connected candidates made a clean sweep,

including Soler, who won with 27-21 votes. When the results were read, Soler had a look of relief on his face. Outside, demonstrators began a long and loud metal jam, chanting "Down With Pagán."

Soler had a good reason to worry about the election. A loss to Perez (appointed by Friedlander) would have meant losing control over CB3 committee chairmanships and CB3 itself by Pagán allies, just before the September 14 primary, which polls show may be a close election. A count by Perez supporters the morning of the June 22 meeting had Perez winning with 26 votes out of 50 CB3 members. It had been felt that Soler's performance at the June 22 meeting had greatly improved Perez' chances.

So, what happened? Several CB3 sources later told the SHADOW that City Councilwoman Kathryn Freed had called all of her appointees on the board and instructed them to vote for the Pagán-connected candidates, including Soler. When Freed's office was contacted by the SHADOW, we were told she had "no comment." Freed's office also refused to return many calls by Perez, who said, "Of course she can support who she likes, but she should at least talk to both sides first."

BUSINESS AS USUAL

Most of the meeting was devoted to hastily approving a list of Pagánist proposals, even running roughshod over past CB3 work if it stood in the way. The vote to disapprove the 8th St-St Marks BID was rescinded - recent appointees, led by Nancy Sosman, told the board that they hadn't gone through their "training" at the last meeting, and hadn't the slightest idea of what their votes had meant. It was astonishing to hear these board members admit for the record that they considered it legitimate to vote without knowing what they were doing.

The board also voted to adopt the report of the Cooper Square Task Force, which had become a subcommittee behind everyone's back. Several pro-Cooper Square members were dropped from the committee for asking embarrassing questions, and the report was never debated publicly, contrary to prior board practice. The draft report was leaked to the public and had been criticized by the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development and by the Borough President's office as wildly inaccurate. But the Pagánists were never interested in public debate, and took no heed of Messinger's warning that adoption of the report "would bring discredit to the board."

As expected, the board also approved the motion granting site control of the Glass House squat to Pueblo Nuevo's phony AIDS project.

At least we'll have Luis Soler to kick around for another year.

GLASS HOUSE

CONTINUED...

GLASS HOUSE RESIDENTS FIGHT BACK

After receiving shabby treatment at Community Board meetings they attended to express their concerns over becoming homeless, and watching as the board repeatedly voted support for the Pueblo Nuevo project, some Glass House residents and their supporters decided to disrupt the full board meeting of June 22nd.

The planned disruption was revealed to CB3 chair Luis Soler (also appointed by Pagán) after the squatters' planning meeting was infiltrated by a member of Borough President Ruth Messinger's staff. Rather than take steps to prevent the disruption, Soler encouraged the confrontation between squatters and cops, in hopes of preventing the CB3 staff elections, which Soler feared he would lose that night. [See "CB3 Chair Attempts Suicide" in this issue]. In the end, nine Glass House residents and supporters were beaten and arrested.

At the next CB3 meeting a week later, the board voted to approve the Pueblo Nuevo project again. Even so, SHADOW sources say that the plans for the project keep changing, and the plans approved by the board have already changed.

ACT-UP SUPPORTS GLASS HOUSE

On July 19, at their weekly meeting, ACT-UP passed a three-part resolution on the Glass House Squat:

- 1.) Unconditional support for Glass House residents' right to stay and not be displaced.
- 2.) The city is not to evict the squats; squatting is a viable option to homelessness.
- 3.) On the city's cross-subsidy plan: If the city wasn't using public land for market rate housing, there would be no need for groups to fight over space.

ACT-UP is sympathetic to the Glass House squatters, several of whom are HIV positive. ACT-UP says they recognize the



Pueblo Nuevo proposal as Pagán's attempt to undercut their projects, including Housing Works.

From the beginning, Glass House squatters have been represented by activist attorneys William Kunstler and Ron Kuby. On June 3rd, their lawyers sent a letter to Caballero and 9th precinct commander Captain Seta, reminding Caballero that "it is the courts, and no one else, that ultimately determines the legality of a tenancy," and reminding Seta that "it is the courts, not the police or anyone else, that order evictions, and that evictions are carried out by the City Marshals, not the NYPD. These salutary policies help to ensure that the police are not perceived to be taking sides in housing disputes." Kuby tells the SHADOW that since the Glass House residents have been there for more than two years, "the city must commence eviction proceedings against them to get them out, which takes months, years or decades to accomplish."

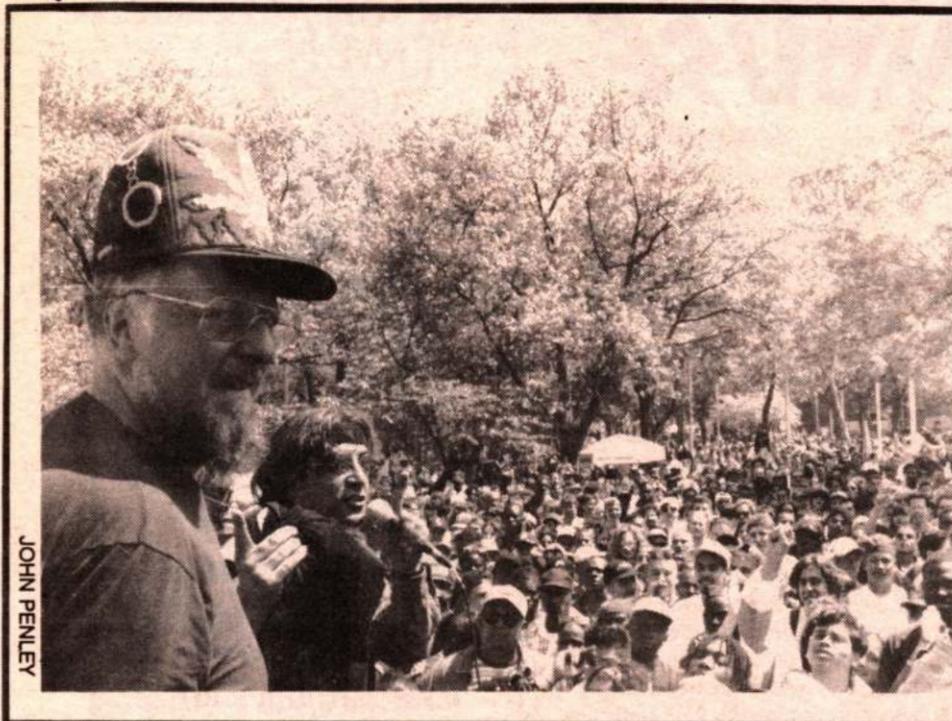
Meanwhile, in light of the city's dawn raid and evictions at two squats in the Bronx on July 8th even as residents there had a court date against the city set for August 2nd, Glass House residents are concerned about what will happen next.



FLASH FOTO

PIGS USING VARIOUS CHOKEHOLDS AT 6/22 MEETING

SMOKE-IN



JOHN PENLEY

**POPE MICKEY CESAR (Left) + DAVID PEEL (Right)
ADDRESS THE CROWD AT THE SMOKE-IN (5/8/93)**

A series of events that eventually doomed the 1993 Smoke-In then began to unfold. Jerry and co-organizer Charlie decided to get a permit for May 8th, a week after Beal's event. Lori took offense that she was not consulted about the plan, and she dropped out of the event, leaving the concert planning in the hands of Happy, a young organizer who had helped with the 1992 Smoke-In.

As a result of the dispute between Jerry and Beal, High Times dropped its support of the Smoke-In, including refusing to put up the \$500 bond money as they had in 1992. (According to Smoke-In organizers, the bond money was returned to a High Times editor after the 1992 Smoke-In, but the editor did not give the money to the publisher who had put up the money. The publisher, angry that he did not receive the money, refused to put up the money again, though he acknowledged that the editor had received the money.)

As a result of having no funds for the show, Happy, his fellow School of Visual Arts students and Smoke-In organizers had to raise the necessary money on their own. Happy got some posters and stickers made which were pasted up throughout the city and sold at tables along with old copies of High Times.

Jerry and long time Smoke-In organizers played no active role in setting up the concert with speakers, leaving the hardest work in the hands of newer and inexperienced people. Jerry seemed only interested in the parade to Central Park that would take place after the concert. Happy told The SHADOW that they felt betrayed by the sudden lack of support by High Times and Jerry, but they tried to make the event happen anyway.

Ads for Dana's "Coalition For Self-Help" on May 1st and Jerry's "Fifth Avenue Pot Parade Coalition" on May 8th appeared on top of each other in High Times Magazine, which donated ad space to both groups' events. Beal's ad, heavy with text but with no graphics, read "join our parade". Jerry's ad used a marijuana graphic that said "Fifth Avenue Pot Parade," but had no telephone number. Since only Beal's ad had a telephone number, High Times readers called him to inquire about the real Smoke-In.

As with all of Beal's events, on May 1st, he was able to get only a few hundred people to attend, in spite of his spending many thousands of dollars again, including legal fees to swipe the permit from Jerry. At Beal's event, Jerry's people told people that the real Smoke-In would be the following Saturday, and they steered people to the ongoing Squatter May Day show taking place in Tompkins Square Park.

The large number of people calling Beal's number for the May 8th Smoke-In got Beal pissed off. After the failure of his event, he called Happy at home on the morning of May 8th and threatened him, Jerry and Charlie, promising that he'd see to it that Happy never did a Smoke-In in Washington Square Park again.

Beside the High Times ad, the Smoke-In crew pasted up 1,000 posters and stickers and had rapper Craig G. plug the event on an underground rap radio station. Since Happy had lined up several rap groups to play, the Smoke-In was advertised as a rap concert with free pot to people who didn't know what a Smoke-In is. As a result, thousands of people, mostly rap fans and hip-hop kids, descended on the park.

By noon on May 8th, more than 2,000 people were present, according to Craig G. who arrived there early. Some organizers told The SHADOW that some of the donated pot meant for the Smoke-In was sold by Jerry and his friends for beer money while Happy's crew were setting up for the show.

By 1:00, roughly 7,000-10,000 people were present. Dozens of joints were smoked and passed around more openly and blatantly than ever before, including Cheech & Chong-style jumbo joints. Cops stayed out of the park, as if trying to avoid having to confront the pot smokers.

As the sunny day wore on, members of the crowd got drunk with 40 ounce bottles of beer and became rowdy. They demanded to hear rap bands and responded to other groups playing by tossing beer bottles and debris at them. When rasta group Bushman played, some people in the audience danced along, but were told to stop by some hip-hoppers. When one white kid insisted that it was okay to dance, he was punched and beaten bloody.

The more rowdy the crowd became, the more apparent it was that there was no stage security or organization to deal with them and keep the show going. In fact, most of the stage security crew were drunk and some were tripping on acid.

The low stage enabled the rowdy people to get on and insist on performing themselves. For a few moments, Craig G. was able to get them off while he performed, but they were back on stage moments later, crowding the area around him. He finally gave up after a few short raps.

David Peel insisted on playing as the troublemakers grew bolder, telling organizers that he could settle the crowd. They felt that he only wanted to play his set and leave quickly. In the middle of their set, he and one of his back up singers were hit by garbage and bottles, leaving the singer with a gash in his head.

One young kid in particular kept pushing his way onstage. At one point, he shouted "RIOT!!" but the sound on the mike he commandeered had been shut off. At about 3:00, he stepped back on the stage, punched someone and was pushed off the stage into the audience. Suddenly, a brawl broke out in front of the stage, resulting in a rush of frightened people running in all directions from the stage area.

Caught in the stampede were an elderly couple who were trampled and had to be taken away in an ambulance. Others were injured by broken glass and flying bottles, and several literature tables were trashed. Leading the stampede were three beefy undercover cops who had been making their way toward the stage area moments before the violence broke out.

After keeping his distance from the show, Jerry quickly got paraders mobilized across the street as cops flooded the park, too many too late. Despite the madness in the park, the march to Central Park was the biggest ever seen, stretching 7-9 blocks, with hundreds of people.

Once on the Great Lawn in Central Park, organizers were attacked by hip-hop kids and others seeking pot. When Charlie, who was totally drunk, pointed Beal out to them as "the man with the pot", he was sucker-punched by Beal.

THE AFTERMATH

Marijuana organizers on all sides agree that the 1993 Smoke-In was mishandled. Beal claims that the fight began as a "certain ugliness between Queens rednecks and hip-hop kids" and then he blames the fight on followers of rival bands playing there.

Rapper Craig G. said the fight was not between followers of different groups, but that the trouble was caused by people who only wanted to hear rap groups and didn't respect the other bands. "Rap is always the goat for something" he told The SHADOW. He said the trouble resulted from a combination of beer drinking, the hot sun, too many people, pot smoking, no barricades around the stage, a too low stage and a bad sound system. He says he wasn't aware of the dispute between Beal, Jerry and High Times, and that he expected unity at the Smoke-In.

Others say that the show was organized by inexperienced, though well-intentioned people who got no support from old-timers who seemed only interested in maintaining their self-promotion through the pot movement.

Happy told The SHADOW that since the old-timers have been trying to get pot legalized for twenty years, "they try to tell youth how to do their shows and events." Happy says the joke going around now is that's why pot is still illegal after twenty years. He says "the marijuana movement has lots of money, but won't re-invest in the scene and get things done." Lori Rizzo adds: "How far will they go to keep their monopoly?"

Happy says he can't work with "the old-timers who keep scheming against each other and who are not being straight with the youth in the movement." He told The SHADOW that he will use the Summer Stage in Central Park to set up his own shows. Craig G. says he would play the Smoke-In again only if there was adequate security and better sound. In the meantime, he says, he might get a club and do a "Blunt Fest."

Jerry told The SHADOW that the trouble was simply due to "too many bands in too short time" and that no one expected so many people. He says, "We fucked up. We can only apologize and move forward." He said that while Happy, the rappers and Beal can have their own events, he will continue doing the Smoke-Ins.

However, SHADOW sources reveal that Beal has already filed court papers in an effort to prevent any Smoke-Ins from taking place in Washington Square Park, other than his. Beal is trying to use the May 8th fiasco to get legal recognition as the only legitimate Smoke-In in the park.



JOHN PENLEY

**JERRY THE PEDDLER (Center) LEADS POT PARADE
UP FIFTH AVENUE AFTER THE SMOKE-IN (5/8/93)**

THE SHADOW IS AVAILABLE AT THESE LOCATIONS:

- GEM SPAS NEWSSTAND--St. Marx Place + 2nd Avenue
 - ST. MARK'S BOOKS--East 10th Street + 3rd Avenue
 - EAST VILLAGE DELI--28 Avenue A, between 2nd + 3rd Streets
 - AVE B FARMS--East 10th Street + Avenue B
 - MOSAIC BOOKS--Avenue B, between 10th + 11th Streets
 - HARRIS BOOKS--Second Avenue, between 4th + 5th Streets
 - REVOLUTION BOOKS--13 East 16th Street
 - RAY'S NEWSSTAND--Avenue A, between 7th Street + St. Marx Pl.
 - R.E. RECORDS--216 East 6th Street, between Bowery + 2nd Ave.
 - TOWER BOOKS--383 LaFayette Street, between Bond + 4th Sts.
 - AYURVEDA--129 First Avenue, between 7th Street + St. Marx Pl.
 - STOOP NEWSSTAND--Corner of MacDougal Street + West 3rd Street
 - INDIAN DELI--Corner of First Avenue + East 6th Street
- *IF YOU DON'T SEE THE SHADOW, ASK FOR IT!!**

SHADOW INTERVIEW SHADOW INTERVIEW

Wayne Jobson, Co-Executive Producer of STEPPING RAZOR/RED X: The Peter Tosh Story

By Eric Williams

Stepping Razor/Red X: The Peter Tosh Story is a documentary about one of Jamaica's most controversial artists, the late Peter Tosh, who was brutally murdered in September of 1987. Tosh, a key member of the group **Bob Marley and the Wailers** was considered Jamaica's musical answer to Malcolm X. That's because of his radical stances on issues such as the legalization of marijuana, human rights, corrupt politicians, the legal justice system, South African Apartheid, U.S. Civil Rights, and the self determination of the millions of people who live in poverty in Jamaica's shanty towns. Himself a resident of Jamaica's Trench Town, probably one of the most important ghetto's in Kingston, poverty and oppression was a subject he knew first hand.

In the film, due to be released in August, Tosh talked about his life and what he called the "duppies and Vampires", evil spirits, out to kill him on the "Red X" tapes. So-called because whenever he would see his name on an official document, such as a drivers license, it would always be followed by a red X. He believed he was a marked man and his repeated run-ins with Jamaican police, often extremely brutal encounters, convinced him he was. The "Red X" tapes are a series of recordings Tosh made himself, that were apparently meant for an autobiography he was starting to write. The recordings were discovered by filmmakers Wayne Jobson and Nicholas Campbell in 1990, three years after his murder.

So far the movie has opened to positive reviews in limited screenings around the country. It is probably one of the most significant films about Jamaica, the Reggae music scene, and Rastafarianism since the 1971 movie "The Harder They Come."

Following a screening of the movie at the Film Forum last April, I had a chance to interview Wayne Jobson, who is also a leader of the Reggae band **Native** and serves as the co-executive producer of **Stepping Razor**. Jobson is also a disk jockey at a west coast radio station that plays Reggae music and other music from the Caribbean. A long time friend of actor Nicholas Campbell, they combined their contacts, notes, and resources to put together what became a three year project. Jobson is not your typical movie mogul who chases down financing and backing from Hollywood circles. He felt that many of the films about Jamaica and the cultural and music scene there made too much of a pretty picture of the place, and doesn't give the casual observer a true insight. While not an investigative journalist, Jobson feels this film will raise many questions about the death of Peter Tosh, and what forces were behind it. Like Oliver Stone's **JFK**, **Stepping Razor/Red X** will leave many viewers with lots of questions.....

SHADOW: Why this project? What made you want to do this film?

Jobson: I met Peter Tosh back in 1972. (It) was through my cousin Dickie Jobson, who was managing the Wailers, that's Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and Bunny Wailer. Out of the three of them it was Peter who I found to be the most interesting. It was his militant political stance and his dry sense of humour that I found fascinating. I became quite friendly with him and Bob, as well, and through the years I stayed in touch with Peter and he used to spend a lot of time over at Ocho Rios, in Jamaica, over at Keith Richards' house, so we used to hang out a lot up there. Jam and play music and stuff.

After Bob Marley died, everybody was just constantly talking about Bob Marley,

Bob Marley, Bob Marley, the whole world was focusing on Bob Marley. Then, when Peter Tosh passed away, people were still talking about Bob Marley and they were trying to make the Bob Marley film and so I decided to put together this film to rekindle the memory of his music and his powerful message. So, I got the rights of his estate. Nicholas Campbell had been a friend of mine for a number of years and he was the director so, I took it to him and we decided to do it together. So, Nicholas raised the financing and we started out on the research and it basically took two years of research and shooting and editing to put it all together.

SHADOW: What were your biggest obstacles in putting together this film? Nicholas said there were many....

Jobson: Well, because I am also a musician, I knew all of the musicians in Jamaica, like Robbie, Sly and Joe Higgs, and everybody, so they basically trusted me, that I wouldn't do some kind of exploitative movie or sensational story on the matter. So, they spoke to us. The government in Jamaica didn't want this story to be told because it shows a kind of darker side of Jamaica. Apart from the murder, it is the whole kind of Obia, voodoo side of it, so they really didn't want (this story) to be told. So, they really didn't give us permission to interview Dennis Lobbon, or Leppo, (who) killed Peter, although he still says he is innocent.

The four survivors (of the murder) take us step by step through the murder, which we re-created, and they of course have reassured me that it was Leppo who did it. So, we know one hundred per cent that Leppo did it. The only question we don't know is why he did it, and that's why we try to show the different theories why he might have done it, or (even) who might have paid him to do it. But, I wasn't allowed to interview him. What we had to do was, almost like sneak into the prison (and) interview him in the prison.

Because I am a lawyer, I spoke to his lawyers and they said I should speak with him. I went in there with suit and tie and briefcase, dressed as a lawyer, and they (the prison officials) gave me a room where I could sit and talk to him. Still, the police were watching me as I was talking to him. So, what I had to do was hide my tape recorder inside my book, so neither Leppo nor the police knew it was there. While I was interviewing him and writing, I was taping it. I had that and they (the prison officials) said no cameras and no tape recorders and I had to hide a camera, when the cop wasn't looking and I quickly took some pictures of him (Leppo). So basically we have him, the pictures and the stills and the audio of him talking, explaining his innocence, claiming his innocence.

At the same time, outside the prison, my crew was out there shooting exteriors of the prison, zooming in on some of the bars and windows of the prison, and all of that. The cops came out, saw them and grabbed the camera, exposed the film and took away the camera. (They also) took the key away from our van, they were really mad, and wanted to lock us up! It is a bad place to have trouble with the police in front of a prison because, they don't have to take you anywhere, you are already in front of the prison. So, then they came and called me and explained the whole thing that they wanted to arrest us, and so I had to give them this whole story. I had to explain to them that we were making a documentary on Spanish Town, the city where this prison is (located) and so, eventually I convinced

them and they allowed us to go. (But) the government really didn't want this story to be told.

SHADOW: Amazing....Yet, the question that comes to my mind and I am sure others who will see this film is: how is it possible that a couple of rude boys could go to Peter Tosh's home and kill him? Was this merely a random hit or was it part of a bigger plot?

Jobson: Well, after investigating it for three and a half years now, I'm still not sure. We know that Leppo went there. Now, the two guys who he went with, we are still not sure about. They (police) say that they were killed in the streets the next day. A guy was found dead on the street with a bike beside him, (with) all of his jewelry on, and all of his money in his pocket, and they (police) say that was him. Now, if they had killed him in a robbery they would have taken all of his stuff, especially in the ghetto, you know? So, they (police) say this was the guy who killed him just to show that they killed him because of Peter Tosh and not as a robbery. They (police) also say that the other guy was from New York, and that he went straight back to New York.

The other one (rumour) is that they (the killers) were police, and Mike Robbins, one of the survivors of the shooting, says that the guys were very clean-cut and straight looking, like hit men or (even) policemen. One of the top government officials in Jamaica told me, I cannot say his name of course, that one of the men was definitely a policeman. When the cops found out it was him, they couldn't fire him because then they would have admitted that it was him. So, they just demoted him and put him in some outpost, far away. He can never rise in the force again because they know that he did that. But, then again, the police didn't like Peter Tosh at all. They would constantly go and harass him, beat him up. In fact, he was beaten-up many times, a few times close to death, by the police, because of his whole political stance, also because of his openly smoking marijuana, which is illegal down there. I'm still not sure who actually did it, but one of the guys could have been a cop.

SHADOW: Would you agree that he was a kind of Malcolm X of Jamaican society? He didn't give speeches but, he made music

that said a lot. Some of his relatives would prefer that he not be compared to Malcolm X.....

Jobson: Oh yeah....the story almost follows the same kind of trail as Malcolm X. But, the thing is that just like Malcolm X, he was not afraid of anybody, he wasn't afraid to do anything and, in the end, Malcolm X almost knew that they were going to kill him. Which you can see in the Spike Lee film. Everybody was telling him to beware a lot. The same thing with Peter. Peter almost knew, because on the Red X tapes his voice almost sounds like it is coming from beyond the grave. Like he knows. He was constantly saying "I know they want to get me". "Red X" stands for the government documents that always had a red X by his name. He thought he was a wanted man. So, he knew that he was wanted by the government and by the devil.

The only thing was that in his mind he thought that he was invincible. So, every-time that people would say "Peter, they're going to kill you, they're going to kill you", just like Malcolm X, Peter would say "No no, don't worry nothing is going to happen." Whatever they would tell Peter, Peter would say, "Listen man, I have (power), they shoot bullets at me I'll just look at the bullets and just melt them." He thought that he had this omnipotent power because he was so heavily into the spiritualism. That didn't really help him in the end. So it was this whole kind of political thing that caused it (his death) in the end. Peter Tosh was definitely the Jamaican Malcolm X.

But, the movie wasn't really about the murder, it was about the powerful musical force that Peter Tosh was. That is why we just tried to focus on the positive side and leave out the negative side. We left out the whole Voodoo part of it too. We mentioned it, but we showed the music and the force and the political statements. We showed that he was fighting for the legalization of marijuana and fighting against Apartheid, fighting for the poor people in Jamaica and his spreading the message of Rastafari.

He was definitely not afraid to say anything. He was just totally outspoken and it is this kind of militant outspokenness that caused him to get beaten by the government. I think that is what eventually led to his death. He was too outrageously outspoken.



SUBCULTURE

By Scott Cunningham

The nice thing about discussing censorship is you get to talk about sex, since that's what usually is getting censored. It's a chance to dive head-on to the one subject that fogs the brain most hours, yet there's an air of respectability because of those constitutional twins: Free Speech and the First Amendment. So, without further ado, let's grab our cake and eat it too.

Underground publications, by definition, touch on topics of transgression, whether it be sexual, political, philosophical or artistic. Often, it's a blend of all four. The "self" in self-publishing is the yin to the yang of "self"-censorship. Self-publishing is the only way to guarantee complete control over your own material. By putting out your own zine you can beat the inherent checks and balances built into commercial driven mainstream publications. And now with the rise of "political correctness", one more nail goes into the coffin of free speech. Almost everyone who does self-publish loses money and wastes valuable T.V. watching time; their measly rewards coming in occasional fan letters or positive reviews in other zines. So, imagine the hell of going through tedious production work to grind out your occasional effort, and your prize is jail time. It could happen in the case of Mike Diana, poor white trash from the Sunshine State, whose little digest of comics and stories may wind him behind bars.

Mike Diana works as his dad's convenience store in Largo, Florida, selling cigarettes and beer to the drunks and crackheads who wander into the place looking like wasted cannibals from the gory zombie movies he loves. Until recently, he used to go home to the trailer he lived in with his younger brother and draw comics every night. But when the news of his indictment hit the papers, there were some problems with the police and the people who were letting him stay there asked him to leave. Mike's a 22 year old artist and an enemy of the state -- at least the state of Florida. And I guess that means I am too, since I've contributed work to his magazine ever since I met him -- through the mail -- in 1989, curating a show on zines. There were hundreds of publications in the exhibit, lots of them exploring sexually deviate themes, but somehow, Mike's comic *Angel Fuck* (now renamed *Boiled Angel* because of trouble with the Post Office over the f-word in the title) remained the strongest in my memory, simple because it was so extreme. It's as if all the evil and nasty images vomited forth by underground '60's id-monsters like Rory Hayes and S. Clay Wilson had been concentrated and combined with the pop violence of contemporary gore movies and the minimal lyrics of hardcore punk music. Drawn in a primitive style of glorified high school doodles, Mike's work had an obsessive urgency that undercut its cynical, flat, humor. A typical Mike Diana story starts with a young boy excited to hear he's finally been adopted, then immediately being beaten and raped by his new father once they get alone. The boy winds up slaving away at his evil dad's factory, grinding up babies for dog food. He eventually kills daddy, but the abuse doesn't stop there. The boy's dog ends up raping him. ("Oh no, Spot, not you too!")

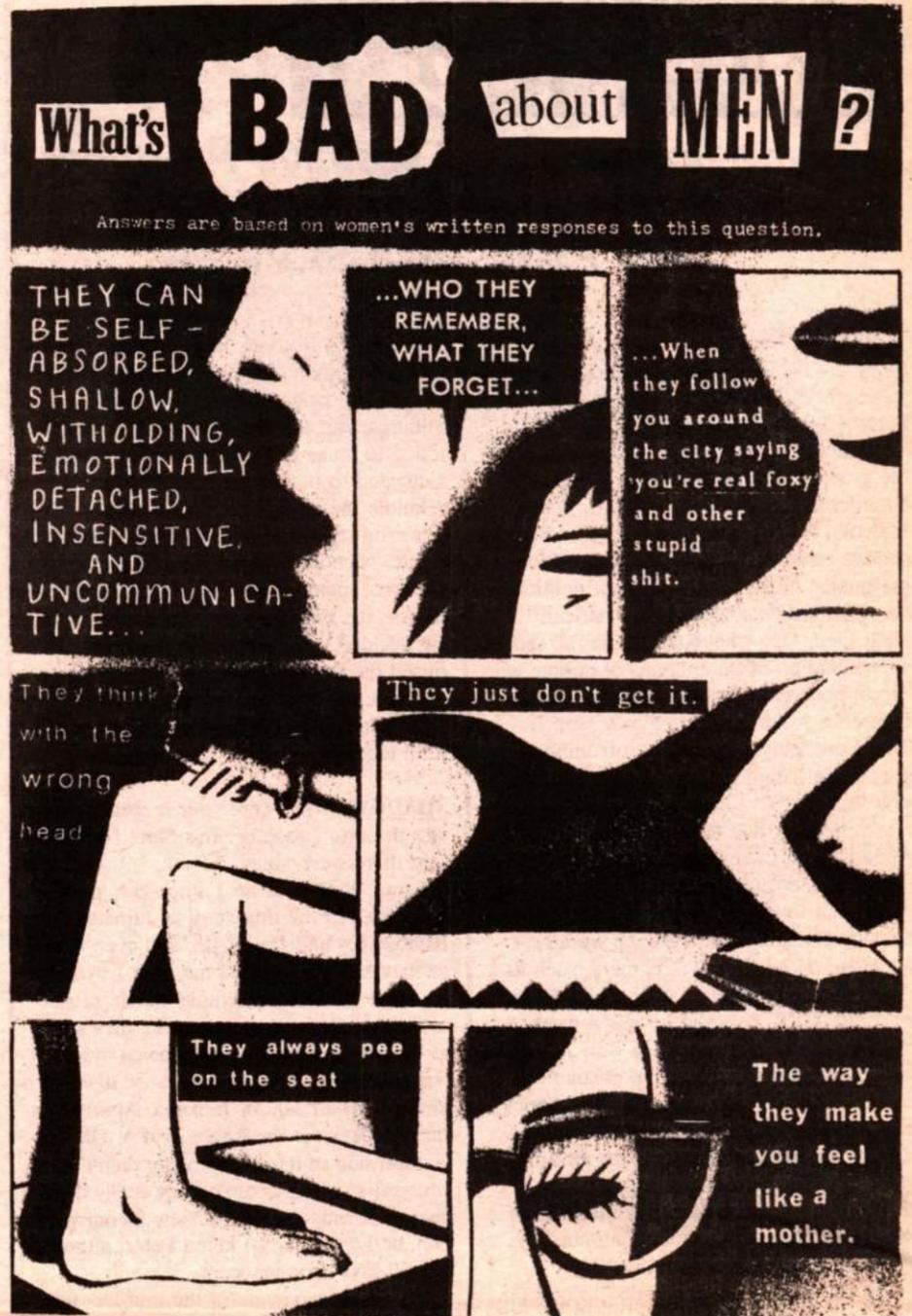
In the land of the free and the home of the brave, Mike has managed to cross the line again and again. His work dealing with child abuse, sex, murder, torture and satanism has, over the years I've known him, turned *Boiled Angel* into a magnet for controversy. Whenever comic shops get raided, *Boiled Angel* always heads the list of obscene materials confiscated. In 1990, Mike became a suspect in the FBI's investigation into a Gainesville serial killer simply because of the material he was printing -- no other evidence was necessary for the Bureau to question him and request a blood test. Recently, Last Gasp, one of the biggest alternative distributors around, refused to reorder *Ruh Rah*, a successful selling title, because Mike's strip had drawn such strong complaints (though Tower Books should be commended for continuing to sell *Ruh Rah* and *Boiled Angel*. When you think about it, the Florida indictment seemed destined, though it's strange it would come down now, since it's been over a year and a half ago that the last issue of *Boiled Angel* has appeared.

But then, who can figure Florida anyway? The same state that brought you the 2 Live Crew trial now has decided to boost Mike's career by attacking his First Amendment rights. And there may be no escape from Florida's moralistic goosestep, now that Dade County's own Janet Reno is calling the shots for the whole country. An eye-popping story about what a secret right-wing nutcase she really is was exposed by Alexander Cockburn in his column for *The Nation* in April, 1993. He recounts her trumped-up case against a fifteen-year old boy accused of child molestation, revealing her demonization of a totally innocent kid. After reading that article, I couldn't help thinking about Reno's move to attack the Davidian complex because of rumors of child abuse (still just rumors, I might point out) and you can see a pattern: as soon as there's a whiff of possible child abuse, individual rights literally go up in smoke. Reno's motto, "We had to kill the children to save them" may become this country's idea of justice for the next few years.

Florida's Assistant State Attorney, Stuart Baggish, states: "The First Amendment was framed and built for the benefit of society. It was never contemplated for the protection of obscene material, the contents of which weaken the moral fiber of society. That's why we'll be asking for jail time -- the maximum punishment." If found guilty of the three misdemeanor charges for producing lewd and obscene material, Mike could be sentenced to three years in jail and fined \$3,000. His case has been taken up by the Comics Legal Defense Fund, and his trial date is due to be set during a hearing before a judge on July 19, 1993. If you want to write Mike in support, or beg him for copies of the infamous issues 7 and 8 of *Boiled Angel* -- now state's evidence in the case -- then write him at: P.O. Box 5254, Largo, Florida 34649. To see his most recent work available, check out issue 19 of *World War 3 Illustrated*, issue 3 of *Snake Eyes*, and issue 8 of *The Brutarian*.

I admit that while sex has been the topic of this column, it hasn't been all that sexy given Mike's tendency to associate intercourse with mutilation and death. So, here's something for you folks out there with healthy sex lives: Peter Kuper's *Bleeding Heart*, No. 4.

This issue of *Bleeding Heart* asks the graphic question: Is it possible to portray normal sexual relationships and still keep jaded, sleaze-riddled alternative comic geeks interested? Yes -- since most are actually just as normal as their parents when it comes right down to "doin' it"! Peter creates a number of interesting, funny and truthful stories about the horizontal bop that has us all in its grip. And like most, Peter's best sex is with himself: hence, the great strip ending the book called "Beat It" that beats all those



FROM PETER KUPER'S "BLEEDING HEART"

other recent masturbation sagas by Joe Matt and Chester Brown hands down (...and up and down and...). "What's Bad About Men" / "What's Good About Men" is in Peter's patented spray paint style, where he takes one of the most lifeless and mechanical forms -- stenciling -- and produces all sorts of subtle and expressive effects. The text for the piece is from various women Peter asked the title's question of, and the gals come up with the best lines -- for instance, in the "good" section: "They have penises. They can light matches in the wind and open jars," and "They are always ready and they beg." Ouch, the truth hurts, don't it boys? *Bleeding Heart* is \$2.50 from Fantagraphics, but local shops like St. Marks Comics and See Hear can provide downtown wankers this "graph-X" fix guaranteed to stimulate the biggest sex organ of all: your brain!

Let's say farewell on a light note, and mention the show at Bess Cutler's Gallery, 379 West Broadway, up until July 10th, with a high built-in kitsch factor. Called "Love Stories", it's all original art from romance comics, done mainly during the fifties and sixties. Not surprisingly, these goofy icons of girlie dreams were drawn mostly by men (though one woman artist managed to squeeze in at the end). Brace yourself for a visually-induced, retro-blast back into those nonexistent good old days, with original art from such stores as: "His Hair Is Long And I Love Him", "Born To Be Unloved", "Chili's Charming Hairstyles", and "I Love A Bad Guy". Then, on July 14th, Cutler Gallery will open a new show, "Superman Lives", with original art from the recent "Reign of Superman" comic series published by DC following on the heels of the Man of Steel's sales-induced demise (over 4 million copies of the comic sold depicting his death). Will the reel Superman please stand up?



FROM MIKE DIANA'S "BOILED ANGEL"

ZINE REVIEWS

SEND YOURS TO: P.O. BOX 20298, N.Y., N.Y. 10009

By Stuart Frankel +
Bill Weinberg

(NOTE: In the last ish, we got the reviews for STEAL THE FIRE and ANARCHY switched. Oops. They appear correctly here.)

A-KONTRA--Here's what I could make out from this Czech zine: DROP IN, Fasistické, Rote Armee Fraktion, Agnostic Front (4-page interview in Czech), Antimilitarismus, Somalsko (it's the name of a country), Undergroundovy Testament, TAXIS + KOSMOS = CHAOS, Sympaticky feminismus, Alternativu, pro anarcho-syndikalisty, honba na skateboardy. PO Box 552, 170 01 Praha 7, Czech Republic. 15 crowns. (S.F.)

ACROSS THE LINES--The newsletter of Seeds of Peace, the Berkeley collective which provides material support for anti-nuke actions--especially the blockades at the federal nuclear weapons test site in Nevada. Good coverage of the ongoing effort by the Western Shoshone Indians to kick the Test Site off of their ancestral land. Also: stories on resistance to the planned nuclear waste dump in California's Mojave Desert, update on American Indian political prisoner Leonard Peltier, the struggle to save Northern California's redwoods from corporate rape, etc. Subs for suggested minimum \$10 donation (with funds going to food, tents and other supplies for Seeds of Peace activities) from POB 12154, Oakland CA 94604 (B.W.)

THE ALTERNATIVE ORANGE--"An Alternative Student Newspaper," last October's ish features articles on queer liberation and, of course, the requisite anti-Columbus tirades. Also featured is a reprint of the US Greens Party platform. A little on the academic side, but then it is produced by and for the collegiate crowd, after all. A worthwhile effort--should see wider distribution within the halls of academe nationwide. Subs \$20/year from 126T Schine Center, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244 (B.W.)

ANARCHY--"A Journal of Desire Armed," this rag is fast becoming the North American anarchist publication, much as Vancouver's Open Road had been before its demise. The section on international anarchist news is right on target, as are the zine reviews. But the self-consciously infantile glorification of "going feral" is strictly kid's stuff. And speaking of kid's stuff, if you're interested in libertarian debates on the ethics of pedophilia, you've come to the right place. \$12/year from Columbia Anarchist League, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446 (B.W.)

THE ANGRY THOREAUAN--Welcome to the Southern California hardcore peace-punk underground. As the name implies, this rag swings erratically from apocalyptic nihilism to anarcho-pacifism. Lively letters and reviews. POB 2246, Anaheim, CA 92814 (B.W.)

BLUE RYDER--Reviews and reprints from the outer fringe of marginal media, erotica and erotica. \$5/year from Box 587, Olean, NY 14760 (B.W.)

EIDOS--One of the abiding mysteries of life is why otherwise grown people devote major parts of their lives to preventing others from having fun. The anti-sex squad is out in force: phony Christians, phony "pro-family" groups (they tried to use child molesters as their bogeymen some years ago, but backed off REAL FAST once it became clear that most child molesters are family or friends of the family), phony feminists. EIDOS is a feminist, pro-sex newspaper, dedicated to the radical proposition that women and men have a right to sex lives not dictated by totalitarians or fascists. Most of this is meta-eroticism, not j/o material (you can take a

magnifying to some of the pictures in the personals, but the thing's printed on newsprint, so you get mostly dots). The letters section ranges from "Fuck me" to "Madam, I want the addresses of all the sexual magazines available in the USA"; from "Why can we kill animals but not fuck them?" to "Somehow we got on your mailing list, please remove us. We completely disagree with your pornographic publication." There's bad reader poetry (one stupid mammal-boy wrote: "Her clothes peel off. She is a snake / wriggling out of her scales. Pert breasts / dangle ..." - snakes don't have breasts); extensive (and excellent) zine and book reviews; feature articles and interviews ("The myth of the male orgasm"); a column by Yael R. Dragwyla, priestess of "the original pre-Christian religion of the peoples who eventually settled northwestern Europe" - they seem to worship gods named Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday; also lots and lots and lots of personals. It's expensive, but you get a shitload of stuff. Single copies \$10; Subs: 4 issues/\$30; P.O. Box 96, Boston MA 02137-0096 (S.F.)

ENDEAVOR--"Live Voices from Death Row Across the USA." The Endeavor Project provides support for prisoners facing the death penalty from coast to coast. Their newsletter prints letters from death row prisoners, provides updates on their cases, follows litigation and legislation--and provides addresses for those who wish to correspond with death row prisoners. This newsletter deserves your support. Subs for minimum suggested \$25 donation from POB 23511, Houston TX 77228-3511 (B.W.)

FREE ZINE--No nasty comments about getting what you pay for, ok? This one tended to ramble a bit, but it's rather refreshing in hot weather. The review of the book on the politics of Christian Right kept me on the edge of my seat, but I was in the bathroom at the time; the review of the French anarchist from 1914 made me look for the thing in the library (it's checked out!); a long article on learning from Native Americans was little bit too Noble Red Mannish for my tastes, but so what? Send them a submission or a donation: FreeZine P.O. Box 1465, Troy, New York 12180 (S.F.)

KICK IT OVER--One of North America's longest standing anarchist publications is still going strong, with a strongly feminist and (despite the name) somewhat pacifist bent. Fall 1992 ish features some surprisingly interesting work on the usually tiresome to-vote-or-not-to-vote debate. \$9/4 issues from POB 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1P2 (B.W.)

NEW LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE--Students have resurrected the underground wire service LNS of the 60's, sending alternative media groups newspackets from which they can reprint stories. One recent packet has 30 pages of articles on Clinton's National Service Plan, Police Abuse in LA, Women fighting "workfare" in Vermont, former Black Panthers assessing that org's legacy, An interview with Dave Dellinger, and lots more. There's a slight bias towards campus-based media, and the pack has that obviously desktop-published look. How can you get one? They want subscribers, but it's not clear how to get a subscription. Write them at NLNS, P.O. Box 325, Kendall Square Branch, Cambridge MA 02142, or call them @ (617) 492-8316, or e-mail them (Internet: nlns@igc.org or Peacenet: nlns). Definitely send them some bucks. (S.F.)

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STEAL THE FIRE--"A Journal of Absolute Rage." People who get off on pig-baiting knee-jerk extremism will love this one. Straight out of the riot-torn streets of Berkeley, includes a "War Song for Rosebud," the young homeless activist who was shot dead by Berkeley police last year, and "The Brady Bunch Considers Going Feral," an exercise in the kind of useless ultra-radicalism that makes any solution short of apocalypse sound like liberal reformism ("agriculture itself is malignant.") "Send inquiries, food stamps, beer, articles, etc. to" AOR, 537 Jones #1584, San Francisco, CA 94102 (B.W.)

THE URINE NATION NEWS--A gutsy newsletter opposed to the War on Drugs and especially (of course) mandatory piss tests, brought to you by the purveyors of UrinAid, a piss additive guaranteed to remove all traces of THC from your sample. Updates on such cases as San Francisco's Brownie Mary, who was busted for distributing her homemade pot brownies to local AIDS patients to alleviate such symptoms as loss of appetite, and Mary-

land's Kif Davis, publisher of the zine *Ship of Fools* (reviewed last issue) and his mom Pam Davis, who are both facing charges (and possible confiscation of their property) stemming from a pot raid on their farm. Also pushing the Fully Informed Jury Amendment, which would inform all juries of their constitutional right to acquit defendants charged under unjust laws, regardless of evidence. For those serious about fighting back against the threat to the Bill of Rights posed by the Drug War. These guys may be venture capitalists, but they've got the right spirit. \$10 for six issues from Digit Press, POB 2149, Roswell, GA 30077 (B.W.)

WEEKLY NEWS UPDATE ON NICARAGUA & THE AMERICAS--The New York Nicaragua Solidarity Network's weekly bulletin covers revolutionary movements, repression, environmental issues and more from throughout Latin America and the Caribbean--resistance to the military regime in Haiti, Puerto Rican independence activities, the struggle in Peru and the Andes, etc., as well as the latest news from Central America. Available from the Nicaragua Solidarity Network of Greater New York, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012 (B.W.)

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