

INTERVIEW WITH DARRYL CHERNEY OF EARTH FIRST!!

the SHADOW

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INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

VIVA ZAPATA!



- EXCLUSIVE SHADOW EYEWITNESS REPORT!!
- SUB-COMMANDANTE MARCOS INTERVIEW!!

GIULIANI

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DEATH:

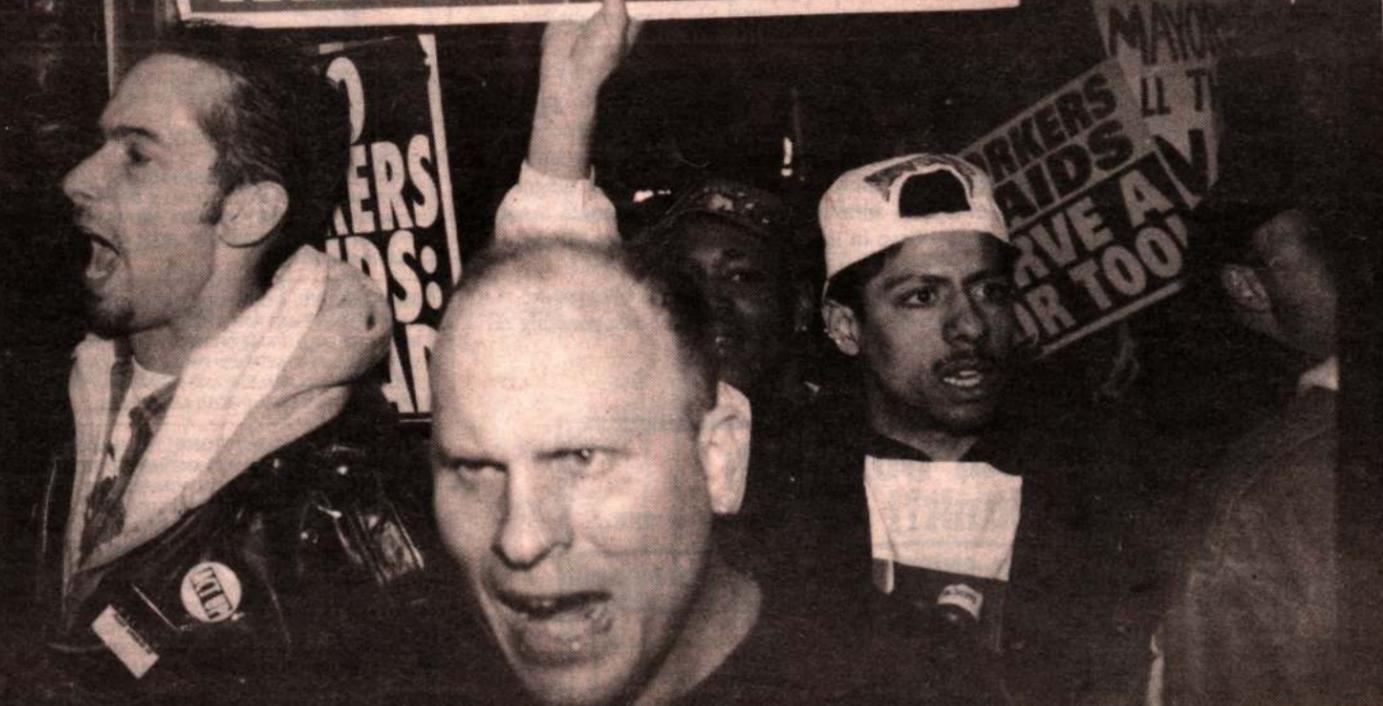
**ACT UP
FIGHTS
BACK!!**

By Drew Kramer

The iron bars of the fence outside the school on Henry Street were hung with posters inviting the good people of the Lower East Side to "Meet the Mayor" on April 11th. A variety of people had shown up to do just that, members of ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) among them.

I had met the mayor a few months earlier. Just after Rudolph W. Giuliani took office, the local chapter of the Log Cabin Club, the national federation of lesbian and gay Republicans, had a brunch at which his honor the mayor was the honored guest. Tony Brooks, one of the Log Cabin Club organizers of

**NEW YORKERS
WITH AIDS
DESERVE A
MAYOR TOO!**



(Continued on Page 6)

SHADOW EDITORIAL

COMMUNITY HOOTS RUDY

We have to say with all sincerity that the *SHADOW* staff felt sorry for Rudolph Giuliani on the night of April 11--the night that the Lower East Side crowd beat him up at the town meeting on Henry Street. He looked so sad. Imagine Rudy as Alex Trebeck presiding over a game of Jeopardy in which the mean and willful contestants refused to ask the questions to which he had the answers. The word crime was barely mentioned, and Giuliani never had a opportunity to spew the hang-em-high crapola that earned him rounds of applause at town meetings in the other four boros. Down here people asked him concrete questions about AIDS and housing and education--things that Rudy finds it impossible to discuss without dribbling all over his necktie. Unable, in the heated atmosphere of the LES, to state candidly his opinions on these subjects, Giuliani hedged by repeating over and over again that he had not made up his mind and that he had to study all of these subjects. Nobody believed this weak disclaimer--everybody had already read his views (cut 'em back, shoot 'em up, lock 'em up) in the papers--and the heckling continued in the best traditions of downtown participatory democracy.

We were all treated to some strange sights at this meeting. At the beginning, we saw Ninfa ("the perverts are out to get our children") Segarra embracing and slobbering over Antonio ("more Vaseline, deeper, deeper,") Pagán. It was touching to see homophobia superceded by the commonality of self-hating Puerto Ricans who aspire to be Italians. Then there was Giuliani's equal opportunity bad manners toward everybody. At one point he turned his back 180 degrees on a Latina high school student who was asking him a serious question about education. This prompted the young woman to put her hands on her hips and yell "I'm talking to you, Mr. Mayor." Later on, a local right winger was frothing at the mouth demanding that several liberal members of the school board be indicted for some unspecified crime. You would think that Rudy would have respected a fellow redneck, but right in the middle of the her tirade Giuliani bent over to pick something off the floor and pointed his ass directly at her. At least six times during the meeting, Giuliani told the ACT-UP demonstrators in the room to be "respectful" and to "respect others"--strange words coming from a Mayor who moons citizens at his own town meeting.

One might say that Mayor Giuliani (the parochial school sissy who still longs to be a parochial school bully) got his just desserts that night. We would respond, however, that he hasn't even tasted the appetizer yet.

The subsection of people who still have a stake in civilization--who have a job and/or property that gives them a place in society--believe the story that if you work hard you can succeed without breaking any of society's laws. This subsection is probably still more than fifty percent of the population, which is why Amerikan civilization continues to plod along the way it does. This subsection of society got much smaller in the 1980s because of governmental and industrial policies which encouraged business investment to flee from the United States to places where wages were much lower. The outflow of jobs and opportunities broke up communities and swelled the layer of people who no longer had a stake in society.

Think about it, as late as the 1970s, person without a high school education could get a job in a factory which paid at least enough for housing and food. If you got one of the good union jobs in the automobile or steel industry--you could make enough money to pursue the Amerikan dream. You could buy a house, you could have an apartment in town--there were any number of ways you could fit into society. You even had money for clothes and dates or to do the mommy and daddy thing successfully. You didn't need necessarily to be a whiz kid or a hustler either.

Most of this ended in the 1980s. The workers of Amerika and NYC respectively were given a reality sandwich by Ronald Reagan (may he drop dead) and Ed Koch (may he drop dead on the same day). Reagan busted the unions and presided over the construction of a world-wide capitalist economy where the Amerikan worker had to compete with every other worker in the world. Ed Koch and his real estate buddies ran the rents in NYC so high that nobody from the city could afford to have a business here anymore. The jobs fled but the people were stuck here. What the fuck were they supposed to do, emigrate back to Europe, Africa, and Asia? Were they supposed to move to other parts of Amerika where the same shit was happening?

Rudolph Giuliani doesn't understand the tragedy of the proud human being who is reduced to the gutter by the decisions of distant politicians, industrialists, and bankers. When this happens such a person may weaken and join the ranks of the pitiful crackheads and alcoholics. Or such a person may refuse to die and make his money with a gun. By defending turf on a street corner with a gun in order to sell cocaine and heroin--perhaps a young person today may earn the wages that his father might have earned in a steel or car plant a generation ago.

Most of the people in New York City do not realize these facts because this is not the way it is presented to them in the newspapers or on TV. They continue to go on believing the shit about hard work, because the facts that are necessary to make a judgement are denied them by the media. If a person has not been jolted by reality, there is no reason why that person would not believe the things that they are taught to believe. Of course, with every round of layoffs, with every fresh batch of people thrown in the gutter--the number of people who believe in the bill of goods declines. Some people blame it on themselves, but others get the message.

Some of us, however, never believed Giuliani's shit in the first place, because he is a bully and a bigot and thoroughly disgusting. He met some of us at his town meeting on April 11.

Get used to us, Rudy!

ONLY THE SHADOW REMAINS

If you are looking for a newspaper in which "quality of life" means that human beings are housed and fed and have a voice in running their lives, keeping reading the *SHADOW*, now in its fifth year of exposing the right wing offensive in NYC.

Now that we've passed the five year mark and the political scene here has changed somewhat, we are looking for ways to improve the *SHADOW*. We would like your feedback, opinions, critiques, suggestions, etc, to give us more ideas.

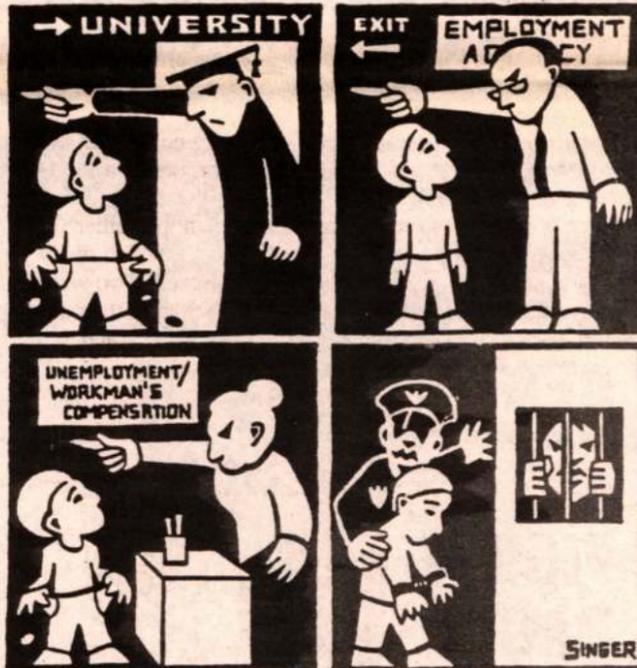
We are now expanding our coverage of the counter-culture: film, theater, art, music and performance of a social-sexual-political nature. We are looking for additional correspondents for reviews, reports and interviews, so please contact us if you want to get involved.

This summer, we are working toward the goal of coming out every month. Please help us out with articles, photographs, and information that you think need to be brought to light. (Monetary donations and your subscriptions are always appreciated too!!)



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"YOU GOTTA GO WHERE THE MONEY IS."

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GLASS HOUSE SQUAT EVICTED AFTER FALSE FIRE ALARM!!

By J.A.E.T. + Chris Flash

More than 40 people inhabiting a pair of formerly abandoned city-owned buildings, known as the Glass House squat, were suddenly evicted by police on February 1.

The Glass House buildings, located at 139-41 Avenue D, have long been sought by Pueblo Nuevo, a housing group connected to city councilman and long time squatter foe Antonio Pagán, who controls LES Coalition Housing Development, another group that seeks squatted buildings on the Lower East Side. (See SHADOW #29 for more details).

The eviction was not completely unexpected. On several occasions before February 1, the fire department came to Glass House, allegedly responding to reports of fires there. After speaking with House members, they left each time, satisfied that there were no fires. On January 29, after recognizing a couple of Glass House members, two cops asked to be let inside. The boy with the House key refused, and when the policemen searched him, he threw his keys through the hole in the door. Angry, the cops took their revenge by removing the caps from the boy's beer and then demanding the boy dump the beer out because it was an "open container."

On Sunday, January 30, the firemen came again. "We have a report of a fire," they said. They were told that the only fire was in the wood stove and they left.

On Tuesday, February 1, they were back. This time they insisted on coming inside. They were met at the door by a House member who tried to reason with them. He offered to get permission from the other House members to allow the firemen in, but they wouldn't wait.

They said they needed to save Glass House from the fire, but without a fire in the house, 2 fire engines, and eventually more cops than they could count, Glass House members knew this was the real thing. Shouting began. As barricades were set up inside, firemen began sawing through the front door and pulling it off its hinges.

Eventually a compromise was made. Ninth precinct Captains Seta and Rosiello got House members to allow cops and firemen inside so they could "make sure there was no fire." No one would have to leave. No one would be evicted. All the while, back up troops and riot squads were arriving outside, along with paddy wagons and a helicopter. Suddenly, riot cops in full regalia with shields and guns worked their way down from the sixth floor moving everyone out.

"But sir, there was a deal," the cops were told. "There are no deals," they responded. As each resident left, their names were taken by cops. Many were put out without their coats and barely escaped with a litter of newborn puppies.

Cops did a room to room search, arresting people hiding inside and others outside. Of the seven arrested, some were released with desk appearance tickets while most were put through the system for 24 hours.

Once everyone was outside, the cops locked them out. "This building is a fire hazard; you can't go back in," cops said. Police barricades went up. It was beginning to snow. "Hey officer! Don't you know winter evictions are illegal? Don't you care that we don't have any place to live?" "I'm just doing my job."

And they continue to do their job. Three months later, security guards and cops are paid overtime to guard the buildings 24 hours a day to secure them from being occupied by people who need a place to live.

The day after the eviction, activist attorney Stanley Cohen negotiated with cops to allow residents to retrieve their belongings from Glass House two at a time. Cops then noticed some asbestos and closed Glass House "for good."

Almost 30 House members were fortunate enough to cram into other nearby squats. One homestead, the only building younger than Glass House, was one of the major recipients of Glass House members. It is now under seige as well. Two weeks after staying at this buiding, residents were suddenly awakened by a loud thud that shook the house. Fearing eviction, they jumped up to see a pile driver at work across the street for the construction of a new housing police station.



CHRIS FLASH

GLASS HOUSE RESIDENTS WITH BELONGINGS DAY AFTER EVICTION

About three weeks later, the same residence received a certified letter from the owner demanding that they leave the premises. It appears that the building is owned by a bank rather than the city. One week after the letter arrived, the squat received a visit from two ambulances and a housing police car. They claimed to have received a call that there was a stabbing inside the building and they wanted to go inside and "check it out."

After they were assured that no such thing had happened and that it was probably a false call, the ambulance left. The housing police car stayed a little while longer. Still concerned about the strange Glass House situation, the squatters waited until they left. Strangely, the cops did not seem very concerned or anxious about investigating the so-called stabbing.

It appears that the city's new strategy to circumvent the legal eviction process for squats is to use the fire department and police to answer false calls and then evict residents after declaring the buildings "unsafe."

MAKE A WISH
BY COSMO '94
A LITTLE LESSON ABOUT "ANARCHY" IN TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK.....

WE WANNA SIT ON THE GRASS!

YOU CAN'T SIT ON THE GRASS.

NEWLY SEEDS PLEASE KEEP OFF

WHY CAN'T WE SIT ON THE GRASS?

BECAUSE.

BECAUSE WHY?!

BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT SAYS YOU CAN'T SIT ON THE GRASS!

WHAT'S A GOVERNMENT?

WELL...UH... A GOVERNMENT IS THE...THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE...

...YOU KNOW...THEY REPRESENT THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE!

WE WISH TO SIT ON THE GRASS!

BUT THE GOVERNMENT SAYS YOU CAN'T SIT ON THE GRASS

NEWLY SEEDS PLEASE KEEP OFF

COMIX

INTERVIEW

VIVA ZAPATA!

INSURGENT SUBCOMMANDER MARCOS OF THE ZAPATISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (EZLN)

By Bill Weinberg

(Subcommandante Marcos, military leader and charismatic spokesman for the Zapatista Army, is the man on the mind of every journalist and politician in Mexico. SHADOW correspondent Bill Weinberg travelled behind Zapatista lines into the jungles of Mexico's remote Lacandón Selva to contact Marcos to ask him the questions which the other media have overlooked. After a lengthy wait in primitive Indian villages, Weinberg was granted the following interview at dawn on the morning of April 9th.)

What kind of support do you need from your sympathizers in the United States? What should we be doing?

Well, we have a lot of necessities here because the federal army has surrounded us. For our troops, that is not a problem, but the civilian population here is suffering a lot. They lack necessities like food, clothes, medicine. Even the children. Our people, the civilian people here, cannot go to the city to buy such necessities, because the federal army can take them prisoner and "disappear" them. So our people are under very strong conditions of war, even if it is not one of bullets and guns now, but the "dirty war" that the government is making against us. The only chance that we have is support from other people, from Mexico, and from Mexicans in other parts of the world. I mean, we know that in the States there are a lot of people whose families are Mexican Indian people ...

But what about anglos and other folks who aren't Mexican or Indian who support the struggle? What can we do?

We have a lot of necessities. The first concerns the federal government--the government of Salinas. They have made a big lie about our country. They say that our country is free, without serious economic or social problems, a good partner for the NAFTA. His government is making a big publicity campaign for other people in other parts of the world, principally the United States. So it is imperative for us that the world know that Mexican people, especially Indian people, are not in the life condition that Salinas says--as you can see in this trip that you have made here. We need people in the United States to create counter-propaganda to that of the Mexican federal government, and get out the truth, against the lie of Salinas.

Salinas wants to isolate our struggle, contain it to only one part of Mexico, and only one part of Chiapas. He says that what we are fighting for are not concerns elsewhere in the country. But it is a lie again. He made an agreement with Canada and the United States in NAFTA. When he shook hands on this agreement, he was playing with the lives of a lot of Indian people. You cannot shake hands on an agreement like that without staining your hands with blood.

But the federal government is very sophisticated with its publicity. If the truth is known in all parts of the world, especially the United States, it would be a great help to us. That is the first thing.

There is another kind of help. You can see that here there are many children without anything--without food, without healthcare, without education, without good houses. So organizations that help the poor in other parts of the world should notice us. Our movement is a *true* movement. There are no strangers or foreigners behind us. We are all Mexicans, and the big majority of our army are Indian people. We think the government is lying to us with their promises to solve our problems. We don't trust anymore in this government. But our needs remain, and maybe we have to rely on people in other parts of the world to help us. I repeat, our troops are surrounded, and the civilian population here needs such necessities as food and clothes...

Who can we work with here in Mexico to get you donations?

One way is through the non-governmental organizations here in Mexico, like the Red Cross, the non-governmental human rights groups, the Diocese of Bishop Samuel Ruiz. Or come here yourselves, and we will receive this help with plenty of thanks.

If we can get it through the army checkpoints ...

Well, the federal army doesn't interfere with American people, because they are afraid of the American government.

Some of your early statements back in the first days of the uprising in January spoke about fighting for socialism, and marching on Mexico City. Almost immediately, your rhetoric changed to what it is now--demands for democracy and indigenous autonomy. So what prompted the change? And when you talk about "socialism", what do you mean? What kind of socialism? Socialism like in Cuba?

The directorate of our army has never spoken about Cuban or Soviet socialism. We have always spoken about the basic rights of the human. Education, housing, health, food, land, good pay for our work, democracy, liberty. Some people may call



SUBCOMMANDANTE MARCOS (Center) Chiapas, Mexico 3/94

this socialism. But it doesn't matter what name you give these demands. In Mexico there is no democracy. So it doesn't matter what you think, or what your political goal is. Because only the political goal of the government party wins--*always* wins.

We say, make a democratic space, make enough liberty so that you can explain your ideas. It doesn't matter what kind of ideas--communism or socialism or capitalism or *lo que quiere*, whatever you want. With democracy and liberty, you can tell the people, "I want this, follow me." And if the majority follow you, you will win. But this doesn't exist. Now, it doesn't matter if people follow you, what kind of government you want, or your political ideas. The people don't matter for the government. It is always the government's political ideas and economic projects which are imposed on the people. So we don't want any more of this. We want to find ways to resolve our own problems. When there is democracy, we can decide which leaders we agree with--and by "we," I mean the people, not the Zapatista Army.

The federal government does not represent us. We want to follow our own Mexican way to democracy and liberty and justice.

And what about socialism?

The kind of life we want--life with good food, good land, good health, good education, good work, democracy, independence, justice and peace--if you want to call it socialism, OK, call it that. But we are not a *cliché* of Cuban socialism, or *Castrismo* or *Sendero Luminoso*. If you want to call it Mexican socialism or the Mexican way to liberty, that's a good name for it.

Have you been influenced by anarchism at all, especially Magonismo, the Mexican anarchist tradition?

Basically, all of our thoughts about the workers and campesinos and the revolution are taken from Flores Magon, Francisco Villa, Emiliano Zapata. Their ideas about the farm workers, the workers in the cities, the hopes of liberty, are our inspiration for this movement.

You've said that you don't want any more ecological reserves for the Lacandón Selva. How do you envision protecting what remains of Mexico's last rainforest?

Well, look. We don't agree with this preoccupation with the trees over the death of our people. We say, we want trees. We want the mountains. But we also want a dignified life for our people. So we say, if the government makes a good plan and the people have what they need, they will not have to attack the trees and mountains. But the government just declares by decree that there will be no more cutting of trees.

We say, we don't *want* to cut the trees. Because the mountain is very important for Indian people. It is a part of their tradition and their history. So we agree, we say, "No, there should be no more cutting of trees--but give me the life conditions for another way, so I will no longer have the *necessity* to cut the trees. I will take good care of this mountain, I will take good care of these trees, and I will take care for the future of my child, from one generation to another generation. But now my people have no way to live other than to cut trees and burn them. That is the only way we can find land." I mean here there are no tractors, here there is no machinery; there is nothing for the Indian people. There is no option but to cut the trees, burn them, and put the seed in the land. It doesn't matter how the land is taken when you are hungry.

The average production here from one hectare is less than half what it is in other parts of the country. In other parts of the country, it's about eight tons per hectare. Here in the *Selva Lacandóna* the average is about a half-ton per hectare. There is no justice for us. And our land, you can see, with good work, and some technology, *could* produce.

What about land redistribution? What about taking land away from the ganaderos [ranchers] and fincas [plantations], and giving it to the campesinos?

Yes. This is the second way to make a better life for our peasants. I mean, this land was originally for the Indian people. The white people, the big farmers and ranchers, imposed their force over the Indian people and pushed them up into the mountains. You can see that here the good land is on the *fincas*--the plains, the valleys. The Indians have the rocky lands in the mountains. But the Indian sees the good land below and says, "Originally, this was my land, so I have the right to recover it."

The big farmer says, "they have stolen my land, they have stolen my cattle." But my people say, "before you were even born, my grandparents made their life here."

So, our lands cannot produce with this injustice. We need redistribution of the land. But that is not all we need.

REVOLUTION ROCKS MEXICO!!!

By Bill Weinberg

Back in 1910, the brutal and corrupt dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, who had ruled Mexico with an iron hand for nearly 20 years, was toppled in a popular Revolution. The future of the country was up for grabs, as rival forces vied for power and US troops intervened in a decade of bloody conflict. One of the heroes of this long struggle was Emiliano Zapata, whose peasant army rose in the poor Mexican south, seizing back land from the big plantations and ranches under the war cry "¡Tierra y Libertad!" (Land and Freedom!)

In 1917, Zapata was killed in a treacherous ambush by an agent of the forces which were then consolidating state power in Mexico City--and would shortly establish the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI. The Zapatista army was subsequently crushed in a counterinsurgency campaign. The PRI has ruled Mexico as a one-party state ever since.

By 1993, for many Mexican workers and campesinos (peasants), the PRI state was beginning to look like yet another dictatorship. It is a dictatorship of elite technocrats, rather than an iron-fisted strongman like Porfirio Diaz. But, like Diaz, the PRI has terrorized opposition and tightly controlled the press. Like Diaz, the PRI has maintained a hegemonic grip on state power. And, with Mexican President Carlos Salinas' signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the PRI, like Diaz, is making Mexican resources and labor available to the highest corporate bidder, bringing the nation back under overwhelming Yankee economic control.

But on the morning of January 1, 1994, the very day that NAFTA went into effect, a new Revolution broke out in Mexico. The previously unheard-of Zapatista National Liberation Army, or EZLN, burst out of their hidden stronghold in one of Mexico's poorest and most isolated regions--the Lacandón Selva, a strip of tropical rainforest along the

Guatemalan border in the southern state of Chiapas.

The Lacandón Selva is mostly inhabited by Maya Indian campesinos who had been pushed off their fertile homelands in the Chiapas Highlands and left in the jungle to rot. But instead of rotting, the Indians organized and formed the EZLN, taking their name and inspiration from Emiliano Zapata. In a dramatic New Years Day action, the new Zapatistas seized four cities in the Chiapas Highlands--San Cristobal, Altamirano, Ocosingo and Las Margaritas--and declared war on the Mexican federal army and the dictatorship.

The EZLN's "Declaration of the Lacandón Selva" called NAFTA the death knell for Mexico's Indian peoples. Changes in the Mexican constitution pushed through by Salinas in preparation for NAFTA allow "privatization" of traditional Indian village communal lands, paving the way for corporate agribusiness expansion and further marginalization of the desperately poor indigenous peoples.

The EZLN withdrew from the four cities they took after heavy fighting in Ocosingo. For the next two

weeks, the civilian population of the Chiapas Highlands--mostly Indian campesinos--was terrorized by federal army attacks on their barrios and villages with tanks and aircraft, including helicopters which had been supplied to the Mexican federal police by the US for the War on Drugs. The EZLN harassed the attacking government forces in mobile raids.

As the repression escalated, Zapatista solidarity actions spread throughout Mexico, with Indians and peasants seizing land, blockading highways and occupying government offices. On January 12, thousands marched on Mexico City to protest the repression in Chiapas in the country's biggest demonstration since 1968. Fearing that the rebellion could spread, the government called off the army and brokered a cease-fire. The Zapatistas had won a major political victory over the PRI.

A government-EZLN dialogue was initiated in San Cristobal, brokered by the city's Liberation Theology-oriented Bishop Samuel Ruiz. But the EZLN delegation, led by the charismatic Subcommander Marcos who had directed the January 1 take-over of San Cristobal, made clear that they could not cut a deal with the government without first reporting back and consulting with the people they represent in the villages of the Lacandón Selva, and their own command, the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee, a council of Maya Indian elders.

The EZLN delegation broke off the dialogue in March and returned to the Lacandón Selva. Subsequently, the mysterious assassination of PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio in Tijuana and alleged federal army aerial bombardment of roads in Zapatista-controlled territory have prompted the EZLN to declare a state of "red alert." The dialogue has not been resumed.

ZAPATISTA SOLIDARITY ACTIONS SPREAD THROUGHOUT MEXICO!!

Guerrero Indians March 300 Kilometers On Mexico City

Special Eyewitness SHADOW Report by Bill Weinberg

CUERNAVACA, MORELOS, FEB. 28: Nearly 2,000 Indians arrived here today, having marched all the way from Chilpancingo, the capital of Guerrero, the state to the south. Organized by the Consejo Guerrerense de 500 Anos Resistencia, the march is intended to express solidarity with the demands of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), now engaged in dialogue with the government in the southern state of Chiapas. Cuernavaca is the march's last stop before Mexico City, which is some 300 kilometers from Chilpancingo.

As the march approached Cuernavaca's center, local supporters closed off the streets surrounding the city's central square, or zocalo. Police did not interfere as they blocked the streets with their bodies and handmade banners. One banner straddling the street read, "CHIAPAS 1994 - 1968 TLATELOLCO; ESTE DIALOGO NO LO ENTENDEMOS", flanked by images of tanks and guns - "THIS DIALOGUE WE DON'T UNDERSTAND," a reference to both recent repression in Chiapas and the Mexican army's massacre of student demonstrators 26 years ago.

Local supporters also blocked the streets with vehicles - some bearing posters calling for peace in Chiapas, others bearing the insignia of the Party of Democratic Revolution (PRD), Mexico's left opposition party. One pick-up truck spray-painted "EZLN" proved upon closer examination to be a police vehicle, apparently abandoned or hijacked for the cause! "¡Alto a la masacre!" reads one poster adorned with the image of a dove on a bayonet.

With the streets cleared of traffic, the march approaches the zocalo. The banner at the front reads: "MARCHA POR LA PAZ Y DIGNIDAD DE LOS PUEBLOS INDIGENAS - NO ESTAN SOLOS" This last line, "They are not alone," is in reference to the Zapatistas in Chiapas. The banner is followed by Mexican flags and giant portraits of Emiliano Zapata, the revolutionary hero from whom today's Zapatistas take their name.

"¡Viva la Autonomia de los Pueblos Indigenas!"
cry the marchers in unison.

"¡Viva!" return the local Cuernavaca supporters from the jam-packed sidewalks.
"¡Viva los Zapatistas!"

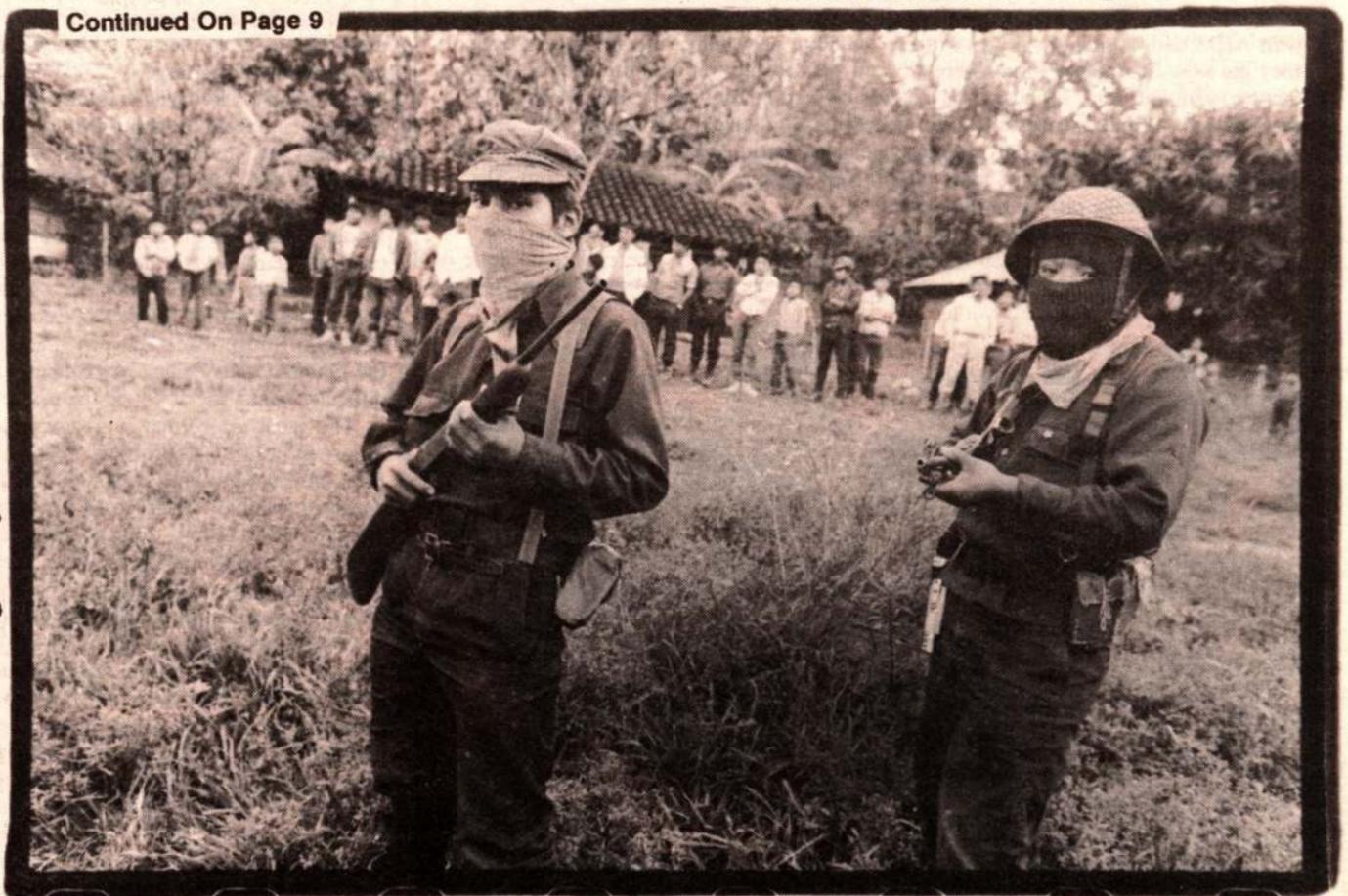
Representing several indigenous communities in Guerrero, the march is diverse. Women in traditional Indian dress hold infants. Most of the men wear straw hats, although one kid wears a "Guns 'N' Roses" cap. Many of the hats read "500 Años" or "EZLN" in black marker. A marching band blasts away on old trumpets and tubas. One contingent wears ceremonial Indian masks and holds machetes at the shoulder.

The march files into the zocalo to eat food which has been prepared by the local Red Morelense por Derechos Humanos en Chiapas (Morelosian Network for Human Rights in Chiapas.) A crowd gathers before a stage which has been erected at one end of the square. March leaders address the crowd in Mixteco, Nahuatl and other indigenous languages, as well as Spanish. Exuberant bursts erupt from the brass band between speakers. Communiques from Zapatista Subcommandante Marcos are read from the stage and are met with especially exuberant Vivas. The banner above the stage reads "PAZ CON JUSTICA EN CHIAPAS." One indigenous leader says he speaks on behalf of the mountains, rivers, birds and butterflies of Indian lands, as well as the hopes and demands of Indian people.

When the crowd thins out, the pavement of the zocalo is spray painted in black: "VIVA EZLN." Guitars and rustic home-made fiddles emerge as the marchers and their supporters settle into the Zocalo for a "Noche Zapatista" of traditional Guerrero Indian music and dance. As the night wears on, marchers filter to the other end of the square,

See ZAPATISTA SOLIDARITY On Page 23

Continued On Page 9



© Joshua Schwartz

EZLN in Patibonitz, Chiapas, Mexico

ACT-UP FIGHTS BACK

(Continued From Front Page)

the event, had invited me as he was concerned that AIDS as an issue would not be raised. Most of the questioning centered on the controversial appointment of anti-gay Reuben Diaz to the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) and hopes for appointments of gay men and lesbians within Giuliani's administration. At last my moment came. I introduced myself as a member of ACT UP and told the mayor that we were planning on exercising our First Amendment rights by having a demonstration on March 22nd as we were concerned that as a candidate and now as mayor, Giuliani had not said a word about the AIDS epidemic. With the budget crisis looming, we were concerned that services provided to people living with AIDS were in jeopardy, and given his silence on the issue, that AIDS would continue to rage out of control in New York City. I asked the mayor if he could offer anything to allay my (our) fears.

Mayor Giuliani, standing four feet away from me and looking me in the eye, replied by saying that when he took office, he realized that crime was a serious problem facing New York, and that AIDS was a serious problem facing New York. Therefore, he had decreed that law enforcement and AIDS services would be exempt from any budget cuts.

As the chant says, "Politicians lie, we die, AIDS action now!"

We continued to prepare for the March 22nd demonstration. Numerous community-based organizations had been invited to participate in the planning. Representatives of the Harlem Group, a loose confederation of members of various uptown organizations, collaborated in the mind-numbing, exhausting three and four hour long meetings, the formulation of demands, the nit-picking concerning logistics, the design and preparation of graphics. We planned to meet in Brooklyn at Cadman Plaza West and Tillary Streets. We would march across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall. As evening fell, we would light torches and candles. At City Hall, we would rally and leave the lighted candles, not as a memorial to people who had died from AIDS, but as a reminder of the New Yorkers who were living with AIDS.

The most daunting obstacle was taking the bridge. It has been done many times before. The Reverend Al Sharpton has taken the Bridge for the past few years for his march on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. Haitians had marched from the United Nations down Second Avenue and across the Brooklyn Bridge to protest the glacial pace of efforts to resolve the crisis in their homeland and restore President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power. Our essential strategy was numbers: in our experience, two thousand people moving en masse can go anywhere they want to go. Related to this, it was felt that if this action was typical of the demographic of the usual ACT UP demonstration, consisting principally of white, middle class downtown Manhattan gay men and lesbians, it would be all too easy for Giuliani to dismiss us. We wanted this march to look like the AIDS crisis in New York. To be sure, the gay community is ravaged by this plague - half of the gay men in New York are estimated to be HIV positive - but in this we are not alone. Considerable outreach was undertaken. Wheatpasting was conducted in the Bronx, in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, and other neighborhoods far beyond the East Village-West Village corridor. Buses were provided to the Harlem Group to bring people from uptown to the site in Brooklyn. Contacts were made with every group we could possibly reach. Community-based organizations were encouraged to attend with clients and staff and many of them agreed to come out in force.

On Wednesday, March 9th, two weeks before the Brooklyn Bridge march, I received a phone call from a member of the policy staff at an AIDS service organization. It had been leaked by someone within the Giuliani administration that there was an initiative afoot to abolish the Division of AIDS Services (DAS). DAS was established in 1986. At that time, it was all but impossible to get a hospital bed in New York City. People living with AIDS had no point of access to social services. They came into the system when they got sick. Emergency rooms were clogged with people who had no place to live, no income, and who were seriously ill. DAS was created by the City to plug people into services and institute measures to keep people healthy longer. The agency provides food, shelter, medical care, and case management - basic, essential, life-sustaining care. The elimination of DAS would leave 20,000 New Yorkers with nowhere to turn. The bodies would literally pile up in the streets.

In presentations I had made to the floor at an ACT UP meeting, I had used the abolition of DAS as a worst case scenario. It was not mandated - there were no State or



DEMONSTRATORS SIT-IN ON BKLYN BRIDGE

Federal laws requiring the City to provide these services - and thus could be eliminated at the whim of the administration. I did not seriously consider this to be within the realm of the probable as it was too unimaginably abominable. Our worst fears were confirmed.

The AIDS community in New York mobilized with lightening speed. With four days lead time, a massive demonstration was organized at City Hall. The contacts we had established in planning for March 22nd were used. Faxes and phone calls flew. On Monday, March 14th, over two thousand people rallied at City Hall decrying the plan, masterminded by Giuliani and Deputy Mayor Peter Powers, to eliminate DAS.

Eight days later was the Brooklyn Bridge march. Our demands included calls for Rudolph Giuliani to be a leader and not an impediment in the fight against AIDS; to expand, adequately fund, and revitalize DAS; to fund and support targeted community-developed AIDS education efforts; to abandon the Health and Hospitals Corporation privatization initiative which would take public hospitals out of the very neighborhoods hardest hit by AIDS; to provide permanent, medically appropriate housing for all homeless people; to establish widespread and unimpeded clean-needle distribution immediately; to be a forceful and effective advocate for the lives and interests of New Yorkers living with AIDS; to insure comprehensive, explicit AIDS education and prevention in schools; and to put a stop to the Department of Health's drive for reporting the names of people living with AIDS and HIV.

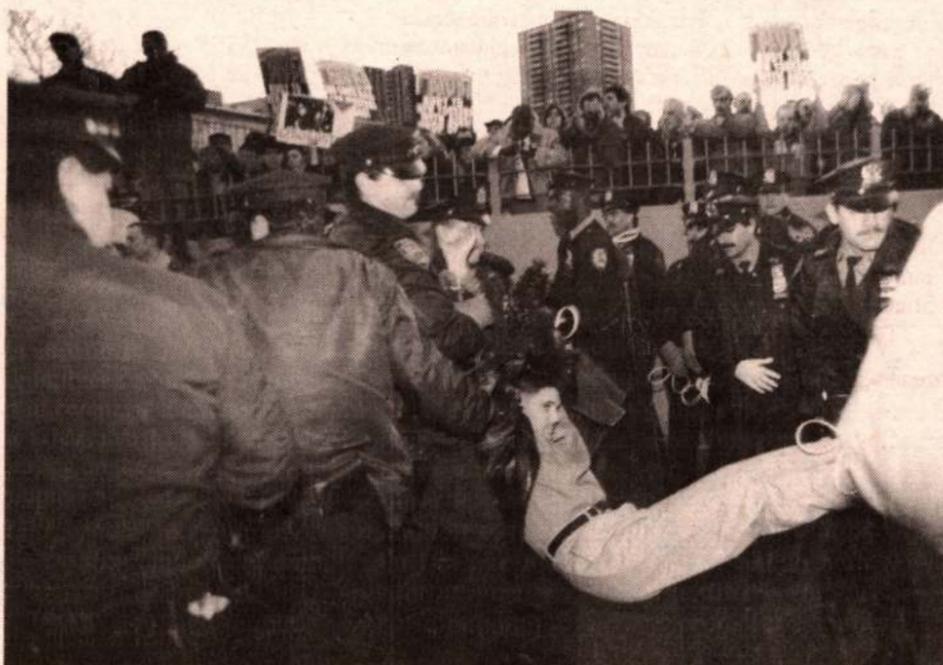
Civil Disobedience - understood in ACT UP to mean actions which would risk or prompt arrest but were necessary to draw attention to a specific issue or force our adversaries take specific actions - was certainly justified by the circumstances. However, risking arrest means one thing to white, middle class activists and quite another to people of color who grew up in communities where police abuse and violence is part of the landscape. Many of the people ACT UP was working in coalition with declared themselves unable to risk arrest as they were formerly incarcerated parolees. A civil disobedience arrest would have grave consequences beyond the routine half a day in a holding cell and court appearance resulting in a sentence to community service. Consequently, it was decided that civil disobedience would occur concurrently with the march in smaller-scale demonstrations by affinity groups. Although risking arrest would be a de facto component of taking the street and the Brooklyn Bridge, it was necessary to minimize the risk to the greatest extent possible to protect coalition members for whom arrest was simply not an option.

To provide an opportunity for those willing and able to commit acts of civil disobedience, the focus would be on these smaller affinity group actions. Affinity groups are a fixture of the larger ACT UP structure. An affinity group consists of eight to fifteen people who have worked together previously and have established basic trust for one another. Prior to larger civil disobedience demonstrations, the bulk of ACT UP members are shuffled into affinity groups to insure the safety of those arrested.

There were four groups mobilized in anticipation of March 22nd. *Action Tours* hung a banner reading "AIDS Hall of Shame" from the roof of City Hall the day before the Bridge action. On the morning of March 22nd, members of the *Big Bull Femmes* chained themselves to the pillars and doors of City Hall, tossing effigies onto the steps as they did so. *The Ninfamaniacs*, so named as they were formed to target deputy mayor and Board of Education member Ninfa Segarra, hung several banners from the Brooklyn Bridge, Pace University, and other sites throughout the day. Finally, there was the *Fodder Group*, which was formed to take arrests should demonstrators encounter difficulty taking the street or the bridge.

The group which met at Cadman Plaza was huge. Moving out into the traffic of Tillary Street was no problem. Police attempted at first to prevent the demonstrators from moving onto the access lanes leading up to the bridge, but the force of our numbers won out. However, as the huge mass of people, a few thousand strong, marched up the ramp, upon rounding a corner they were confronted with four lines of police in riot gear barring the way. The police had positioned themselves in front of another on-ramp to the bridge. Arrest wagons were moved into position and using the off-ramp, arrestees could be shuttled down easily. It was a box canyon.

Negotiations with the police failed. They would not allow us to cross the bridge, and gave the order that anyone who was not off the bridge in fifteen minutes was risking arrest. As they were prepared to arrest huge numbers of people, and given the consideration of those in the group who could not risk arrest, marshalls dispersed through the crowd and informed demonstrators that staying on the bridge was risking arrest. If people did not want to be arrested, the only option was to take the pedestrian walkway. Forty-seven demonstrators, principally from Housing Works, stayed put on the bridge and were arrested. The police were especially brutal and many of those arrested incurred injuries in the process. Further, the police refused to disclose which precincts those arrested were being taken to for processing. This made support - tracking people arrested as they were processed and waiting outside the precinct until they were released - extremely difficult.



PIGS CARRY OFF DEMONSTRATOR ON BKLYN BRIDGE

GIULIANI'S DAYTIME TEEN CURFEW: CONSENSUAL FASCISM 1994

By William Pleasant

NEW YORK CITY, April 15--Today, the convoys of trucks and vans--some marked, some not--slowly roll up the streets. It's noon and the sidewalks are rivers of lunchtime crowds. And then the thing happens: the trucks and vans screech to a halt. Stick-swinging cops pour out. Their pals, the ones in uniforms and the ones in civilian drag, swarm from their nests behind trash dumpsters and derelict cars. They pounce on the pedestrians, and sort the wheat from the chaff.

"Suspects against the wall! Everybody else, move on, move along!...What are you looking at?" one cop barks, they all bark at some point to the momentarily startled crowd.

Once the undesirables have been roused, patted down and identified, they are loaded into the waiting trucks and vans and driven away. A few folks pause in concern. They are heckled by a pleased spectator who opines, "This shoulda happened years ago."

Is this a flashback to Berlin's Friedrichstrasse, circa 1938? Is this some authoritarian south-of-the-border nightmare? No, this is a scene from the streets of New York City right now. It is the face of consensual fascism 1994.

Two weeks ago, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani decreed that youths found in the streets during school hours would be detained, penned at processing centers and returned to their respective schools. This amounted to little more than a daylight curfew on non-white young adults. Citing the state's compulsory school attendance statutes, Giuliani has given the police the license to drive kids from the streets, ostensibly to promote their education. But nobody is fooled, least of all the thousands of Black and Latino youths who have found themselves the recent victims of arbitrary police attack.

"I didn't do nothing," explained MATADOR, as he was released from a police round-up at Brooklyn's Jay Street subway station. The smartly dressed, fair-skinned Latino went on, "I'm 20 years old. I finished with school, but I'm young and I'm a Puerto Rican. That's the crime."

Matador and at least 30 Black and Latino youths had been herded from the subway platforms, the nearby Fulton Street Mall and the surrounding street corners. Matador's story was typical.

"I was going to the A-train to go home Uptown," he recounted. "And then this regular white guy comes up on me, and then two more--they were in cop suits--come out of nowhere. And then one of the cops grabbed my arm. I said, 'What's wrong? I didn't do nothing.' But they dragged me out and put me with the rest. They patted me down and searched my backpack like I was a perpetrator, like I had a gun or something. I was just going home."

MARTINA, a chubby Black Caribbean girl of 15, on the verge of tears, left the holding area. "This the second time they stop me today. I'm supposed to be in school. I hate school. I wasn't doing nothing but minding my business anyway. A lady police caught me the first time." The second time was at Jay Street, and a large, white male cop frisked the teenager.

"You see, he had his hands all over me feeling. It was nasty. Everybody, grown people, was standing around and looking. You see, some was laughing at me. I'm mad," Martina added, as she stormed away from the station. It seemed that the police weren't interested in putting her back in the classroom. She'll probably get stopped again before the end of the day.

At the corner of Jay and Livingston Streets, five cops surround three Black youths. The police demand identification. Only one of the boys is able to satisfy the patrolers. He's dismissed and the other two are led away to the subway station. The freed teenager had managed to convince the cops that he was legal by producing a letter from his school. As the teen walks away, he mummurs, "Makes a bro' wanna kill..." Like apartheid South Africa, Black and Latino youths are now required to carry passes as they move through the city.

In 1993, Rudolph Giuliani was elected by white voters to take the city back from its Black, Latino and Asian majority. As white New Yorkers have experienced a steady decline in their standard of living, in frustration, they have struck out at the poor, the homeless and the young. Giuliani, a Reagan-era US Attorney, rode to victory on the crest of that white backlash.

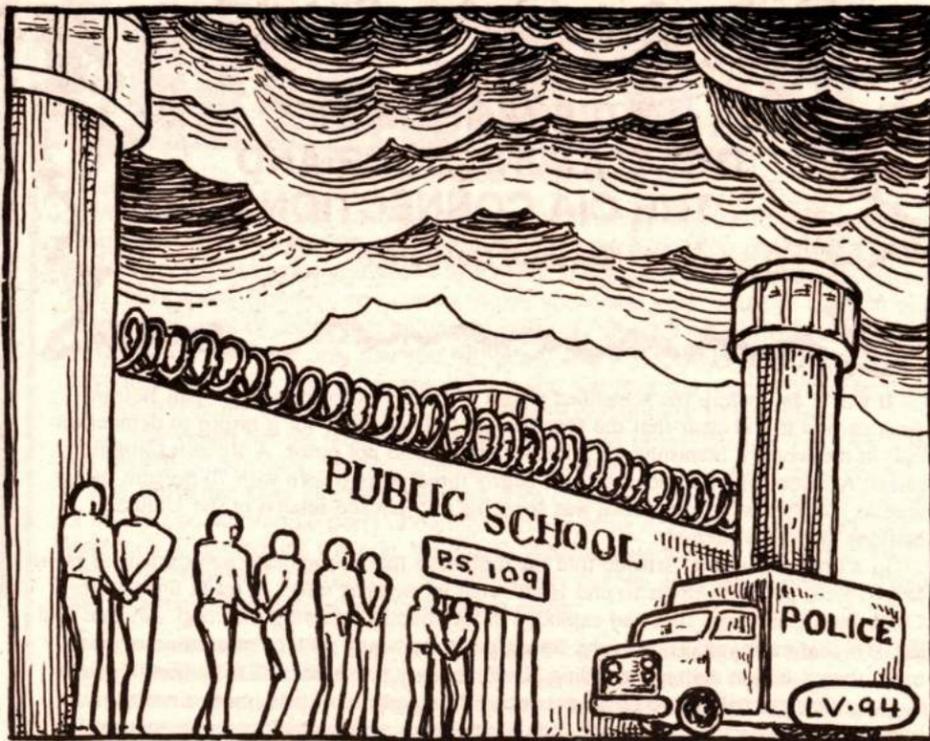
Frighteningly, the police assault on young Blacks and Latinos, has enjoyed both the active support of the city's right wing and the tacit consent of its minority communities. Moreover, the silence of New York's Black and Latino elected officials and community leaders, even the so-called militants, has been thunderous. Poor Black and Latino people suffer most from criminal violence. When decades of public policies have failed to address the underlying racism, poverty and hopelessness which produce criminal behavior in communities of color, driven by exhaustion, the poor must resort to desperate means. It is said that the drowning man will grab for anything, even the tip of a spear. Thus, majorities in the communities are now willing to call the cops on their own kids. That sounds like a good idea to them, because it is the only idea allowed to flourish right now.

"Giuliani's so-called 'Quality of Life' program is no more than a euphemism for ridding the city of the unsightly," charged Touro Law School Professor Richard Klein tonight, while speaking at a National Lawyers Guild conference addressing the repressiveness of the Giuliani administration. Klein continued, "This type of thing will get worse. Giuliani's move against the truants has to be viewed as part and parcel of the whole anti-crime hysteria. It reflects an intolerance for the undesirable."

Touro Law School Associate Professor Peter Davis agreed with Klein, and warned activists against openly intervening in the street sweeps. "You must be discreet, because you can be arrested under the charge of interfering in government administration. It's not good to confront the cops. If you see something, then hide and write down the cop's badge numbers. Make a report."

While the city's liberal/leftist political establishment has more or less sat on its hands, the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) has taken up the opposition. In an interview with the SHADOW, NYCLU Executive Director Norman Siegel denounced the truancy program. "It's a fake!" declared Siegel, who has personally monitored the street sweeps. "On any given day, at least 70,000 students aren't in school. Nobody has offered any plans to motivate them to go to school. The police return the students to school, but I observed that, in an hour or less, the kids are right out the back door again. Truancy isn't a law enforcement issue, it's an education issue."

According to the NYCLU Director, Giuliani's dragnet raises serious constitutional issues. "You have people being detained, questioned and searched without probable



cause. That flies in the face of the Fourth Amendment. There is also a selective enforcement of the law based on race and class. The police are not likely to go after a caucasian youth in khakis and button-down Oxford, but a Black or Latino kid dressed in baggy jeans and a Raiders cap is going to get stopped. But, let's face it, truants come in all colors."

His charge of racism was supported by an April 6 *New York Daily News* article which reported that out of 71 Brooklyn youths detained and transported by the police, 71 were Black or Latino!

Siegel pledged that the NYCLU will continue to monitor the police. He concluded, "We have to convince parents and educators that Giuliani's truancy program is not serious. It's just a crude use of education laws to camouflage sweeping the streets of people he defines as undesirable."

CITY HALL JOBS RALLY ATTRACTS 500

By Kurt Hill

Trade unionists, people of color, AIDS activists, housing-rights organizers and Lower East Side squatters gathered in City Hall Park on April 4th to "Push Giuliani Back!" The action commemorated the 26th anniversary of the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Memphis Tennessee.

The demonstration was called by **A Job Is A Right Campaign**, and was endorsed by hundreds of individuals and organizations. The rally was the largest to date protesting Giuliani's budget cuts.

Many of the participants were trade unionists angered by the mayor's plan to slash thousands of jobs from the city payroll. A representative of AFSCME Local 420, which brought two busloads of members to the rally, told the crowd "It's wrong to buy out workers' jobs by offering them an insulting couple of thousand dollars. We have to march on Giuliani and knock some sense into him!"

AFSCME has been strong-armed into accepting a so-called "severance package" which will eliminate jobs for 7,500 to 10,000 workers, most of whom are Black and Latina women. The mayor plans to eliminate at least 15,000 jobs by next year, and has floated plans to lay off more than 30,000 people.

"I work for a living," said Denise, a Local 371 member who is employed at the Division of AIDS Services, an agency that Giuliani wants to eliminate. "If I take the buyout, how long will I survive? How do I pay my rent? No! My only recourse now is to fight for my job and for client services."

The Division of AIDS Services (DIS) is a critical agency that provides support services to individuals and families living with AIDS. Without the services of DAS, many people with AIDS will be out on the streets.

"Giuliani has declared war on us, so we declare war on him!" said Sandra Lowe, co-executive director of Housing Works, the innovative drug rehab program, which among other things, provides housing for people with AIDS. "We should make life absolutely miserable for him!" stated Lowe to a cheering crowd.

Linwood Collins of Standup Harlem told demonstrators "I have AIDS and I lost my lover to the disease three years ago. But as long as I can stand up, I'll get out and struggle!"

Tom Duane, an openly gay City Council member with HIV also addressed the rally. "We have to come back to City Hall every day to stop the attacks on DAS and other vital services," he said.

One Tompkins Square activist remarked to fellow protesters: "I have a number of political disagreements with the people who organized this rally, but it's time that we put differences aside and unite on bottom-line issues and fight-back against these attacks aimed at all of us."

The demonstration concluded with a march around City Hall.

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HAITI'S NIGHTMARE: THE COCAINE COUP AND THE CIA CONNECTION

By Paul DeRienzo

It was a day before the scheduled return of Haiti's exiled president Jean Bertran Aristide and it was clear that the October 30, 1993 deadline for a return to democratic rule in the western hemisphere's poorest nation could not occur. A Roman Catholic priest, Aristide, who had been elected nearly three years before with 70 percent of the vote in Haiti's first free election, was speaking to a packed session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In a dramatic move, Aristide told the diplomats that the military government of Haiti had to yield power in order to end Haiti's role in the drug trade. A trade financed by Colombia's Cali cartel that had exploded in the months following the coup. Aristide told the UN that each year Haiti is the transit point for nearly 50 tons of cocaine worth more than a billion dollars, providing Haiti's military rulers with \$200 million in profits.

Aristide's electrifying accusations opened the floodgate of even more sinister revelations. Massachusetts senator John Kerry heads a subcommittee concerned with international terrorism and drug trafficking that turned up collusion between the CIA and drug traffickers during the late 1980s Iran-Contra hearings.

Kerry had developed detailed information on drug trafficking by Haiti's military rulers that led to the indictment in Miami in 1988 of Lt. Colonel Jean Paul. The indictment was a major embarrassment to the Haitian military, especially since Paul defiantly refused to surrender to U.S. authorities. Only a month before, thousands of U.S. troops invaded Panama and arrested General Manuel Noriega who, like Col. Paul, was also under indictment for drug trafficking in Florida.

In November 1989, Col. Paul was found dead after he consumed a traditional Haitian goodwill gift -- a bowl of pumpkin soup. Haitian officials accused Paul's wife of the murder -- apparently because she had been cheated out her share of a cocaine deal by associates of her husband who were involved in smuggling through Miami.

The U.S. senate also heard testimony in 1988 that then-interior minister Gen. Williams Regala and his DEA liaison officer protected and supervised cocaine shipments. The testimony also charged then-Haitian military commander Gen. Henry Namphy with accepting bribes from Colombian traffickers in return for landing rights in the mid 1980s.

In 1989, yet another military coup brought Lt. Gen. Prosper Avril to power. Under U.S. pressure, Avril, the former finance chief under the 30 year Duvalier family dictatorship, fired 140 officers suspected of drug trafficking. Avril, who is currently living in Miami, is being sued by six Haitians, including Port-au-Prince mayor Evans Paul, who claim they were abducted and tortured by the Haitian military under Avril's orders in November 1989. According to a witness before Senator John Kerry's subcommittee, Avril is in fact a major player in Haiti's role as a transit point in the cocaine trade.

Four years later, on the eve of Aristide's negotiated return as Haiti's elected president, a summary of a confidential report prepared for Congress and leaked to the media says that "corruption levels within the (Haitian military run) narcotics service are substantial enough to hamper any significant investigation attempting to dismantle a Colombian organization in Haiti." The report says that more than 1,000 Colombians live in Haiti using forged passports of the neighboring Dominican Republic.

Dominican Republic leader Joaquin Balaguer opposes the UN blockade of Haiti and maintains close ties with the Haitian military. The road connecting Port-au-Prince with the border town of Jimini in the Dominican Republic is the only well paved route in Haiti and serves as the lifeline for the regime. Despite the embargo and U.S. naval blockade of Haiti, the road to the Dominican Republic has become not only the route for oil tanker trucks breaking the embargo, but the major route for cocaine shipments as well.

Fernando Burgos Martinez, a Colombian national with major business interests in Haiti has been named in congressional records as a major cocaine trafficker brazen enough to do business with other Colombian drug dealers on his home telephone. One DEA source says both the U.S. embassy and Haitian government have been pressed unsuccessfully to authorize wiretaps, despite DEA allegations that Martinez has been involved in every major drug shipment to Haiti since 1987.

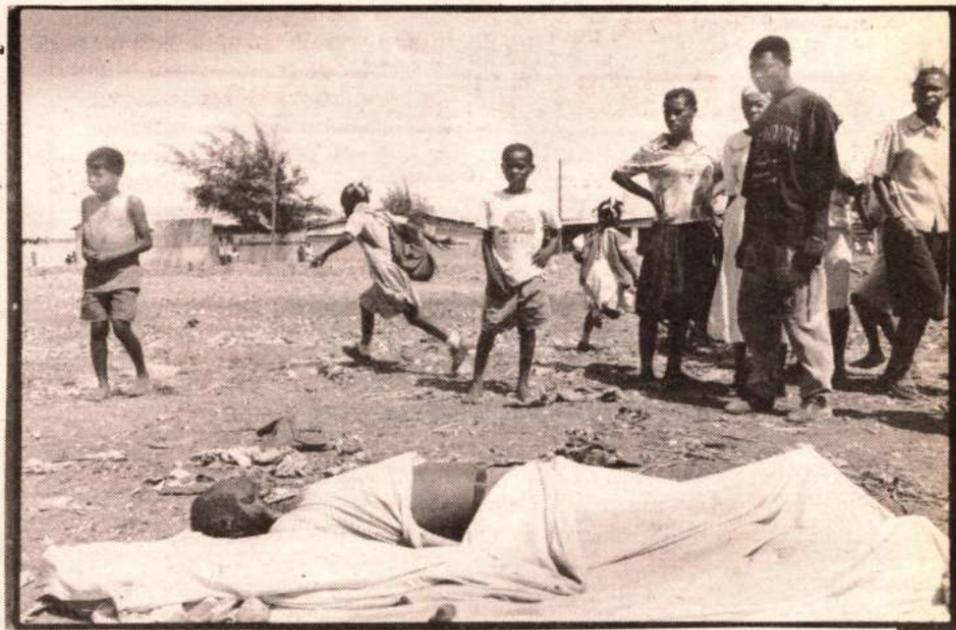
The Kerry report claims Martinez is the "bag man" for Colombia's cocaine cartels and supervises bribes paid to the Haitian military. According to Miami attorney John Mattes, who is defending a Cuban-American drug trafficker cooperating with U.S. prosecutors, Martinez was paid \$30,000 to bribe Haitian authorities into releasing two drug pilots jailed in Haiti after the engine in their plane conked out, forcing them to land in Port-au-Prince.

Martinez claims innocence from his lavish home in Pétion-Ville, an ornate suburb where Haiti's ruling class live overlooking the slums of the capital. He runs the casino at the plush El Rancho Hotel that, prior to the embargo, realized nearly \$50 million in business each week. A cash flow adequate to conceal a major money laundering operation.

But the most disturbing allegation has been of the role played by the CIA in keeping many of the coup leaders on the agency's payroll as part of an anti-drug intelligence unit set up by the U.S. in Haiti in 1986. Many of these same military men have had their U.S. assets frozen and are prevented from entering this country because of their role in overthrowing Aristide and subsequent human rights violations, including torture and murders of political opponents, raising the question: Was the U.S. involved in a cocaine coup that overthrew Aristide?

WAR ON DRUGS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

When thousands of U.S. soldiers stormed into Panama to arrest Manuel Noriega on December 20, 1989, the Bush administration touted the action as a major victory in the war on drugs. The cost of that victory was played down in the rush of propaganda hailing a rare accomplishment. The White House claimed casualties were low -- 200 Panamanians killed, along with about 20 U.S. soldiers. Bush declared the price worth the achievement of ending Panama's role as banker and transit point for cocaine smuggled for the cartels of Colombia.



**BODY OF ARISTEDE SUPPORTER TORTURED, MUTILATED
AND DUMPED IN CITE SOLEIL SLUM (Feb. 18, 1994)**

But the human cost turned out to be a great deal larger than the official figures. A lawsuit brought by New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) on behalf of 300 victims of the Panama invasion charges that there were actually more than 2,000 killed, and that the assault left 20,000 homeless with damages exceeding \$2 billion. Mass graves were unearthed after the invasion and hundreds of victims buried in U.S.-made body bags were discovered. Eyewitnesses testified that they saw U.S. troops throwing the bodies of civilians into trenches. These revelations moved the OAS to open an investigation into possible human rights violations by the United States during its invasion of Panama. This is the first such investigation of a U.S. intervention mounted by an international body.

The gunfire had barely subsided in Panama and General Noriega hardly settled into his new digs in a federal prison when another battle in the war on drugs seemed won. In Haiti, decades of brutal dictatorship seemed to be passing with the election of President Jean Bertran Aristide to lead the Caribbean nation of six million. It was a time when dreams of a better future by Haiti's impoverished people seemed within reach.

But it wasn't long before the dream was transformed into a nightmare. Less than a year after the election, on September 30, 1991, Haiti's army launched a ruthless coup d'etat that forced Aristide into exile. The coup ushered in yet another period of military repression in Haiti's tortured history -- a history marked by twenty years of U.S. military occupation beginning with the 1915 crushing of a popular revolt by U.S. Marines.

Human rights groups report that Haitians killed in the repression following the coup may exceed 3,000. More than 2,000 others were seriously injured, including victims of gunshots and torture. The OAS (Organization of American States) imposed an embargo that failed to topple the coup leaders but forced negotiations brokered by the UN at Governors Island in New York last July. There, coup leader General Raoul Cedras agreed to allow Aristide to return in exchange for an end to the embargo.

Yet, as the date for Aristide's return grew near, the military began a campaign of terror against their opponents. The killings peaked in the days before the scheduled return of Aristide with the brazen murder of Antoine Izmerly, a businessman and key Aristide backer who was abducted from a cathedral and gunned down on a busy city street. Later, Guy Malary, Aristide's justice minister, was also killed and his body left by a roadside.

See HAITI NIGHTMARE ON Page 18

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By Bill Weinberg



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(Continued From Page 5)

REVOLUTION ROCKS MEXICO!!!

Meanwhile, the mysterious Subcommandante Marcos, who has never been photographed without his ski mask, has become a hero and a cult figure in Mexico. An Indian and campesino movement is mobilizing throughout the Chiapas Highlands, with groups such as the Emiliano Zapata Campesino Organization (OCEZ) taking over the land of big ranches and plantations in unarmed occupations. Fearing an open civil war, the government has not interfered, although the notorious White Guards, private paramilitary forces of Chiapas' landed oligarchy, continue to assassinate, terrorize and "disappear" Indian and campesino militants. And while a visible federal troop presence has been removed from the tourist town of San Cristobal, the other three cities which had been taken by the Zapatistas remain heavily militarized, with armed personnel carriers and truck-mounted artillery patrolling the streets. The remote Lacandón Selva is still held by the EZLN.

All of Mexico is holding its breath

to see what is going to happen next. A broad civilian movement is mobilizing in support of the Zapatista demands for land redistribution, autonomous Indian government and cultural sovereignty, and clean and open elections. Presidential elections are scheduled for August. If the PRI attempts to maintain its stranglehold on power through its usual combination of fraud, patronage and terror, a resumption of armed struggle is certain, and a Mexican civil war seems possible. If, on the other hand, the left opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) wins—as it would have in the 1988 race if the PRI hadn't resorted to blatant fraud—it may mean a suspension and renegotiation of NAFTA. This would not play either with Mexico's most powerful economic interests or with Washington. Either way, the potential for chaos is high. Whether the shake-up serves the interests of liberation or repression depends on how much political momentum the Zapatistas are able to maintain within Mexico and how much cross-border support can be marshalled by activists in the US who are opposed to the social and ecological disaster represented by the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Western Hemisphere's key economic pillar of the New World Order.

INTERVIEW

(Continued From Page 4)

¿Que más?

We need roads, water, schools, hospitals, technology—like tractors, like planes. So even if the land is producing, the next question is the price. You can grow a good crop of coffee, but when you take it to the city, the *coyote*, the intermediary, thinks, "you don't speak Spanish, so I can lie to you and cheat you." You can bring in one hundred pounds of coffee and he will say it is only fifty. He will say that the quality isn't good, and he can only pay you half price. And you have to walk four or five days from your village to get to the city, so you just take the money. You can't bear the thought of carrying your hundred pounds of coffee back to the village.

So the Indian people face very complex structures of exploitation. I've implicated the federal government, the big farmers, the *coyotes*, the municipal governments, the police, the army. Over all these there are a lot of people who are living with the blood of Indian people. People don't understand this in other countries. They think that Mexico is Acapulco, it's Cancún, it's Puerto Vallarta, Guadalajara, Monterrey, Mexico City. They think that the Indians just make pretty clothes, they are curiosities. They cannot even imagine that these people are dying.

There's been speculation that helicopters which were donated to Mexico by the United States for the War on Drugs have been used against the civilian population here in Chiapas. Do you see the War on Drugs as a significant factor in the militarization of Mexico and Indian lands?

There's no speculation. The people saw the choppers that said PGR [the Mexican Attorney General's office], and we know the American government gives the PGR choppers to fight against drug dealers. But everybody knows that there are no drugs in our territory. The DEA knows it. The federal army knows it. The PGR knows it. All they have to do is look at their maps and their satellite pictures.

The Indian people who were attacked from these helicopters with machine guns and bombs—they don't have anything. If they were trafficking drugs—well, look at their houses. Where are the big trucks, the luxury?

A lot of people, even journalists, saw these choppers fight in San Cristobal, fight in Ocosingo, fight in Altamirano, fight in Las Margaritas. We sent a letter to Bill Clinton about this problem, and we never received an answer. The choppers are even now in the airport at Tuxtla Gutierrez, ready to strike again.

Would you support the legalization of drugs as a means to undercut this kind of militarization?

Well, we must think about this, reflect on it. But our problems are very urgent. I mean, our problem is dire survival, and our principal work is in this direction.

During the 1980s in Guatemala and El Salvador, after rebel movements emerged there was terrible repression. Whole villages were massacred. How do you hope to avoid such a scenario in Chiapas?

The only way is that our movement becomes national. If our war gains support all around the country, then the army can't take one place and make a total effort against us. If the war is only here, of course the federal army can put all of its force against us. But if there are a lot of guerillas, or social movements, against the government, we can divide their forces.

In any case, our people are prepared for resistance. We are training the civilian people to resist an attack. But this resistance will cost a lot. So it would be better if there was a push against the government, if there was civil pressure on the government to change direction, not in their own interests, but in the interests of the people of Mexico. The political exit would be better. I hope that it is possible. But if it is not possible, we will continue the war.

What do you think is to be learned from the experience of the rebels in Guatemala, who often let the Indian civil population suffer the worst of the repression?

Well, we think our principal effort must be directed towards a national revolutionary movement that could incorporate a lot of forces. Not only the forces of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. I mean, other political forces, cultural forces. Our problems are the same problems faced in other parts of the country. We are learning about what happened in other parts of Latin America, in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua. When the *guerrilla* provided the direction for all the movements, there were a lot of problems of division, unity became impossible. So we must find the right flag to incorporate all the ways of struggle.

Are you optimistic that there can be a peaceful solution, or do you think that there's going to be more violence?

We see a lot of signs of violence. We don't see any signal of peace. We are very skeptical about the peace process. Some parts of the government say, "OK, make a deal." But other parts of the government say "no, the strong hand is better." The big farmers don't want peace. They just want to protect their land, and they don't want the Indians to live in the same state as the white people. I mean, the big farmers have been educated to think that they are the aristocracy. They think the Indian people should only serve the white people. Equality? They don't want to hear about it. You are dealing with very reactionary people. In their minds, it is still centuries ago. So we are making an effort for peace, but if it is impossible ...

You're prepared.

We'll fight, of course. We are prepared for a long war. I'm talking about years and years of war, throughout the mountains of the southeast of Mexico.

Do you think there's a threat of US military intervention?

Whenever we talk to the American media, we say, "we don't want to attack the White House. We want to live with dignity." Our demands are the same demands of the American people—I mean, the average American people. So why should they want to fight us?

Because the American government has a whole lot riding on NAFTA.

But do you want a NAFTA with blood on it? We don't want a NAFTA written with the blood of Indian people. If you want a NAFTA, make some kind of reform to incorporate Indian people. Because Indian people will not die without a fight. This is our message to the American people. Let us live with dignity, understand us. If you understand our situation, our reasons for fighting, the American people will not want to go to fight against Mexican people. We are trusting in this.

CULTURAL JETLAG—JIM SIERGEY & TOM ROBERTS

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POLITICS VS EDUCATION IN SCHOOL DISTRICT ONE

By Stuart Frankel

Anyone who thinks that substance, as opposed to style, has any place in politics might want to consider the curious story of William Ubiñas, currently (but maybe not for long) superintendent of the local school district (school district 1). Should be pretty straightforward - Ubiñas was hired 3 years ago, hasn't performed up to expectations, and the local school board (an elected body) hasn't renewed his contract, so he's out by the end of June.

It's reasonable to expect Ubiñas and his friends to protest - but oh! what friends he has. City councilmember Antonio Pagán has spoken out loudly and repeatedly on Ubiñas's behalf; councilmember Kathryn Freed is also in his corner. State Senator Martin Connor is an ally; so is Assemblyman Sheldon Silver, who as speaker of the assembly is one of the most powerful people in state politics. Even more impressive is the solid line of support in the news media - every paper from the right-wing New York Post to the leftish Village Voice has the same opinion of Ubiñas that Lubavitchers have of their comatose Rebbe: that he's, if not the messiah exactly, then at least a unique gift from god to humanity. The school board that fired him must be crooked - or crooked.

What's going on is depressingly simple. Ubiñas does have a unique talent, but it's a talent for publicity. He has made himself extremely popular with parents and with media by being available. He has lots of meetings and tells people what they want to hear. Parents praise him for his accessibility. One said, "I can call him on the phone and he's always there."

A more disinterested observer might reflect that a superintendent who has time to answer phone calls from parents might not be doing his job, and that seems to be the case. Ubiñas is excellent at sound bites, and the school board is very bad with them. In part this is because their case against Ubiñas is difficult to compress into 10 seconds, but in essence it is this: Ubiñas says all the right things, but he is incredibly incompetent.

For example, the Voice wrote that Ubiñas "takes credit for firing seven principals." This sounds fine, and firing principals is actually rather important, since there's a lot of deadweight that has to be cleared out. There is a complicated procedure for firing, involving evaluations, warnings, counselling, more evaluations, etc., etc., and a lot of paperwork along the way. The superintendent is required to keep all this paperwork, but when board members went to inspect the folders on the principals, they were all blank - or, rather, filled in the most minimal, cursory way. Ubiñas was not doing his job. It's nice that he "took credit" for firing seven principals, but was the credit deserved? According to one (anti-Ubiñas) source, 3 of the principals simply retired, 3 others took early retirement, and Ubiñas had nothing to do with their cases. He MIGHT have been a PARTIAL influence in the early retirement of one of the principals. Why didn't the Voice check this out?

Several papers say that the major complaint the school board had against Ubiñas was that he didn't implement the "Children of the Rainbow" curriculum fast enough. There were several curricula - the Rainbow was one, "Whole Language" is another - that Ubiñas was required to implement. He wasn't resisting them, but he was treading water. Again, the problem was one of competence, not policy.

Jack Newfield wins the lying-sack-of-shit award for a column in the NY Post. It was labelled "exclusive" and it's true that its relationship to reality was tenuous, even by the Post's low standards. He says that the current board chair, Dolores Schaefer, was elected as the result of fraud, quoting a report by Edward Stancik, the Board of Education's Special Commissioner for Investigations. The Stancik report says the opposite.

Schaefer was put on the ballot using petitions gathered by Sister Elizabeth Kelliher - Kelliher was ordered out of the election by the archdiocese and Schaefer took her place. The rules for putting signatures on petitions in New York State are so convoluted and picky that candidates regularly gather several times the number of signatures that they need because they expect their opponents to challenge them and they expect a large number to be invalidated. Kelliher needed 200 signatures; she got 600. After the election, Schaefer's opponents did mount a challenge, but they withdrew it when it became clear that there were, after all, enough signatures that were valid. Stancik's report (which is not primarily about District 1) does say that many of Kelliher's and Schaefer's signatures were invalid, but it also says - Newfield conveniently leaves this part out - that there were enough valid signatures so that the election was valid. (Also keep in mind that all this has to do with the nominating process - nobody is claiming that there was fraud in the actual voting.)

Newfield also conveniently doesn't mention another Stancik report, this one from June, 1991. It seems that Ubiñas had a drug conviction in 1974; he plead guilty to possessing marijuana and possessing and selling cocaine. He was an 18-year-old college student at the time, and he served his ten years' probation, and that should have been the end of that. Except on four later occasions he swore, under penalty of perjury, that he had never been convicted of any crime. Furthermore (this is New York, so there's a real-estate angle), he obtained an apartment using a financial maneuver that is a clear violation of the city charter. Stancik recommended not only that he be fired, but that his teaching certification for New York (which was also obtained under highly irregular circumstances) be withdrawn. This didn't happen; instead, Ubiñas was suspended for a month.

The dubious behavior of Ubiñas's political allies has not received much attention. No press account reports the dressing down that (city-wide) superintendent Ramón Cortines received from assembly speaker Silver, or the highly responsible way Cortines handled the matter: Cortines asked the school board why it had not renewed Ubiñas's contract, and after hearing them out, agreed they had acted within their rights. Cortines continues to back the board.

Councilmember Antonio Pagán sees this (as everything else in the world) as revolving around him. He dominated the meeting at which the board voted not to renew Ubiñas's contract. As is well known, Pagán brooks no dissent, and views people who disagree with him as enemies. Only the NY Times reported that at this meeting, Pagán repeatedly tried to silence those who opposed Ubiñas, grabbing the mike from some so that they couldn't speak, and cursing and shouting. (He called one woman a "whore" and said he would "have her black ass deported.") Of course, the issue is not pro- vs. anti-Pagán; it's politics vs. education. Pagán has come down squarely against education.

RIGHT TO LIFE GOES EAST

By Lena Holub

The fervor of anti-abortion activism has reached the shores of the former Soviet Union. The Russian style pro-life agenda is a fierce combination of American dollars, and most disturbingly, Russian nationalism.

The movement toward nationalistic tendencies, most evident by the recent parliamentary election, is the perfect feeding ground for American anti-abortion groups. "Their ideas about morality and family values--especially as these coincide with a resurgent nationalism that relies on traditional notions of women and the glorification of motherhood--are highly appealing to Russians in flux between discarding an old identity and creating a new one." (Vanden-Hauvel, Katrina; "Eastward Christian Soldiers: Right-to-Lifers Hit Russia", *The Nation*, Nov.1, 1993.) The largest and most organized of these groups according to Vanden-Hauvel, is the International Right To Life Federation, which staged the three day Right To Life Conference in Moscow last year. Its sole purpose was to make connections with various American Christian rights groups and leaders of the Russian pro-life movement. So successful was this conference that an American group calling itself Focus On The Family (annual budget 77 million dollars!) now broadcasts its pro-life, anti-homosexual rhetoric over 2,500 Russian radio stations (Ibid).

A prime example of this dangerous combination of nationalism and the U.S. dollar, is Dr. Igor Guzov, the director of Russia's Support Of Motherhood. He states, "the demographic crisis in our country has grown into demographic catastrophe. We realize that we had to do something to prevent the total depopulation of our country. Entire Russian villages are dying out, while the Muslim population explodes. We need to salvage Russian purity" (Ibid). The support for Dr. Guzov's cause comes straight from American groups such as Human Life International and Chicago's Pro-Life Action League, which donated to the good doctor his fax machine, video player and television. Dr. Guzov recently traveled to America where he lunched with anti-abortion lobbyists. So successful was his trip that upon returning to Russia, he opened hard-currency accounts with Lloyd's Bank of London and the Republic National Bank of New York (Ibid).

The enterprising link to American dollars and Russia's growing movement is embodied in one man, Mikhail Matskovskii, director of The International Center For Human Values, which publishes Christian Right material. He was appointed last March to The Presidential Commission on Women, Families and Children (Ibid). His publications which sell in the hundreds of thousands include the key publications of the American pro-life movement. For example he is to publish the "bible" of the American anti-abortion movement entitled *Abortion; Questions and Answers*, sure to out-sell them all. Interestingly enough, some Russian pro-lifers are aware of his scheme, "he'll publish anything as long as it makes money," one recently said (Ibid). Case in point, he has published two sex manuals under his American contributor's noses.

Needless to say the likes of Focus On Family and The International Right To Life Federation have found a friend in Matskovskii. They are able to promote and distribute their propaganda throughout Russia via fledgling Russian groups hungry for material and cash. As Vanden-Hauvel states in her article, "the Russian anti-abortion movement seems driven as much by pragmatic opportunism as by religious fervor or ideological fanaticism. Although many of the Russian activists I met seemed sincere, ever obsessive, others are undoubtedly attracted to the possibility of receiving fax and video machines, as well as hard currency, contributions and travel to the West." More dramatically however, some Western religious organizations only contribute equipment and money to those Russian hospitals who promise not to perform abortions.

Where does the Russian government fit into all this? Again we can see hand in hand collaboration of American pro-life groups with that of the Russian government. For example, Yeltsin's Office On Family Affairs and the Moscow city government have consistently used Focus On The Family videos, John Willke's (of The International Right To Life Federation) books as the source and the authority on reproductive health, sexuality and child-raising. These materials have found their way into secondary schools, teaching colleges and institutions (Ibid).

Such right-wing sentiments as outlined, are not hard to find among the parliamentarians and with the victory of right-wing members, that sentiment will be sure to flourish. It is also important to recognize the economic opportunism that propels American anti-abortion groups onto Russian soil. This is not to minimize the growing grassroots movement that is growing in Russia without the American dollar, for their reliance on right-wing ideology to further their anti-abortion agenda I feel, is much more dangerous than the American "fetus rights" ideology. Regardless of the agenda, the combination that I outlined between the two movements is something to take very seriously.

THE "WAR ON CRIME" AS THE FINAL SOLUTION

The economic insecurity of white New York has been translated into a hysterical fear of crime. Though statistics indicate that the violent crime rate in the city has steadily fallen over the past four years, politicians and the mass media have conspired to declared crime the paramount threat to white society. Likewise, youths of color, as a category, have been designated the social group most inclined to mayhem, though crime statistics--for example, the 1990 findings of the US Bureau of Justice Statistics--indicate that Black-on-White crime is rare. In fact, the average White citizen of Forest Hills, Staten Island or Riverdale is far more likely to be laid-off--an act

of social terrorism as arbitrary and devastating as any other--than ever stare down the barrel of a crack-crazed Black teen's assault rifle. But reality carries little weight in the formulation of social policy, when scapegoats are required to pay for the sins of social institutions--including churches, schools and two political parties--which have proven unable to respond to capitalism's systemic collapse in other than reactionary and repressive ways. In that, the Mayor's pre-emptive detention campaign against Black and Latino youths may hint of things to come in America's "Final Solution" for youths, minorities and other disempowered people.
--William Pleasant



LEGAL TOPICS OF THE DAY

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

ONE STRIKE AND YOU'RE OUT

Here's how "three strikes and you're out," the current trend in crime control, plays out in New York.

A man is walking down the street when a stranger approaches, pulls out a gun, and demands his wallet. Staring down the muzzle at that huge hole in the gun, he complies. He sees the robber for a few moments, but it is dark and he is scared. His eyes naturally follow the gun, and not the robber's face. The robber flees and the victim calls the police.

What follows is a system of identification, arrest, re-identification, and trial that is guaranteed to produce the wrong results a frightening portion of the time.

In Manhattan, the victim of the robbery goes to the Manhattan Catch Unit, where some 20,000 photographs repose in five large file cabinets. The victim provides a general description of the perpetrator, say, for example, male Black, 24-27 in age and 5'7 to 5'9 in height, and then begins to review photographs of persons fitting that general description.

The first problem with this process is the age of the perpetrator--obviously, the photographic image does not age. A person photographed when he is 16 is forever depicted in that photograph as a sixteen-year-old. But the catch unit personnel review the pictures periodically and, on the basis of the age of the person depicted, "update" them. The 16 year-old in the 1984 photograph is today, ten years later, found in the drawer for 26-year olds. Hence, the victim is picking from photographs of people who do not match the description that he gave.

The witness knows that the people he is looking at weren't selected for inclusion because they won photo contests. The photographs are mug shots. This removes a subtle psychological barrier to misidentification--the witness does not fear that he will wrongly incriminate a wholly innocent person.

The police then go out an arrest the luckless person that the witness selects as looking most like the perpetrator. Sometimes the arrest happens immediately. More often, it takes weeks or months because the address information is equally outdated. This hiatus makes it impossible for the defendant to adequately reconstruct his whereabouts at the time in question, or to obtain alibi witnesses.

Following the arrest, the defendant is then placed in a lineup--he stands with a group of people of similar appearance and the eyewitness is asked to select the person who robbed him. This is supposed to cure any suggestiveness accruing from the earlier photo identification, but, too often, it has the opposite effect. The image in the witness' mind is no longer the blurry one of the gunman who briefly terrorized him--it is the clear image of the photograph that witness studied at the catch unit. Surprise! He picks the defendant and the defendant goes to trial.

The final blow comes when the defendant wants to take the witness stand and explain that he was nowhere near the scene. Because he has a prior criminal record, the prosecution is usually permitted to tell the jury about the earlier felony conviction. If the jury learns that the defendant has a record, he's doomed. So lawyers generally advise their clients not to testify.

IN CALIFORNIA, THE STATE SUPREME COURT HAS JUST RULED THAT ANY PEDESTRIAN UNABLE TO PROVIDE POLICE WITH SOME FORM OF IDENTIFICATION CAN BE SENT TO JAIL.



FOR THAT MATTER, A LEGALLY-ENFORCEABLE DRESS CODE MIGHT ALSO BE HELPFUL TO POLICE OFFICERS-- SINCE, AFTER ALL, CRIMINALS ARE OFTEN POORLY DRESSED...



PERHAPS TO FURTHER ALLOW POLICE TO KEEP TROUBLEMAKERS AND NONCONFORMISTS IN LINE, CITIZENS SHOULD ALSO BE REQUIRED TO CARRY A CREDIT CARD AT ALL TIMES... TO PROVE THAT THEY ARE PRODUCTIVE, CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS OF SOCIETY...



HECK, PERHAPS IT WOULD BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF SOCIETY IF POLICE COULD SIMPLY ARREST ANYONE AT ANY TIME FOR NO APPARENT REASON...



Unless there is some credible person who was with the defendant at the time of the robbery (and credible is defined as someone who is not a friend or relative of the defendant), he has no defense. He gets convicted. Because this is his second offense--and an armed, violent felony--he faces a term of up to 12 1/2 years to 25. That's right, he must serve 12 1/2 years before he is even eligible for parole.

This is a system designed to convict innocent people; a system that guarantees that one criminal conviction gives rise to another and another. It is like some grotesque, rigged lottery system where, once you enter, you always lose.

DEAD NIXON TRIVIA QUESTION: Who was the young assistant attorney general who placed Washington D.C. under "qualified martial law" during the spring, 1971 anti-war protests? What ever became of him?

(Answer: The plucky young lawyer was none other than William H. Rehnquist. Nominated by Nixon to the Supreme Court in 1972, he is now the Chief Justice!)

SQUEEGEE WARS, Continued

Our offer to represent, for free, any person charged with squeegeeing (is this really a verb?) a car generated quite a response. The *Daily News* attacked us in a lead editorial and published our telephone number. We received over 200 phone calls from irate citizens screaming obscenities at us. But the amazing thing is that more people called us to complain about squeegee defense than any other case we've ever had! It is a fascinating study as to what really makes New Yorkers angry. Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman and the alleged plot to blow up all New York? A few calls and letters. Colin Ferguson, the Long Island Railroad gunman? Ten or twenty harassing calls. But squeegees--now that's a crime that really gets people mad! Hey, maybe Fernando Matteo could start a "guns for squeegees" program, and help those homeless people trade in their wipers and buckets for 9 millimeter pistols!

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

Just in Case You Hadn't Heard--the '60s Are Over

It finally happened--Bob Dylan has allowed *The Times They Are A-Changin'* to be used in an advertisement on television. The ad went on the air this month, but it is not the first--only the most amazing--example of the commercial use of a rebellious classic.



•Song: *The Times They Are A-Changin'*, Bob Dylan
•Product: Coopers & Lybrand, accountants
For an undisclosed sum, Dylan permitted the Big Six firm to use folkie Richie Havens' rendition of his protest anthem. The company cannot use Dylan's name, even when discussing the spot.

Coopers & Lybrand



•Song: *Teach Your Children*, Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young
•Product: Fruit of the Loom underwear
For \$1.5 million, Fruit of the Loom used 30 seconds of the song, with writer Nash himself rerecording it. "I'm not that precious about my music. We're not talking Mozart here," he said.



•Song: *Revolution*, the Beatles
•Product: Nike athletic shoes
Michael Jackson owned the rights to the Lennon and McCartney composition, Capitol Records owned the original masters, and so for \$500,000 Nike was allowed to use the actual voices of the Beatles.



•Song: *Born to Be Wild*, Steppenwolf
•Product: The Ford Mercury Cougar
With a yuppie, his leather jacket, and his Cougar, the ad was part of a campaign that also used *Proud Mary* and the Beatles' *Help*. In three years the average age of Cougar buyers fell from 44 to 35.



•Song: *Satisfaction*, the Rolling Stones
•Product: Snickers candy bars
Mick Jagger and Keith Richards, the songwriters, and ABKCO, the owner of the rights to the song, were made an irresistible offer in 1991: \$4 million, with \$2.8 million going to the composers.



•Song: *Turn! Turn! Turn!*, the Byrds
•Product: TIME the weekly newsmagazine
Folk legend Pete Seeger set words from the *Book of Ecclesiastes* to music, and the Byrds' version became a huge early hippie hit. In the ad it segued into "Hi, I'm Nancy, an operator here at TIME."

TIME

TIME, JANUARY 31, 1994

AND THIS JUST IN:



Tuli Kupferberg, Fugger Extraordinaire, has turned down a tempting multibucks offer from the U.S. Marine Corps to use his sixties socker: *Kill for Peace* for their new "A Few Bad Men" recruitment drive.

Said Tuli: "There is some sheet (music) I will not eat."

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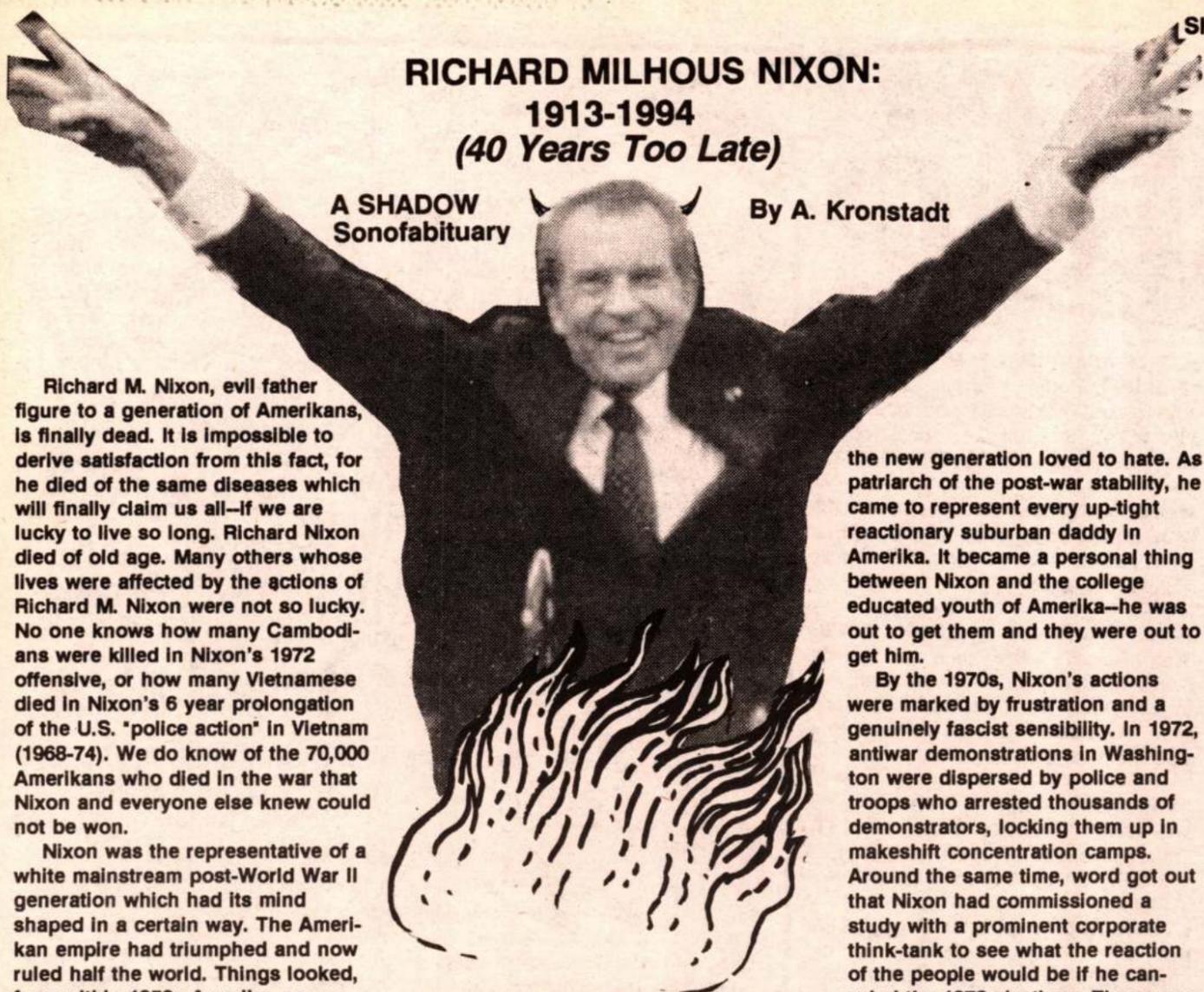
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RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON: 1913-1994 (40 Years Too Late)

A SHADOW
Sonofabitory

By A. Kronstadt



Richard M. Nixon, evil father figure to a generation of Americans, is finally dead. It is impossible to derive satisfaction from this fact, for he died of the same diseases which will finally claim us all—if we are lucky to live so long. Richard Nixon died of old age. Many others whose lives were affected by the actions of Richard M. Nixon were not so lucky. No one knows how many Cambodians were killed in Nixon's 1972 offensive, or how many Vietnamese died in Nixon's 6 year prolongation of the U.S. "police action" in Vietnam (1968-74). We do know of the 70,000 Americans who died in the war that Nixon and everyone else knew could not be won.

Nixon was the representative of a white mainstream post-World War II generation which had its mind shaped in a certain way. The American empire had triumphed and now ruled half the world. Things looked, from within 1950s Amerika, as though everything was working. Brought up to believe that hard work and conformity would make total security possible, normal post-World War II Americans wanted a strong male figure to tell them what to do. Eisenhower was that figure in the 1950s, and Nixon took his place in the 1960s. Nixon was the official post-war success story, the suburban California family man who progressed from his little law office in the boon docks through Congress, the Senate, the vice-presidency, and finally, by the skin of his teeth, the presidency. He believed in the American post-war package deal—the car, the house in the suburbs, and above all, defense of the empire—the source of the cheap raw

materials that made the car and the house in the suburbs possible. Nixon's personality was comforting to Americans, particularly as the ghetto riots of the mid-60s marred the picture of a system that was working.

It was the empire that came apart first, in Vietnam, and it became clear that the source of Amerika's stability was destabilizing everything else around the world. Failure to win the war in Vietnam meant that post-war prosperity was only temporary. Many of the most privileged youth of Amerika, children of that prosperity, were beginning to realize this. A revolt took place against the post-war order, and as its representative, Trickle Dickie, became the man that

the new generation loved to hate. As patriarch of the post-war stability, he came to represent every up-tight reactionary suburban daddy in Amerika. It became a personal thing between Nixon and the college educated youth of Amerika—he was out to get them and they were out to get him.

By the 1970s, Nixon's actions were marked by frustration and a genuinely fascist sensibility. In 1972, antiwar demonstrations in Washington were dispersed by police and troops who arrested thousands of demonstrators, locking them up in makeshift concentration camps. Around the same time, word got out that Nixon had commissioned a study with a prominent corporate think-tank to see what the reaction of the people would be if he canceled the 1972 elections. Then came the burglary of the Democratic Party Headquarters at the Watergate Hotel by Nixon's extrajudicial secret police. In 1973, Nixon initiated the first War on Drugs, which, like the current war on drugs, was first and foremost a war on youth and Black people. Draconian laws for the possession of marijuana and psychedelics were instituted across Amerika and the prison population swelled. Paranoia ruled Amerika, and Nixon was the focus of it all.

Finally, it all backfired. The fall of Saigon approached and the Watergate hearings revealed that the national paranoia didn't even reflect half of what was actually going on. Nixon was about to take the fall for the collapse of the American empire

and post-war prosperity. He reacted pitifully to the prospect of going down with the ship. Shortly before his 1975 resignation he gave a speech on energy but slipped and said "enemies." It was also reported that he was walking around the White House at night with an open bottle of expensive Scotch in his hand, talking to the pictures on the wall. Then, the helicopter came to take him away, and we all celebrated.

It is wrong to compare Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon. Though Reagan was born in 1911 and Nixon was born in 1913, they each presided over a different political epoch. Nixon tried to prolong the epoch of post-war prosperity by attempting to preserve the crumbling empire through military means. Aside from that, he continued the policies of the more prosperous era—the welfare state continued to expand under Nixon and workers continued to gain wage and benefit concessions. Reagan was put in office by a ruling class who realized that the era of prosperity was already over, and that it would now be necessary to roll back the expectations that people had acquired in the years following World War II. Reagan, however, acquired a following among the white baby boom generation, the former enemies of his predecessor, Trickle Dickie. Realizing that their college educations and white skin privilege made them the only people who would be spared the axe in Reagan's brave new world, a good percentage of the baby boomers made peace with their Inner Nixons. There is no need to discuss these people, you can read all about them in *New York Magazine*.

So, rest in peace, Trickle Dick. You've done your damage and died of old age, your evils forgotten by the majority of the population. You are a lucky old fucker—we should all be so fortunate.



SEND YOURS TO:
P.O. BOX 20298
NY, NY 10009

EVENTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

APRIL 30--NY RAINBOW FAMILY TIE DYE EAST VILLAGE CLEAN-UP: Filling trash bags for Spring cleaning. Bring tie dye scraps to tie bags. Meet at SE corner of Tompkins Sq. Park (Ave B + 7th St.) at 1:00PM. Call: 212-673-1612.

APRIL 30--PETER LAMBORN WILSON + (Mushroom Man) TERRENCE McKENNA celebrate Aldous Huxley's 100th birthday. Special guests and visuals. Call 212-219-2527.

MAY 1--8TH ANNUAL SQUATTER MAYDAY: We must warn you that this show was not set up by the traditional Squatter MayDay organizers, but rather a handful of assholes calling themselves the Class War Organizer who stole the park permit. However, activists have forced them to set aside their rhetoric and do a real show, so who knows what will happen? In Tompkins Sq. Park, 2:00-6:00PM.

MAY 1--MAYDAY PIG ROAST: As an alternative to the phony show in Tompkins Sq. Park, there will be plenty of food, music, fun and games only a block away at La Plaza Cultural, 9th St.+ Ave. C starting at noon.

MAY 4--FIGHTING POLICE BRUTALITY: Forum with organizers, survivors, activist lawyers. By the Citywide Coalition to End Police Brutality. At Wash. Sq. Methodist Church, 135 West 4th St., 7:00-9:00 PM.

MAY 7--DUELING TOUR GUIDES OF WALL STREET: Radical tour guide Bruce Kayton vs Ed O'Donnell of Big Onion Tours battle over who obscures history and who tells truth. Covered: Stock Exchange, Trinity Church, Rockefeller, J.P.Morgan and more. Call 212-439-1090 for meeting place. 1:00PM.

MAY 7--21ST ANNUAL POT PARADE + SMOKE-IN: We must warn you that this event also was stolen from legitimate organizers by Dana Beal, who does not believe in having pot at Smoke-Ins--go figure!! However, some enterprising folks will make sure that there will be plenty of pot to smoke!! Dana's march begins at the Partnership for a Drug-Free America at 666 Third Avenue (why protest an office bldg on a Saturday?) at noon, then proceeds to Washington Sq. Park. Maybe some music too.

MAY 11--COMPOST PAPERMAKING WORKSHOP: Dieu Donne Papermill teaches you how to mix various plant materials with recycled cotton to make handmade papers. (How about hemp?) 6:30-9:30PM. (Also on June 9). Call 212-226-7171 for location.

MAY 15--ANNUAL RAINBOW FAMILY PICNIC!! Bring plenty of food, drink, music and love to share at this pot luck picnic which grows larger every year!! See your friends who have been out of sight all winter!! Plan for regional and national gatherings!! At the field next to Sheep's Meadow (use 72nd Street entrances, follow the rainbows), noon-dusk.

MAY 15--RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Bruce Kayton's four hour tour covers: Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Black Panthers, Fidel Castro and more. Meet at 306 Lenox Ave. (125th St.) (Take #2 or 3 train to 125th St.) at 1:00PM. Only \$6.00.

MAY 18--JOHN TRUDELL: FABLES + OTHER REALITIES. Native American activist, poet, musician, artist and survivor of FBI harrasment speaks on the struggle of Amerikan Indians. 7:00-9:00PM. Call 212-226-7171 for location.

MAY 26--ANARCHIST FORUM on the life of Rose Pesotta, anarchist and labor organizer. At Penn South Community Space, 330 W.28th St., Rm 7A. Sponsored by Libertarian Book Club. Call 212-979-8353.

MAY 26--CRITICAL MASS SKATE + BIKE RIDE for safe streets, clean air and auto-free parks. Meet at Washington Sq. Park arch at 5:30PM. Call 212-598-4827 or 802-8222.

JUNE 12--RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Bruce Kayton's three hour tour covers: Emma Goldman, Weatherman Underground, Angela Davis, NYU, Stonewall Riot and more. Meet under the arch in Washington Sq. Park at 1:00PM. Only \$6.00.

HOMELESS STREET PATROLS TO MONITOR POLICE HARRASMENT: Training by the Coalition for the Homeless. Call David Giffin at 212-964-5900.

LATE NITE LIVE JAZZ SESSIONS (LES' best kept secret): At University of the Streets, 130 East 7th St. (2nd Fl.) Saturdays, 9:00PM-3:30AM. Call 212-254-9300.

RESURGENCE OF FACISM IN GERMANY: Interviews by political researcher David Emory on WFMU radio (91.1 FM), Tuesdays, 6:00-7:00PM.

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.

SUPPORT THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION!! Contact the Zapatista Solidarity Committee at: 212-642-5212.

THE ELECTRONIC FRONTIER FOUNDATION (EFF) was founded in 1970 to insure freedom of expression in digital media with an emphasis on applying principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights to computer-based communications. They are fighting the FBI's proposed digital wire tapping and to keep effective encryption techniques free from NSA control. \$20 low-income membership for students + others. EFF, 238 Main Street, Cambridge, MA 02142

DO YOU WANT TO REDUCE STRESS? Better manage your drug usage? Try Acupuncture!! It's safe, painless, effective, and FREE!! Lower East Side Harm Reduction Center, 223 East 2nd Street (Bet. Aves. B+C). Mon-Sat: 12-3pm. Mon:5-7pm. Fri:7-10pm. (212)477-6863.

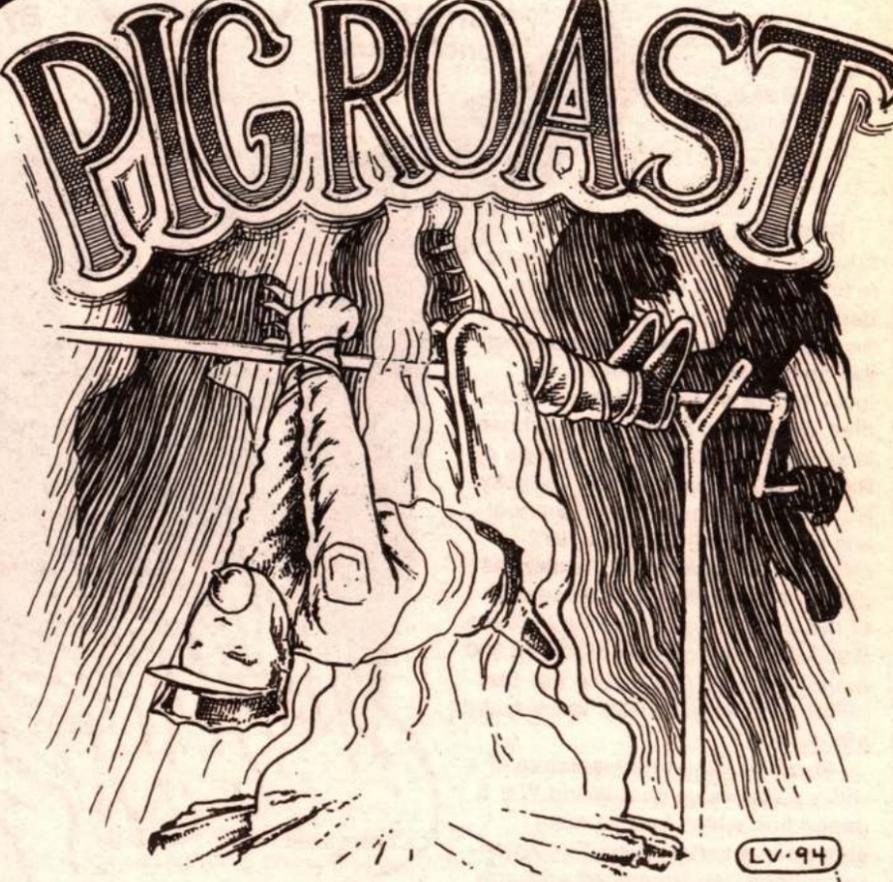
NENA HEALTH CENTER PROVIDES A WIDE VARIETY OF SERVICES on a sliding scale for those without insurance. Weekdays, 8:30AM-4:30PM, Weds till 7:00PM. 279 East 3rd Street, or call 477-8500 for more info.

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.

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.

MAYDAY PIG ROAST



MAY 1st 12 NOON
LA PLAZA 9TH & C

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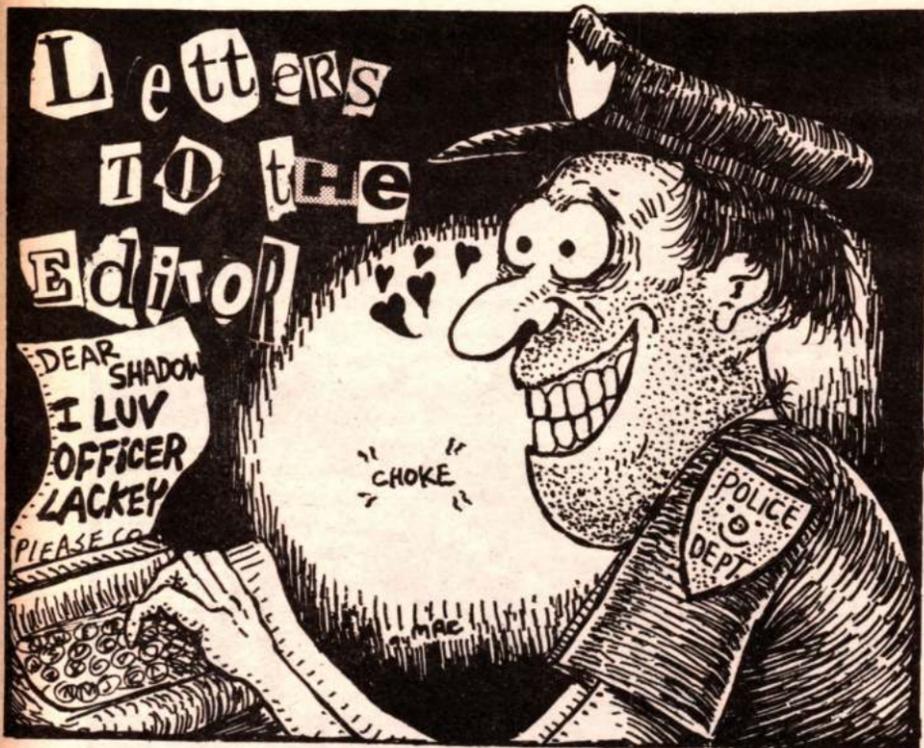
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Dear Editor,
 Thanks to the Shadow for its honest and courageous defense of street peddling: "The Right to Peddle is the Right to Survive!! (Issue #31 Editorial)"
 Be it peddling of garbage or art, one rarely gets to see a good word said in print for such an increasingly popular occupation, as most newspapers are supported by store merchant-advisers, most of whom would like to see peddler running their businesses at the bottom of the East or Hudson River.
 Yes, as you said, "nobody has the right to tell another human being to disappear just because they are annoyed by the sight of that human being," but some people seem to have given themselves the right to pass laws against these beings alleging that they are threats to public health, safety, and well-being" and from there the persecution of many well-intentioned and hard-working poor people springs.

Unfortunately, the "people who have the most options" i.e. the rich, rarely feel that "moral obligation to roll over and make room" for the poor. If the noblesse used to oblige, they don't anymore. They laugh.
 Above mentioned portions of the SHADOW editorial were read out loud on Feb. 24 to the Street Vendor Advisory Board, a committee formed by ex-Mayor Dinkins, composed of peddlers and big businessmen, to advise the city on policy making with regard to vendors. The reading elicited a chuckle from Tom Cusak of the anti-peddler Fifth Avenue Merchant Association, and the comment, "I certainly wouldn't take issue with the right of a newspaper to write an editorial."

The piece was thus dismissed and put aside, perhaps to be read in full later, as a xerox copy of it was given to each person in attendance.
 "Nobody wants the peddlers but the police," someone once said. Yet the people are rarely heard from, although they act appalled and say words of protest when they see the police picking on a peddler, outraged when the hat they are buying is grabbed out of their hands by a cop. Perhaps a strong lobby group of irate peddler customers could save the peddlers who feel that the legal cards are getting stacked higher and higher against them and they are without defense.

Which is why the piece in the SHADOW was so important. Thanks again for your right-on insight and your editorial support.

Thelma Blitz, Street Vendor

Dear SHADOW:
 The Houston Collective is in the process of opening Houston's first and only alternative space. The @tonome will be a combination coffee house/artspace and community center. We will also provide a magazine stand/bookstore. We will sell items unavailable in Houston like Anarchy, Love and Rage, Fifth Estate, etc. Another project we want to undertake is a free Sunday brunch for homeless/low income folks. We will host activities on a regular basis; among these will be live music (punk/alternative), improv theater, political discussions, guest speakers, community oriented workshops, and a host of others.
 In order to start an Anarcho-Autonomous space in the costly conservative Houston, we are asking for the help of the Anarchist community. We are in need of magazines, flyers to distribute, letters of support, stamps, and contributions.
 Please send whatever you can to Jean Christensen at P.O. Box 98101, Houston TX, 77098. If sending contributions, please send it in the form of well-concealed cash or money orders with the pay to the order of... left blank.
 Thank y'all, your brother in black, Santiago los Ricos @

Dear Shadow,
 A guy named Khalid Muhammed, an aide to Louis Farrakhan, gives a rant of rage and frustration to 150 people. The state controlled, censored medio deems this worthy of headline news. COIN-TELPRO moves along. Blacks and Jews have a greater rift between them and new tensions appear in the Black and Jewish communities respectively.

The power elite remains unscathed. Banking, railroads, shipping, steel and aeronautics, etc. etc. etc. are neither Black nor Jewish.
 So we have some rich Jews who are a scapegoat for racism, since the power elite is invisible and their mentality is beyond comprehension. The desendants of the robber barons cling to the obscene philosophy; "divine right of kings". Quite pathetically, a more visible craew is trying to emulate the subspecies (mutants from financial intermarriage.)
 Carol, Florida

Dear Shadow:
 I wonder if you had a list of people to help prisoners. I'd like to find some organizations who will send free books to prisoners without funds.
 Thank you,
 Mr. Jody Lane #624948, Coffield, Rt. 1, Box 150, TDC-J Tennessee Colony, TX 75884

SHADOW:

There's a cop with a gun over there--telling me I've got to beware! Hey now what's that sound? Everybody look what's goin' down. Nobody's right--when everybody's wrong!

Revolution and social change must be based on truth and factual knowledge, not opinion. Gov't and biz lie to the people all the time. The people are listening to the most corrupt. The corrupt are telling them what they want to hear and many take this for the word of god.

Everybody's high on consolation.

We are only a few kliks from a full blown police military legal takeover in the USA. It has been building for some time. Since the substance of life and law have been lost, Amerika has become obsessed with 'legalities' just like Nazi Germany and the corrupt USSR. Too few are fighting back or even understand why they should.

The police and military know what is going on. It is freaking many of them out. Some go rogue, many are committing 'extralegal' killings or stepping over the law--on people. Two elderly men were killed in the last two weeks: one in a mistaken Boston drug raid, the other in a California car chase. The old man had his life savings in the car and feared police. Such irregularities are happening more and more. I still haven't been able to get accurate stats on how many people police kill each year. Rough guess 2000-3000.

The use of the military in the 'war on drugs.' The public housing 'sweeps' in Chicago over the last two weeks. No warrant search and seizure. Such attacks have been happening in Puerto Rico for over a year now--big time. Many people support such things. In Puerto Rico there is no constitutionally-based objection. Many people do not understand why they should fight such things. Once it is accepted by people, polls, and media (non-legal) it can be done to anyone--anytime--for any reason. Who's next?

Such abuses in the name of 'law' are used to concentrate greater and greater 'power' in a corrupt machine government--to save itself. It also serves and protects the most rich, powerful, and corrupt while earth and people suffer.

No equitable or intelligent change occurs. Democracy is a sham.

I think the rich and powerful are fully aware of this and don't care. Their two-faced cynicism is rotten to the core. They know--like everyone else--the human race is going down, so is the rest of life on earth. It is a ship of ghouls. They just want to go down in luxury. The police and military are used to protect this--first.

Earth Day is April 23, 1994. You will see little activism or resistance to the status quo. The gov't and biz have convinced the people--'they' have the problems under full control. The big lie. Go to work, stay in school. Don't worry--be happy. We'll take care of everything. This results in a lame powerless people.

RUDOLPH THE GREEN-NOSE MAYOR

Rudy the Brown-Nose Altar Boy
 Had a very stinky nose
 And if you ever smelled it
 You would surely say "O Gross!"

All of the other Law Students
 Laughed and called poor Rudy names
 They wouldn't let poor Rudolph
 Play in any Law-Stud games.

Then one stupid 'Lecture Eve
 Rudy hit it big
 A slick Red-Nosed politico
 Said, "Rudy, have a D.A. Gig!"

Now Rudy the Brown-Nose Mayor
 Persecutes the sick and poor
 And all of the other Dollar-Boy\$
 Never call him "Klotz" or Boor.

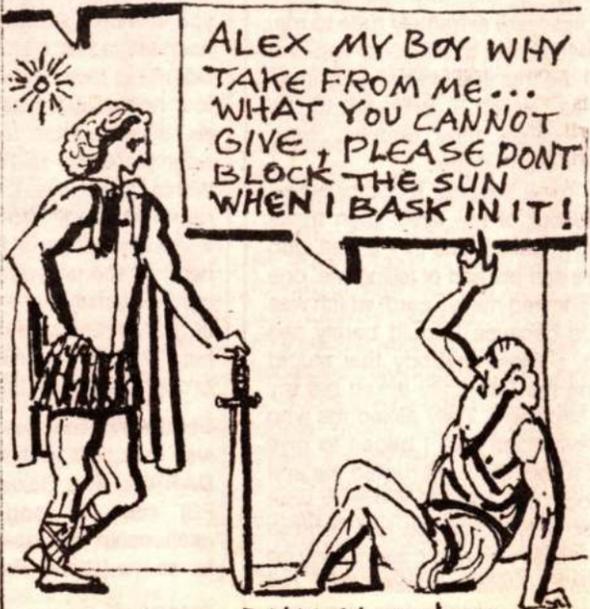
So Rudy you Green-No\$e Mayor
 Kissing the A(ri) \$Stoeraey
 Banker\$, Landlord\$, Market Player\$
 You'll go down in Misery!

Gina Fanelli

To Whom It May Concern:
 I am currently serving time in Maryland for possession of marijuana at the Washington County Detention Center. I've been a proud smoker for countless years, not abusing the herb (if there is a way to do that) but utilizing its effects for my own well being. I feel it's a natural resource and I'm so tired of society deliberately discriminating against something so natural. In my heart I feel that marijuana has not only helped me fight depression but has enlightened me spiritually and made me feel confident enough to talk openly with people about important issues such as environmental awareness and recycling--two of a thousand issues that need to be expressed.
 I'm getting tired of doing time for something I feel is very useful to thousands of people and also other causes such as fiber, fuel, and medication. I have over 6 months left to serve on my sentence for this consensual "crime" against myself.
 Sincerely yours,
 Walter William Shatzer

THE GREAT SASSY PROTO-ANARCHIST CYNIC PHILOSOPH DIOGENES. GAVE US A FINE EXAMPLE, WHEN WE CONFRONT AN AUTHORITY FIGURE THAT DOES NOT IMPRESS US.. SASS THEM.

HAIL DIOGENES... I AM KING ALEXANDER OF MACEDONIA I LIKE YOUR GOOD WORKS WHAT MAY I DO FOR YOU SIR?



PHIDAKIS '94

INTERVIEW WITH EARTH FIRST! ACTIVIST DARRYL CHERNEY

By Lori Rizzo

Darryl Cherney is a lifelong political activist and an accomplished recording artist. However, he is probably best known as one of the survivors of the bombing of fellow Earth First! organizer Judi Bari's car in May 1990. Within a few hours of the bombing, the FBI arrested both Cherney and Bari, alleging that it was their own bomb which had blown up in the car. Judy Bari was arrested in the hospital, and Darryl Cherney was held for five days, although evidence from the wreck of the car proved that the bomb had exploded directly under Judi Bari's seat. The FBI continued to pursue these ludicrous charges, and it is for this reason that Earth First! has brought a civil suit against the FBI, charging them with civil rights violations. The FBI's tactics against Bari and Cherney have also brought about an ongoing Congressional investigation into the Cointelpro tactics implemented by the FBI against environmental activists.

I met up with Darryl when he was in town to do a benefit for the Zitser Spiritual Republic in late November. We did the interview at the Manhattan apartment where Darryl's family has lived for twenty-five years. Throughout our conversation, I kept wanting to go outside because it was a really nice night, but Darryl had to stay inside and wait for a phone call and a fax from his lawyer. He really should get out more!

SHADOW: What happened the day of the bombing?

DARRYL: Well, the night before, Judi and I had attended a major planning meeting for Redwood Summer at the Seeds of Peace house in Berkeley. 35 organizers attended, and without a doubt it was the most important meeting we had had. At 12 noon on Thursday, May 24, Judi and I left Oakland to head back for Seeds of Peace, where we would pick up my van and head for University of California at Santa Cruz, where we had a gig that night. Five minutes into the drive, the bomb exploded under Judi's seat. Judi knew it was a bomb right away because it ripped into her underside, but for me it wasn't as clear. I heard a crack and suddenly my ears were humming, like a sitar inside my head. I didn't know it at the time, but that was my ear drums breaking and flapping around. At first, I thought I was dead because I had no idea what was going on. Then I thought we'd been rear ended by a logging truck, because Judi and I had been rear ended and sent flying through the air by a logging truck just eight months prior, but I realized that this was much stronger than any log truck, and besides, we were in Oakland. Finally, a couple of kids came running up to the car shouting, "It's a bomb! It's a bomb!" I surveyed the car for damage. Judi was calling out that her back hurt. I just kept telling her, "I love you" over and over. Soon after, I was taken out of the car, I presume, by paramedics. I had a terrible feeling about leaving Judi alone and being taken away by strangers. I remembered a slide show I'd seen about El Salvador where I heard that people would call out their names when the death squads came for them, so that people would know who they were in case they wound up missing. So, instinctively, I did the same. The paramedics were extremely rude to me. I kept asking them to take Judi first and they told me that Judi was already in an ambulance, which I believed to be untrue because they couldn't have gotten her out that fast.

In the hospital, a doctor pulled the glass out of my eyes; then these two guys in suits came in. I asked who they were and instead of telling me, one of them showed me his card, which was ridiculous because I could barely see anything. I knew anybody that stupid had to be the FBI. They asked me my name. I told them. They asked me who could have done this. I began to give them a list, but they interrupted me and said, "Look, we can tell if this is your bomb, so why don't you just confess and get it over with and make it easy on all of us?" I was shocked but not surprised. I was in the middle of reading Ward Churchill's book, "Agents of

Repression," so I immediately understood that what was happening to us had happened many times before to the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement. I told them I wanted to see a lawyer, and they abruptly left.

A few hours later I was brought to the Oakland police station where I was left alone in a smoky room for eight hours with no food, water, or bathroom. At 11 o'clock they played good cop and brought me a cheese sandwich and something to drink. For the next four hours, they questioned me. I know it may sound naive, but I went along with them because I wanted them to go out and find the bomber. Also, they threatened to incarcerate me if I did not answer their questions. I wanted to get out real bad, so having nothing to hide, I talked to them. At 3 a.m., I was booked in the Oakland City Jail, where I remained on \$100,000 bail for the next five days.

SHADOW: What was the extent of your injuries?

DARRYL: I suffered two broken eardrums, a scratched cornea, and lacerations over my left eye, but Judi's pelvis was shattered and her coccyx dislocated, and she has partial paralysis in her right leg.

SHADOW: There were a lot of right-wing talk radio shows trying to whoop people up against you. Particularly about Judi — weren't there a lot of nasty things said against her?

DARRYL: Exactly! Judi was targeted, we believe, not only because she was organizing Redwood Summer, but because she was at the forefront of creating an IWW labor union at the Georgia Pacific sawmill in Ft. Bragg, California. She is also a woman, which added the threat to the male paradigm.

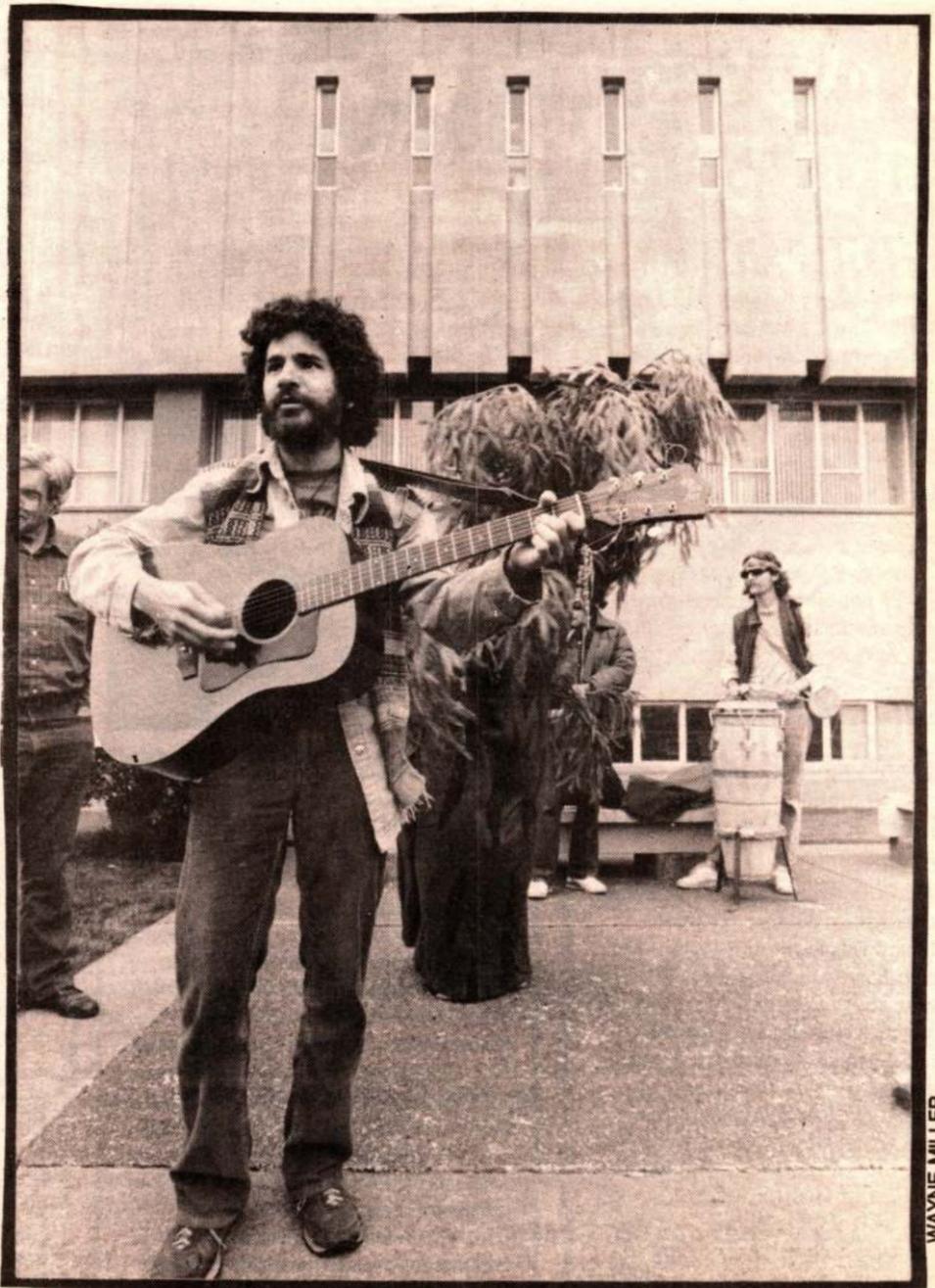
SHADOW: I heard that they arrested you and held you while you were in the hospital, is that true?

DARRYL: I was only in the hospital for four hours; Judi was in the hospital for six weeks. After the bombing, Judi wasn't allowed to have contact visits. Within two days the Oakland police removed Judi from intensive care without her doctors' permission and put her into the jail ward of the hospital. I consider this the second attempt on Judi's life. It scared the living hell out of her. The doctors were outraged and brought her back into intensive care.

SHADOW: The Oakland police! What was their beef in this?

DARRYL: The Oakland police and the FBI have a longstanding working relationship that goes back at least as far as the [Black] Panthers.

SHADOW: Do you really think that the FBI put the bomb in the car?



WAYNE MILLER

DARRYL CHERNEY AT REDWOODS DEMO IN FRONT OF HUMBOLDT COUNTY COURTHOUSE IN 1987.

DARRYL: I can't say that publicly, because, first of all, we have a lawsuit, and second, I don't know that for a fact. What I can say is that the FBI was very gleeful that a bomb had been placed in our car and was very happy to accuse us publicly of being the bombers. They also covered the tracks of the would-be assassin. As a matter of fact, they have yet to retract their statements about us being the only suspects in the case.

SHADOW: And this is the kind of stuff that you are going to bring out through your lawsuit?

DARRYL: The lawsuit is a civil rights suit and it says that the FBI and the Oakland police violated our rights of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly by falsely arresting us and continuing to call us suspects in order to stymie the organization of Redwood Summer. There are also habeas corpus violations: we are charging them with arresting us when they knew we were innocent of the bombing. We were arrested and held without being charged with any crime. In addition to the lawsuit, we also have opened a Congressional investigation of the FBI's handling of this case. The Congressional investigation is being conducted by Don Edwards of the House Judiciary committee. He is the same one who exposed Cointelpro actions against the Black Panthers and later against AIM (American Indian Movement) and CISPE (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador). At this point it is limited to this particular case, but we'd like him to take a broader look at FBI behavior, particularly with Leonard Peltier coming up for parole and with Geronimo Pratt and 18 other Panthers still incarcerated.

SHADOW: Has the Congressional investigation uncovered any useful information?

DARRYL: Over 5000 pages of documents have been released by the FBI thanks to Don Edwards' probe into the bombing. Judi sorted them all out. There are many startling revelations found within them and there are, of course, many missing documents. But here's a few tidbits. The FBI launched an investigation of over 600 people that Judi, I, and our friends made phone calls to, including environmentalists and our parents. Timber industry people were questioned, but only to provide anti-environmentalist propaganda.

Continued On Next Page

TAKE ACTION! 

You can begin feeding the hungry and working for peace by starting a **Food Not Bombs** group in your community. Food Not Bombs is a nonviolent all-volunteer network that provides free, hot vegetarian meals and political support to low income people in over 25 cities in North America. Food Not Bombs is *empowering, rewarding and FUN!*

Send \$10 to Food Not Bombs for our helpful 128-page book that includes the steps for starting and maintaining a food recovery program, 30 vegetarian recipes for feeding 100 people and logos, flyers and letters you can reprint.

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Call (415) 330-5030
for free information.

DARRYL CHERNEY

(Continued From Previous Page)

Another juicy item relates to a letter that was received by the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* five days after the bombing taking credit for the attack. A man calling himself "The Lord's Avenger" said he bombed Judi because of her defense of an abortion clinic in Ukiah. This was quite odd because it was a most obscure part of her work and few people knew about it. The Lord's Avenger listed the components of two bombs, one set off at the Louisiana Pacific mill in Cloverdale, California, and the one in Judi's car. Interestingly, he did this after the cops tried to pin the Cloverdale bomb on us too! Anyway, the FBI crime lab claimed that the Lord's Avenger bomb descriptions were accurate. The FBI then deduced that he must be one of our friends trying to cover up for us, or that maybe it was even me. But Lord's Avenger made some fundamental mistakes about the bomb descriptions, and the internal FBI documents that Congress got released for us show that the FBI never took the letter seriously, even though they claimed to the media that it was accurate. They even went so far as to call the letter "bull" and then say that they supposed they'd have to investigate the anti-abortionists. After this remark they drew a smiley face. There are no other doodles in 5000 pages of documents, and this smiley face appears in the middle of the paragraph like a piece of punctuation.

The documents also provide concrete evidence that a Mendocino County Sheriff, Sergeant Satterwhite, may have written a death threat to Judi after the bombing. Satterwhite conducted an investigation to find out where Judi was living after she got out of the hospital. Satterwhite's correspondence with the FBI's San Francisco bureau shows that he was looking for Judi's "hideout," where he believed she was building a mountaintop "headquarters" for *Earth First!* After a clown-like search, he located her place. Very shortly after this, a reward poster was found in a Willits,

California phone booth stating that the hippies up String Creek Road have built a "hideout" for Judy Bari. It went on to say: "We don't want a 'Headquarters' for Forests Forever *Earth First!* terrorists." It then proceeded to give the directions to her house that appeared on Sergeant Satterwhite's reports to the FBI. The language is the same on the Sheriff's confidential reports as it is on the death threat.

The good news is that we just won a crucial victory in the US Court of Appeals. The FBI has tried twice to get the case thrown out of court. The higher court ruled early January that we have the right to sue the FBI. Their contention was that the FBI and their agents can't be sued because everything they do falls within the realm of police work. They lost, we won, and we're popping the champagne corks. Yahoo!

SHADOW: Activists have known for years that the government is watching them. To an extent, aren't you feeding into the paranoia?

DARRYL: I disagree with the idea that activists are already familiar with this police oppression of activists. This is particularly not true in the environmental movement. It may be true of the civil rights movement and Native American movement, who have experienced hundreds of years of oppression at the hands of the government and corporations. The environmental movement stems from an upper and middle class realm where people think that they are only trying to save the pretty trees — therefore the big bad policeman won't be after them. We are not going to get rid of the FBI until we have gotten rid of capitalism, and that is quite a job. I don't advocate the overthrow of the government, I advocate the overthrow of the corporate state. The government is simply a straw boss that we can go to in order to complain about the damage that is being done by multinational corporations.

SHADOW: How do you overthrow a corporation? If you put one lumber company out of business, won't there just be another lumber company?

DARRYL: From an environmentalist point of view, if you look at ozone destruction, global warming, deforestation, desertification, and combine that with economic collapse —

the conclusion is that society will topple itself. Our job, as environmental activists, is not so much to topple the corporate state as to try to prepare society for what follows after that — as the Wobblies said, by building the new society within the shell of the old.

SHADOW: I've heard you say, "If there was one tree left in America, the Sierra Club would save half of it." What's that all about?

DARRYL: The second principle of *Earth First!*, after biocentrism, is no compromise in the defense of Mother Earth. In the making of compromises, one essentially loses the integrity of one's position. Especially with the volume of compromises that have already been made in the past 6000 years of patriarchal military industrialism. We cannot compromise the ability of the planet to sustain life. We take what we believe to be the state-of-the-art biological positions for preserving life on this planet and state them regardless of whether or not they are politically feasible. Political feasibility is for the politicians, not the environmentalists.

SHADOW: They say that one of the things that distinguishes *Earth First!* from other environmental organizations is that you can't send in fifteen dollars and become a member — that you have to do something.

DARRYL: By not having a membership fee or any members, *Earth First!* becomes a people's movement. With the Sierra Club you can pay your fifteen bucks, sit on your ass for the rest of the year, and still have a say in how club matters are determined. Direct action is a marvelous tactic because you don't need a lot of people to make a great big statement. Your statement as an activist is made at the demonstration, at the point of production. We don't censor anybody from talking to the press. *Earth First!* has provided a vehicle for establishing a new generation of environmental leadership in this country. Many *Earth Firsters* have actually gone on to start new organizations with much stronger "no compromise" positions. People need to be comfortable with what they are doing.

SHADOW: So it's people who are angry and want to do something about it who you want to join *Earth First!*?

DARRYL: We want the entire world to be angry and do something about it! It's very sad to still see people drinking out of styrofoam cups and burning fossil fuel just to go down to the store and buy cigarettes. On the other hand, our Western society has been inundated by the television, by the public education system, by a whole corporate indoctrination that begins at the point where boy babies are dressed in blue and girl babies are dressed in pink. It goes downhill from there.

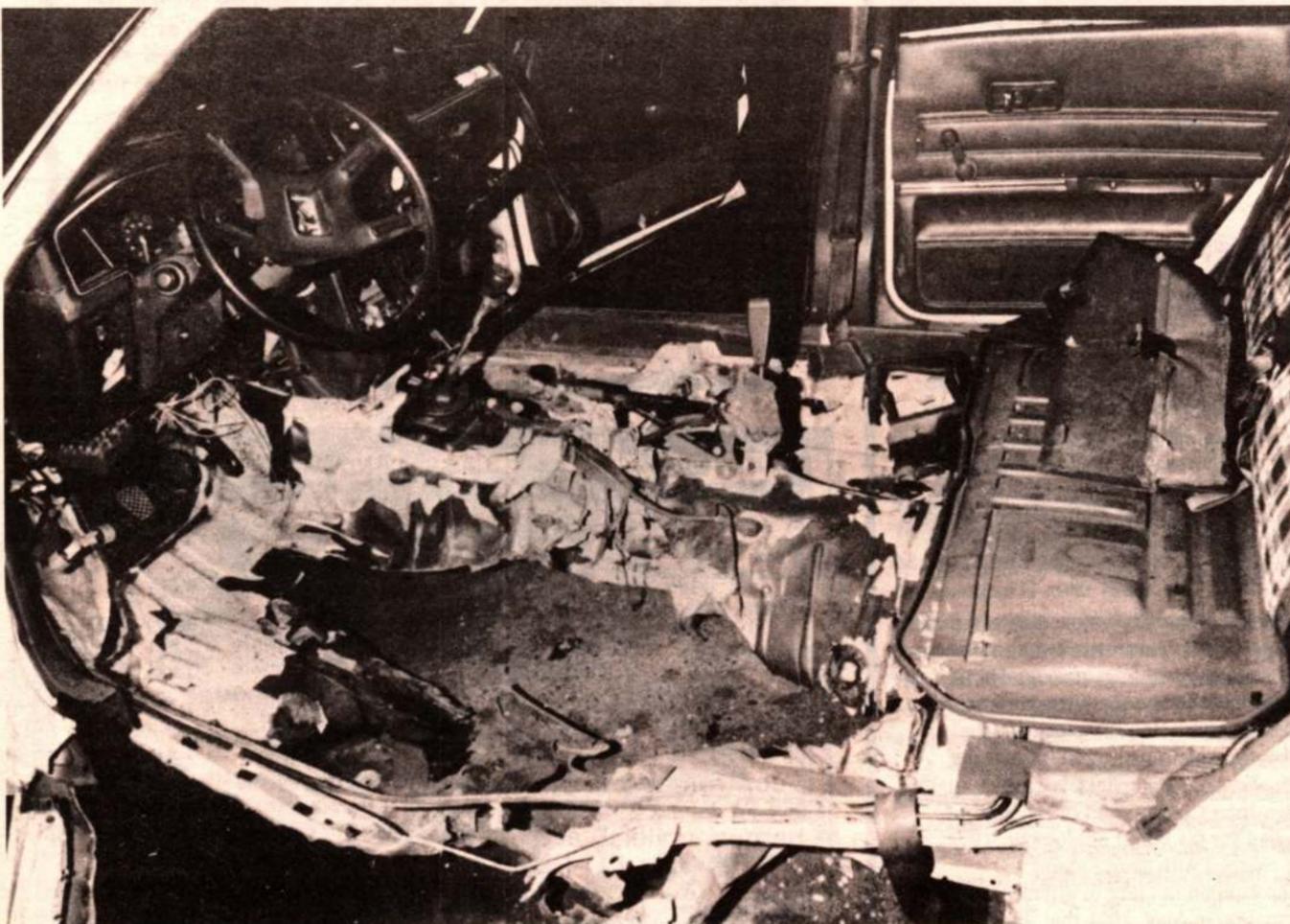
SHADOW: Are there a lot of your people in jail?

DARRYL: There's been a tremendous amount of harassment of *Earth First!* in particular and of environmental activists in general over the past few years. There are prosecutions; I should really call them persecutions, of *Earth Firsters* up in Montana on trumped up charges of sabotage. There's been a grand jury investigation in Idaho also concerning trumped up charges of sabotage. There is an FBI investigation in New Mexico concerning the alleged toppling of a power line during a storm which the FBI is using as an excuse to question *Earth Firsters* within a 200-mile radius in Central New Mexico. In the Four Corners area of Arizona/New Mexico, where the Dine tribe lives - Leroy Jackson, a traditional Dine, and also a forest activist was murdered in early October. He was missing for several days and his body was found in his van. The police reported it initially as natural causes, then they changed it to a homicide, and now they are calling it a methadone overdose, though Jackson didn't take methadone or any other hard drug.

I think a bigger problem is how many are being harassed, how many are being beaten up, how many are having their houses burned down, how many are being sued by corporations for engaging in peaceful protest. The answer is hundreds of activists around the country are facing that kind of persecution, and it is having an effect on the behavior of thousands of other activists.

SHADOW: Early in your movement, didn't the FBI send people into your meetings to encourage activists to cut down power lines or whatever?

DARRYL: The first FBI investigation of *Earth First!* began only a year after it was founded, in 1981. The first *Earth First!* action was the symbolic cracking of the Glen Canyon dam, where activists dropped a hundred yard roll of black plastic down the center of the dam to symbolize a giant crack. The *Earth First!* movement was in some ways inspired by Edward Abbey's *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, in which Abbey fantasized about destroying the Glen Canyon dam and freeing the Colorado River. So the FBI read this piece of fiction, looked at this piece of guerilla theater and decided that we were terrorists. In 1988, the FBI came up with a sting operation in which they planned to topple power lines at three different locations in the Western US and recruit *Earth First!* and other environmental activists into committing this act with FBI money, FBI material, FBI vehicles, because nobody in *Earth First!* has any money or vehicles. The FBI's plan was unfortunately followed by three activists. Five people were indicted in total, some had absolutely nothing to do with any of it. Nobody was convicted of trying to topple power lines because it was clearly entrapment - the FBI can't plan an act that people would not ordinarily commit and then entrap them into doing it. However, some of the activists had admitted on tape to having sabotaged



This photo, taken by the Oakland Police Department, clearly shows that the bomb was under the left front seat and not on or below the rear seat, which is virtually undamaged.

Continued On Page 22

HAITI NIGHTMARE

(Continued From Page 8)

President Bill Clinton publicly expressed his support for Aristide's return to Haiti and sent the transport USS Harlan County with hundreds of troops to insure the transition to democracy. But at the port where the ship was to dock, pro-military government thugs staged a demonstration prompting the ship to turn back. This was shortly after the images of dead U.S. soldiers dragged through the streets in Somalia had shocked the American public and provided an excuse for the Clinton administration to back off from what promised to be another open-ended military intervention.

THE BOYS FROM THE COMPANY

Meanwhile, the CIA was openly running a full-scale disinformation campaign against Aristide. Ultra-conservative North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, a leading opponent of Aristide, brought CIA analyst Brian Latell to Capitol Hill in October to brief selected senators and representatives on allegations that Aristide had been treated for mental illness. The time during which the CIA report alleges Aristide was treated at a Canadian hospital falls within the same period that Aristide was studying and teaching in Israel. Latell also said he "saw no evidence of oppressive rule" in Haiti.

While Helms was a long time backer of the brutal dictatorship of Jean Claude Duvalier, the Democrats have their own ties to the human rights violators and drug dealers who rule Haiti.

Former Democratic party head and current secretary of commerce Ron Brown headed a law firm that represented the Duvalier family for decades. Part of that representation was a public relations campaign that stressed Duvalier's opposition to communism in the cold war. United States support for Duvalier was worth more than \$400 million in aid to the country before the man who called himself Haiti's "President-for-Life" was forced from the country in February, 1986.

Even Duvalier's exit from Haiti is shrouded in covert intrigue and remains an unexplored facet of the career of Lt. Col. Oliver North. Shortly after Duvalier's ouster, North was quoted as saying he had brought an end to "Haiti's nightmare." A cryptic statement that was never publicly pursued during the Iran-Contra hearings.

THE CIA AND THE COCAINE CONNECTION

As Jesse Helms was using the CIA to slag Aristide in the media, an intelligence service in Haiti set up by the agency to battle the cocaine trade had evolved into a gang of political terrorists and drug traffickers. Three former chiefs of the Haitian National Intelligence Service (NIS) are now on the list of 41 Haitian officials whose assets in the United States were frozen for supporting the military coup.

The CIA poured millions into the NIS from its founding in 1986 to the 1991 coup. A 1992 DEA document describes the NIS as "a covert counter-narcotics intelligence unit which often works in unison with the CIA." Although most of the CIA's activities in Haiti remain secret, U.S. officials accuse some NIS members of becoming "enmeshed" in the drug trade. A U.S. embassy official in Haiti told the *New York Times* that the NIS "was a military organization that distributed drugs in Haiti."

Aristide's exiled interior minister Patrick Elie says the relationship between the CIA and NIS involves more than drugs. Elie told investigative reporter Dennis Bernstein that "the NIS was created by the CIA." Created, Elie said, to "infiltrate the drug network." But, Elie adds, the NIS, which is staffed entirely by the Haitian military, spends most of its resources in "political repression and spying on Haitians."

After the 1991 coup, Elie maintains that the drug trade made a "quantum leap," taking control of the national Port Authority through the offices of Port-au-Prince police chief Lt. Col. Michel Francois. It was Francois's thugs, called attaches, who are primarily responsible for the waves of political killings since the coup.

United States government sources say the NIS never provided much narcotics intelligence and its commanding officers were responsible for the torture and murder of Aristide supporters and involved in death threats that forced the local DEA chief to flee the country. Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd, who sits on the Foreign Relations Committee and has received extensive CIA briefings, said the drug intelligence the U.S. was getting came "from the very same people who in front of the world are brutally murdering people."

LEGACY OF CORRUPTION

In the early 1980s, when Haiti was still under Duvalier's rule, the drug trade in Haiti was the province of individually corrupt military men associated with Duvalier's powerful father-in-law. By 1985, the cocaine cartels began to seek transit points for the booming cocaine industry. A natural candidate was Haiti, lying just south of the Bahamas -- another favorite transit route.

Haiti is particularly attractive to the drug smugglers because the most direct route from the Colombian coast to Florida lies through the Windward passage between northern Haiti and eastern Cuba. Port-au-Prince is approximately 500 nautical miles north of Colombia and 700 miles southeast of Miami. Thomas Cash, a former agent in charge of the Miami DEA, told Senator Kerry's committee that Haiti's attraction to smugglers is aided by dozens of small airstrips, the lack of patrols over Haitian airspace and the total lack of any radar monitoring approaches to the country. Combined with the legendary corruption of public officials, these conditions make Haiti a "very fertile ground" for drug traffickers.

In fact, infamous drug trafficker George Morales told the Kerry that during the mid 1980s, "I used the isle of Haiti mainly as a parking lot, as a place that I would place my aircraft so they could be repaired." When asked if he shipped drugs through Haiti, Morales replied, "Yes, I did," adding, "it is something which is done fairly commonly."

Since then, the role of Haiti in the drug trade has grown and the profits to the Haitian officials involved have skyrocketed. This may explain the difficulty Aristide experienced during his short rule in trying to interdict drug shipments. A confidential DEA report provided to Michigan Representative John Conyers told of the case of Tony Greco, a former DEA agent in Haiti who fled for his life in September, 1992, following the arrest of a Haitian military officer charged with drug running.

Patrick Elie says he got no assistance from the Haitian military in attempts to stop drug shipments. And when Greco received information in May, 1991 that 400 kilos of cocaine were arriving in Haiti, the DEA man watched helplessly as the drugs were delivered to waiting boats. Greco told Elie that the military was "conspicuously absent" at a moment when they knew drugs were coming in.

Greco said he finally gave up and fled the country after he received a telephone death threat against his family from a man who identified himself as "the boss of the arrested officer." Greco says only army commander Raoul Cedras and Port-au-Prince police chief Michel Francois, leaders of the 1991 coup, had his private number.

Despite Tony Greco's experiences, the DEA defends their continuing presence in Haiti. There are currently two DEA agents still stationed in the country. The DEA has continued its contacts with the military following Aristide's ouster, despite the DEA's admission that over 26,400 pounds of cocaine entered the United States in 1993, transhipped through Haiti with the cooperation of the military.

The DEA remains defensive of its contacts with the Haitian military. Agency spokesperson William Ruzzamenti says, "Quite frankly and honestly, we have gotten reliable and good support in the things we're trying to do there." He acknowledged that the DEA has received reports of Haitian army officers involvement in the drug trade but said that the reports "have not been verified."

The International Narcotics Control Strategy Report released in April by the U.S. Department of State Bureau of International Narcotics matters says the "current level of detected air and maritime drug-related activity in Haiti is low."

THE SHADOWY WORLD OF COL. FRANCOIS

Most Haitians believe the Port-au-Prince police chief, Col. Michel Francois and his elder brother Evans currently run the drug trade. Col. Francois has gained that control and become one of Haiti's most powerful men by recruiting hundreds of police auxiliaries or "attaches" to control and eliminate his rivals. Francois commands his own independent intelligence service that spies on opponents and allies alike while running a protection racket for local drug traffickers.

Francois and his men have a history of involvement in the torture of opponents and death squad style murders of Aristide supporters. In one recent incident, attaches mobbed Port-au-Prince City Hall to prevent the capital's mayor, Evans Paul, an Aristide supporter, from entering his offices.

One person was killed and 11 wounded during the September 8th incident when the mob opened fire on Aristide supporters. Witnesses say the attack began when attaches dragged two of Paul's aides from a car, viciously beating Aristide Information Minister Herve Denis. Francois is also considered responsible for the murder of Justice Minister Guy Malary.

Journalist Dennis Bernstein writes that Francois was trained at the U.S. Army's School of the Americas known in Latin America as La Escuela de Golpes, the school of coups. Originally based in Panama, the SOA was moved to Ft. Benning, Georgia in 1984. In its 40 year history, the SOA has trained 55,000 military personnel from Latin America including the late Salvadoran death squad leader Roberto d'Aubuisson.

On April 21st, 1994, a convicted Colombian drug trafficker, Gabriel Taboada, who is in the fifth year of a 12-year sentence in a Miami federal prison, fingered Francois at a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee hearing chaired by Senator John Kerry. Taboada testified that Lt. Col. Francois collaborated in shipping tons of cocaine to the United States during the 1980s.

Taboada said he met Francois while he was in the Medellin, Colombia office of drug king Pablo Escobar in 1984. During a thirty minute conversation, Taboada told Francois he was a car importer. Francois, he said, asked "why wasn't I in the drug business since the drug business made good money?"

Speaking through an interpreter, Taboada said: "I asked him what his business was and he said that at the time he was in Medellin arranging a cocaine deal." Taboada said he later learned that Francois was chief of police in Haiti.

Taboada told the committee that the cartel "took planes out of Colombia and landed in Haiti, protected by the Haitian military. Michel Francois protected the drugs in Haiti and then allowed the drugs to continue to the United States." Taboada also told the subcommittee that Haitian military figures often met Medellin cartel members in Colombia, including strongman Prosper Avril.

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THE RISE OF INDUSTRY IS THE DOWNFALL OF HUMANITY.

ACT-UP!!

(Continued From Page 6)

The bulk of the demonstrators opted for the pedestrian walkway. As we marched, it was noted that the police had shut down the traffic lanes anyway. Their interests were clearly not to keep the Brooklyn Bridge open but simply to disempower the demonstrators. Against the backdrop of a stunning sunset, the march proceeded across the pedestrian walkway.

As the throng came off the bridge on the Manhattan side, they were greeted by a huge group of people waiting in the demonstration pen at City Hall. The roar of the chanting was deafening. The group coming off the bridge swarmed across Park Row and swung south, against the wishes of the police. At the fountain at the south end of City Hall Park, the group doubled back and entered the park. The police panicked and scrambled to erect barricades between the approaching demonstrators and City Hall itself. The crowd was enormous. A half an hour after the first marchers had entered the borough of Manhattan, there were still marchers pouring off the bridge.

Candles were lit and left in City Hall Park and there was a brief speak-out. Although speak-outs are generally reviled in ACT UP circles, organizers were hard-pressed to come up with any other non-violent means of closing the march. The final chant of the evening was "We can't take it any more. Giuliani this is war!"

In the opinion of many members of ACT UP, the media effort was largely successful. Only the *New York Post* incorrectly identified ACT UP as a "gay rights organization," and by and large the central message, that the mayor's proposed cuts would take life-sustaining care away from New Yorkers who were most vulnerable, was conveyed.

In the wake of March 22nd, members of Housing Works were critical of ACT UP positing the power of negotiating with the police with only three members. Fortunately, the criticism took the form of a dialog and both groups have committed themselves to working more closely together in the future. Several coalition meetings have taken place since and this effort has been apparently successful.

It is disturbing, though, that Giuliani seems to be something of a juggernaut. Although the budget will not be published until early May, there are still well-substantiated rumors circling that despite several successful demonstrations, despite his being characterized as making irresponsible budgetary decisions by the national media, he still seems intent on crippling AIDS services. Over the past fourteen years of the epidemic, a well-connected and politically powerful constituency has grown around the issue. Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) has a budget of several million dollars a year, and the AIDS service bureaucracy is far-reaching and complex. Many people devoting their time and energies to AIDS issues are seasoned activists who have fought and won many battles. In short, if he can clear us out of the way, advocates for the homeless, for the elderly, for the disabled, for the poor, and other vital groups who are in some ways less well organized, will get short shrift. The prospect is terrifying.

And so, on the evening of April 11th, the floor of the ACT UP general meeting voted to end the meeting early and head down to Henry Street to demonstrate outside of the Mayor's Town Meeting. Twelve members of ACT UP entered incognito and waited for Mayor Giuliani to appear. There were many other activists representing a host of issues present, and when the Mayor entered, he was greeted by a raucous and angry crowd. ACT UP members unfurled a banner reading "AIDS Cuts=Death. Rudy This Is War" and pandemonium reigned. The mayor dodged most of the questions, not only those concerning AIDS issues. The response he had developed was that the City would be spending more next year on AIDS than it did this year. Overall, he implied, the AIDS budget would increase. Given that the AIDS caseload is rising in multiples, and the promise of additional money next year is cold comfort to people living with AIDS and in need of services currently, not to mention the fact that much of this money is mandated by the State and Federal government, activists were not placated. One member of ACT UP, by all appearances a simple, mild-mannered citizen, managed to get selected to ask a question of Giuliani. Once given the microphone, Shane Butler exploded into anger at the mayor for his proposed cuts. Taken aback but recovering quickly, Giuliani, to the insult of many in the audience, took the tone of a third grade teacher and declared he wouldn't answer the question about his plans for DAS until the hall was silent. Of course, he didn't answer the question at all.



BARBARA LEE

The following Wednesday, at another town meeting on the Upper East Side, ACT UP again came out in force. In a more genteel neighborhood, the raucous chanting was less well received by other groups attending. However, women from the group *Mother's Voices*, a support and advocacy group for the mothers of people who have died of AIDS, managed to take Giuliani to task quite effectively.

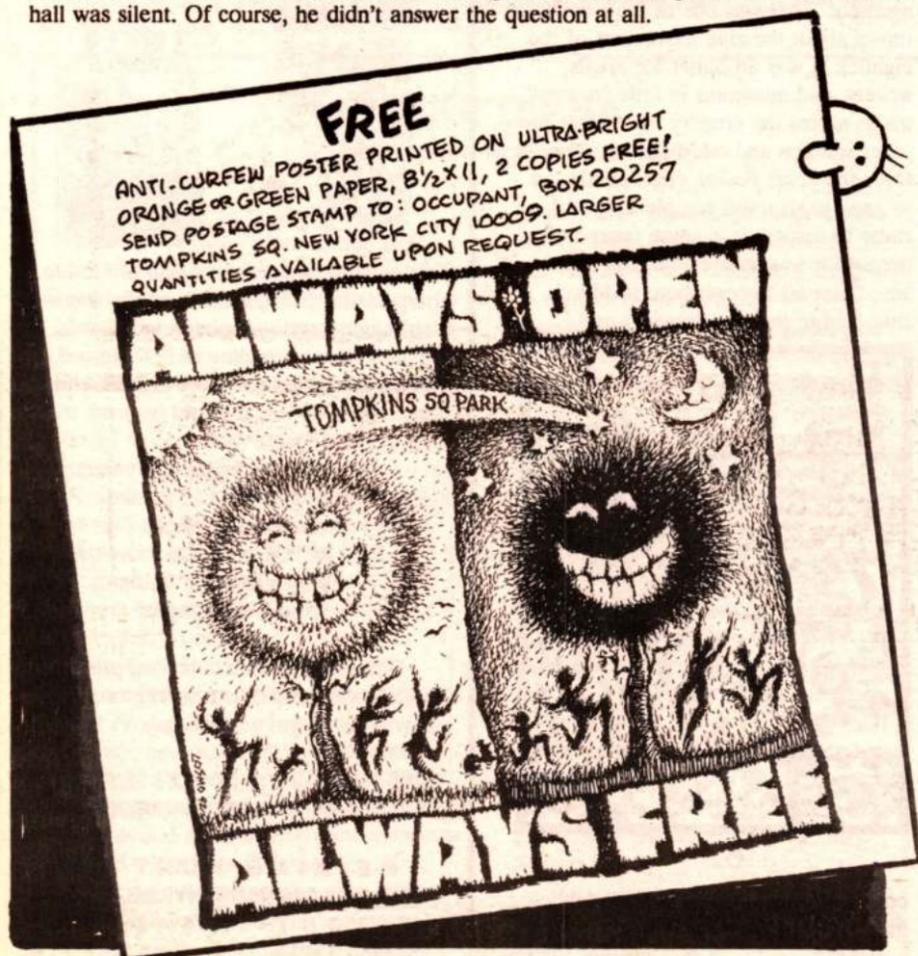
If only because we are left with no choice given the lives at stake, ACT UP will continue to keep the pressure on Giuliani. Four months into Giuliani's four year term, ACT UP members are showing signs of fatigue. At this point, a lawsuit is being prepared to enjoin the City from eliminating any AIDS services. Included in the complaint is a Title VI claim alleging that cuts would disproportionately affect people of color. When DAS was formed, the bulk of the clients were gay white men. At this point, the client base is overwhelmingly people of color, whose lives have historically been deemed less valuable. The broad coalition of organizations mobilized to fight the budget cuts continues to meet, and ACT UP continues to monitor developments and take action whenever necessary.

PAGANOIDS JEER PEOPLE WITH AIDS AT CB3 MEETING

By Gabby Sloan

Since most decent LES residents have stopped attending Community Board #3 meetings, the Paganoids (appointees and political allies of selectively openly gay right-wing city councilman Antonio Pagán) feel completely at home. In this comfy atmosphere, a discussion at the April 14 Housing Committee meeting on Pagán-allied housing group Pueblo Nuevo's proposed AIDS housing for the site of the Glass House Squat on Avenue D and East 10th Street degenerated into a mirthful jokefest about people with AIDS. Citing eligibility requirements for the project of former squatters evicted February 1 from the squat, some whom are HIV-positive, committee member Nancy Sosman quipped, "But they have to be FULL BLOWN, ha ha ha." A big smile animated the wrinkles of her sour, ginraved face, for the first time that evening.

Later, Albert Fabozzi, another Pagán appointee who happens to be gay, wanted to know the definition of full-blown AIDS. When told by the Pueblo Nuevo consultant that t-cell count was the determining factor, CB#3 member Fabozzi sneered, "In other words, the criteria is. [sic] devised to maximize [the AIDS patients'] eligibility to collect benefits."

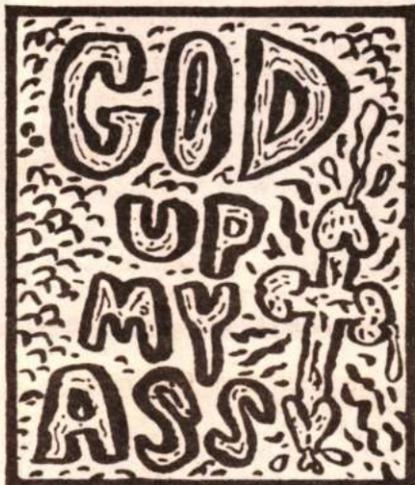


SUBCULTURE

By Scott Cunningham

At the end of *Planet of the Apes*, Charlton Heston drops to his knees in shock when he discovers the beloved Statue of Liberty chest-deep in the soil of this supposed distant world. Anger overwhelms him when he realizes he's been on Earth all along; a post-nuclear Earth where his own culture was destroyed centuries ago. In exasperation he shouts, "Damn you all to Hell. You did it. You finally did it!" End of movie. Roll credits.

That's exactly what I want to scream while standing in front of the state prosecutor's office in Pinellas County, Florida, where they just buried the Statue of Liberty again under their own tourist-trashed beaches. But this time it wasn't nuclear war that put the big green lady chest-deep and sinking fast. It was state prosecutor Stuart Baggish, the man who wanted to put Michael C.



ART BY MIKE DIANA

1.

Diana in jail for publishing the "obscene" zine *Boiled Angel*. For over a year now, I've been telling anyone who would listen about this prosecutor who finally brought Mike to trial last month. It took an undercover sting operation to make the one sale of Mike's obscure little zine in fair Pinellas County (where Diana has had the misfortune of living since his family moved there from Geneva, N.Y. in 1979). It was enough that *Boiled Angel* managed to offend one nosy cop and for that mistake, thousands of dollars have already been wasted prosecuting Mike.

The first phase of the battle is over and Mike lost. His lawyers went into court on March 25 feeling that their client might be found guilty on obscenity charges and fined, but confident that the three years of jail time Baggish was asking for would be seen by Judge Walter Fullerton as the overkill it clearly was. But then the harsh reality of the Florida criminal system kicked in: Mike was found guilty on all three



2.

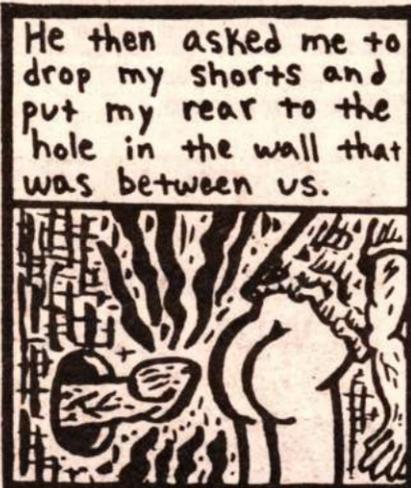


3.

charges of obscenity and was forced to spend the next four days in jail awaiting sentencing, since the judge would not allow bail to be set. This was a warning shot to Mike, who prior to his arrest for *Boiled Angel*, had an absolutely clean criminal record. Mike's lawyers were worried he might get real jail time, and I'm sure Mike was worried too as he lay there trying to sleep during those long nights in the maximum security section of the County Court House. Sentencing finally came and everyone on Mike's side let out a collective sigh of relief when the judge said he would be released on probation. Then the man in black started to read the conditions of his probation, and Mike's mood went from elation to depression as the Florida court system put on its gloves and began swinging:

WHAM--the probation is for three long years (for each of the three counts against him).

POW--for a first-offender, who makes six bucks an hour working at his dad's convenience store, he's been fined \$3,000, which must be paid in payments of at least \$100 per month.



4.

SOCKO--he must work 1,248 hours of community service at the local Salvation Army (which translates into 8 hours per week for the entire three years; he must also pay \$6.00 for workers' insurance per 8-hour session).

WHACK--he must maintain full-time employment (meaning that he is *mandated by law* to work 48-hours a week, once community service has been factored in).

BLAM--he must undergo psychological evaluation within 30 days of sentencing.

And **WHAMMO**--he must take a course in journalism ethics (at his own expense).

Okay, now catch your breath because there's more amendment-bashing coming, including a "stay-away" order from minors that keeps Mike from close contact or intimate conversation with anyone under 18. Pretty tricky, since he's forced to work at his dad's store and has to wait on people of ALL ages (after all, this is a democracy). At the sentencing, the judge explained to Mike that he had to stay behind the counter and speak only when spoken to if he suspects one of his customers is an innocent under-ager. One assumes he's not supposed to flash any of his drawings at them either.

And now the *real clincher*: he is not to draw or write anything that may be deemed obscene, even for his own personal use, and he's subject to unannounced searches of his apartment by his probation officer to make sure he's not doing any dirty drawings. The state of Florida has made it illegal for Mike Diana to make his art. They have rendered an official order that is the equivalent of thought-crime; George Orwell was only off by a decade, folks.

Is Mike's work obscene? Is it art or sick and prurient material meant to excite child molesters? For the record, when I first saw Mike's work in 1989 I thought it had a primitive power and energy that stood out from the crowd of



5.

gore-loving zines dwelling in the serial-killer subculture (the equally obsessed *Answer Me* currently holds this title, and not surprisingly, Mike has done illustrations for it). Keep in mind, in 1989 Mike was only 19, and I was impressed by someone his age putting out a zine regularly in some god-forsaken place where I'm sure there was zero encouragement. That was one of the wonderful things about the zine movement of the eighties: it was an outlet for artists, writers, and musicians in little "normal" towns across the country to connect the other weirdos and odd-balls out there. Over the years *Boiled Angel* continued to grow in size and complexity and I came to respect it in some crazy way because it was so over the top. Eventually, I started to contribute to Mike's zine, and in fact my drawings and



6.

comics are included in the two anthologies of *Boiled Angel* that have now been



7.

deemed to be utterly "without any artistic merit" (one of the conditions necessary to have any material declared obscene). At the same time Mike was pro-



8.

ducing *Boiled Angel*, he was also making homemade "live-action" gore videos and contributing to a number of other underground publications. He was a busy and ambitious guy--someone who took his art-making very seriously. And over the years his work has shown real growth both in technical and conceptual ways. In the last year he's appeared in a number of top-flight comics and zines like *Snake Eyes* and *World War 3 Illustrated*, *The Brutarian* and the aforementioned *Answer Me*.

I help edit *WW3*, and I think his contribution to Issue #19, a twisted

See MIKE DIANA On Next Page

The Mike Hunt Mint proudly presents
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KURT COBAIN DEAD: DAVID GEFFEN MURDERER

By Stuart Frankel

Gold Mountain Entertainment, the evil management company which orchestrated Kurt Cobain's life, said in its official statement after Cobain's shotgun suicide, "Kurt's passions and feelings about his fame overwhelmed him," as if Kurt's fame were something that descends mysteriously from heaven. That's a coldly calculated lie. Kurt's fame, as most fame, was a deliberate engineering job, a PRODUCT of Gold Mountain, Geffen Records, Inc., and a superstructure of other corporate interests (Rolling Stone, MTV, etc.).

A friend who knew Kurt says that he was basically a cokehead who blew himself away. When you take someone that fragile and place him in a situation where he won't be able to cope so that you can extract megabucks out of his predicament, that's murder.

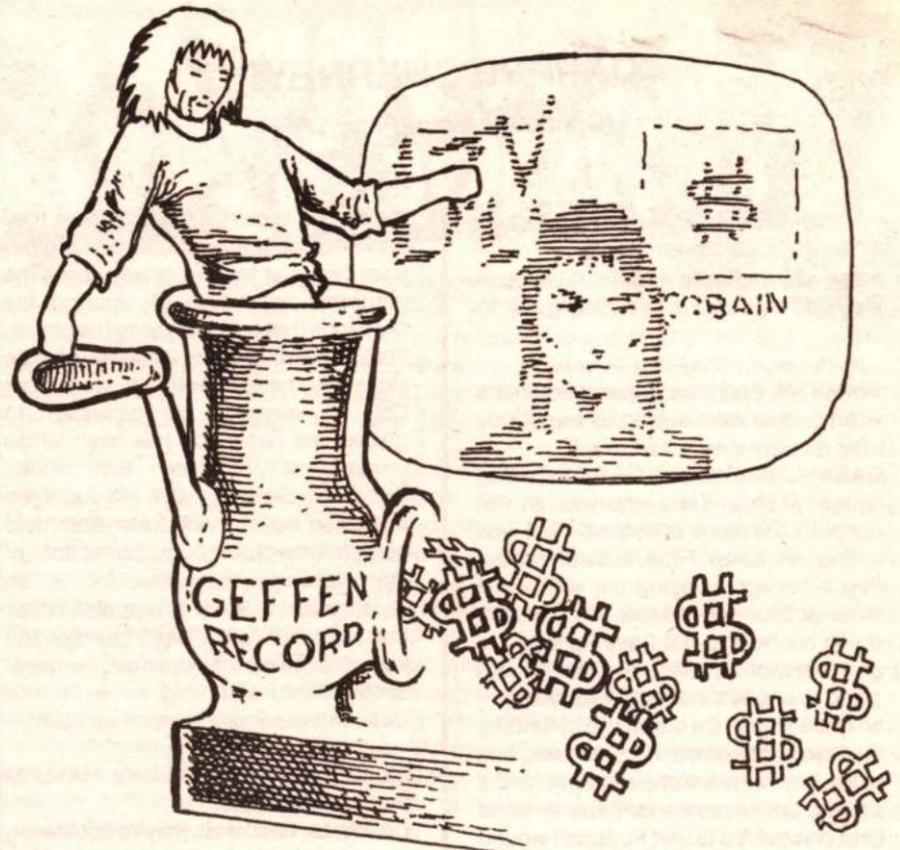
There's nothing new here, although a lot of amnesiacs want to turn this into a generational thing. But it's not slacker vs. shotgun - instead, it's corporations vs. people. The list of celebrities who couldn't cope with their fame is long and ugly. Before Jimi Hendrix, Jim Morrison, and Janis Joplin, there was Edith Piaf and Judy Garland; we should even put Elvis into this category, although he took 20 years to kill himself and seems have been too dim to have the slightest idea what was happening. Corporations have always manufactured "fame" with no regard for the individuals behind the manufactured masks. Once the claws of corporate greed have grabbed you, there is no way out. They squeeze you until you are dry and then auction off the husk. Kurt's tragedy is not that he attained commercial success by displaying his private pain - a lot of celebrities do that - but that he was not hypocritical or cynical enough to view his music and his pain as merely another commercial product.

Of course Kurt committed artistic suicide when he signed to Geffen Records. He cut off his roots which were the intricate web of musicians, independent record labels, zines, and fans that has flourished for years outside the notice of the corporate cash culture. After Kurt jumped from SubPop (a giant among the indies, but an indie all the same), it became fashionable to slag Nirvana as a sellout. With any luck, that unfair fashion will now slack off (although there are a few jokes floating around of the type: How did Kurt Cobain die? He shot some dope). How many musicians would refuse a couple of million dollars dropped in their lap in exchange for performing music, which is what they want to do anyway? It's easy to criticize people for making the wrong choice if you've never been faced with it yourself. There are not many puritans such as Ian MacKaye (no major labels, no shows over \$5, no stage diving). Sure, Kurt sinned, but he paid for his sin long since.

If we are to get the moral drop on the corporations, it would be better to remember Kurt with compassion rather than with scorn. (I resisted the urge to make a crank call to a suicide hot line.) Kurt was not a uniformly brilliant musician - the dreary collection of outtakes, b-sides, and other neverminds released as "Incesticide" brings this point home with startling clarity - but he wrote enough decent songs to leave a respectable legacy. Even more important, he brought some of these to new venues. Insinuating the harsh and hookless "Milk It," one of his best songs, into suburban America is a worthy accomplishment.

It would be an exaggeration to dismiss "Nevermind" as commercial pap, but it certainly was more poppy than Kurt wanted, and he announced that he would make *In Utero* the way HE wanted. He recruited the uncompromising Steve Albini, one of the few authentic geniuses in the field (and a far better musician than Kurt) to produce the album. (Well, almost uncompromising. Steve wanted to call the last record by his band Big Black "Nigger," just to annoy people, but his record company Touch & Go said, in effect, o.k., but you'll have to get someone else to distribute it. Steve backed down and the album appeared with the blander title "Songs About Fucking").

But Kurt never had a chance. He had no weapons to use in his battle with the corporation that controlled him. At their insistence, two of the songs were remixed to make them more poppy (Heart Shaped Box sounds like it was supposed to be the next Smells Like Teen Spirit); I Hate Myself And I Want To Die was deleted entirely as "not commercially viable"; and a bowdlerized jacket was designed, complete with euphemistic song titles, for display in K-Mart.



After Kurt's death, the media blew the corpse grotesquely out of proportion using gas from Geffen's publicity machine. ABC, CNN, NBC, and CBS all described him as a "pioneer," but the only thing he pioneered was some unimportant little numbers game like "Nirvana was the first reasonably abrasive group to sell EVEN MORE records than Sonic Youth." One network said that he "almost-singlehandedly created grunge," which is like some alien space creature saying that the shuttle astronauts created the Earth. CBS said the Nirvana "came out of nowhere," a mirror-image of the truth, since Nirvana WENT INTO nowhere when they abandoned their indie roots. It was startling to see the corporate media describe the gigantic indie SubPop as "tiny." There's an entire world which is invisible to them. Kurt "invented" "grunge" for them only because Nirvana came to their attention through accepted corporate channels. Anything else simply doesn't exist.

Vampire-like, the corporations are continuing to feed off the corpse. The *New York Post* has had a front-page headline every day since Kurt's death. COBAIN TRIED TO KILL SELF WEEKS AGO. So what else is new? NIRVANA SALES SOAR SINCE DEATH. Yawn. About the only thing left is KURT DIDN'T SHAVE EVERY DAY. Buy our paper and read all about it!

And the mass-media still doesn't have a clue. *Newsweek's* Jeff Giles wrote, "Grunge is what happens when children of divorce get their hands on guitars." *Newsday's* subway reporter Elias Henican wrote that Courtney Love "was loud and blond and pushy, everything Cobain was not," which sounds as if he had never even seen a picture of Kurt. Noted rock columnist Jimmy Breslin, who knows or cares nothing about the music, turned Kurt into a cliché of youthful angst. Nobody gives a shit what these ignorant blowhards think, but Breslin gets half a million dollars a year to spout. It's even a matter of speculation whether Courtney's comment "I only wish I could have been there," assuming "there" meant the business end of Kurt's shotgun, was a reference to a missed career move on her part.

To a musician, music is life, but the sole concern of the corporations is profit. The only entertainers to thrive in the corporate environment are talentless automata like Madonna or Marketing Mark, who have no soul to crush. Only a vanishingly small number of artists have managed to retain their own integrity (Neil Young, Lou Reed [sort of], Nick Cave - all have needed long time-outs). More usually, they either turn into self-parodies or they fizzle and die. And uncomprehending and uncaring, the corporate death machine rumbles on.

MIKE DIANA

(Continued From Previous Page)

fairy tale about child abuse called "Grasshopper Boy," is one of the best and most disturbing things I've ever read on the subject. His recent strip about his troubles with the law in the latest *WW3* is pretty funny and manages to actually predict his current situation. In the final panel he's sent to Hell and forced to only draw "nice" pictures of puppies and flowers. It's exactly like his life now, and with summer coming up in the sunshine state, it's bound to seem even more like he's in Hell!

Some people ask if perhaps Mike's lawyers blotched his case. But both of the expert witnesses they flew in to testify--Seth Friedman, the current editor of the San Francisco-based *Fact-sheet Five*, the zine of zines in the underground mail-order world, and local-boy and fellow *WW3* editor Peter Kuper--both did an excellent job making Baggish and his Christian comics experts look like the fools they are. But it wasn't logic or perspective that ultimately influenced the jury's decision; it was the highly inflammatory rhetoric

employed by prosecutor Baggish that moved them. In his summation to the jury he exclaimed: "Pinellas County has its own identity. It doesn't have to accept what is acceptable in the bathhouses of San Francisco, and it doesn't have to accept what is acceptable in the crack alleys of New York." Baggish reminded the jury that Mike's tiny list of 300 subscribers included people in France, Australia and Africa. Then he said, "It goes all over the world and it says Largo, Florida. Nice reputation for Pinellas County, don't you think?" I think the reputation of being a fascist state is worse, but then what do I know? My mind's been addled from all that crack I've been smoking in alleys.

Mike's lawyers are appealing to a higher court, but so far there's no word on when, or even if, a new trial will be set. Everyone I tell about Mike's case always says the same thing: "I can't believe it."

Well, believe it! And start shouting, "Damn you all to Hell! You did it. You finally did it!"

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DARRYL CHERNEY

(Continued From Page 17)

some other pieces of equipment and they had to wind up pleading guilty to that.

SHADOW: And these tapes were made while people were talking to somebody they thought they could trust?

DARRYL: That's correct. A fellow calling himself Michael Tate, who was an FBI agent by the name of Michael Fain, was dating an *Earth First!* activist named Peg Millet and hanging out with some other antinuclear activists. He was also doing his best to get Dave Foreman to give him money, telling him that he was going to use this money for sabotage, in an effort to get him convicted of funding the [sting] operation. Foreman was one of the five founders of *Earth First!* and a primary spokesperson at the time. What Fain discovered is that Foreman wound up having to raise \$100 at a bake sale to give to this FBI agent in order to "do with it as he pleased, not for any specific activities." Pretty penny ante stuff when you compare it with the hundreds of billions embezzled in the savings and loan scandal and all of the mafia/CIA corporate-style corruption.

SHADOW: Was there anything that gave you the impression that you shouldn't have trusted this guy?

DARRYL: I never met Michael Fain, so I can't say. Sometimes it's a matter of looking into someone's heart and feeling whether or not they really care about the earth. Anybody who enters our group and begins talking about sabotage, whether privately or publicly, is out! If that's what they have to bring, from moment one, then their judgement is bad, if nothing else. We look for disruptive behavior because actually that's a more common form of infiltration. On the other hand, pointing fingers at people without having substantial proof can create additional divisions, which is exactly what the FBI wants.

SHADOW: Did the incident with Michael Fain create a backlash within the organization?

DARRYL: There certainly has been some paranoia, and I think that some very good people have been turned off from working within the *Earth First!* organization because they had been accused of being spies because they had short hair, or they talked with a funny accent, or because they were an unknown person. Sometimes I'm utterly astounded at the lack of paranoia that's exhibited, and then sometimes I'm astounded at the volume that's exhibited. It doesn't seem to have a rhyme or reason to it.

SHADOW: Where are the front lines for the planet right now?

DARRYL: The front lines are both at the point of destruction, sometimes called the point of production, and in the ivory towers where the corporate industrial types have set up their little fiefdoms. At the point of destruction, you are looking at the front lines in the redwood forests, at the strip mines, where the overgrazing is taking place, where the toxins are being poured out into the rivers. That is where you can witness first hand the holocaust that is occurring on the planet as we speak and that is where you can take the most inspiration to defend the earth. One of our primary tactics is to take people out into

threatened areas on hikes, so that they can become more attached. The other front line is in the big cities, where the corporate executives are making the decisions that are destroying the planet. That's where the city activists can be extremely helpful. Here in New York City, for example, our campaign to protect the redwoods has often led to protests at the New York Stock Exchange where we've encouraged people to boycott MAXXAM stock and spread the word throughout the floor of the exchange that MAXXAM is an organization to shun. We've also noted that MAXXAM has a failed savings and loan and owes the American taxpayer \$548 million according to a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation claim.

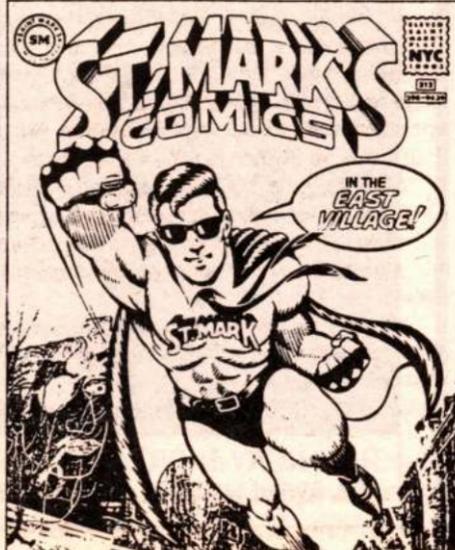
SHADOW: What is it about MAXXAM that you don't like?

DARRYL: First of all, they're liquidating vast tracts of ancient redwood forests as well as second growth forests to pay off a junk bond debt. They used money from liquidating the redwood forest and engaged in a corporate takeover of Kaiser Aluminum. They have built a massive hotel on endangered bighorn sheep habitat in Southern California. They've liquidated worker pension funds at Simplicity Pattern in New York City, where retired workers, our elders, make only \$6000 per year in retirement benefits instead of the \$10,000 they were getting before MAXXAM took over. They destroyed the Pacific Lumber Company Pension fund. In short, MAXXAM SUXXS!

SHADOW: What parts of the planet have been destroyed, so that they will not be there for the next generation?

DARRYL: 50% of the global rain forests, 50% of the U.S. forests, vast amounts of mountains that have had their tops ripped off and been filled with garbage from the cities. We're losing clean water - 90% of America's water is polluted. We've lost thousands and thousands of critters to extinction. We've lost the ability to take life for granted. We've lost the innocence that you can be born on this planet and be assured of enough resources to carry you through. This is really the first generation that has lived on the planet that cannot be assured that it will have a planet to live on. By the same token, we are also the last generation to have the honor and privilege of fighting for the life of the planet itself.

[For more information or if you would like to send a donation for *Earth First!* activities, write to *Earth First!*, c/o Darryl Cherney, PO Box 34, Garberville, CA, 95542. Donations for the lawsuit effort can be made out to the Redwood Summer Justice Project.]



YOUR RIGHT TO GATHER IS UNDER ATTACK!!

By Starfire (of the Rainbow Family)



Freedom of Assembly? Freedom of Speech?? Religious Freedom?? Do any of these really exist?? Well, the Forest Service seems to think that, yes, we can have these rights, but only if we are willing to sign a permit allowing us to gather and disseminate literature. The Rainbow Family, who have been gathering on public land for more than 20 years, have been negotiating with the Forest Service for years now, adhering to mutually agreeable "operating agreements" that specify how we plan to follow health and safety standards. These agreements also specify how we plan to treat the forest and clean up after the gatherings, following environmental standards that have been set up. While local governments have often harassed Rainbow Gatherings in unsuccessful efforts to stop them from happening (the cleanup crew was arrested at the North Carolina gathering in 1988), even the Federal Government has been forced to admit that our record of cleanup and returning the forest to its natural state has been impeccable.

But the Forest Service is persistent in trying to prevent these non-commercial, alternative gatherings from continuing. Their amendments to sections 251 & 261 of the code of federal regulations, which may be published in the Federal Register as early as February of 1994, include several restrictions.

One of these is a clause putting use of public land by the timber, mining, and grazing interests ahead of the right of people to gather. Another says that the government has no time limit in deciding whether or not to grant a permit. Texas Judge Justice had ruled in 1988 that the government had to issue permits within a reasonable amount of time. The new regulations also prohibit military training exercises in the forest conducted by any other than "federally funded" groups. The most obvious breach of the First Amendment in the new Forest Service regulations is the requirement of permits to allow people to "post, affix or distribute literature" on Forest Service land.

The Rainbow Family has as a consensually based group that makes it unable to sign such permits. Because no one person can speak for the Rainbow Family Tribal Council, which is held July 1-7 on the land at annual gatherings, it is impossible for any individual to sign a permit in the name of the Rainbow Family.

We must get the word out about this government intrusion into our constitutional right to gather. Those of us who feel that this sort of strategy works should write and pressure their Congresspeople. We will continue to have Rainbow gatherings anyway, even if we have to get arrested. Let lots of people know why we want to keep our freedoms of assembly, speech and religion intact!!

For more information, literature, as well as updates on where the regulations stand, contact:

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Washington DC 20038
(202)462-0757

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WOMEN PROTEST GRAMMY AWARDS!!

By Sara Valentine



CRAZED LESBIANS! GORILLA WOMEN! BULLHORNS! POSTERS! CHANTS! Oh, my goddess, it's the SWIM demonstration outside the 1993 Grammy Awards across from Radio City Music Hall, and aren't the voices buzzing? Hundreds of adoring fans waiting to catch a glimpse of Whitney Houston, instead confronted by a group of angry women carrying signs, dancing, chanting, protesting the noticeable absence of their sisters in all of the hard rock categories.

Like the crowds wants to see this, the demolition of their idols in front of their very eyes. Hand them a flyer though, and when they see that people like Tina Turner have been overlooked, they too become sympathetic to the cause.

1993 has been referred to as the Year of the Woman in music. The Village Voice dedicated their Pazz and Jop review to the subject. Liz Phair, Melissa Etheridge, PJ Harvey, The Breeders, Belly, Juliana Hatfield, Bjork, not to mention indie bands like Bikini Kill and Tribe 8, all came out with strong releases this year. And yet, in this, the Year of the Woman in the music world, the entire membership of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (NARAS) could not name ten in which to justify having such a category. (The winner of the all male "combined" category was Meat Loaf.)

Strong Women In Music (SWIM), a group of women involved in all areas of the music industry who have met over the past year to promote women in music and raise the issue of sexual discrimination, decided to confront this sad oversight. Summoning help from the former WAC (Women's Action Coalition) Drumcore, SWIM members and supporters such as Sonic Youth's Kim Gordon, The Breeder's Josephine Whiggs, and members of the group Luscious Jackson, all raised hell the night of the Grammy Awards, battling police barricades and cold weather to have a successful event that gained media attention around North America.

When music critic/journalist Evelyn McDonnell learned that NARAS had dropped the Female Rock Vocalist category this year, she got on the girl hotline and took action. Together with Vickie Starr, host of WBAI's *Ghost in the Machine*, and performance artist Juliana Luecking, these three women, on behalf of the group, organized SWIM's first public demonstration to date.

McDonnell contacted more women in the music industry and wrote the flyer that was to be passed out at the demo. Starr penned the press release, which she then distributed to over fifty press outlets, national and local, TV, print and radio. Luecking took the more artistic side, working with two other SWIM members to create the signs and armbands that were worn that day.

McDonnell thinks that NARAS' dropping the category is "... a really bad reflection on NARAS' membership. Obviously, they are not educating their members." McDonnell also feels this absence is reflective of the music industry itself, which has a "very spotted" record when it comes to female artists.

Considering that SWIM did not notify cops of their demonstration, Luecking says that the police seemed to be anticipating some sort of protest outside Radio City. A police-barricaded spot of sidewalk on the corner of 49th Street and Sixth Avenue was already in place when SWIM members arrived, and served as the sight for protest. Situated diagonally across from Radio City, the demonstration was visible to crowds gathered, but unfortunately not to the press corps, who were located outside Radio City's doors.

Upon their arrival, Leucking and Starr approached the cops and informed them of SWIM's action. "We tried to deal only with the people in charge, so that our intentions would not be thwarted," says Leucking. This enabled the protest to continue for the two hours prior to broadcast time, when it concluded. SWIM members also attempted to pass out flyers to the crowd, whose reaction seemed difficult to gauge. Some people came and hung out by the barricades, while others ignored those "crazy lesbians." (One pig's description of demonstrators.)

After the march, SWIM protestors planned to march through the crowd to the front of Radio City so as to be seen by the media. At this point, the "blue wall" surrounded them and refused to let them leave the pen. Starr says the cops' argument was that SWIM did not have a parade permit. "We did have amplified noise without a permit; they could have taken away our bullhorn but they didn't." Mc Donnell though, is not so lenient with the people in blue. When asked how she felt about the demo, she responded, "We had a good turnout, it was pretty fun, we made noise, we got our point across, but I wish we could have done more. I wish we could have killed the cops and plowed through."

Starr says, "What was interesting to me regarding the project was the press coverage we got before the demonstration. MTV and Canada's Much Music both did stories about it, the MTV story being a five minute spot that ran throughout the week. I think the reason for this was because people felt strongly about the issue." Indeed, McDonnell notes that on MTV, NARAS president Mike Green himself admitted to the ridiculousness of the situation, even quoting SWIM's press release.

"We've never been in direct contact with NARAS," McDonnell says. "Outside of what Mike Green said on MTV music news, we've not had communication with them. We could contact them, but what would that accomplish? I understand they are very disorganized. I don't feel that it's SWIM's responsibility to help them fix the problem. It's a problem within their organization. We are volunteers. If they want to pay us to educate their membership, fine. We did influence a lot of publications responses to the Grammys though. Both Rolling Stone and Billboard mentioned the issue in editorials regarding the show. It's a strong issue to get across and SWIM knew how to put it in people's faces."

Strong Women in Music meet the first Tuesday of each month at various locations. Call the SWIM hotline number at 212-388-8765 for time and meeting place. Also, be sure to look out for the SWIM dance party at the beginning of summer. And remember: **WE DON'T NEED A COCK TO ROCK!**



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ZAPATISTA SOLIDARITY!

(Continued From Page 5)

where bivouacs have been erected, to catch some sleep. The makeshift tents are themselves adorned with banners. One reads: "REFORMULACION DEL ART.27 AL FAVOR DE LOS CAMPESINOS." This is a reference to article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, calling for agrarian reform, which was recently altered by President Carlos Salinas to allow for privatization of ejidos, or communal village lands. The marchers support the Zapatista demand that these changes be repealed.

Meanwhile, Zapatista solidarity actions are reported every day in *La Jornada*, Mexico's leftist daily, from across the country:

--In Guerrero, 15 Mixtec Indians of the Liga Agraria Revolucionaria del Sur-Emiliano Zapata (LARSEZ) are staging a hunger strike at the local offices of the federal government's National Indian Institute (INI) in Tototepec.

--In Michoacan, sugar workers angered by the closing of a local mill, have publicly offered to join the Zapatista insurgency.

--In Oaxaca, several Indians from the community of Temascal were hurt when a demonstration at the federal agrarian reform office, organized by the Frente Independiente de Pueblos Indigenas (FIPI), was attacked by police.

--In Yucatan, students calling themselves "Zapatistas" protested at a campaign stop by [soon to be assassinated] Luis Donald Colosio, the ruling party's presidential candidate. In Guerrero, El Consejo de Pueblos Nahuas, an Indian organization, has also declared Colosio "persona non grata."

--In Hidalgo, death threats and Army harassment are reported against the Frente Democratico Oriental.

--Emiliano Zapata (FEDOMEZ) after the group demonstrated in support of the Zapatistas. Oaxaca's largest Indian and peasant group, the Consejo de Obreros, Campesinos y Estudiantes del Istmo (COCEI) also issued a statement in support of the Zapatista demands at a January 13 meeting in Juchitan.

--In Mexico City, the urban-based Union Popular Revolucionaria-Emiliano Zapata (UPREZ) held a ceremony at the zocalo in support of the Zapatista demands.

--In Puebla, local indigenous communities staged blockades of the highway into the city of Tehuacan.

--In Tamaulipas, Veracruz and Tabasco, dissident oil workers who have broken with the government-controlled trade union bureaucracy have staged strikes, blockades and demonstrations at the plants of the state petrochemical monopoly PEMEX.

--In Chiapas, unarmed Indians are staging land occupations on big ranches throughout the Maya Highlands.

[And more than 10,000 people turned out for a mobilization in support of the Zapatista demands in Mexico City on April 10, the 77th anniversary of Emiliano Zapata's death at the hands of the forces which went on to establish Mexico's long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).]



RUSSIAN ANARCHIST PRESS AGENCY FORMED

"AN-PRESS" is the information publishing center of the Anarchist Democratic Union (ADU). Founded in November 1990, "AN-PRESS" made a large information system in Russia and in the other parts of former Soviet Union - Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Siberia. "AN-PRESS" is the unique all-anarchist information agency in the USSR.

Staying with the position of so-called "united anarchism," "AN-PRESS" gives on the pages of its "BULLETIN AN-PRESS" (which it publishes two times a month) information about the activity of anarchist organizations of any trends: anarcho-democrats (ADU); anarcho-syndicalists (the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists); anarcho-communists (the Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists, Anarchist Radical Youth Union, Anarchist Communist Revolutionary Union, etc.); anarcho-individualists (the association of Anarchist Movements). Thereby, "AN-PRESS" helps to unite isolated anarchists organizations.

Understanding the necessity of comprehending the theoretical legacy of international anarchism, "AN-PRESS" publishes booklets about the opinions of anarchist theorists. We published booklets about Russian anarchists M. Bakunin and P. Kropotkin, and also about one of anarchism's creators W. Godwin. We plan to publish materials about P. Proudhon, B. Tucker, M. Stirner, L. Tolstoy and others.

"AN-PRESS" publishes the unperiodical newspaper ADU "Free Agreement" ("Svobodny Dogovor"). Being short of publishing equipment and money, "AN-PRESS" appeals to anarchists all over the world with great resources asking to render us help. We can give you the information about anarchist movements in the countries of East Europe and former USSR.

You may set up the contact with Information Publishing Agency "AN-PRESS" through the executive editor of "Bulletin AN-PRESS" P. Geskin and the Agency's secretary A. Maishev. The addresses:

199048 USSR St. Petersburg, 9 Liniya dom 78, kv. 13, P. Geskin

194018 USSR St. Petersburg, pr. Parhcomenko dom 33, kv. 76, A.V. Maishev

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"MAYDAY" MANUSCRIPT: An inside account of the 1990 Tompkins Square May Day Riot and subsequent trial by defendant Lori Rizzo available by mail for \$10.00. Order from 271 East 10th Street, #24, New York, NY 10009.

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WANTED! WANTED! Art, poetry, cartoons and other stuff for upcoming publication tentatively titled "With Love From Tompkins Square Park: Art, Poetry, and Other Stuff by Squatters and Their Friends." Proposed size: 7" x 8 1/2". Submit only one copy of your work, titled or untitled. Box 20157, NYC 10009. Stay tuned.

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