

the SHADOW

ANDREW HOFFMAN IN CHICAGO NEEDLE TRIAL--Page 16

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JULY/SEPT. 1994
ISSUE #33

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

PIGS OUT OF CONTROL!

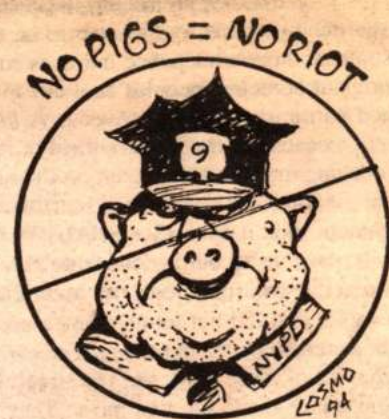
PIGS START ANOTHER RIOT!!

**FUTURE PARK CONCERTS
ARE NOW THREATENED!!**



FLASH FOTO

COPS DODGE BOTTLES + DEBRIS AFTER STARTING TROUBLE IN THE PARK



ALSO INSIDE:

- PIGS BUST SHADOW EDITOR
- PIGS BURN ST. MARX BOOK PEDDLERS
- PEOPLE CONFRONT 9TH PRECINCT ON BRUTALITY
- STONEWALL WEEKEND: TRANSVESTITES; FAIRIES; DYKES; ACT-UP TAKES FIFTH AVENUE!!

SHADOW EDITORIAL

SHIT OR GET OFF THE POT

A political essay

What New York City needs this summer is another riot like the one that happened in Tompkins Square Park on August 6, 1988. People have forgotten the fresh breeze that blew across New York City after the skies burst on that sweltering night. For months, even up to two years afterward, it seemed as if things in New York were going to get better, as if the boil had finally burst and the senile Koch regime and gentrification and "quality of life" apartheid were oozing into oblivion. Finally somebody had stood up to creeping fascism. The people who stood up were hard to characterize. They were the squatter/artist/bohemian characters of the Lower East Side, forced to unite because the cops were trying to drive them off the streets. It took millions, maybe tens of millions of dollars, to repress these people militarily and to re-establish the fascist state. On that night, the cops perpetrated more violence on the people than vice versa. The Tompkins Square riot was not a military victory for the people; it was a political one. The bottles of the people did not defeat the guns and sticks of the police. The violence of the police and the determination of the people exposed the rottenness of the police clampdown and the real estate leeches who inspired it. This brought about a political change.

Very little gets written about Tompkins Square politics these days, even in the *SHADOW*. There is no public discussion about events in the neighborhood and how to deal with them. Arguments among members of the political scene are like secrets of the bedroom that nobody discusses out in the open. What we have on our hands here is a community of people who still live in the same neighborhood and deplore the lockdown that is being imposed on downtown Manhattan, but who are too alienated from one another to coalesce and do anything about it. The few people who still regard themselves as "Tompkins Square activists" are psychologically dependent on an orthodoxy of their own creation. They make it impossible for anyone to sit in the same room with them who does not accept that orthodoxy.

REACTIVENESS AND REPRESSION

Recent confrontations between people from the Tompkins Square scene and police exhibit, on a smaller scale, many of the psychopolitical flaws that destroyed the great movement for equal rights and justice that swept through the Lower East Side in the late 1980s. The main problem with confrontations like the one that occurred in Tompkins Square Park on the night of May 30 is that they are reactive. People wait for the police to roll on them and then react to being rolled on. A reactive confrontation with the police can be successful the first couple of times. The cops are caught off guard and extremities occur like those that occurred on the night of August 6, 1988. The scale of violence wreaked on the Lower East Side on that night by the disorganized mob of police so embarrassed the Koch administration that the political seas parted for a couple of years. For an instant, the police state loosened its grip on people's minds and the neighborhood that wanted to be free was the news of New York City.

Confrontations over police outrages continued. On the night that the cops uprooted the original homeless peoples' tent city in Tompkins Square Park (July 5, 1989) a pitched battle took place on Avenue A (See *SHADOW* #5). The scene on the street was majestic because of the righteousness of the cause and the coherence and discipline of the rebelling masses. Then again on the night that the ABC Community Center was evicted--another confrontation, 43 arrests--because people took housing and the government took it back (See *SHADOW* #7 + #9). Showdowns such as these were all justified reactions to outrageous State behavior. They were very justified, even the king of all reactive confrontations, the Memorial Day confrontation of 1991 (See *SHADOW* #18) was a justified but totally unmeasured reaction to the brutalities that young people are subjected to by the police.

What all of these battles in the streets of the Lower East Side had in common was that the police made the first move. They learned that if they made move A, we would make move B. That is what happens when all you do is react to the cops. But, if you can make move X, which you yourself initiate, you can beat them. That is no longer reactive politics. We'll talk about move X later--it is our only hope.

This is not to say that people who participate in spontaneous reactions to police oppression are wrong. Confrontations between the people and the police are inevitable as long as oppression exists. When this happens, you must be on the side of the people, no matter what their strategy. The confrontation on the night of May 30 was a righteous slap in the face of pig Giuliani. It was uniquely successful in that a new element of unpredictability (a running demo in random directions) caught the police with their pants down.

Let's have concrete examples of how the cops catch on to reactive politics. The cops know that if they walk into a group of Tompkins Square people who have gathered for one of their traditional events and hit or humiliate one of them on some petty pretext, others will react. It happened that way on May 1, 1990 (See *SHADOW* #11), and it happened that way on May 30, 1994. So, whenever the city wants an excuse to fuck with the people around Tompkins Square Park, they just smack some people around while a concert is going on, get a couple of bottles tossed at their safely helmeted skulls, and go crying to the yellow press. In 1990 they used the Mayday riot as an excuse to impose a summer plague of police harassment on Avenue A; in 1991 they used the Memorial Day riot as an excuse to close down Tompkins Square Park altogether. In 1994 Park Pork Commissioner Henry Stern is trying to use the May 30 "melee" as an excuse to crack down on concert permits in Tompkins Square Park, Washington Square Park, and Union Square Park. The pattern of reactive politics is easily figured out and ends up being manipulated by the State. The essence of being political is not to be predictable and therefore manipulated, but rather to come up with move X, instead of the clumsy reactive moves that the State expects.

See EDITORIAL On Page 23

MACHISMO AND MISOGYNY

The two greatest barriers to the reconstitution of the Tompkins Square scene are machismo and misogyny. These unpleasant features run even deeper than the reactivity that we have talked about, and are closely related to it. The need to react to a provocation is a necessity of personhood, for no human being wishes to be humiliated or bullied. The bravery of a person who fights the police over a humiliation--even if he or she fights merely over a plastic bucket to bang on and make music--cannot be questioned. The need to react to a provocation immediately and exclusively through force, however, is characteristic of men who must prove their masculinity. This is something that everybody knows, but does not admit--it is another "secret of the bedroom." By understanding your own motivations, you learn to control your actions and become a more effective revolutionary. There is a difference between a person who consciously exposes him or herself to risk for a righteous end, and a man who must simply react in muscular fashion when the enemy says "boo"--lest he picture himself standing there in a dress. Such a man generally has great contempt for women and is often an abuser of women. There is as much woman abuse among the "revolutionaries" of the Lower East Side as there is in society as a whole; that is just a fact, not an excuse. The Tompkins Square scene has already driven most of its women off; there are some who would consider this a sign of impending extinction.

PARKS DEPT THREATENS PERMITS!!

The day after the May 30 skirmish following the Memorial Day concert in Tompkins Square Park, parks commissioner Henry Stern announced that he plans to make it harder for people to obtain park permits, and that he wants to raise the amount of clean up bonds to \$2,500 and more for punk rock and heavy metal concerts. He told the press, "...certain kinds of music attract violent people...and when this music is played, there is violence. It's happened before and it's happened again." (See *DOWN BY LAW* on page 11 for more.)

What has happened before and again is that every riot in and around the park has been the result of pigs starting them. Nobody goes to the park (concert or no concert) with the idea of starting a riot with cops. It is when the cops go too far that people get angry and respond in kind, and there's nothing wrong with that!!

Stern neglected to mention that the concert in the park was over by the time near riot began. When cops started the trouble after the show, they closed the park, preventing concert organizers from cleaning the area in order to retrieve their clean up bond.

A few weeks later, the same concert organizers, who had applied for a permit for July 30 in January, received a letter from the Parks Department denying their permit, citing events at the May 30 show.

Soon after, different concert organizers for August 6, which happens to be the sixth anniversary of the 1988 pig riot, were also notified that their permit has been denied.

After Stern's press conference, New York Civil Liberties Union head Norman Seigel offered to represent permit seekers who want to challenge the new policies. Other activist attorneys are getting involved as well.

"WHERE'D YOU GET THIS?
WE DIDN'T EVEN GET A
COPY OF THIS!"--(MSTF cop
looking at "NYPD Disorder
Guidelines" on SHADOW
literature table, May 14)

SHADOW STAFF:

EDITOR: Chris Flash

REPORTERS: Lamont Cranston, Scott Cunningham, Paul DeRienzo, Chris Flash, Stuart Frankel, Pamela Franklin, Free-I, Kurt Hill, Jane, Drew Kramer, A. Kronstadt, Barbara Lee, Bob McGlynn, Amelia Morales, Nashua, Marina Ortiz, William Pleasant, Lori Rizzo, Gabby Sloan, Shelter Watcher, Sara Valentine, Bill Weinberg, Eric Williams, C.W.

PHOTOS: Jack Dawkins, Chris Flash, Simon Kahn, Lannes Kenfield, Barbara Lee, Peter LeVasseur, Andrew Lichtenstein, Q. Sakimaki

ART: Cosmo, Scott Cunningham, Eric Drooker, Tuli Kupferberg, Mac McGill, Mike and Anna Schafer, Seth Tobocman, L. Van Abbema, Andrew Wendel

PROOFREADERS: Stuart Frankel, Cub Reporter, Ruth

ATTORNEYS AT LARGE: Stanley L. Cohen, Ronald Kuby, William Kunstler



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EDITORIAL

SQUATTERS' RIGHTS ARE EVERYONE'S RIGHTS!!

Evicting people from their homes comes as easily to the government as putting people in jail. The system of housing courts and city marshals parallels that of the criminal courts and prisons as an apparatus for inflicting human misery. When the landlord evicts, he disperses families and ruins lives. He always has an excuse. The top one is "it's my property." It's the landlord's property to use for good or for evil, and he has the courts and the men with weapons to back him up. The next excuse is "I have to make a profit." This means, "I have to make as much profit as I possibly can, even if it means taking the necessities for survival out of other people's hands." In this, the landlord also has the cooperation of the courts and the men with weapons.

Now, what happens when the landlord is the government? The government, in theory, is an organism that works for the common good. If the government happens to become the owner of property, the theory says that it should use that property for the common good. In other words, the government should not leave it to rot uninhabited and unused, particularly when it is needed to house human beings. If the government leaves a building that falls under its ownership empty and forsaken for ten or twenty years, and people in need of housing move into it without permission, does the government have the right to shout, "it's my property?"

The city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) has screamed in the *New York Times* (July 17) that "squatting is unfair and illegal." Unfair to whom? The people who could have lived in the building if the government had repaired it and made it habitable? In the case of dozens of Lower East Side buildings confiscated by the government from private owners, the Department of Housing Preservation and Development did nothing. The bureaucrats did nothing to make the buildings habitable and so individuals and groups of individuals - called squatters - moved in and repaired them - often bringing them up to higher standards of habitability than

legally-occupied city-owned buildings. It is only now, after the buildings have been occupied by squatters for ten years that the city comes along with a plan to renovate them. The plan is in the name of low-income tenants, whom the government says are being deprived of housing by the squatters, and not by the government, which continually fails to build low-income housing units while the rents and the homeless population continue to soar.

The Lower East Side's Community Board 3 has voted down the Seward Park Extension, dooming forever a plan to build hundreds of apartments for over a thousand Latino people, most of whom now live doubled up in apartments elsewhere in the Lower East Side. The same people who want to evict the squatters from buildings on Thirteenth Street because they are "standing in the way of low-income housing" are the ones who have relegated the huge lots on Delancy Street that could have been the Seward Park Extension to be parking lots - forever. Community Board 3 and politicians like Antonio Pagán will not admit it, but they did their part to jettison the Seward Park Projects because the people who vote for them in that area are narrow-minded Orthodox Jews who do not want to live across the street from Latino people. To please bigots, Pagán and his ilk have decreed land that could have housed thousands to be parking lots, yet they say that the squatters in 537 and 535 East 13th Street are standing in the way of low-income housing. Two of Pagán's CB3 appointees, Steve Vincent and Elizabeth Acevedo, are squatters themselves: they got their apartments under HPD's Urban Homesteading Program, now cancelled. (Actually, piggie Vincent got himself two apartments; the other is owned by his wife, Democratic District Leader Lisa Ramaci.) Now that they have their apartments, they want to gentrify the neighborhood.

Squatters are an easy target for politicians and the press. Many squatters are part of a nonconformist element which dresses strangely and shuns social conven-



FLASH FOTO

THE HITCHHIKER BLUES #5

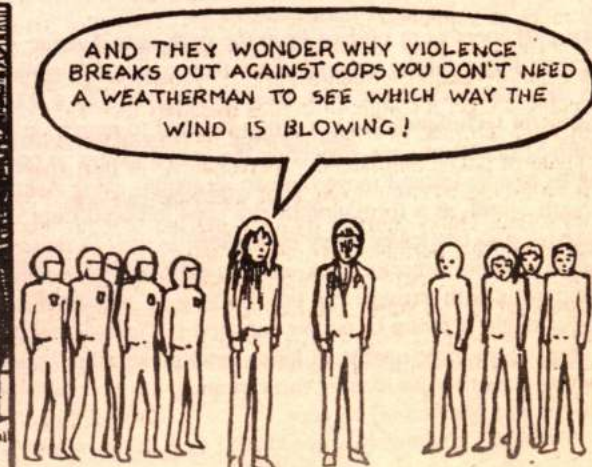
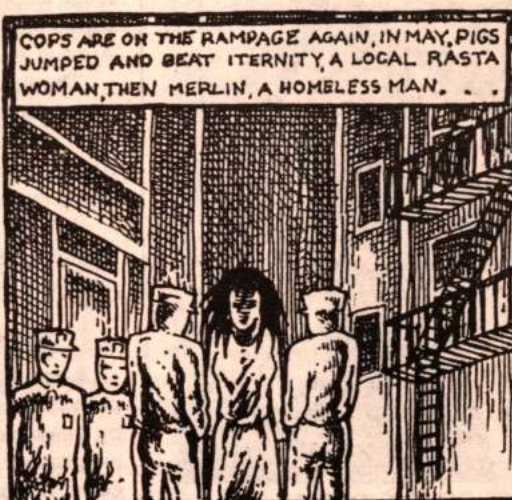
(Midnight Blues)

Copyright by
Roger Manning

From "pices" to slices
No help for the smiling bums.
He says "don't get mad, go find
some good people."
Lame private party
Flavor of the month.
People sit and pay to talk the night
away.
Meanwhile, over in the park,
They're waiting for midnight.
Taste-full prison,
Roots of discontent.
In L.A. Main is a one-way street,
In New York we're in the park
Waiting for midnight.
Our country feels very small,
Our city feels very small,
Our Loisaida feels very small.
About as big as Emma Goldman's
old bench
Loaded with friends who know what
time it is.
Meanwhile, millions trade in life
For law and order and end their day
at midnight.
Most everyone's either making lies
or buying them.
Or, maybe you're dangerous cause
You've got your own head....NO
SALE.
If that's true, then I love you....
We're in the park waiting for
midnight.

tion. Freaks have been a part of the Lower East Side ecology for decades, and for decades the bigot element has been out to get them. If the cops march in on the squatters, the squatters will be taking the blows for all the beatniks, hippies and punks that the right wing has wanted to beat the shit out of since the days of Emma Goldman. Isn't this a reason for the older freaks, the more established rebels against society, to take a stand and defend the squatters who are just like us except they came here after the rents went up? If the squatters go, this neighborhood will be permanently altered, and not in any way that we will like.

To rent-controlled and rent-stabilized tenants in the neighborhood who might think that the eviction of squatters is none of their business, we have to point out that squatters are only the first item on a long hit list. Many of Rudolph Giuliani's major contributors are owners of rent-regulated buildings, and rent regulations are under attack from broad sections of the City Council and three of the four daily newspapers. The only thing that the government needs to know, before it comes after tenants, is whether people will stand by and watch their neighbors be evicted. The *SHADOW* says, let's give them the right answer on the day they come and try to evict the squats!!





BARBARA LEE

PIGS RUSH IN TO BREAK UP METAL JAMMERS IN FRONT OF STAGE

VIOLENT PIGS BREAK UP PEACEFUL CONCERT!!

By Chris Flash

Twenty people were arrested after a running street melee with riot cops following a peaceful Memorial Day concert in Tompkins Square Park on May 30.

The concert, which featured great music by Roger Manning, Screaming Venus, DisAssociate, Smokin' Suckas Wi' Logic, Chaos From Order, Stephan Said, and 13, was held to memorialize numerous victims of police murder, including Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpers, Grady Alexis, Ernest Sayon, and untold others.

Outside the park during the show, cops were seen on rooftops, and about a dozen police vehicles were seen parked around the park.

By 6:00 pm, after 13 finished their heavy set and left, audience members began a metal jam in front of the portable stage provided by the parks department. (The original bandshell had been torn down by the city two years before against the community's wishes.) Only a few minutes into the jam, riot cops led by Captains Sino and Seta and Lieutenant Heinz of the 9th precinct approached the group from behind the stage. Seta and Heinz roughly pushed people away and snatched their instruments as riot clad cops formed a line in front of the stage, posturing with clubs in hand.

Soon after the cops blocked off the stage area, the audience was treated to the spectacle of the cops fleeing as they tried to duck a barrage of bottles coming from different directions. Undercover cops, able to spot only one bottle thrower, tried but failed to make an arrest after the thrower was tipped off.

Trash fires began raging as cops with reinforcements declared the park closed. Cops herded people out of the park, including old men playing chess and parents with children in the playgrounds. One mother who was with her daughter told the SHADOW that cops said it was for her "own safety" and that she would be arrested if she didn't leave the park.



PETER LEVASSEUR

PIGS POKE PUNKS ON THEIR WAY OUT OF THE PARK

Once parkgoers were pushed from the park onto Avenue A, all hell broke loose. Rather than linger on the avenue where they could be corralled and broken up by riot cops as they had been in the past, (See SHADOWS #26 + 27 for illustrations of these crowd control techniques--Ed.), a group decided to march on the 9th precinct at 321 East Fifth Street. Riot cops, expecting the crowd to stay in one place, were taken by surprise as people instead moved in two directions along Avenue A.

At Sixth Street, as a formation of riot cops followed Capt. Seta, they were pelted with garbage and bottles by angry bystanders, as well as those pushed out of the park. Seta yelled into his radio for back-ups that still had not arrived. Metal jamming began on the sidewalk with garbage can lids, traffic light poles and anything handy. A trash fire was lit. Suddenly, a group of people ran west on Sixth Street, trashing as they went. The out of shape cops were unable to follow until paddy wagons arrived to carry them. Meanwhile, cops tried to identify those running up the block for later arrests, and East Fifth Street was blocked off by cops.

On First Avenue, the group was chased by a paddy wagon with cops trying to run them down. The paddy wagon windshield was taken out by bottles, causing it to careen



JACK DAWKINS

onto the sidewalk. It was followed by vehicles full of riot cops which continued chasing the group west on 9th Street. As the group ran up the block, a yuppie bystander tried to grab one person in order to help the cops, but he was quickly beaten bloody to the ground. As he shouted for help, cops just stood by and watched. The rat managed to get away, but he was chased into a nearby deli by others in the group which continued to beat him. Approximately a dozen people were arrested on 9th Street and taken away. One woman arrested told the SHADOW that cops grabbed her by her knapsack and tore her clothes off before throwing her into a paddy wagon.

Meanwhile, more skirmishes took place between people and cops on Avenue A, from 9th to 10th Streets. Riot pigs raided a bodega and pulled people out to club them. Hours later, some people along Avenue were arrested, probably identified earlier by pigs. SHADOW sources saw a paddy wagon at 8:30 pm driving with the rear doors open, showing off the prisoners inside.

Later that night, a huge metal jam took place a block east of the park. Plainclothes and uniformed cops drove past every few minutes, but they didn't dare try to stop the jammers again.



PETER LEVASSEUR

PIGS RETALIATE

Up to two days later, cops were still seen around the park with riot gear on the fence as passersby taunted them with "Riot, riot." In the days following the skirmish, cops stepped up aggressive tactics against young people in punkish clothing along Avenue A.

The day after the skirmish, Parks Commissioner Henry Stern announced that he would raise the amount of cleanup bonds as high as \$2,500-\$5,000 from the current \$250 and make it more difficult for promoters to obtain permits for concerts in city parks. Stern blamed the cause of the Memorial Day mini-riot on punk rock music and heavy metal, which he said attract "fans prone to violence."

Already, applications for two concerts scheduled to commemorate the two riots in Tompkins Square on July 30 and August 6 of 1988 have been denied. Organizers' attorneys are working to force the city to back off.

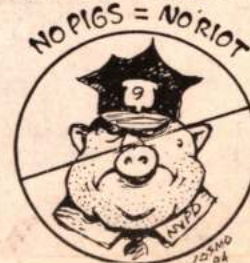
SHADOW ANALYSIS:

A series of tactical errors and blunders on the part of the cops seen by seasoned activists and observers was cause for much laughter as the cops' actions resembled a Keystone Kop Comedy. Seta was overheard yelling several times at his men for not moving fast enough or getting into proper formation. Cops were overheard requesting back-ups that never came. Despite extra vehicles full of riot pigs deployed around the park all day long, only a few joined the street cops. More than an hour after the action was over, cops swept part of First Avenue, then St. Mark's place, and then closed the block as people came and went anyway, completely unaware of the earlier skirmishes. Only then did cop trucks arrive with barricades and reinforcements which blocked off parts of St. Mark's Place, Seventh Street and Avenue A, and then sometimes in only one

direction and sometimes only to bicycles, but not pedestrians or vehicles!! Who's in charge here?

While the SHADOW has no intention of really getting into analyzing the tactical errors on these pages, which would only help the cops, it is clear that their newly devised methods of crowd dispersal and pig deployment do not work when demonstrators take to the streets and stay in motion in an unpredictable manner.

An NYPD source told the SHADOW: "We're always revising and reviewing our strategies on a continual basis."



SCOOTER PIGS BUST SHADOW EDITOR FOR FELONIOUS PHOTOGRAPHY!!

By Gabby Sloan

Scores of people enjoying the pleasant scene in the early evening hours of June 9 in Tompkins Square Park were suddenly jolted back to reality when a gang of thugs in blue once again abused their "power."

SHADOW editor Chris Flash was sitting with fellow journalist Paul DeRienzo on a park bench next to hippy hill in the park when they saw cops approaching a group of young people sitting in a circle on the hill. When they saw the cops, P.O. Nicole Matos (Badge #28518) and P.O. Galimi, both of the 9th precinct, go through one of the people's bags and frisk them, Flash and Paul went over to investigate.

As soon as Flash began taking photos of Galimi and Matos, Galimi ran toward Flash with his club in hand, and yelled "Get the fuck out of here...take a fucking walk!" Flash told Galimi that he could take photos of cops any time he wished and Galimi backed off. A bystander watching Flash take photos of Galimi remarked "You'd better get a wide angle lens for his ass!"

Matos told Galimi "Why don't you take him?" (Cop slang for making an arrest.) Galimi sheepishly asked "What's the charge?" "Discon," Matos told him. (More cop slang for "disorderly conduct," a general charge that covers any false arrest a pig cares to make; mostly used by pigs when you refuse to obey their orders.)

Galimi then handcuffed Flash and tried to grab the camera, but Flash passed it to friends who were standing by. Another cop tried to take it away from them, but they passed it on to someone else. Inside a nearby cop car, where more pigs were arriving to back up Matos and Galimi who had already stirred up the park, Flash was joined by a young man named Stewart who was arrested by Matos when she found a knife "over four inches" at the bottom of his knapsack. (He was traveling from Florida to Vermont, stopping in New York to see some friends, and he had not taken the knife out at any time!)

Outside the cop car, a young woman trying to find out why Flash was being arrested was set upon by a pack of pigs after she was pushed away from the car by Matos, who screamed "Get her!" When 5-6 female cops failed to get her on the ground as they punched and kicked her and pulled her hair, the female pigs were joined by male pigs who piled on top of them! (They'll take whatever sex they can get!) The young woman emerged with a bloody nose and was charged with assaulting two of the female cops who quickly went to a local hospital to bolster their false injury claims. Since the cops claimed they were hurt, the woman was charged with a felony (cops usually charge you with beating them after they've beaten you!)

At the 9th precinct at 321 East 5th Street, where the arrested were taken, Matos complained loudly over and over that Galimi wasn't there to help her fill out the paperwork on the bogus arrests. Finally, she had him radioed to return to the station. After reluctantly hanging out for a few minutes, Galimi quickly split, leaving Matos to gripe about him some more to anyone who would listen.

Matos got Stewart and the woman "put through the system" (a trip lasting about 24 hours during which prisoners go through central booking and then see a judge who decides whether or not they can get bail) since the woman had a felony and since Matos tacked on a "resisting arrest" to Stewart's charge of possessing the knife. Matos tried unsuccessfully to add the "resisting" charge to Flash in order to send him through the system as well. Failing to do so, Matos complained loudly and staged a slow down in filling out the paperwork.

After 5½ hours, Matos finally finished her pencil pushing and Flash was released with a DAT (desk appearance ticket) to appear in court a few weeks later. As a result of being handcuffed improperly by Galimi, Flash's wrist and hand were swollen, causing him to suffer nerve damage which persists as of this writing. (Despite Flash's request that he loosen the cuffs, Galimi allowed the cuffs to remain on for more than an hour, cutting off circulation on Flash's arm. Matos tried to use Flash's complaint of pain as the basis for the "resisting arrest" charge. At one point, the cuffs were further tightened by P.O. Jon Licari.) When Flash later got his belongings returned to him, he found that the pigs had exposed four rolls of spare film he carried. Apparently, they thought they were destroying the shots he had already taken.

MATOS (Right) +
GALIMI (Left)



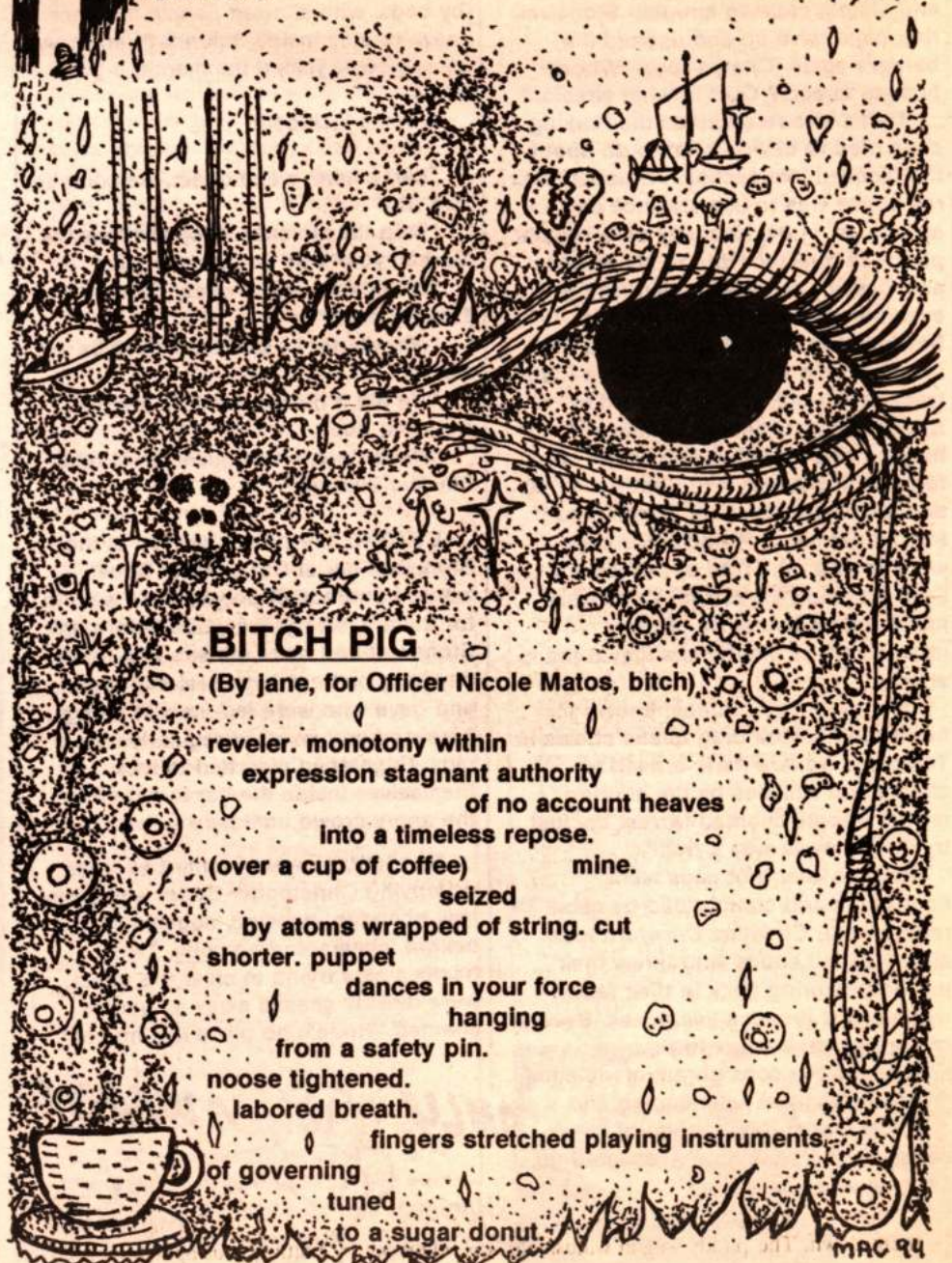
JACK DAWKINS

The next day, Stewart was released without bail. Later, the young woman was brought before a judge who read the charges against her incredulously. "What's this about?" he asked the assistant district attorney, who was requesting \$2,500 bail for the woman. The ADA announced loudly: "TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK, your honor!" as if those words alone were enough to convict. The judge answered with "ROR" ("Release on Own Recognizance"), slammed his gavel, and the woman was freed.

According to several SHADOW sources, this was just one of many ongoing incidents of pig abuse in and around the park. This was not the first time that Flash has been busted in the course of covering pig actions for the SHADOW. P.O. Matos has a long history of harrasing the poor and homeless in Tompkins Square, apparently trying to impress the male cops with her ability to be even tougher (and more abusive) than they are.



FLASH FOTO





FLASH FOTO

TRANVESTITES STRUT THEIR STUFF!!

By Chris Flash

At the crosswalk of 4th Street and Stonewall Place stood some of the city's highest ranking cops. They included Chiefs Hoehl, Reuther and Baumann, along with Deputy Inspector Frey and Captains Esposito, Conroy, Kennedy and Cassidy. They stood behind police barriers that blocked off the east side of Christopher Street.

Confused pedestrians crossing the street from elsewhere were pushed away by overly aggressive cops who had no clue how to deal with the six-way intersection. As the rear of the parade arrived at the Stonewall, bodies pressed against the barriers as pressure began to build. Cops opened a barrier as a release valve and people flooded the intersection. When the crowd refused to leave and began a sit-in, cops replaced the barriers to block off others. After a few tense moments of pushing and shoving the increasingly angry paraders and almost causing another Stonewall riot, cops gave up and opened the barriers again. Chants rose: "Whose fucking streets? OUR fucking streets!!"

Traffic was rerouted as the ranking cops tried to decide what to do about the blocked intersection. As usual, their response was to use violence and arrests. At 11:04, Kennedy on a cellular phone re-requested "four to six wagons" and Cassidy on a radio said "Bring everything you got to Fourth and Seventh Ave South." Mean-while, the revelers, who had grown to more than twice their original size, danced in circles, sang, chanted "ommmmm," hugged and kissed. A line of riot cops formed on Seventh Ave South at 11:10 and a woman told them "I think you should get help." Plainclothes cops were seen on the roof of the Riviera Café watching the crowd. Cops were mobilized on two sides of the intersection as video cops filmed the area.

Just then, Lady Bunny, known for her wild Wigstock drag queen shows in Tompkins Square Park, arrived to cheers and whistles by the adoring crowd. People chanted "Arrest us, just try it, Stonewall was a riot!!"

Minutes later, riot cops were confronted and confounded by cable TV reporter and Christine Crawford look-alike Hedda Lettuce who threw their macho posturing back in their faces with several provocative poses. Several of the Radical Faeries further neutralized the cops' threat of violence, surrounding them with singing and dancing. Under this barrage of open sexuality, the cops finally retreated up Seventh Avenue.

"We're here, we're queer, we're ruining it for everyone!!" Intermittent rainfall couldn't stop more than 300 people from marching from Tompkins Square Park to Sheridan Square on June 24.

Led by "Sister Olive O'Sudden" (Michael Bailey), transvestites, cross-dressers, gays, straights and supporters flooded streets and sidewalks while marching behind a large banner reading "Get Over Yourself, It's Just A DRAG MARCH."

Overwhelmed cops tried to control the marchers, but parade marshalls kept everything cool as they guided the parade to Sheridan Square, blocking traffic at intersections for safety. As the marchers made their way west, cheers came from apartment buildings and bystanders, many of whom joined in.

As the parade passed Washington Square Park, the park was blocked off by cops, who allowed people to either leave or stay inside, but not to enter. As more people joined the march, it got wilder.

Chants included:

"We're here, we're queer, welcome to our city."

"Stop the violence, Stop the hate, Spread your legs and masturbate."

"We're here, we're queer, lick my fucking cock."

"We will not be quiet, some of us will riot."

"We did it before, we'll do it again, riot, riot, riot."

"We're here, we're queer, we'll take 5th Ave Sunday."

By 10:40, the parade arrived at the Stonewall bar at Christopher Street where hundreds of people were waiting for them. (Twenty-five years before, the Stonewall had been the site of a three-day long battle between raiding pigs and gays who were fed up with being harassed and arrested regularly by pigs. Frightened pigs had to lock themselves inside the bar to hide from the angry crowd until help arrived.)

By 11:40, paraders continued west, occupying Christopher Street with reckless abandon, dancing, squeals of delight, cheers and no cops. Two hapless pigs trying to clear the street were quickly chased away as people chanted "There's no place like home!!"



STONEWALL 25: ACT-UP TAKES FIFTH AVENUE!!

By Drew D. Kramer

Twenty-five years ago, a group of gay boys, dykes, and drag queens fought back against cops who were conducting a routine raid on an obscure organized-crime-run bar on Sheridan Square, the Stonewall. Twenty-five years later, the Stonewall Uprising is viewed as the birth of the contemporary struggle for lesbian and gay rights and liberation.

Unlike Rosa Parks' refusing to surrender her seat to a white man in the segregated South, and the subsequent civil rights movement, there was no planning or organizing that went into the uprising. The only event which is indicated as lighting the fuse is the death of diva Judy Garland a few days before. Essentially, Stonewall just happened.

On the last weekend in June, the world came to New York for the Fourth International Gay Games, the largest gay sporting event ever organized; and for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Stonewall.

Whereas negotiating with the city was all sweetness and light for the Gay Games organizers, Stonewall 25 met with nothing but difficulty. The plan formulated by the Stonewall 25 organizing committee was two simultaneous marches. One would leave Sheridan Square, the original site of the Stonewall uprising, and move up Fifth Avenue. The second march would proceed up First Avenue past the United Nations to demand equal rights for gay men and lesbians worldwide. The two marches would converge for a rally on the Great Lawn of Central Park. When presented with this scenario, the City refused outright and tendered an offer of a single March down the FDR Drive to Battery Park. The organizers were disgusted. This route would effectively remove the Stonewall commemoration from the sight and mind of the City. This was hardly the intention. Negotiations continued. The City, represented by Deputy Mayor Fran Reiter, presented obstacles and deadlocks at every turn.

Eventually, the compromise agreement which emerged was a single march along First Avenue. The marchers would line up between Thirty-fourth street and Forty-second Street. They would march north and turn onto Fifty-seventh Street, head west to Fifth Avenue, and enter the park for the rally. Many in the lesbian and gay community were utterly dismayed. The march was taking place on a Sunday, so the United Nations would be closed. Was First Avenue anywhere near an adequate substitute for the annual Pride Parade up Fifth Avenue?

About this time, a group began meeting in ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, to lay plans for our participation in the commemoration. The gay and lesbian community has struggled with the AIDS crisis for the past thirteen years. All of us, as individuals, have been hit with death after death after death. At one time, AIDS activism - fighting for the lives of women and men living with HIV using direct action tactics - was almost trendy. ACT UP transferred its weekly meetings from the Gay and Lesbian Community Center to Cooper Union as the Center could not accommodate the seven or eight hundred people who were coming to ACT UP on a weekly basis. ACT UP chapters were springing up around the country and around the world. Despite this massive mobilization, the AIDS crisis didn't end, and the dying continued. Many key ACT UP members died. Our energy dwindled. Many succumbed to burnout. In the gay

press, articles began appearing which posed the question, IS ACT UP DEAD? More damaging still, the gay community in many cases has turned its back on the fight against AIDS.

In the gay political landscape of the 1990s, ACT UP meetings are empty, the discos are packed. Nobody talks about AIDS anymore, they just die from it. We are in denial. Denial, of course, is a defense mechanism, employed to maintain psychic health and well-being. But still, there is so much work to be done. Bill Clinton has done no better than George Bush, but claims with his promiscuous, indiscriminate empathy, to "feel our pain." Rudolph Giuliani seems intent on wiping away the social services that New Yorkers with AIDS depend on for their very lives. Thirteen years of failed research have brought us no closer to a cure or to an understanding of the essential pathogenesis of AIDS necessary to find a cure. Our prevention strategies, many of them almost ten years old, are failing, but nothing new is being formulated.

The group planning ACT UP's participation in the Stonewall commemoration carefully selected a target for our action: our own gay community. There was a disparity of opinion as to what approach to take. In the past, we had encouraged our fellow community members to join the fight by putting out such messages as "The AIDS Crisis can end," and "Take direct action to end the AIDS crisis." At other times, we had been somewhat more militant in countering the pervasive complacency, with messages like, "The AIDS Crisis is not over," and "Wake up! Time's up! ACT UP!" which was used at the March on Washington.

At this point, thirteen years into this plague, the message we selected was "Where is your rage?" On the reverse of our signage, we cited facts, statistics, and ideas, which we hoped would be enraging, such as "By the end of this decade, 4 million women will die of AIDS, Half the gay men in New York are HIV positive, two people die of AIDS every second worldwide"; and "AIDS: Government neglect, public indifference." The banner we marched behind read, "In the tradition of Stonewall - lesbians and gay men fighting AIDS." Per usual, several graphic artists within ACT UP contributed their talents to insure that the graphics were eye-catching and strong.

It was clear from the earliest of ACT UP's strategy meetings what form the action would take. We would march from Stonewall to Central Park. When we notified the Stonewall 25 organizing committee and told them our plans, they were wholly supportive. The estimated one million people coming into town could not be accommodated in the First Avenue march route, a fact the city failed to recognize.

Oddly, ACT UP was faced with a problem unique in the experience of the organizers. Generally, the weeks leading up to a major action are devoted to getting out numbers. In this instance, numbers were assured. It was even feared that there would be too many attending our march, making it a nightmare to control. In our initial wheat-pasting and outreach efforts, we attempted to clearly convey two key facts: (1) the march was AIDS focused, and (2) we did not have a permit and were therefore risking arrest. The strategy was to get these two ideas across clearly in order to dissuade groups from joining our march simply because they wanted

See ACT-UP On Next Page

STONE WALL IS A RIOT!!

By Barbara Lee + Chris Flash



FLASH FOTO

Saturday, June 25, was a full and exciting day. After the Fifth Avenue Dyke March of at least 10,000 lesbians and supporters, there was a Judy Garland funeral procession by the Radical Faeries. Later that evening, hundreds gathered at the Stone Wall bar in Sheridan Square.

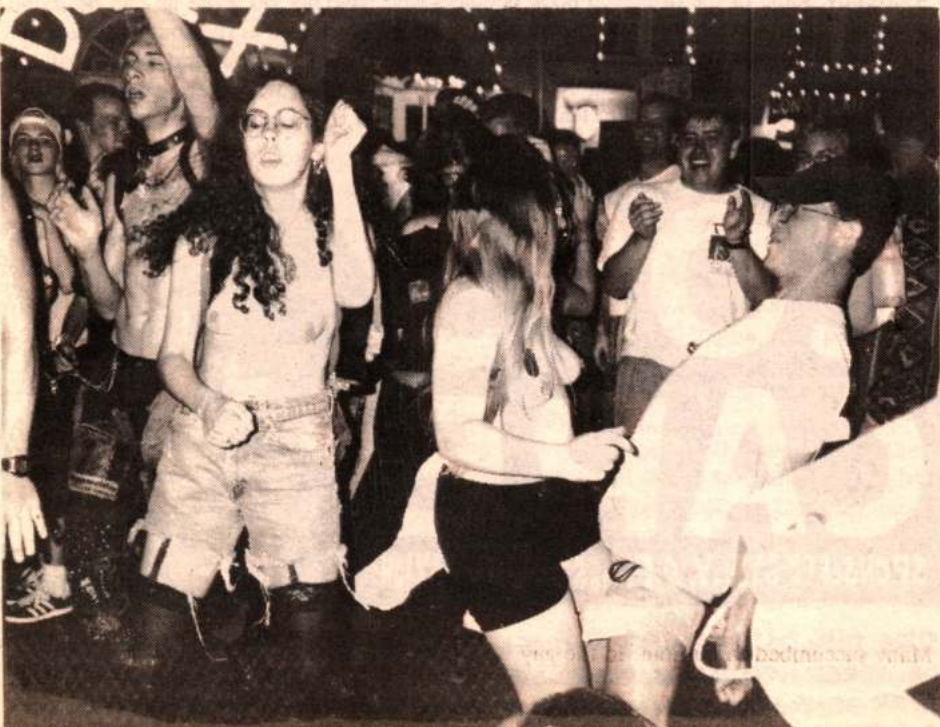
At 10:00 pm, a group of demonstrators made their way from Sheridan Square down Seventh Avenue South. Unfortunately, the pigs were ready for them, lining the front of the march and keeping marchers on the sidewalks. The group reached a church at Bleecker and Morton Streets, identified as supporting "Operation Rescue" and paint bombs flew.

Marchers weaved in and out of the twisting streets of the West Village "walking the pigs" until they came to the corner of Sixteenth Street and Seventh Ave, the site of a gay bashing. Cops again attempted to push people onto the sidewalks. Shoving matches began as people chanted "Bad cop, no donut."

The people retook the streets and headed back to Sheridan Square as pig vans tried to cut them off. The police made a wedge and split up the march. People ran in scattered directions.

Near the Square, a male go-go dancer strutted his stuff in front of the cops. It was entertaining to watch him prance around in his g-string shaking and grinding his ass in the pig's faces. They weren't pleased.

Later, back at the Stone Wall, cops maintained their barriers at Seventh Ave as Tompkins Square Squatters began a metal jam in the street. All sorts of people joined in: gays, straights, yuppies, homeless, punks and tourists. As the rhythmic beat and the level of heat grew, dancers in the street did what came naturally, taking off their clothes! Soon, the streets were filled with naked and dressed revelers enjoying the sights, sounds, and each other, all just a few feet away from the oblivious cops!!



FLASH FOTO

ACT-UP!!

to march from downtown. Incredibly, one so-called gay activist group contacted us about joining the march and asked whether the focus was limited to AIDS, because "that really wasn't their issue." (What charmed lives they've been leading for the past decade to be so completely unaffected by the epidemic!)

Thus, with the basis of an action in place - an activist march to fight AIDS, taking the streets without a permit from Stonewall Place to Central Park - the work began. The planning meetings ran on for hours, presentations were made to the floor, palm cards were made and distributed, other organizations were contacted and invited to join the organizing effort. A focal point of the community's ire at the City was the exclusion of the commemoration from Fifth Avenue, the traditional avenue for parades. "Take Fifth!" quickly became the rallying cry.

Meanwhile, the gay community in New York viewed the City's treatment of the Stonewall 25 organizers as a gross insult. Tempers flared. Tension escalated. It was looking increasingly as though Stonewall 25 would be Stonewall II. This presented another concern for ACT UP. Where we prepared to foment an all out riot? The immediate response was, "Yes! Definitely!" However, ACT UP is guided by a philosophy of non-violent direct action, which is the opposite of a riot. Desirous as we were for an all out brawl, people get seriously hurt - even killed - in riots. People end up doing serious jail time. Although I know of no one in ACT UP who is not willing individually to cross those lines - indeed, many have done so frequently in the past - the police pick on the weakest and frailest in their counter attacks. Being subjected to police violence could be fatal to someone living with AIDS. One of the strengths of ACT UP's success is the great lengths we go to in order to insure the safety of all participants at our marches and demonstrations. Anyone who has been involved in ACT UP knows this by rote, but what about the thousands of women and men, enraged at the city's mistreatment of our community, who would be joining our march? Ultimately, there was no resolution to this conundrum. We decided that on this point, we would simply have to trust, and to have as many marshals as possible on hand.

ACT UP typically employs trained marshals at our demonstrations and marches. Marshals keep an eye on the police and will step in to protect people attending a demonstration from the police if need be. Additionally, they serve as a buffer between demonstrators and hecklers and other members of the public. But the principle role of the marshal is to inform demonstrators of the consequences of their actions to provide for responsible decision making. A marshal will inform a demonstrator when he or she does something that is risking arrest, or that their actions might have negative repercussions on other demonstrators. It is poor marshaling to set rules for behavior or worse yet, do the police's work for them. And of course, marshals block traffic when we take the streets. Several marshal trainings took place in anticipation of the Stonewall march, as it was viewed as necessary for just about everyone in ACT UP who was not doing legal or support work to be a marshal. We were, after all, responsible for the tens of thousands of people expected to show up.

On the morning of the march, a beautiful sunny June day, thousands of people gathered at Sheridan Square in anticipation of the march. In the press, the city had softened their "No march will leave the Village line" and had adopted a "we'll see what happens" attitude. A group of Stonewall survivors had eschewed the First Avenue march in favor of the ACT UP march, citing their personal losses to the AIDS crisis and commitment to ending the crisis. We were also joined by the Lesbian Herstory Archives, members of the Lesbian Avengers, a group called Spirit of Stonewall formed due to disagreements with the Stonewall 25 march organizers, and a contingent of Radical Faeries, many of whom proceeded buck naked for most of the route.

Because of our massive numbers, the police had no choice but to relent and give us whatever route we wanted. We marched around Washington Square Park and up Fifth Avenue. As we moved through Midtown, word was passed among marshals that the First Avenue march was waiting for us at Fifty-seventh street. We would be entering Central Park first because ours was the larger march.

Among my marshalling duties during the march was to position myself with other marshals between the police and the marchers in front of Saint Patrick's Cathedral. The experience was memorable. As marchers, many from out-of-town passed the cathedral, recognition would dawn on their faces. The outrage in the air was palpable. The only chants most managed to articulate were "Shame! Shame! Shame!" as they passed the church of John Cardinal O'Connor, who has worked hard against the rights of lesbians and gay men and our efforts to combat AIDS. The faces of the cops behind me, formerly jovial as they racked up lucrative overtime by watching our march, froze into masks of fear. For the first time along the march route, our free-floating rage had been provided with a target, and the result was fearsome. Block upon block of angry queers vented their rage through me to the gray granite facade of the cathedral. It seemed as though the cathedral, the cops, the street itself, could burst into flames from the force of our fury.

To be sure, ACT UP has some laurels due, but the true heroes of the day were all of the women and men who showed up at Sheridan Square at ten o'clock in the morning on Sunday, June 26th. It was the force of our numbers that won the day. It wasn't due to a small group of people who filed a lawsuit. It wasn't due to some cabal of self-appointed "leaders in our community." It wasn't due to elected officials. ACT UP set the stage and articulated the message, but it was the community which made the march. Everyone there made a contribution to the success of that march. Everyone there had made a difference, had a role in shaping history. This is community empowerment, and this is what direct action is all about. Twenty-five years ago, gay men and lesbians saw clearly that the way to fight for our lives was to take to the streets, in numbers and in force. This is the legacy of Stonewall. Given the events of June 26th, 1994, it is as true today as it was then. "In the tradition of Stonewall, gay men and lesbians fighting AIDS. ACT UP!"



BOOK PEDDLERS BURNED ON ST. MARK'S PLACE!!

By Chris Flash

After years of court battles that established book selling as an extension of the First Amendment right to free speech, book peddlers along the stretch of St. Marx Place between Second and Third Avenues were suddenly and unexpectedly forced off the block by 9th precinct cops on the evening of May 10.

At approximately 9:00 pm, the book peddlers were approached by a gang of cops led by Lt. Heinz of the 9th precinct. Heinz told them they had until 10:00 to leave, or they would be arrested and have their books taken from them. Heinz said that cops were enforcing vending regulations which say that peddlers must be 20 feet from doorways and must leave 12 feet of sidewalk space for pedestrian traffic.

The next day, P.O. Patruno was seen with a roll of measuring tape checking 20 foot distances from doorways for the few peddlers trying to set up near the Gap. Other book peddlers arrived on St. Marx with their carts and tables to set up, but were shocked to discover what had happened.

Lt. Heinz told the SHADOW that the regulations have always been on the books. He claimed that the peddlers were forcing people to walk in the streets and block traffic, and he added cryptically: "It begins and ends with an emergency situation."

Within a few days, a poster appeared on the inside of apartment doorways along St. Marx Place, turned around so that they could be seen only from inside the buildings. The poster, put out by the St. Marx 2-3 Block Association, declared a "victory" in getting the book peddlers off the block and explained how it was done:

Special Victory Edition, Spring, 1994

BOOK PEDDLERS OFF THE BLOCK

It's taken many years to win this battle, but the book peddlers are finally off our block! How did this happen?

We have always maintained that there should be no book peddlers on our block because we have less than 20' between the building line and the curb. The rules for general vendors state they cannot operate on blocks with less than 20' of space; however, the book peddlers had always been exempt from this ruling.

Before Mayor Dinkins left office, he signed a bill stating that the 20' rule did apply to book peddlers. Then a new operations order was drafted, so the police could enforce this new law.

The Block Association has been working with the BID, the Astor Place Task Force, and the Ninth Precinct to ensure that this law is enforced at all times. Pressure from all these groups, plus this new law, has resulted in this major victory.

The Block Association will continue its work to improve St. Marks Place. Join us Saturday to celebrate, socialize, and clean up the block.

The St. Marx 2-3 Block Association was created in June, 1989 by Kate Walter (who lives at 16 St. Marx) and Helayne Seidman (same address) with the sole purpose of getting rid of street peddlers, especially those who sell books, blaming them for all of the social ills on St. Marx Place. The group was joined by residents and merchants who may or may not have realized that they were being manipulated politically to facilitate the election of right-wing city councilman Antonio Pagán. (Walter has since been appointed to Community Board Three by Pagán.) The group's meetings were quickly controlled by local landlord, Community Board Three member and now former Pagán ally Krystyna Piorkowska, who, at the group's first meeting said, "...unfortunately, the booksellers are acting within the law." She said that they could only be controlled by *regress and space regulations*." (See SHADOW #4 for more--Ed.)

The SHADOW staff has measured off the distance between the curb and buildings along the south side of St. Marx where most book peddlers were set up and found 12-14 feet of pedestrian space. The difference is due to sidewalk cafe and store extensions built on front of many of the buildings. Allowing 1-2 feet for a peddler's table, which would leave the required 12 feet of walking space, the peddlers still lose because there are doorways every few feet on St. Marx that they must stay 20 feet away from. In effect, the regulation is written to make legal peddling impossible. When a SHADOW reporter pointed out these findings to a beat cop on St. Marx, he said, "I know it (the regulation) is bullshit."

There are many facets to this situation. One on hand, store owners who are saddled with excessively high rents and other business expenses don't like street peddlers who they see as rent-free competition and because some peddlers leave garbage behind, causing businesses to get sanitation tickets. On the other hand, peddlers are the result of unaffordable rents since they typically do not have the capital to rent a store and they need to peddle to make a living. Ironically, peddlers attract people looking for bargains to the neighborhood, which leads to increased business for store owners.

Since the sudden enforcement of the anti-peddler regulations, St. Marx Place is now being described as a "ghost town." Sidewalks and streets, formerly buzzing with activity and diversity, now appear vacant and bare. Private security guards from "Village Alliance," (an extension of the Business Improvement District (BID) on West Eighth Street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues), patrol a few times during daylight hours and young black men in red suits sweep specks of garbage from sidewalks and streets. This is the St. Marx 2-3 Block Association's "victory."

Of course, there is a catch. Merchant members of the Block Association failed to realize that peddlers were attracting customers to St. Marx. Several business owners along St. Marx are now expressing regret in supporting the peddler removal because they are losing business. The owner of Bowl and Board, a wood craft shop at 9 St. Marx, told the SHADOW that she is losing business, that the streets are dead, and that "all the local color is gone." Many people suspect that the peddler removal is the first step in a larger plan.

On another level, the loss of business for the St. Marx store owners is not so bad for the owners of the buildings housing those stores. The July 17 *New York Times* reported the demise in the past six months of several small and medium-sized businesses along Astor Place, just two blocks west of St. Marx Place. These include the District 25 auto workers' union, Conran's home furnishings, Cooper Square Books, and the Astor-Riviera Diner, which was in business for 15 years.



JACK DAWKINS

THE SYMBOL OF THE BLOCK ASSOCIATION'S "VICTORY"-- WHERE'S THE MONEY FOR ALL THIS COMING FROM?

Before the dust has even settled, gentrifiers, real estate developers and chain stores are moving in: District 25's building will be converted to luxury apartments, Barnes & Noble is taking over Conran's location and adding an espresso bar, and the Astor-Riviera site will be taken by Starbucks, a Seattle-based coffee shop chain. Of course, the big beneficiaries of this turnover are the building owners, who will now charge higher rents.

Two blocks away on St. Marx, the same scenario is slowly but surely unfolding. Once the newly-gentrified Astor Place is established, the struggling business owners along St. Marx already losing business from the lack of pedestrian traffic due to the absence of the book peddlers will be further affected when the Astor Place developments result in higher rents for their stores. When they lose their stores, they will not be missed by landlords who will gladly seek more up-scale stores and businesses to replace them and raise rents accordingly.

Many suspect that the BID was extended to St. Marx and the peddlers removed in order to create an "investor friendly" environment to attract the higher rentals, upscale apartment dwellers and wealthier customers. Already, several stores and restaurants along St. Marx have the block resembling tourist traps in the West Village. As with the West Village, the unique character of the neighborhood will be destroyed as low-income renters and small businesses are displaced while the cost of living increases.

Meanwhile, nothing has changed along Second Avenue, where fences and peddlers of stolen goods continue to sell their stuff all night long. Almost every night, passersby can see clusters of people gathered around one person with a big bag or suitcase full of goods. The stuff is quickly sold off to the group, some of whom then sell it on the sidewalk, which is clogged with peddlers, cutting off pedestrian traffic. (It should be made clear however, that not all of these peddlers sell stolen items. Many recycle junk from the garbage or sell their own stuff to scratch out a meager living.)

Streetwise crime victims who have given up on calling cops after their cars and apartments are broken into know where to look for their stolen items: the west side of Second Avenue, between Seventh Street and St. Marx Place, right around the corner from where the book peddlers were removed.

The book peddlers along St. Marx Place are not associated with the Second Avenue thieves. A "trunk popper" told the SHADOW that he used to sell books on St. Marx Place instead of ripping off cars, but after getting hassled by cops, he went back to crime. He said, "Whenever I pop trunks, there's never a cop in sight. But, whenever I try to sell books, I'm surrounded by them." He feels that "cops are trying to force peddlers into illegal means of survival so that they can be locked up."

In the aftermath of the removal from St. Marx Place, book peddlers have been able to set up in places where there is little or no pedestrian traffic. The few peddlers not affected by the police action have their tables set up behind the property line of buildings where they pay rent for their spaces. They were nervous about speaking to the SHADOW, fearing a backlash from cops on St. Marx. One pointed out that the Department of Consumer Affairs, which is charged with having vendor regulations enforced, has jurisdiction over businesses on private property, not public property, like sidewalks where the book peddlers were set up. He said that he has made "only a few dollars" since the police crackdown on May 10 and added, "If the cops did their job, they'd stop the sales of stolen stuff, not penalize everyone who peddles."

Currently, some of the displaced book peddlers who have not yet given up can be found around Cooper Square, between Astor Place and St. Marx, and at the southeast corner of Second Avenue and St. Marx. All have suffered a loss of business, and worry that their book buying customers will be lost, since St. Marx Place was where people looked for cheap books. Many of them fear that cops will next try to push them further away from St. Marx Place, closer toward the West Village.



SURE THEY DO! REMEMBER MICHAEL STEWART, 25... DIED AFTER HE WAS DELIVERED HOGTIED, BADLY BRUISED AND IN A COMA TO BELLEVUE HOSPITAL AFTER BEING ARRESTED BY 11 TRANSIT COPS FOR SCRAWLING GRAFFITI ON A SUBWAY WALL!

PEOPLE CONFRONT 9TH PRECINCT!!

By Chris Flash

Cops hanging out in the ninth precinct house at 321 East Fifth Street were awakened from their slumber on May 21 when approximately 30 Lower East Siders marched to the precinct house. The residents were there to demand an end to increasing police violence in their neighborhood. Among the cases they cited were: the beating by cops of Iternity, a well known and respected Rasta woman, the beating and arrest of Merlin, a homeless man also well known in the area, the removal of book peddlers from St. Marx Place, and the military-style eviction of the Glass House Squat last February.

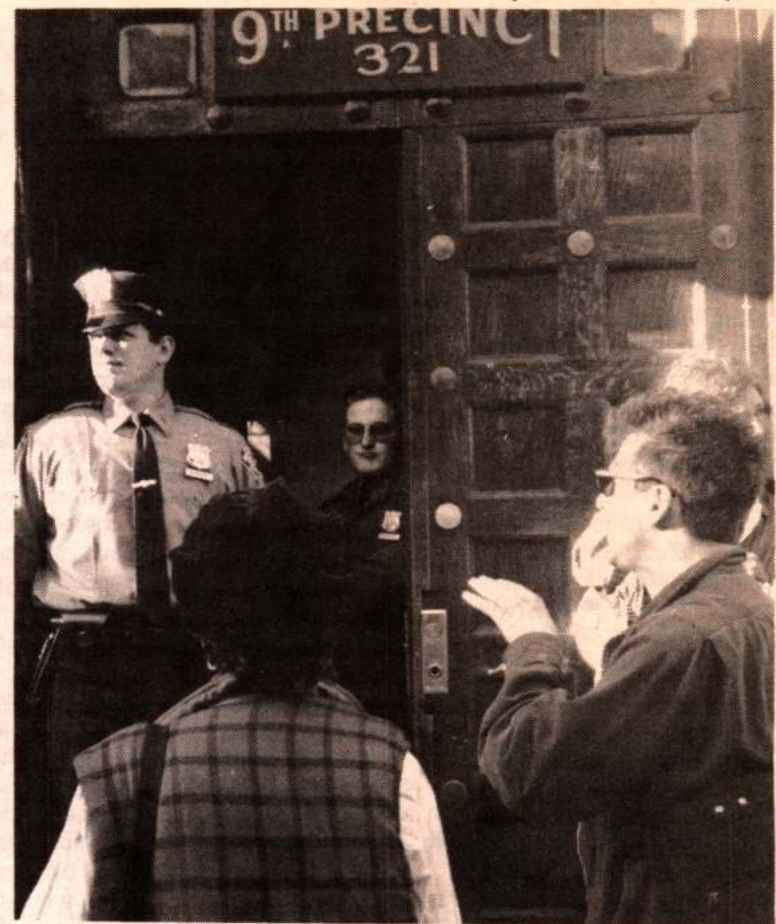
On May 18, Iternity was exiting a bodega grocery just as narco cops were arriving to raid the store, allegedly for selling pot. Iternity was roughly grabbed, tackled and beaten to the ground and frisked by cops who claimed they were looking for drugs. Cops, who found nothing, let her go without apologizing.

On May 10, Merlin was sleeping at the southeast corner of Sixth Street and Avenue A, where he has been for the past seven years. At 10:45 pm, female P.O. Waring of the 9th precinct kicked him in the back several times and demanded that he leave. Merlin packed his belongings and as he reached the curb, Waring knocked him to the ground and cuffed him. Four cop cars rolled up and took him to the 9th precinct. Merlin, who has a paralyzed leg, was forced to crawl from a car to inside the precinct because cops didn't want to touch him. They told him that if he refused, he would be "put through the system" for 24 hours. He later used the summons they gave him ("Disorderly Conduct") for toilet paper. Merlin had been a resident of Glass House until it was evicted in February.

On May 11, 9th precinct cops suddenly began enforcing a new ordinance against book peddlers, only along St. Marx Place, between Second and Third Avenues, severely affecting the incomes and lives of people one step away from becoming homeless.

Cops tried to clear the precinct after at least six people got inside. The others were locked outside. Lt. Heinz offered to speak with only one of the residents as a "representative" of the others, but he was told he would have to deal with everyone. As one resident told the SHADOW, "We wanted to see the ringmaster; we see the clowns every day." Heinz was invited to the neighborhood to speak with people directly, but he refused. As time went on, people outside became concerned about those still inside the precinct. One man climbed up to the window to look inside and Heinz yelled to a cop, "I thought I told you to watch the front." "I am," said the cop. Heinz yelled back, "Then why are they climbing through the windows?"

After getting nowhere with the cops, the residents briefly occupied Fifth Street before marching up First Avenue and St. Marx Place. Finally, the demonstration ended at the Christodora House, the most hated symbol of yuppie intrusion in the neighborhood. The doorman invited the people inside, but Heinz, who had been following, rushed up and demanded that they leave. One of the organizers later told the SHADOW, "From Glass House to a simple street beating, cops have been put on notice--we're not gonna take it anymore."



BARBARA LEE

PIGS ATTACK AGAIN

Two days later, as community activists gathered to discuss an Emergency Action Network to respond to police violence, word came that cops were arresting one of their friends and an ambulance was taking away another friend on East 9th Street. Neighbors and activists, unaware that it was a domestic dispute, rushed to confront the cops. When cops refused to answer their questions, some activists blocked a cop car and one crawled underneath. Since they were surrounded, the cops acted nice, until back-ups came. The cops shoved and beat people, and the cop car drove over the activist underneath, causing injuries requiring hospitalization.

Five people were arrested on various charges, including "Disorderly Conduct," "Resisting Arrest," "Obstruction of Governmental Administration" (for asking questions), and "Second Degree Assault," which is a felony. Cops claimed that three of their men were hurt, but all witnesses have told the SHADOW that no one touched the cops, even though they deserved it.

Later that night, when activist priest Father George Kuhn requested (new 9th precinct commanding officer) Captain Jaffe to allow him to see the prisoners for signs of injury, she refused, saying that he would lie about what he saw.

After going through the system for 24 hours, all those arrested were released without bail.

STREETWATCH SUES AMTRAK OVER POLICE BRUTALITY!!

By Kurt Hill

StreetWatch, the anti-police brutality monitoring group, has filed a multimillion dollar lawsuit in U.S. District Court against the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, better known as Amtrak, and its most sadistic cops.

"We have 50 different allegations of people who have been brutalized," Michael Deutsch of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) told the SHADOW. The CCR is spearheading the legal action.

The lawsuit, which was filed in early June, carefully documents illegal policies and practices which Amtrak uses against people who they perceive to be indigent or homeless, in an effort to make them leave Penn Station. The lawsuit details these practices, which include use of "unreasonable and excessive force, harassment, intimidation and humiliation." StreetWatch volunteers have also experienced harassment by Amtrak solely because of their political views and their efforts to monitor the conduct of the Amtrak cops, including the arrests of two volunteers in Penn Station last April.

"We plan to vindicate the rights of citizens to monitor the police, and assert that until you can provide people with housing alternatives, you can't keep homeless people out of sight, out of mind," said Lisa Dagaard, Legal Director of the Coalition for the Homeless, the watchdog group that initiated StreetWatch last December.

Since at least 1987, Amtrak has issued directives instructing the New York Division of the Amtrak Police Department and its officers to ensure that persons who they think are homeless are removed from Penn Station. This has included individuals with valid train tickets. Blacks and Latinos comprise 80% of those harassed by the cops, according to StreetWatch statistics.

While StreetWatch has four monitoring teams, the Penn Station site has proven to be the major hot spot of abuse. StreetWatch volunteer Emily Nussbaum recently related some of her experiences to the SHADOW: "One night, things were pretty relaxed. There were a lot of cops on duty, but aside from occasionally sweeping homeless people out of the seating area, there was no aggressive atmosphere." Nussbaum watched the scene change dramatically.

"A very drunk homeless man was talking to himself angrily and a few of the other homeless men in the area were gently trying to calm him down, standing around him saying 'chill out' and 'relax.' Out of the blue, one of the police officers barreled into the group, shoving one of the men face down onto the ground. It was totally unexpected. The cop didn't even try to find out what was going on. He grabbed the drunken man, slammed his nightstick into the guy's stomach and shoved him up against a column."

According to the lawsuit, such incidents are far from being rare at Penn Station. In late March, 1994, two Amtrak pigs approached a homeless man in the seating area and told him to leave or suffer forcible ejection. When the man bent down to pick up

his bag, the cops grabbed him by his elbows and flung him against a concrete pillar, knocking out a front tooth, dislocating his nose, breaking his eyeglasses, and opening a severe gash over his eye. They took him to the 34th Street exit and threw him out the door violently, causing him to fall and hit the back of his head on the pavement. The two pigs then threw his bag into the street where his belongings were scattered and stolen, so that he lost nearly all of his remaining personal property, including medicines.

Amtrak gestapo wannabes have also kicked sleeping homeless people in order, they claim, to "wake" them. In one incident last winter, a man was kicked in the head while sleeping on the floor of Penn Station, causing a painful head injury which required hospitalization and 37 stitches. StreetWatch has at least 47 other documented cases of kop sadism.

StreetWatch volunteers have also been harassed and prevented from observing police behavior in Penn Station. On April 4, two volunteers were arrested for their monitoring activities. While they were handcuffed to a wall and detained in the Amtrak police station, one pig searched a briefcase and bag belonging to one of the arrestees. The kop read confidential legal documents from the briefcase and photocopied one of the documents, circulating it to police personnel.

While the Penn Station area has been the site of the most serious incidents against homeless people, StreetWatch is monitoring three other trouble spots.

The Grand Central area, which includes Grand Central Station, 42nd Street and the surrounding neighborhood, is patrolled by the Grand Central Partnership (GCP), a Business Improvement District (BID). The GCP was created by private interests and businesses in the area and "recruits" homeless people to intimidate other homeless people to move to other parts of the city. The GCP pays a sub-minimum "wage" (\$50 a week) and "shelter" (a chair to sleep on at St. Agnes Church) to its "employees." These cut-rate thugs have been witnessed by StreetWatch tearing up the cardboard homes and trashing belongings of homeless people, among other things. StreetWatch continues to monitor the policies of the GCP, documenting their "outreach workers" treatment of the homeless in and around Grand Central Station. The Grand Central StreetWatchers also monitor the Manhattan Transit Authority (MTA), observing and documenting police behavior with homeless people in the subways.

StreetWatch has also been working with the homeless community at Clinton/DeWitt Park, located at 43rd Street and 11th Avenue. This community has been harassed and threatened with sweeps of the park by police in the area. Neighborhood groups such as Community Board 4 were exerting pressure on police to clear the park, but a successful opposition by StreetWatch at community board meetings has temporarily stopped the sweeps.

In addition, StreetWatch has recently begun monitoring police activity at Port Authority, and is currently patrolling the area and documenting incidents.

Persons interested in becoming involved in StreetWatch can contact the Coalition for the Homeless at: 89 Chambers Street, 3rd floor, NYC, 10007. (Telephone 212-964-5900).

COMMUNITY BOARD 3 WATCH

(More on the Lower East Side's political patronage dumping ground)

By Stuart Frankel

The biggest news at the CB3 June meeting, at least for those interested in the extremely small and petty world of CB3 internal politics, was the re-election of City Councilman Antonio Pagán servant Luis Soler as board chair. Soler was elected with a bare minimum of 25 votes, and the Pagánites scored a clean, if narrow, sweep of all the offices except for assistant secretary where their candidate, Edgardo Cerezo, has committed ethical violations serious enough to have him thrown off the board entirely, according to the Borough President's office (which makes the final determination of such things). Soler's opponent for the chair was Marvin Wasserman, one of the few board members not solidly entrenched in one of CB3's two opposing camps. (See SHADOW #31 for more on this--Ed.) His 22 votes reflect not only the polarization of the board, but also disenchantment with Soler's brand of bumbling despotism.

Forces allied to Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (caudillo of the conservative Jewish Grand Street co-ops) and City Council member Antonio Pagán conspired to save Soler's political neck and mend a split in the Pagánite ranks. At stake were the two huge vacant lots on the south side of Delancey Street just this side of the Williamsburg Bridge - the last large piece of vacant real estate in the neighborhood. These had long been promised for low-income (or, in some proposals, low and moderate-income) housing, but the proposals have been fought bitterly by the residents of the adjacent Grand Street co-ops. The co-ops have been found guilty of racial discrimination and some of them are under court order to end their racist rental policies. Nonetheless, the residents, as board member Donna Ellaby put it, "don't want blacks and latinos in housing" next to them. These residents are the backbone of Silver's political machine. They vote in large, well-disciplined numbers; Silver has placed them at Pagán's disposal as well - Pagán's district was gerrymandered specifically to include them, and Pagán could not have gotten elected without their support. Most of them are elderly, and their discrimination stems from

fear; unfortunately, instead of trying to allay their fears, Silver and Pagán have decided to play up to it for political purposes. Last January, CB3 narrowly voted to keep the vacant lots on the top of its list for low-income housing development. The vote badly split the Pagán forces; many of the Latinos did not want to vote against a proposal which would house Latinos. Board chair Luis Soler was one of these. His vote angered Pagán and his cronies, and since Soler was entirely dependent on Pagán for his position, many assumed that Soler had written his political death warrant.

But a last-minute rescue operation was put together to save Soler and prevent the Pagánites from splitting and losing control of CB3. Sources report that this rescue operation was the product of Silver's office. Although the election of the board officers was supposed to be one of the first pieces of CB3 business, board member Estelle Ruben announced that she had an "emergency" proposal and asked the board to suspend the rules so that she could introduce it. The "emergency" turned out to be a proposal to use the vacant lots on Delancey Street for a parking lot. Of course, this proposal, in the words of board member Armando Perez, was "just a ploy to keep low and moderate-income housing from the sites." Ruben did not say why this "emergency" could not have waited until the normal place for new business on the CB3 agenda, which would have been at the end of the meeting; but the suspension of rules did allow the vote on the parking lot to be taken just before the election, allowing Soler and the others who had sinned against Pagán by showing signs of a conscience to reverse their previous vote, this time by voting FOR a parking lot instead of AGAINST low-income housing. The split in the Pagánite ranks was healed.

For those interested in the neighborhood, rather than neighborhood politics, the most important issue was the conga drumming in Tompkins Square Park. Four residents of East 7th Street across from the park, in an effort apparently orchestrated by Susan Vaughn, chair of CB3's Park Committee, complained to the committee about the congas. All four were white; two of them had recently moved to the neighborhood and, in later interviews, said that they "didn't know that the drumming was that big a deal" and expressed regret that they hadn't learned more about their neighborhood before they brought their complaints. At the Parks Committee meeting, 4 people testified against the drumming and several dozen testified in favor of it, including people who had lived across from the park for decades. Although Vaughn clearly wanted to restrict the drumming severely or even ban it entirely, committee member Sandi Andersen blocked that by proposing that the drumming curfew be pushed back an hour from the current 10 pm to 9 pm. This proposal passed, barely, with the 3 white members voting for it and the 3 minority members voting against it.

At the full board meeting, dozens of members of the public testified against the earlier curfew, praising the drumming with, as Ruth Silber (who has lived across from the park for several decades) said "poetry and passion." One resident presented petitions with more than 1200 signatures supporting the drumming. Only one person testified in favor of further restricting the drumming; this was Ellen Katz, and the public session was extended specifically in order to accommodate her, a courtesy not accorded people who speak against Pagánite proposals. (Katz once wrote a letter to the Voice complaining that they hadn't even mentioned Pagán as one of the candidates they had considered supporting for city council. She

had, in fact, found the Voice issue she was complaining about in a trash can; she doesn't normally read the Voice and didn't know that previous issues had had several long articles about Pagán's sliminess. She ended her letter with "... and I bet you don't print this letter," but the Voice edited that part out before they printed it.)

After the public session, the public is supposed to keep quiet and watch the board members debate, a remarkable unedifying experience. Susan Vaughn said that "no one is considering eliminating the drums entirely," ignoring her earlier efforts to do just that; she then contradicted herself by saying that the 9 pm curfew was a "compromise." The most entertaining comments were by board member Albert Fabozzi, whom I hereby nominate as the Patron Saint of Patronizing, since he doesn't seem to know that anyone he disagrees with CAN be addressed as an adult. He unilaterally announced that the 9 pm curfew was "responsible" and that anyone who disagreed with him lacked "courtesy" and "compassion." He claimed to be speaking for the elderly on his block; I spoke to half a dozen of them after the vote, and none were in favor of the 9 pm curfew. (Their comments ranged from, "It's not so bad; I can live with it" to "It's always been part of the neighborhood.") His diatribe reduced much of the audience to laughter. Estelle Ruben proved that she's out of it by trying to propose that the drumming be moved to East River Park, but her proposal got politely ignored. (Like Fabozzi, Ruben also has a problem talking to adults, but she recently retired as an elementary-school teacher.)

The proposal to extend the curfew was defeated by more than two to one. Score one for the neighborhood.

(Next Community Board 3 meeting: 6:30 pm, Tuesday, September 27, at PS 20, 166 Essex Street)

PAGÁN CRONY LUIS SOLER ASSAULTS WOMAN

By Paul DeRienzo

The long-simmering dispute between political factions on the Lower East Side may have pushed at least one politician over the edge. Community School District One vice chair Angelica Riviera says Community Board Three chairperson Luis Soler was arrested after punching her in the arm on a Lower East Side street during a heated political argument.

Riviera says it was after about two o'clock early Sunday morning on July 17 after a meeting of parents from PS 15 who were complaining of harassment by supporters of ousted District Superintendent William Ubiñas, when she ran into Soler. Riviera is one of the members who won last year's school board election and then voted to dismiss Ubiñas. Soler is an ally and supporter of Ubiñas.

Riviera is an open lesbian and a vocal supporter of gay and lesbian rights. She ran for school board with a slate of candidates that defeated a slate dominated by right wingers. Soler is a CB3 appointee of neo-conservative and pro-landlord city councilmember Antonio Pagán.

Riviera says the confrontation began with angry words over the recent CB3 vote against building low-income housing on the site of the so-called Seward Park Extension. According to Riviera, after the exchange of words, Soler began following her and a group of friends down the street when, she says, he "threatened me physically and then he hit me."

Riviera says police soon arrived and began to handcuff Soler. She says Soler then turned to a woman who witnessed the altercation and told her not to get involved, but the woman, who has known Soler since he was a child, not only fingered Soler in the assault but declared she would tell his mother. Soler was then given a misdemeanor desk appearance ticket.

According to Riviera, the assault by Soler began when she told him that she had the "right to believe in low income housing as you have the right to believe in luxury housing."

The issue of housing is a reference to the twenty year dispute over the future of Seward Park. Urban renewal programs in the 1960's demolished thousands of units of tenement housing with the promise that all displaced people would be resettled in newly built housing projects. But most of the housing was taken by middle and upper income non-hispanic white residents.

Earlier this month, CB3 voted against low-income housing for the site, asking instead for a parking lot to allow more shoppers to search for bargains along the area's world-famous Orchard Street strip. Riviera says the first time she met Soler, he told her he supported luxury housing for Seward Park. But, she adds, the roots of the dispute go back to an April town hall meeting in the neighborhood that featured Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

TWO-FACED



HE SAID:

"Disinformation has portrayed me in opposition to renewing our current rent regulations. *Nothing could be further from the truth.*" (Pagán's emphasis in a letter to his constituents, March 15, 1994.)



HE DID:

Six days later he voted to weaken current regulations (the **only** Manhattan councilmember to do so). Even a Republican, Councilman Eristoff, called it the "beginning of the end of rent regulation," and said Pagán's vote was "inexplicable."



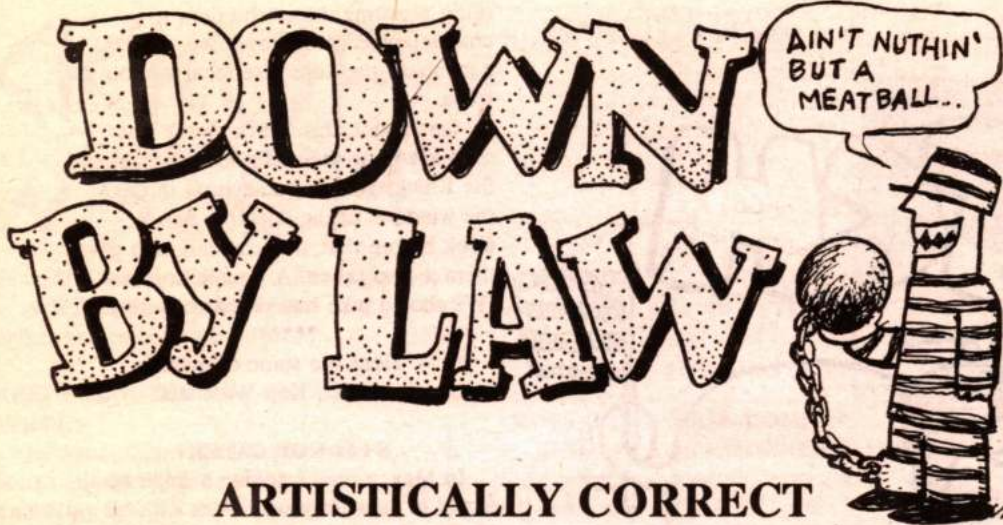
Councilman
PAGÁN



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THIS STICKER HAS BEEN SEEN ALL OVER THE LOWER EAST SIDE. LOOKS LIKE ANTONIO PAGÁN IS PISSING OFF EVERYBODY. THIS IS WHERE VOTING GETS YOU!!

See PAGÁN CRONY On Page 23



ARTISTICALLY CORRECT

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

Parks Commissioner Henry J. Stern has announced that he has discovered the root cause of civil unrest generally, as well as that of the recent conflict in Tompkins Square Park, in particular. It is heavy metal music. Mr. Stern states that it is a "fact that certain kinds of music attract violent people [and] the music itself stirs up a propensity to violence..." Mr. Stern invoked this "fact" to justify a new policy for concert permits, making it more difficult for performers playing "high risk" music to use public parks.

Blaming the music is nothing new. A generation ago, various civic and religious leaders sounded the alarm against another insidious musical infection of the body politic. Rock-and-Roll, it was said, was responsible for a host of real and perceived social ills, including permissive sexual conduct, drug use, miscegenation, general moral decline, and the spread of communism. The guardians of public morality insured us that prolonged exposure to Elvis Presley's gyrations and the Beatle's backbeat would unleash primitive and uncontrollable impulses in America's teens, causing (at least) rampant fornication and (probably) the demise of the existing social order.

Citing heavy metal music as the cause of trouble in Tompkins Square Park is, if possible, even sillier. The first recorded riot in that park took place on January 14, 1874, when a rag-tag group of unemployed workers, anarchists and communists marched down Avenue A, and assembled in the park. A detachment of mounted and foot police surrounded the park and then, led by a sergeant, waded into the crowd, beating and clubbing everyone within reach. A young activist named Samuel Gompers, who narrowly avoided getting his own skull creased, called that attack "an orgy of brutality." His account does not reflect the nature of the music being played while the clubs fell, but we can confidently assume it was not heavy metal.

Over a century later, on August 6, 1988, there was another police riot in Tompkins Square Park. For five hours, hundreds of police officers rampaged through the Lower East Side, beating and kicking demonstrators, passers-by, and members of the news media. This outbreak of violence was devoid of any musical component.

As attorneys who have long represented activists on the Lower East Side, we can assure Commissioner Stern that the current flare-up is due to genuine grievances, and not musical preferences. The fact that not a single police officer was jailed for the 1988 riot left a lasting legacy of bitterness in the community. Police continue to dismantle encampments of the homeless and to evict squatters. Indeed, in the past two weeks, there has been a dramatic increase in police presence in traditional squatter gathering places like La Plaza Cultural on Avenue C and an upsurge in harassment and arrests of street peddlers. As long as this diverse, fractious community is patrolled by young, white police officers from the suburbs, who view the neighborhood as the world's largest open-air zoo (and pizzeria), shouting matches will continue to escalate into violence.

Mr. Stern's cure for the problem--making it more difficult for certain musicians to perform--is as misguided as his diagnosis. The First Amendment precludes the government from censoring speech because of the content of that speech. This prohibition against "content based" restrictions is at the heart, not the periphery, of First Amendment values. The notion that certain words (whether spoken or sung), can be suppressed because of their predicted impact on an audience is anathema in a society that regularly professes that it values freedom of speech.

The idea that, by prohibiting the "wrong" kind of music, one can also prevent the "wrong" kind of people from showing up at concerts, invites the worst type of discrimination. Should Mr. Stern deem it a fact that persons wearing baggy jeans and Rangers' caps are more likely to engage in violence than those wearing Barney's suits, will he next limit attendance at park events to the sartorially correct? Whenever government is given the power to control speech, it invariably targets those whose message is radical, unpopular or discordant. The parks are a traditional public space, for all users, and no one has appointed Commissioner Stern as a Commissar of Art.

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

NYC SPEAK-OUT FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

By Kurt Hill

More than 250 activists turned out on the evening of June 3 to oppose a ban imposed on death row political prisoner and award-winning black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal. Noted entertainer Ossie Davis hosted the "Speak-Out for Jamal" at the Society for Ethical Culture.

The event was organized by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee in response to the recent cancellation by National Public Radio of a planned series of Jamal's commentaries after NPR received pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police and supporters of the racist death penalty. The meeting's urgency was magnified by the fact that the Pennsylvania State Legislature is expected to enact a bill, over the governor's veto, which would force the governor to sign death warrants within 60 days.

In a taped greeting to the rally, Jamal said: "To hear NPR tell it--and as of this date I've heard nothing personally from them--I was fired because my pieces, some taken from my article published in the *Yale Law Journal*, weren't 'compelling'. This suggests that a person's impressions of life in America's overcrowded and oppressive prisons where over a million people are held captive, or of life on America's death rows where people, some 2,800 men and women, await their killing by the government, is of NO importance..."

One of the highlights of the Speak-Out was the reading of "Mumia Abu-Jamal Death Row Collage: His Words for Three Voices," arranged by Charles Brover. Ossie Davis, Judge Bruce Wright, and Bernard White of WBAI radio gave life to Jamal's words written from Pennsylvania's Huntingdon prison. Taped for broadcast, this performance of some of Jamal's writings effectively broke the ban imposed by NPR and brought the man and his message to a wider public. Michael G. Haskins of WBAI was also read movingly from Jamal's writings.

Leonard Weinglass, an attorney for the Chicago Seven in the 1960s, and Jamal's lead attorney, reported on the defense team's efforts to uncover ignored and suppressed evidence which proves Jamal's innocence in the 1981 shooting death of a Philadelphia policeman. In one example of the gross violations of Mumia's constitutional rights,

Weinglass related what the prosecutor argued to the jury: "Mr. Jamal will have appeal after appeal after appeal and his case will be reviewed, so you needn't feel you're taking personal responsibility here for the death penalty." Weinglass noted that precise argument has been held by the U.S. Supreme Court to undermine what jurors must confront when they judge whether or not a person should be given a life sentence or the death penalty. Said Weinglass: "If Mumia would get a new trial tomorrow, we're confident on the basis of what we've developed thus far that we could win his case."

Mumia's wife, Wadiya Abu-Jamal, also addressed the gathering. "For almost thirteen long years we have suffered at the hands of the outlaw--this outlaw being the system--simply because Mumia can't stop telling the truth. This outlaw has killed many, many innocent people, and will do it again. Each and every day. Please use all that's right within you to support Mumia and all the innocent people on death row, so that he can help you, because he is still the Voice of the Voiceless."

Other speakers included Elombe Brath, Chair of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, Paul Cooperstein of the Partisan Defense Committee, and James Frazier, a New York City transit worker who was shot by NYC police in October 1993. He now faces gun possession charges stemming from a frame-up. Statements of support were read from actor Ed Asner, Raymond Martinez, Jr. of SEIU Local 668, and Mike Farrell, Co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Farrell announced that over \$2,000 was raised at the meeting, all of which will go toward Mumia's legal defense.

For further information on Mumia's case, or to make a badly-needed contribution, contact: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, #115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Make checks payable to the "Bill of Rights Foundation," and earmark them for "Jamal."

Mumia's address is: Mumia Abu-Jamal, M.H., #AM-8335, 1100 Pike Street, Huntingdon, PA 16654 -1112.

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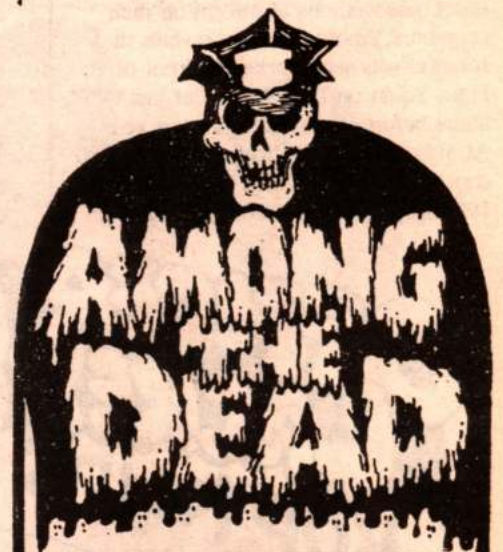


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GREEN PANTHERS!

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Mr. Sayon died of asphyxiation from the compression of his chest and neck while he was handcuffed and on the ground.

Well, here we are again!!

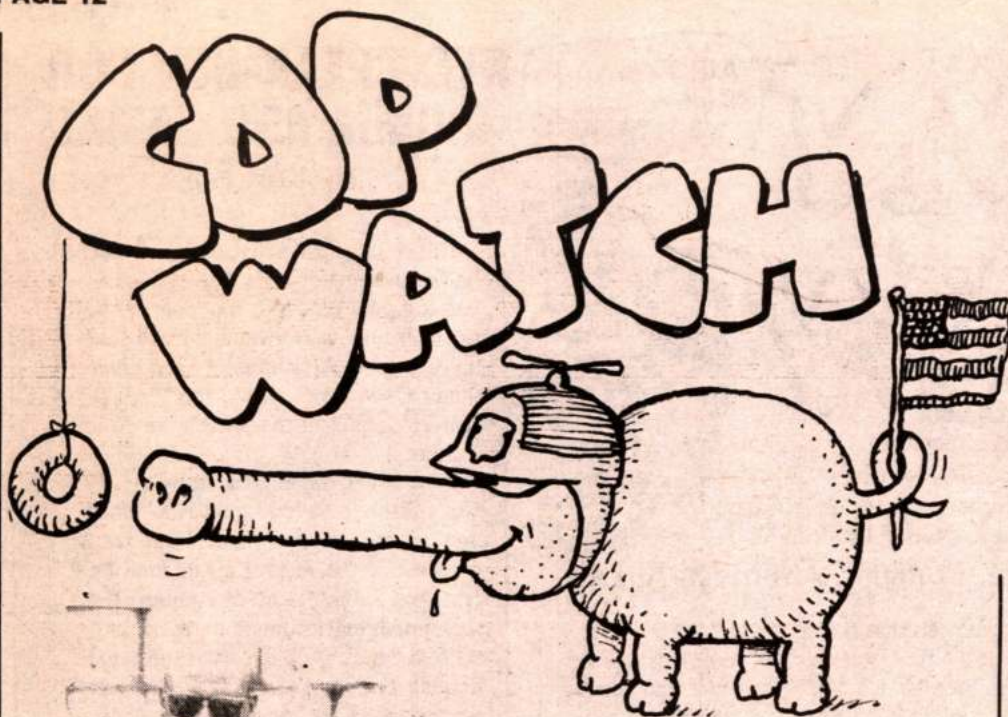
Neighborhood residents and Kop-Watchers have noticed lots of strange new kops around Tompkins Square, some newly assigned to the 9th precinct and others from other precincts and commands, and people are wondering why.

SHADOW Kop-Watch sources say that the 9th precinct, one of only two precincts cited repeatedly during last October's phony Mollen Commission hearings on kop corruption, has been targeted for removal of the worst corrupt kops through discreet arrests and re-assignments. After the Commission finished last year, NYPD chief Bratton made a big show of replacing the 30th precinct commander, publicly busting kops and taking their badges himself. Nothing like that happened at the 9th precinct. (See Kop-Watch in SHADOW #30 for more--Ed.)

Now, it looks like there has been a serious effort by 9th precinct C.O. (Commanding Officer) Captain Richard Seta in recent months to stem at least some of the corruption at the "Fighting Ninth." But, since the furor over the Mollen Commission and the 30th precinct busts has died down somewhat, the NYPD is probably more concerned with maintaining morale as the heads roll, so they are going the quiet route. Seta must be stepping on the right toes, because anonymous letters have been circulating to kops in the 9th precinct, telling them to resist Seta's efforts.

So, what took so long? Well, other SHADOW sources say the answer may have something to do with the May 30 retirement of mysterious "honorary detective" Richard ("Richie") Johnson, who posed as a "community affairs" kop at the 9th precinct and was never seen in uniform (except once a few years ago, when he was overseeing the distribution of government surplus cheese to Ukrainians on Second Ave.)

Johnson is a political ally of the more right wing conservative elements on Community Board Three, as well as city councilman Antonio Pagán. Beside being involved in many strange things at the 9th over the past two decades, sources say Johnson was part of the "Ghetto Informant Program," setting up Block Associations to inform on their neighbors. Another source reveals that Johnson was seen parked in front of Fetus Squat on East 9th Street just two hours before it burned down last year. At almost every political demonstration, concert or skirmish with kops since the 1988 Kop Riot (and probably before),



"HONORARY DETECTIVE"
RICHARD "RICHIE" JOHNSON

Johnson could always be seen nearby, quietly observing who was doing what.

Johnson also oversaw meetings of the "Ninth Precinct Community Council." The group is composed of kops and community board-connected civilians and hears complaints by area residents about things concerning kops. These include rampant drug dealing street gangs on certain blocks that kops have ignored, despite repeated complaints to kops. Residents have told the council that kop cars either drive away when receiving complaints or turn their cars to avoid or ignore people trying to stop them. After one stormy council meeting witnessed by a SHADOW reporter, Johnson would only respond to each complaint with: "Don't stop calling."

At one meeting known to the SHADOW, a man complaining about dealers who control his block was approached by the dealers days later. They told him word for word what he had told kops at the meeting in confidence, and warned that if he ever said

anything again, he'd be killed. The man soon left town.

A SHADOW source believes that Johnson had some sort of connection or interest in not acting on any of the residents' complaints, instead serving as a mechanism to receive complaints to find out who knows what about whom in the neighborhood and then using the information for other purposes. The source compared telling Johnson about drug dealers to telling J. Edgar Hoover about new evidence in the JFK assassination.

According to SHADOW sources, Johnson announced his intention to retire only weeks after the Mollen Commission finished. The sources say top kops waited until Johnson retired before moving on the 9th precinct, because "he knows where the bodies are buried" and could make life difficult for several high and lower ranking kops if they fuck with him.

One of the resulting problems of the influx of new transient kops around Tompkins Square is their ability to do what they want to area residents without any accountability.

Lately, kops, all juiced up over the installation of their savior Il Duce/Mayor Adolph Giuliani, have been exercising even more aggression around Tompkins Square Park. On hot summer nights, after rudely and roughly displacing people from the park at midnight, kops spend the next two hours randomly pushing people around on Avenue A, especially the homeless,

often arresting those who dare to challenge the occupying force. At 2:00 a.m. sharp the kops disappear without a trace.

On June 7, this "crack" force was seen spending their two hours watching the Knicks game on television through the windows of the Alcatraz bar. A week before that, a Ukrainian man gave them a nazi salute. A female kop said "We should take him on patrol with us."

Here are some eyewitness reports from area Kop-Watchers:

S+M KOP CAPER

In May, a man smoking a small bowl of pot in Sara Roosevelt Park with his friends was seen by diminutive officer Ward of the 7th Precinct who was riding a scooter. "Don't move," Ward told him, as he climbed over a fence to get closer to the man. The man kicked away the pot pipe and was hit in the hand by Ward's club. Ward then told him he had a choice: "Either you go to jail or take a beating." The man called Ward's bluff and said "I'll take the beating." Ward gave the man a lot of verbal abuse, but no beating. Before leaving the man, Ward told him, "I respect you for wanting to take the beating."

KOPS DUCK GUNSHOTS

At 1:30 a.m. on June 14, several loud gunshots were heard on St. Mark's Place, between Second and Third Avenues. Kop-Watchers report that the shots stemmed from a dispute between drug dealers intruding on other dealers' turf. Kops failed to respond to numerous calls.

KOP DODGES RAPIST

On June 18, a man who had just stopped an attempted rape of a woman on Avenue A approached a kop standing at the 7th Street and Avenue A entrance to Tompkins Square Park and asked him to help catch the rapist. The kop told him "I can't leave my post." Seconds later, the rape victim herself yelled for kops to arrest the fleeing rapist. The kop then hid behind bushes in the park and pretended not to hear her!!

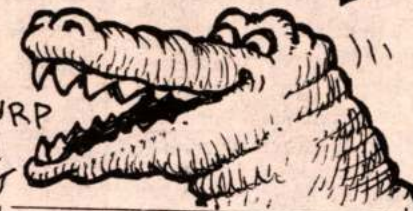
KOPS ASSIST BIKE THIEF

On June 19, two men, one black and one white, were chasing a guy speeding away on a bicycle up Avenue C. When they got to the corner of 9th Street where two kops stood chatting, the black guy showed them his broken chain and told the kops they were chasing a

OFFICER LACKEY KOP KLIPS

City Cop Arrested

A New York City police officer has been arrested for allegedly exposing himself at the Westchester Community College campus in Valhalla, Westchester County police said yesterday. Kirk Shocker, 26, of Peekskill, was arrested Thursday after several complaints by women at the college, said Lt. Ted Rau. Shocker allegedly exposed himself to the women, masturbated and said vulgar things, Rau said. Shocker, a four-year veteran assigned to the 50th Precinct in the Bronx, was suspended from the force Thursday, city police said. — The Associated Press



Alligator Bites Police Car

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., May 2 (AP) — A 9-foot male alligator on Sunday tried to take a bite out of Officer M. R. Floyd, then ripped a chunk off his cruiser. This being alligator mating season, the alligator had wandered onto a highway and lunged at cars before the officer showed up.

"It came after me with its mouth wide open," Officer Floyd said. "When he couldn't get me, he bit my patrol car and was just shaking it until he tore part of it off."

The alligator pulled off a 10-inch chunk of plastic from the front bumper. A state trapper captured the alligator, which was to be killed because it posed a threat to cops.

Henry J. Stern, New York City's Parks Commissioner, has discovered the root cause of civil unrest generally and the May 30 bottle-throwing melee in Tompkins Square Park in particular: heavy metal music.

It is, he says, a "fact that certain kinds of music attract violent people, that the music itself stirs up a propensity to violence."



PRIDE INTEGRITY GUTS & LEAZE

KKKOP WATCH

bike thief. Even though one of the kops was on a scooter, both kops just laughed and refused to budge.

CREEPY SCOOTER KOP ON NIPPLE PATROL

The boring kop life of scooter pig Villerra (Badge #6234) of the MSTF (Manhattan South Task Force) got a little more exciting on June 23 when he spied a group of young women sitting in the grass in Tompkins Square Park piercing one woman's nipples. When they objected to his leering at them from the other side of the fence, Villerra told them that they could continue as long as he could watch, but not if he couldn't watch them. Villerra's view was then blocked by a young man and the women called Villerra a pervert. With that, Villerra got angry, went around to the lawn entrance and drove his scooter directly onto the grass and up to the women. A female parks worker/rent-a-kop approached and Villerra tried to make a joke out of it, asking her "Do you want a nipple collar (arrest)?" Villerra was on a roll and wouldn't stop: "If it's a left nipple, it's a misdemeanor; If it's a right nipple, it's a felony." Finally, as the number of Kop-Watchers around him grew, Villerra shrank away and sped off on his little scooter, most likely to be found beating off at a strip joint somewhere.

KOPS BEAT ELDERLY MAN FOR MOVING TOO SLOW

On the night of July 12, one of several scooter kops chasing people out of Tompkins Square Park only a few minutes after the midnight curfew decided that an old Polish man wasn't moving fast enough for his liking. The young muscular kop jumped the old man, and while straddling him, the kop punched the old man in the face as hard as he could several times. The other kops stood by and made no move to stop the kop or say anything about the beating. Predictably, the old man was arrested and charged with assaulting the kop! The next day, Sergeant Kelly of the 9th precinct told a man outraged over the beating "I'm tired of babysitting these people (in the park)." Another kop told the outraged man "It could have been worse." Yeah, right. The kop could have shot and killed the old man, but he was too decent to do something so barbaric. Thank goodness the kop was so considerate!

Eyewitnesses believe the kop's badge number was 917, but this has not yet been confirmed.

KOPS JUMP + BEAT MAN FOR STANDING ON CORNER

A black man standing on the crowded corner of St. Marx + Second Avenue with his white girlfriend was singled out by a female kop who told him to move along. As the man questioned why only he was being told to move, he was suddenly tackled by a male kop who slammed him hard against the glass door of the Gem Spa newsstand. The kop then punched him repeatedly while holding him in a headlock. His girlfriend tried to help him, but she was jumped by the female kop. Suddenly, like sharks in a feeding frenzy, dozens of kops descended on the corner in cars, scooters and on foot, almost crashing into oncoming traffic on Second Avenue. They swarmed over the site of the attack, removed the two kops who started the trouble, arrested the victims and left as quickly as they had arrived.

Hi, I'm going to kick your ass



... and get away with it!

KOPS CONFISCATE DONUTS AND EAT THE EVIDENCE

(Kop-Watch received this report from members of ACT-UP):

On Thursday, April 28, members of ACT-UP attended a "Power Breakfast" sponsored by Crain's Business Journal at the Marriot Hotel at Grand Central. Mayor Giuliani was the honored guest. ACT-UP disrupted, etc., were ejected, etc., and arrested, etc. While ACT-UP members and others were doing support outside the Midtown South Precinct awaiting the release of our comrades, we beheld the awesome majesty of the NYPD in action. A cruiser was hauling one of those little coffee-and-donut lunch carts. (Giuliani, as part of his campaign to improve the "quality of life" for the affluent, is using their tax money to drive these hard workers out of business.) We watched dumbfounded as kops took the coffee-and-donut cart off the hitch on the cruiser and wheeled it into a pen just west of the precinct building. After the kops had secured the lock on the gate and gone inside, a few of us went in for a closer look. Behind the fence was a veritable coffee-and-donut cart graveyard. There must have been twenty pushcarts impounded by the kops. The new arrival sat in the front, filled with a morning's wares: lots and lots of glazed donuts. We rejoined the group and continued the wait. About a half an hour passed when, while pacing up and down in front of the precinct, I noted to my surprise that the pushcart we had seen brought in was completely emptied of donuts. Talk about having the fox guard the hen-house! I bet the crackdown on coffee-and-donut vendors has met with unsurpassed zeal from the boys in blue ("So you do have a license, eh? Well let me see it... Hey! What's this!?? When they stamped your license "APPROVED" they went off the edge of the paper with the stamp. That invalidates the license. I'm going to impound your pushcart, Buddy.") The kops get an all but inexhaustible number of donuts and some poor pushcart vendor is unable to feed his family that day. "Quality of Life," indeed.

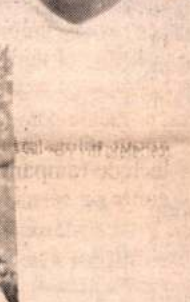
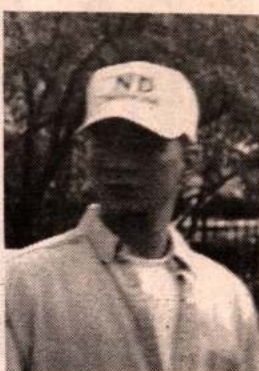
Not all of these reports deal with kop victims. Here are some reports of pay-back:

In mid-May, 9th precinct kops rebuffed the attempts of an area resident trying to complain at the precinct house about kop abuse. Later that evening, the windshield of a kop van parked nearby was mysteriously blown to pieces by a well-placed M80 under the windshield wiper.

On May 30, kops who began yet another melee in Tompkins Square Park after pushing people around, were taken completely by surprise when park-goers and bystanders joined forces with punks, skinheads and hippies in a running + trashing street action, tossing bottles and debris at kops and their vehicles. (See story in this issue.)

On June 29, a man who accidentally dropped a bottle on Avenue C one night was thrown against a car by kops. When neighborhood people approached them, the man yelled "Fuck with them!" The kops told the people to leave, but they told the kops to leave, or else, and they did, without making an arrest.

KOP WATCH GALLERY:



THIS KOP WAS SEEN AT THE DYKE MARCH

THESE KOPS WERE SEEN AT TOMPKINS SQUARE CONCERTS ON MAY 1 + 30



THESE KOPS GOT AN EYEFUL OF NUDE DANCING AT THE STONE WALL CELEBRATION ON JUNE 25



LT. ("BOOZER") McKENNA (Right) AND UNDERLING KOP EXAMINE THE GOODIES AT THE SHADOW'S LITERATURE TABLE AT THE WASHINGTON SQUARE SMOKE-IN IN MAY

JULY 23--AVANTE-GARDE FILMS: Curated by EROS/LIOTTA at the 6th St. + Ave. B Garden, 8:30 pm. Call Delphine at (212)982-5673.

JULY 23-24--CLEARWATER FESTIVAL: Join Pete Seeger and environmentalists in folk music celebration. At Floyd Bennett Field, Flatbush + Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn. (718)338-3799.

JULY 24--EAST VILLAGE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Bruce Kayton shows sites of radical history. Meet in front of St. Mark's Bowery church at 2nd Ave. + 10th St. \$6.00 for 3 hours. Call (718)492-0069.

JULY 26--MOORISH ORTHODOX RADIO CRUSADE: Join SHADOW investigative reporter Bill Weinberg every other Tuesday night on WBAI Public Radio (99.5 FM) at 11:45 pm for esoteric explorations of Balkan Heresies, Zapatismo, Shamanistic Ethnobotany, Subway Troubadors, Anarchy, Conspiracy, Subversion, more. Also 8/9, 8/23.

JULY 28--CRITICAL MASS: A PARTY ON WHEELS: A rolling demonstration on bikes and skates for safe streets and bike lanes. Meet at Washington Sq. Park arch at 5:30 pm. Call Critical Mass Coalition: 212-598-4827 + Time's Up: 212-802-8222. Also 8/25.

JULY 28--OPEN READINGS BY POETS + WRITERS: At the 6th St. + Ave. B Garden, 7:00 pm. Come early to sign up to speak. Call Delphine at (212)982-5673.

JULY 30--SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF TSP MINI PIG RIOT: As of this writing, the city is trying to deny this concert in Tompkins Sq. Park to organizers commemorating the first skirmish with pigs in 1988 that led to the big riot a week later. With the usual legal arm twisting, the city should lose again. The show begins at 2:00 pm!!

AUGUST 2--RAINFOREST ACTION GROUP MEETING: To discuss fighting Texaco in Ecuador, etc. At Wetlands, 161 Hudson Street, 7:00 pm. (212)966-5244.

AUGUST 5--ZAPATISTA BENEFIT: For humanitarian aid for Zapatista-held territory in Chiapas, Mexico. Music by Sweet Lizard Illtet, Agent 99, and our favorite Screaming Venus. At The Koop, 35 Cooper Square, 6:00 pm sharp.

AUGUST 6--SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF TSP PIG RIOT: This concert to observe the bloodiest pig riot of this generation is also in jeopardy, with the city trying to deny the permit. Complicating matters, this show's permit was also stolen by the same clowns as on May 1, who call themselves "Class War Organizer," but chances are that real activists will take the show away from them again!!

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(between Bowery & 2nd)

EVENTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

AUGUST 9--RAINFOREST ACTION GROUP MEETING: To discuss fighting Pepsi in Burma, etc. At Wetlands, 161 Hudson Street, 7:00 pm. (212)966-5244.

AUGUST 13--GREENWICH VILLAGE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Meet next to Washington Sq. Park Arch, 1:00 pm. \$6.00. Call (718)492-0069.

AUGUST 12-14--ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS CONVENTION: To organize solidarity with political prisoners. At Brecht Forum, 122 West 27th St., 10th Floor. Pre-registration requested: (212)802-4544.

AUGUST 13 + 14--THE REAL WOODSTOCK!! Fuck the \$135 corporate Woodstock bullshit!! Tuli Kupferberg, Ed Sanders and the Fugs join Allen Ginsberg, Country Joe McDonald and famous surprise guests from the other Woodstock shows in new songs and golden gassers. Salute to Janis Joplin, free beer, tents welcome. no one searched like the other shows. Best yet, it's only \$25!! At the Byrdcliffe Barn in Woodstock, NY. Call (914)679-2079. 8:00 pm to midnight each day.

AUGUST 13 + 14--FIRST US HACKER CONGRESS: Computer hackers are holding their first convention ever. Guest speakers, videos, hacker networking, and more. Bring your computer to tie into huge Ethernet. At Hotel Pennsylvania, 7th Ave (between 32-33 Sts), noon Saturday-Sunday night. \$20-25. Call (516)751-2600 for more info.

AUGUST 18--ZAPATISTA RALLY: Support the uprising of the Mexican rebels on the eve of Mexican Presidential elections. Meet at 8 East 41st Street, 3:00 pm. (718)402-9411.

AUGUST 20--WALL ST. RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Bruce Kayton + Big Onion Tours battle over who tells true history and who obscures it. Meet at Customs Bldg in Bowling Green (bottom of Broadway) at 1:00 pm. \$9.00 for 3 hours. Call (718)492-0069.

AUGUST 23--FEDERAL LAND ACTION GROUP MEETING: To discuss fighting James Bay hydro power plant. At Wetlands, 161 Hudson Street, 7:00 pm. (212)966-5244.

AUGUST 25--CRITICAL MASS: A PARTY ON WHEELS: See July 28.

AUGUST 28--CHELSEA RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Meet in front of Chelsea Hotel, 23rd St. between 7th + 8th Aves. at 1:00 pm. 3 hours for \$6.00. Call (718)492-0069.

AUGUST 30--END INDONESIA'S OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR: Meeting and report from East Timor Action Network. At Wetlands, 161 Hudson Street, 7:00 pm. (212)966-5244.

SEPTEMBER 4--GREENWICH VILLAGE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Meet in front of Village Cigars at Sheridan Sq., corner of 7th Ave. + Christopher St. at 1:00 pm. \$6.00. Call (718)492-0069.

SEPTEMBER 17-OCTOBER 1--PICKLEFEST: Check out the coolest bands on the Lower East Side: Agent 99, Sweet Deisel, Wighat, Molotov Cocktail, Choking Victim, Rats of Unusual Size, Fly Ashtray, and more. Free pickles, cheap beer. \$5 per day. At the Gas Station, Ave. B + 2nd St.

OCTOBER 9--LOWER EAST SIDE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: Meet across street from 175 East Broadway at 1:00 pm. \$6.00. Call (718)492-0069.

OCTOBER 6-10--COALITION ON POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS: A NATIONAL CONFERENCE on the JFK, RFK, MLK, presenting analysis of documents and evidence. New evidence will be made public. At Washington Sheraton Hotel. Registration \$150. Write/call P.O.Box 772, Washington, DC 20044, (202)310-1858.

Strike A Blow For Freedom! Demand Sexual Freedom! Stop Theo-Fascism! EIDOS MAGAZINE

"America's foremost" sexual freedom-erotic entertainment militant alternative grassroots sex news'zine for free-thinking consenting "sex anarchist" adults of all ero-to-sexual orientations, preferences, lifestyles. Pro-Human, Constitutional, Civil-Rights! Advocates "evolutionary/revolutionary" political/cultural sex reform. "Some of the best ads of any magazine."
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617 262-0096

LES NEEDLE EXCHANGE + HARM REDUCTION INFO TABLE sets up every Tuesday night at the 9th St. + Ave. A entrance to Tompkins Sq. Park, 6:30-9:30 pm, with updated info on ACT-UP meetings, Needle Exchange, squatting, referrals, and other related info. Food also provided.

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

MOBILE SOUP KITCHEN for homeless people and those in need, serves hot dogs, potato salad, drinks. Every Wed. + Fri. 8:30-9:30 pm. Run by Times Sq. Church, whose staffers will lay their tired sermons on you, if you let them!!

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.

BENEFIT SHOW SPACE WANTED: For fundraising efforts for the SHADOW, LES Bail and Legal Defense Fund, Squatter evictions, homeless feeding, more. Please call the SHADOW at: 212-631-1181.

DO YOU WANT TO REDUCE STRESS? Better manage your drug useage? 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.

INNER VOICES, a new journal of prison literature, invites submissions of prisoners' creative writing, including poetry, raps, short stories, and one-act plays. Graphic art also welcome. Send to: P.O.Box 4500 #219, Bloomington, IN 47402.

SHADOW HOTLINES

WITH YOUR STORIES
TIPS, INFO, SUGGESTIONS:
(212) 631-1181

A WEEKLY LIST OF
EVENTS, DEMOS, SHOWS:
(212) 330-8150

YOU CAN LEAVE INFO ABOUT
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SHADOW PRESS · BOX 20298 · NYC 10009

Dear SHADOW,
I lived on Avenue A in 85 + 86. Played in a band (New Left). Delivered pot on a bicycle (We Deliver). Got strung out (heroin). Had to leave town to kick. All my old friends have moved or are dead. I am not dead but that's just my opinion. Harrisburg is dead. St. Mark's Place just isn't the same. Fashion = rust.
Mike B. Harrisburg, PA

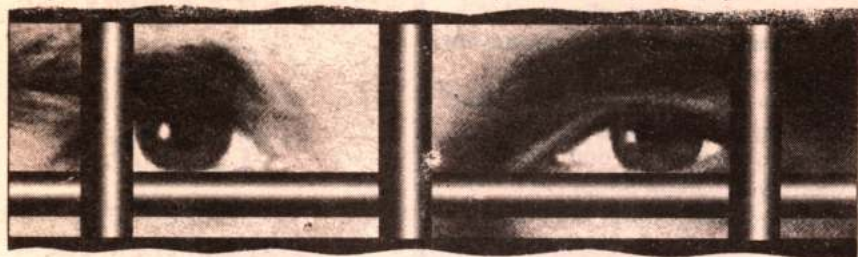
Dear SHADOW,
In your expansion plans, you might think about a column from the "inside." Most "outside" people don't have a clue as to the sensitivity, poignancy, original thinking, poetry + art from incarcerated victims of this farce of a "democracy."
Carol, Florida

Carol,
Good idea! We would like to do just that. We hope to start a prisoner section in the next SHADOW.
Chris Flash, Editor

SHADOW:
WHEN YOU PEOPLE AND YOUR PUBLICATION STOP WHINING ABOUT THE BIG BAD SYSTEM, AND STOP BEGGING FOR SOCIAL

CHANGE; AND START SHOWING THE YOUNG HOW TO TARGET INTELLIGENTLY AND BRAVELY INSTEAD OF ROBBING AND KILLING FOR PEANUTS OR KILLING EACH OTHER OR KILLING THEMSELVES, THIS IS A SAMPLE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY ABILITY THEY HAVE. A KILL RATIO OF 3 TO 1. NO POLICE FORCE OR MILITARY CAN STAND UP TO IT AND WIN. YOU MUST STOP PREACHING THE VICTIMOLOGY OF PACIFISM. IT DEMORALIZES EVERYONE. IT HELPS REINFORCE THE FALSE SENSE THAT THE SYSTEM IS ALL POWERFUL, UNBEATABLE. THE BIG LIE. YOU MUST STOP REINFORCING THE SYSTEM'S PROPOGANDA. WHAT YOU ARE DOING IS POLITICAL SADO-MASOCHISM, DEFEATIST. REVOLUTIONARIES "CAN DO." FUCK THE POLICE. DEATH TO THE MILITARY. DESTROY WHAT DESTROYS YOU. S.C.M.

PRISONER MAIL



Dear Friends,
I'm still struggling to put out my own zine from behind these walls. Constipation #5 was nearly completed before a raid came, the piggies took everything I had dealing with Anarchy and anti-authoritarian views. The secret is to not explode with frustration or anger at their actions-it pisses them off when you're calm in the face of their terrorism. I get my point across very nicely through my zine, thank you. I wasn't really surprised to learn about Glass House being evicted (SHADOW #32--Ed.), but it still doesn't make any sense to me. Chicago also has many squatable buildings, but the pigs always forced us out. Got to protect those landowners!
In struggle,
Ron Campbell #N30537
P.O.Box 112
Joliet, IL 60434-0112

Oi! I just recieved Shadow #31, and I'd like to thank you for yet another outstanding issue. When going ot chow today, I was informed that I received "a flyer from that Nazi group." About three hours later I received the SHADOW. I'm not sure how I was placed as a member of any "Nazi

group", but it probably has something to do with being a skinhead. I'm long past giving a shit what these cops think, but the remark did serve as a reminder. Thanks to the mass media, who will print any slanted view to sell more copies, society has been conned into believing all skinheads are racist. What that has led to is an ironic prejudice against skinheads! Regardless of what they are calling themselves, the racist skinhead is not only a myth, but a complete contradiction. The skinhead roots are strongly influenced by Jamaican Ska Music, and any skin worth their docs know that. It shows how fuckin' stupid these bald racists are. Next they'll be celebrating Martin Luther King Day, claiming he wasn't black or something equally stupid. A true skin judges a person on their actions, not their skin color. To all my skinhead brothers and sisters, (especially Sarah in Maryland) I love you all!!!
FUCK THE POLICE,
Howard Thurston

P.S: There's a philosophical essay call "on liberty" by John Stuart Mill. Read it! It's fucking deep!

SHADOW:

I'm doing time at the Ind. State Prison, Michigan City. I'm doing a 60 year sent. I've been down since 79. I'm on the lock-up unit I-D-U right now. I've been on it since Oct. I got stabbed and refused to make a statement against anyone. The offices got 6 inmates or say they did to say I did some things the night before I got stabbed which is all lies. I've got a law suit against the prison. I've tried to write lawyers to help me with my suit but none want to take on the state. The writ room sends up books once a week (if then), but no one comes up to help infiling what you need done. So if there is anyone that can help in finding a lawyer or sending in law books or just support in friendship please write me. I've also learned that anyone on lock-up with 2 years or more is being sent to super max a lock-down prison. So I need all the help I can gaet. I'm a 39 year old white male I will answer all letters the same day I receive them. So please write:
Francis Joe Roell #6717
P.O. Box 41 ID6 I-E-4
Michigan City, Ind 46360

Greetings,
I am from North Calif. (Humboldt County) but I am being held prisoner here for trafficking marijuana. They gave me ten years on a first offense. And yes, I feel I am a POW in this so-called "War on Drugs."
Marc Radcliffe #74919
ASP/Box 3200
Goodyear, AZ 85338

Dear Shadow,
Marijuana has been a part of my life for more than 27 years and if I have to be in prison I'm glad that it's for a marijuana "crime". I'm serving a 121 month sentence for "conspiracy to possess" marijuana; (I introduced two people who later talked about getting some "lumber"). Even though they were totally incapable of doing what they discussed and it never would never have or could have happened, one of their phones were tapped and they were charged with conspiracy to possess. The prosecution reasoned that has I never introduced them, they could have never talked about "lumber", therefore I too should be convicted of the same conspiracy.

I'm sure you folks are well aware of how ludicrous many of the federal conspiracy laws have become in recent years but the good news is that the appellate courts are finally starting to take a closer look at some of the more ridiculous convictions and sentences. My appeal has been under review since January 4th and I expect a decision in the near future.

Getting around the prison system is quite an educating experience. I'm amazed at some of the marijuana

"crimes" that people have been incarcerated for as well as they length of the sentences. The many horror stories would fill volumes.

Thank you,
Kirk

Greetings:
Anyone who has smoked marijuana knows what it is about. I intend to continue smoking when I am released from this hell they call prison. We know it will grow anywhere!!!!
I ask that all people save their seeds and at Spring time, PLANT, PLANT, PLANT, anywhere and everywhere. They cannot stop it. Does your neighbor call the cops on you? Plant in their flower beds, front yard, or courthouse square. Plant! We will win this fight! We are the people!
Jerry Poe, MECC #190524
18701 Old Highway 66
Pacific, MO 63069

PS: I could use some penpals. Thanx.

Dear @:
I work for 12 cents an hour and for the next 18 months or so most of that goes to the court. I have a 110 month sentence and I just got started. I don't know my release date yet, but at 85% that the feds require, it is sometime after the turn of the century.
"Won't you please tell the man I didn't kill anyone. I'm just tryin' to have me some fun." Yes, I'm here on a drug case. And for having too much fun.
Dan Thomas #25104-013
FCI Florence
P.O.Box 6000
Florence, CO 81226

Good People!
I'm still languishing in the multi-billion dollar exploitation treat the symptom, not the cause social control of the dispossessed penal \$ystem. Your paper among others is what keeps me up. A suggestion for improving the SHADOW is by including a page or section on the (in)justice system. Those of us being victimized by the penal system have a voice and it needs to be heard.

In the Struggle,
Rudolfo Rigor,
D-04053, I-319
Box 2000
Vacaville, CA 95696

Rudolfo,
Since the SHADOW is read by so many prisoners, we would like a regular section compiling stories/eyewitness reports by prisoners who can expose what is happening, share their experiences, etc. We welcome any prisoners to help start us off.
Chris Flash, Editor

THE SHADOW IS AVAILABLE AT THESE LOCATIONS:

GEM SPAS NEWSSTAND--St. Marx Place + 2nd Avenue
ST. MARK'S BOOKS--East 10th Street + 3rd Avenue
EAST VILLAGE DELI--28 Avenue A, between 2nd + 3rd Streets
INK--Avenue A, between 4th + 5th Streets
HARRIS BOOKS--Second Avenue, between 4th + 5th Streets
REVOLUTION BOOKS--13 East 16th Street
RAY'S NEWSSTAND--Avenue A, between 7th Street + St. Marx Pl.
TOWER BOOKS--383 LaFayette Street, between Bond + 4th Sts.
AYURVEDA--129 First Avenue, between 7th Street + St. Marx Pl.
STOOP NEWSSTAND--Corner of MacDougal Street + West 3rd Street
INDIAN DELI--Corner of First Avenue + East 6th Street
PINK PONY CAFE--172 Ludlow Street
PRINTED MATTER--77 Wooster Street
TOMPKINS SQUARE BOOKS--East 7th Street, between 1st + Avenue A

MORE PLACES TO COME, SO IF YOU DON'T
SEE THE SHADOW, ASK FOR IT!!

ANDREW HOFFMAN NEEDED IN CHICAGO!!

By Chris Flash

Andrew Hoffman is a Boston activist who has been involved in the fight for legal hypodermic needle exchanges in cities with large drug-addicted and HIV infected populations. Exchanges do not merely give their clients needles and drug paraphernalia, as their opponents have charged. Rather, they exchange clean needles for used ones, and they provide condoms and bleach kits to keep needles and works clean, all with the goal of reducing the number of HIV infections in drug addicts.

In New York City, Andrew worked with fellow activists, including AIDS activist Jon Parker, in helping to set up a needle-exchange on the Lower East Side. Andrew was among the first group of needle-exchange activists who confronted 9th precinct cops with a bucket full of used needles they collected from the surrounding neighborhood. After several needle exchange demonstrations, some of which resulted in arrests of demonstrators, increased public pressure forced the NYPD and New York City to relent and allow the needle exchanges to operate legitimately.

Hypodermic needles are still illegal in Boston and Chicago. Since Chicago has been resisting the idea of needle exchange, Andrew and Jon decided to use that city as a test case. In August of 1992, Andrew and Jon pre-warned the press and media that they would attempt to exchange clean needles and kits in exchange for used ones on Chicago's West Side, a tough neighborhood with a large number of intravenous drug users.

In spite of a large media presence, one man finally came forward to exchange a needle and he was given works supplies and referrals as well. Cops arrived and told Andrew and Jon that if they stopped, they could leave without being arrested. Andrew and Jon refused. The cops then sent for the precinct captain, who sent for the district captain, who told them they would be arrested if they didn't stop. Andrew and Jon told cops to ignore the law since they were performing a public service. This logic failed to penetrate the pigs' thick heads, so Andrew and Jon were arrested for "possession of a hypodermic needle," a misdemeanor. (Jon, who was arrested a year earlier on a similar charge which was still outstanding, was hit with a felony. After the earlier charge ended with an acquittal, his new arrest was reduced to a misdemeanor and his and Andrew's cases were consolidated.) Both were released without bail.



Chicago Judge O'Malley, who is presiding over the case, has been hostile to Andrew throughout. Andrew commutes to court in Chicago from Boston often, but there are constant postponements, though he has always been ready to go to trial. Andrew believes that O'Malley resents his using O'Malley's court as the catalyst for legal needle exchange. Andrew feels that the district attorney's office would rather not deal with the issue of needle exchange either. In fact, the DA's office has offered Andrew and Jon a full acquittal if they will only admit guilt. Their lawyer says this is unprecedented. Again, they refused.

Two years later, the case has gone nowhere. Andrew and Jon have many witnesses ready to testify that needle exchange has worked successfully in other cities and in England, and that medical costs, taxes, and lives would be saved. Andrew is now out on \$2,000 bond from a \$20,000 bail, resulting from a late court appearance.

Judge O'Malley, irritated that Andrew had arrived late in court one day after commuting all night from Boston, had Andrew arrested and put through the system for two days. It was during this time that court officers discovered and spread the word that Andrew is the son of Yippie founder and legendary 60s political activist Abbie Hoffman.

Andrew, who resembles Abbie in appearance and voice, appreciates the irony between his father's ordeal during the Chicago Seven trial (stemming from arrests of organizers of demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic Convention, which was described by CBS correspondent Walter Cronkite as a "police riot") and his own legal situation in the same city under the jurisdiction of another old right-wing conservative judge who is similar in many ways to Abbie's old Judge Hoffman. Andrew is sure that O'Malley was around during the Chicago Seven trial and probably remembers Abbie well. Even so, Andrew says that most remarks about Abbie by court officers and cops were positive.

When Abbie died, Andrew, who had always been "discreetly active" says he felt the need to be more publicly active. Rather than be distraught over Abbie's suspicious death, Andrew felt he should continue Abbie's work. Besides pushing for needle exchange, Andrew has been operating a mobile "Soup Kitchen On Wheels" in Boston, serving food to the homeless and poor, and giving referrals to other soup kitchens and shelters, with "no strings, no sermons." Andrew is planning other projects.

Abbie's other children have also been active. His daughter Ilya, Andrew's sister, just graduated from law school, seeking to be a criminal lawyer in the area of child advocacy. Andrew's half-brother America attends school in San Francisco. Andrew, who planned to publish "Son of Steal This Book" with Abbie, now plans to put out a CD-Rom with America called "Steal This Disc."

While Abbie was underground (because FBI pigs tried to nail him in a coke deal set-up), Andrew saw him at least once a year, even attending a Phil Ochs memorial with him in 1977. Andrew says he inherited Abbie's "strength of conviction, how to fight for causes, and how to make it fun." Andrew says his mother told him "turn it into a game and it will never be a labor," and the same goes for political activism.

Andrew is not sure what will happen with his Chicago case. At worst, he faces a year in jail, but he expects something more like 2-3 months, since he and Jon Parker refuse to accept the DA's offer. No matter what happens, Andrew says he is following what Abbie once told him: "Use the system to change the system -- you have to master it."

ALBANY NORML FLUNKS POT TEST!!

By Gabby Sloan

What began as a promising idea by NORML (National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws) to march on various city and state capitols across the country against the drug war took some strange turns on June 5 in Albany, New York.

At 10:30 am, a demonstration sponsored by Albany NORML called "We Are Not Criminals" was held at City Hall. They demanded mayor Jennings to give the "lowest police priority for cannabis-related arrests." This was an odd request considering that the mayor, as a member of the executive branch of government, has no power to modify the enforcement of existing legislation. Also, the demand accepted the enforcement of marijuana laws.

At 11:00, another NORML demo, "Let Our People Go," at governor Cuomo's executive mansion, demanded the pardon of "all non-violent persons incarcerated for cannabis in New York." A member of the Green Panthers, an activist anti-drug war group known for its direct actions, was censored when members of NORML took away the megaphone as he spoke against the governor, including a few choice phrases in Italian. The Green Panther was told, "This is a NORML rally; we're not Green Panthers." This same NORML member later told the Green Panther that he didn't even smoke pot!!

At 11:30, an outrageous "No More Victims Please" demo by NORML called for the laying of a wreath at the police officers memorial on the Empire State Plaza "to honor the many members of New York's finest who have lost their lives in the drug war."

An accompanying flier by NORML read: "No offense, but some of you may have to undergo an attitudinal adjustment (consider calling it a change of consciousness) in order to do this properly....Those dedicated officers who lost their lives in the line of duty are not arresting anyone anymore and we're not about to picket their graves. If you cannot bring yourself to genuinely mourn for the victims on both sides of this war, if you cannot adopt the christian attitude of loving your enemy as yourself, it is the sincere wish of Albany NORML that you not take part in this event....As we're asking the police to respect us, we must show them some respect too. Please, no anti-police speeches, chants, banners or signs and no acts of civil disobedience...." Not addressed at the demo or in NORML literature was the issue of citizens who have lost their lives, property, families and freedom as a result of cops enforcing drug and forfeiture laws against them in the "War on Drugs."

Only a few dozen members of Albany NORML attended the three demonstrations. The next demo, at the State Capitol, sponsored by well-intentioned members of the Hemp Coalition, attracted about 100 people. This was boycotted by New York City Green Panthers who were disgusted with the police memorial earlier. The censored Green Panther told the SHADOW, "How can NORML make themselves prostitutes of the system just so they won't get arrested?"

Marijuana rights activists and casual smokers should be warned against self-proclaimed rights groups like NORML with non-pot smokers in their ranks putting on these sort of pathetic displays



and discrediting true activists like the Green Panthers. It is hard to get behind people who are out of touch with the smokers on the street who have to live every day under police state terror for merely smoking or possessing a fucking plant!! Before anyone supports a group like this, they should be well-researched.

Better yet, you can start your own local legal defense fund to hire lawyers for lawsuits against marijuana and drug laws and to get folks out of jail. In other words, rely on yourself, not some unknown and unaccountable bunch of sell-outs who are not going to do it for you. Besides, the only time you hear from these groups is when they are soliciting donations.

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MUTILATED HAITIAN WOMAN SUES ATTACKERS IN NEW YORK

By Keith Ericsson

A machete attack on a Haitian woman in October of 1993, disfigured her face, removed a chunk of her neck, and caused her to lose her right forearm -- but it didn't do anything to diminish her defiance.

The woman, Alerte Belance, told her story to shocked reporters from the international press in early June, where she announced a 32-million dollar lawsuit against the organization she holds responsible. It is known as F.R.A.P.H. (pronounced "Frap"), which is the acronym for what many would contend is a misleading name, the "Front For Advancement and Progress in Haiti."

The Center for Constitutional Rights filed the suit June 1st in U.S. district court in Brooklyn, New York, under the Alien Tort Claims Act. The act permits cases to be filed in the United States by resident aliens whose rights were violated elsewhere.

Belance told reporters that she was dragged from her Port-Au-Prince home last October by several men who came looking for her husband, Evenson, a vocal supporter of Haiti's ousted president, Jean Bertrand Aristide. Belance said her husband fled their home moments before the men arrived. She was taken to a field outside of town, known as Titayen, a notorious "killing field", where the men began their attack. Left for dead after being struck numerous times by a machete, her wounds can be described as nothing short of horrific. Against all odds, Belance made it to a hospital, then to the U.S. Embassy where she and her three children and husband were granted political asylum. They currently live in Newark, New Jersey, but still fear for their lives.

Belance's attorney, Micheal Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights, told reporters that FRAPH can be sued in the United States because the organization is now operating in at least two American cities. They routinely issue anti-Aristide press releases to the mainstream media, often criticizing the international sanctions. Here in New York last May, the organization held a small rally and march across the Brooklyn Bridge, and onto to the United Nations, on Haitian Independence Day. The group's two main cells in the United States are in New York City and Miami, Florida. The death of at least two pro-Aristide supporters in Miami earlier this year are alleged to have been linked to FRAPH. Ratner added that the FRAPH may be responsible for up to five thousand political murders since the ouster of Aristide in 1991. The group's other large cell is based in Montreal, Canada, where the Haitian exile community is under constant watch. Haiti observers and experts on the Caribbean say that FRAPH has become a new force in that country. It now works alongside the *Tons Tons Macoute*, a paramilitary unit originally organized by Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier in the 1950s.

Attorneys at CCR revealed member identification documents belonging to FRAPH which carried the Haitian military's insignia. The document's authenticity was not in question, and it does seem to indicate that Haiti's death squads now have direct links with the military.

As to whether or not Belance's lawsuit would carry any weight against a highly organized and largely secret group remains to be seen. When questioned about the strength and viability of this legal strategy, attorney Ratner told reporters, "This suit is critical as a means of revealing the true character of FRAPH. They are killers, not an organization only engaging in free speech. They must be stopped and driven out of the United States and Haiti."

In past years, similar suits filed under the Alien Tort Claims Act named former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos and former Haitian dictator Prosper Avril. The suit caused Avril to flee Miami and he returned to Port-Au-Prince to avoid prosecution. Belance's lawsuit marks the first time that such a suit has been filed against an alleged terrorist organization, rather than an individual. Beth Stephens, CCR co-counsel in the case, added, "Lawsuits such as this give us a way to fight back against death squads which have inflicted so much pain in Haiti and around the world."

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SQUATTERS HOLD DUAL BENEFITS FOR ZAPATISTAS!!

By Barbara Lee

It seemed somewhat ironic that on the fourth of July weekend the Lower East Side Squatters staged two benefits in support of Mexico's Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN).

The C-Squat show on Saturday was more a hardcore punk scene -- complete with some idiot throwing raw eggs at people. People hung out, ate free food, drank cheap beer and listened to performers like Agent 99, Fly, Maggot and others. The Metal Jam was like a tribal cave scene, with fire breathers and intense drumming rhythms that drove everybody on the floor into a dancing frenzy.

Sunday's show at Bullet Space was completely different. It opened with a play written and performed by John Ferris. Klimago, a folksinger from Columbia, sang folklore from Latin America and played his guitar with power and grace. There was more folk music from Mapuche y Maya, Marta from Umbrella Haus, and Air.

Keith More, Chris, Fly and yours truly provided poetry readings, and speakers included members of the Bronx community center La Peña. The show ended on a rowdy note with the band Choking Victim.

The turnout at both shows was large and the money will be sent down to the EZLN in Mexico.

Since the onslaught of NAFTA, the EZLN have fought for the rights of the indigenous peoples of Mexico. The Mexican government, corporations, ranchers, and other money mongers have done severe damage to the indigenous community by stealing land, restricting development of decent health services, and by not providing adequate housing.

The EZLN rose up to fight these injustices in much the same way the squatters from the Lower East Side fight for decent housing and against gentrification, real estate speculators, and warehousing.

The LES Squatters and Zapatistas have a lot in common concerning the use of housing. One of the demands issued by the EZLN reads:

[Law of Urban Reform]

"In the urban zones controlled by the Zapatista National Liberation Army, the following laws will be enacted in order to insure dignified housing for all dispossessed families:

(5th demand) Vacant public buildings and large mansions will be provisionally occupied by families who will divide the buildings amongst themselves. In order to facilitate this, the civil authorities will appoint neighborhood committees that will decide on requests that are presented to it and will grant living space on the basis of need and available resources."

The Squatters' benefits to help the Zapatistas unite the struggle for human rights on both fronts.

On August 21, elections will be held in Mexico. Protests will begin in NYC on August 18 in response to thirty years of election rigging that the current regime has used to stay in power.

It was good to see the Political Squatter scene involved in something other than the usual concerns (i.e. Tompkins Square Park). It was also good that the Bullet Space show was particularly diverse in having Latino performers. Hopefully these events and others will bring more interaction within the Squatting community. The Latino, Black, White and Asian squatters shouldn't isolate themselves; they should work together because we all have the same struggles and the same goals...like the Zapatistas.

There will be more benefits in the future. People should get involved in any way possible.

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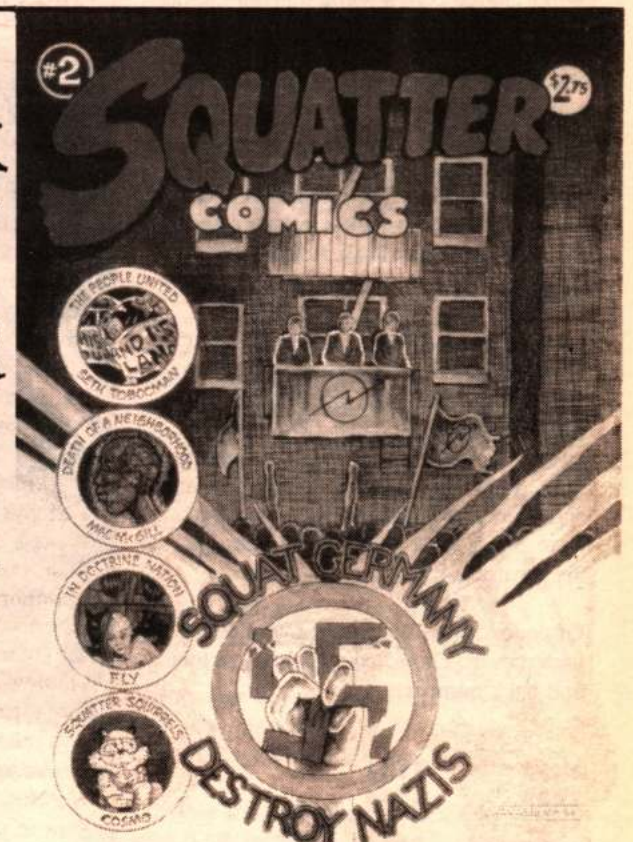
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KKKOP WATCH

Continued from Page 13

On July 2, kops arrested the wrong man for an assault on 9th Street and started another melee, in which Mexicans and punks joined forces to express their displeasure, which included breaking one kop's windshield with rocks and bottles. Even though 10 kop vehicles responded, they all backed off and got the fuck out of Dodge while they still could!

Kops made themselves pretty scarce on the Fourth of July. Few could be found anywhere. They must get real nervous when the citizenry has more and better explosives and weapons than they do! Even so, several kop cars were pelted with bricks from rooftops, and word has it that they got a good number of rockets and M80s sent their way. Gee, it must be all that good karma coming back to them!

Finally, on the soft side, a young peacenick, seeking to mellow out a kop in the paddy wagon stationed at 10th Street + Avenue A, offered him a rose he found in the garbage. The kop flipped out, covered his face and screamed "Get that away from me! I'm allergic!" While the kop has his eyes closed, the peacenick left the rose under the seat and left.

"PIGS IN A BLANKET"

Many kops have been spotted using unmarked cars disguised as gypsy cabs. While this may fool some people at first, on closer examination you can just smell KOP all over them! Some kops have been getting sloppy and driving these cars in their uniforms!! Here are some cars to look out for:

"Richie's Car Service": Grey Plymouth Grand Fury with five "Livery" signs on different windows; Plate# ASM-951; Telephone number 718-270-7777. (When the SHADOW called this number, we got a strange computerized voice that said "Welcome to ARDEX" and requested us to enter our password!! Any hackers out there? If you can gain access to this system, please turn us on to what you find out!!)

"Cheers Livery Cab": Plate# L4P-532; Telephone number 965-1616. (When we called, we got a recording that said we reached a "non-working number.")

"Rivington 24HR Service": Blue Chevy Caprice with two signs in rear window; Plate #7HE-175; Telephone number 475-7731. (When we called, we reached a real car service. They said they don't have a car with that plate number and that the kops must have stolen their signs!!)

"Always Dependable": Grey Plymouth Fury with "Cab #69" sign driven by two uniformed kops; Plate #T582871; Telephone number 231-1111. (We called and got a livery service by that name in the Bronx. They insisted that they never send cars to Manhattan and were unaware of any Cab #69!! Make sure you are aware of it!!)

Of course, kops have their own fleet of undercover yellow taxi cabs with meters and hack numbers:

3R82	6Y31
3T89	6Y44
4P77	
4P82	8P55
5P54	9A59
5R50	9D62
5R52	9P50
5R54	9R49
5R93	9R50
6C35	9R54

As reported in SHADOW #31, other Kop-Watchers have seen other semi-well disguised undercover kop vans in the area. These include:

YWP-734 (Grey Dodge van with graffiti)
XLZ-575 (Grey/red Ford van with side windows)
6HN-866 (Brown GMC van)

KOP-WATCH DATA BASE

Starting this month, the SHADOW is joining forces with computer freaks and programmers to create a Kop-Watch data base collective. It will work something like this: Entries will be made on kops who abuse their power by word or by deed. Data will include kop's name, badge number, tax ID number (usually included on arrest reports), command (where they are assigned--precinct, division, special unit, etc), date/time/place of offense, witnesses, and other back-up data. This info will be made available on a data base system to be shared by lawyers and activists who are involved in criminal defense cases or lawsuits against the NYPD. The collective will only require that members provide info they have on kops on a regular basis so that all can share and benefit.

If you are interested, drop us a line, send us your kop info, or call us at 212-631-1181. (Kops and their agents are definitely not welcome to participate!!)

As always, thanks to our growing ranks of Kop-Watchers for their contributions. Anyone can be a Kop-Watcher -- especially you!! If you have any info (stories, eyewitness reports, photos, badge numbers, plate numbers, etc.) that you would like to see published in the SHADOW and added to our files, please send it all to: P.O. Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009. If you have something urgent to tell us about, call the SHADOW Hotline at: 212-631-1181.

We're not fucking around any more!! Now more than ever, we've got to keep watching those kops!!

THIS TAXI KOP JUST WANTED HIS PHOTO IN THE SHADOW!!



ORGANIZATIONS THAT AID SURVIVORS OF POLICE BRUTALITY:

New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU)
Case by case evaluation, aids civilians in filing complaints with CCRB, etc.
132 W. 43rd Street, New York, NY 10036
(212) 382-0557; Fax: (212) 354-2583

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF)
For victims of anti-Asian violence. Case by case evaluation, legal representation, advocacy and education.

99 Hudson Street, 12th Floor,
New York, NY 10013
(212) 966-5932

Asian Crime Victims Project
Provides advocacy, translators, and referrals for legal assistance.

(212) 571-5662 (leave message)

Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR)
Case by case evaluation, legal representation, referrals for legal assistance.

666 Broadway, 7th Floor
New York, NY 10012
(212) 614-6464

Center for Law and Social Justice at Medgar Evers College

Provides legal consultation and referrals, assists in filing complaints with CCRB on Mondays and Thursdays. No legal Representation.

1473 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, NY 11216
(718) 953-8400

Citywide Coalition to End Police Brutality c/o CCR

Provides speakers and trainers experienced in dealing with police abuse, educational pamphlets, referrals for legal assistance, and social workers.

666 Broadway, 7th Floor
New York, NY 10012
(212) 614-6482

Civilian Complaint Review Board/Civilian Complaint Investigative Board
Warning: This is the police! With a backlog of over 5000 complaints, the newly renamed Civilian Complaint investigative board is little more than an official mailbox for putting your complaint about police abuse on the record. Even so, it is advisable to register a CCRB complaint in the interests of future legal action. (Open 24 hours)

295 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012
(212) 323-8570; (800) 341-2272

Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAHV)

Provides translators, assistance with court proceedings and filing complaints with CCRB, referrals for legal assistance, and educational pamphlets on knowing your rights.

191 E. 3rd Street, New York, NY, 10009
(212) 473-6485

Center for Immigrant Rights

Provides counseling and referrals.
48 St. Marks Place, New York, NY 10003
505-6890; Mon-Thurs, 10 am - 1 pm.

Immigration Hotline

Provides a wide range of information and referrals about immigration, access to public benefits and healthcare, social services, etc.

(718) 899-4000; (800) 232-0212

Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (AVP)

Provides counseling, advocacy with police and courts, and referrals for legal assistance.

647 Hudson Street, New York, NY 10014
(212) 807-0197

Legal Referral Service of the Bar Association

Lawyer referrals.

(212) 626-7373

Lower East Side Call for Justice

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NAACP Legal Defense Fund

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99 Hudson Street, 16th Floor
New York, NY 10013

(212) 219-1900; (718) 789-3043 (Brooklyn)
National Conference of Black Lawyers, NYC

Referrals for private representation.

P.O. Box 583 Borough Hall,
New York, NY 11424
(212) 864-4000

Neighborhood Defenders Service of Harlem

For Harlem residents only. Case must involve individual accused or convicted of a crime. Legal representation, no fee.

55 W. 125th Street, 2nd Floor
New York, NY 10027
(212) 876-5500

New York City Commission on Human Rights

Or what's left of it under Giuliani. Takes bias complaints, makes legal referrals.

40 Rector Street, 10th Floor,
New York, NY 10006

(212) 306-7500; Bias Hotline 662-2427

Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund

Legal representation for a group, no individual cases. No fee.

99 Hudson Street, 14th Floor
New York, NY 10013

(212) 219-3360

Transit Police Civilian Complaint Unit

The CCRB on wheels.

(718) 330-3319

Victim Services

Provides counseling, mental health, and social service referrals.

(212) 577-3800 (Manhattan)

(718) 827-4700 (Brooklyn)

(718) 727-3008 (Staten Island)

(718) 538-3441 (Bronx)

(718) 262-0202 (Queens)

List compiled by the Citywide Coalition to End Police Brutality

ADVERTISE IN THE SHADOW!!



Johnny Cromartie, 40, of Harlem died in police custody the night of May 25.

The city medical examiner ruled Cromartie's death a homicide, saying that blunt trauma and compression of his lungs — which occurred as he lay face down with his hands cuffed behind his back — caused his death.

NYPD: NO CHECKS OR BALANCES

By A. Kronstadt

COMPLAINTS, COMPLAINTS

If police abuse of authority is merely the product of a few rotten apples in an otherwise sound New York Police Department, why is there so much more of it this year? The backlog of cases at the Civilian Complaint Review Board has risen from 2000 at the beginning of 1994 to 5000 at the beginning of June. The CCRB is a city agency that logs civilian complaints against cops, including brutality, negligence, and slurs of a racist, sexist, or homophobic nature. Until the beginning of this year, the board was part of the police department, and in spite of its recent "civilianization" it is held in widespread disrepute in the communities most likely to encounter piggish behavior from New York's Swine. It is therefore reasonable to assume that for every incident of police misconduct reported to the CCRB there are several others that go unreported. These figures are only for the main Civilian Complaint Review Board that deals with the regular police department; the Transit Police and Housing Police have their own complaint boards and keep separate figures.

AGGRESSIVE ENFORCEMENT AND AGGRESSION IN GENERAL

The rise in civilian complaints against members of the NYPD is the underside of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's "aggressive enforcement" policies, which have given the cops a multitude of new reasons to intervene in the life of the average citizen. As new groups are targeted for police action, ranging from Washington Square Park beer drinkers and tokers to street peddlers and young people walking around the city in the afternoon, more of us are subjected to the vile behavior of these armed outsiders. Giuliani's answer to Rodney King and the Mollen Commission has been to give the cops more authority over increasingly delicate aspects of life in the City. Rudy's answer to a failing educational system is to bring students to school in handcuffs. His answer to a failing economy is to arrest peddlers, and his answer to a housing crisis is to arrest homeless people. Considering that the Mollen Commission has revealed the problem with the NYPD to be the lack of proper kop screening and kop education, as well as the ingrown kop culture that causes the police to see it all as an "us versus them" thing, you'd think that Rudy would think twice before unleashing these unscreened, untrained, and ingrown white men on community problems that are damned complicated. Rudy, however, was elected on a fear platform, and the only thing that he knows how to dish out is fear.

POLICE BRUTALITY IN DOLLARS AND CENTS

The City of New York shells out tens of millions of dollars each year in settlements for police brutality cases. The government would rather pay this money than stop the brutality because it is, after all, only the taxpayers' money. The city paid Chris Henley of ACT-UP a half million dollars for the injuries that he received when he was beaten unconscious at a demonstration outside the Midtown South police station. Henley suffers from permanent brain damage which causes seizures and makes it impossible for him to add up a restaurant check. None of the cops who bludgeoned Chris Henley have been prosecuted or disciplined by the NYPD, although the City as much as admitted massive negligence when it agreed to pay Henley the money. You might call the megabucks that the government pays victims of police abuse the "cost of police brutality." That cost comes out of taxpayers' pockets, not those of the abusing police. Are we paranoid when we say that government bureaucrats are willing to live with these costs because the fear spread by brutal police is something useful to them in controlling the people?

CIVILIANIZED BUT NOT CIVILIZED

Speaking of the Civilian Complaint Review Board, is everyone aware that one of New York's most prominent bigots, the Rev. Rubén Díaz, is now a member of that division of the Police Department? Díaz most recently made headlines when he demanded that Giuliani disperse the "illegal" Gay Pride parade up Fifth Avenue by ordering the cops to arrest the marchers. The Pentecostal preacher, who was one of Giuliani's most reliable Latino backers, regularly refers to gay people as "perverts" and "sinners." At present, the Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence project refuses to work with the CCRB in bias cases because of the gay baiting and AIDS baiting of Díaz.

Also a member of the "civilianized" CCRB is Benjamin Ward, who was the police commissioner at the time of the infamous Tompkins Square Police Riot of 1988. Díaz and Ward's membership on the CCRB is a product of the much-touted "civilianization" of the CCRB under ex-mayor Dinkins.

THE FOX AND THE CHICKEN COOP

Is everyone also aware that Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau has a standing policy that when a person is arrested for a crime and the kop who arrested that person is charged with a crime arising from the arrest the same Assistant District Attorney must be assigned to prosecute both the civilian and the kop as the two cases progress? While any ordinary person would see this as a conflict of interest, it is standard operating procedure in the DA's office. Prosecution of any criminal case requires, above all, the enthusiasm of the prosecuting attorney, who must make the right legal moves at the right time. In cases involving police, however, the DA will often allow the kop to have a non-jury trial before a judge who is sympathetic to the defendant, something that is the opposite of normal prosecutorial behavior. DA's will often let kops accused of brutality and other criminal activities off the hook by allowing deadlines to pass without filing papers necessary for the indictment. Because the DA and the kops must collaborate closely in their day-to-day activities, it is the rule that the DA's office will cut some slack for the kops whom they are called upon to prosecute. The Mollen Commission revealed numerous incidents of "testilying" and "giving testimony," i.e., false testimony given by kops in an attempt to win a conviction. The District Attorney's office is responsible for letting the kops know what testimony is needed to convict a defendant and for seeing to it that the prosecution witnesses, most of whom are police, give consistent and convincing testimony. One hand washes the other, and it is difficult to see the DA as having clean hands in view of the grimy paws of their kop counterparts. This is the reason why many police brutality watchdog organizations call for an independent agency to prosecute police abuse.

Always make sure to let them know that we're watching!

CCRB FACT SHEET

By A. Kronstadt

and the Citywide Coalition to End Police Brutality

The Civilian Complaint Review Board, an agency that hears complaints from civilians concerning allegations of force, abuse of authority, discourtesy, and offensive language by New York City Police officers, has existed since 1953. Until 1993, the CCRB was an office within the police department. Until 1966, the board consisted only of police executives appointed by the Police Commissioner. When Mayor John Lindsay appointed four private citizens to the board in 1966, the right wing called for and won a referendum which reversed Lindsay's decision. The City Council voted in the mid 1980s to add some civilian members to the CCRB, and in the wake of the Rodney King beating and the riots that followed, a new charter was voted that made the CCRB an "all civilian" agency.

The following information was obtained from *Status Report No. 1* of the Civilian Complaint Review Board, the first semiannual report of that agency since it was reconstituted on August 4, 1993 as an "all-civilian" body. As dismal as these statistics are, they are not intended to discourage people from reporting incidents of force, abuse of constitutional rights, discourtesy, or offensive language to the CCRB. As ineffective as that agency may be in punishing misuse of the badge and the billy club, it is vital to get all violations of our rights on the record.

The highly-touted "civilianization" of the CCRB is only partial. Three seats of the thirteen-seat panel are reserved for people with "law-enforcement experience" appointed by Police Commissioner William Bratton. It is a policy of the board to place one Police Commissioner designee on every case review panel. As each case before the board is adjudicated by a case review panel of three or four board members, this means that the cops have one-quarter to one-third of the say in how each case is disposed of.

The CCRB has a backlog of thousands of cases. It was only able to move 601 cases out of its filing cabinets during the July to December 1993 period covered by *Status Report No. 1*, and over 50% of these cases were simply dropped. Giuliani's "quality of life" crackdowns have added more than three thousand cases to the backlog. The CCRB blames the pile-up, in part, on the fact that when the board was civilianized, half of its investigators and most of its office equipment and cars were taken away by the police department.

Over fifty percent of cases passing through the hands of the CCRB are "truncated," "non-dispositional," or "early-termination," which means that they were not fully investigated by the board. According to the board, this usually results from the complainant failing to cooperate with the investigation, or because the board fails to contact the complainant. Complainants often fail to cooperate with a CCRB investigation because they become frustrated by the amount of time that it takes to complete an investigation, because they are unable to positively identify the officer involved, or because they fear reprisals by the police.

Over twenty-five percent of cases before the CCRB are found to be "unsubstantiated," which means that there was not enough information to support or disprove the allegations against the officer. The primary cause of this is fail-

ure to identify the officer involved. Since it quickly becomes apparent to a complainant that a case will go nowhere without a positive identification of the officer, many of the "non-dispositional" cases in which the complainant stops cooperating with an investigation must result from inability to identify the cop. *Victims and witnesses of police abuse must therefore be careful to write down badge numbers. Photographic evidence is essential, particularly where plain-clothes cops are involved.*

Of the 601 cases actually processed by the CCRB between July and December 1993, 8.5% were found to be "substantiated." In 4.8% of the 601 cases, the officer was exonerated.

When a case against a cop is "substantiated" by the CCRB, this does not mean that the board then penalizes the officer. The board files administrative charges against the cop, but responsibility for prosecuting these charges falls with the Advocate's Office of the Police Department. Thus, it is back to the fox guarding the chicken coop. If an administrative trial is held (before a civilian administrative law judge or a Deputy Police Commissioner) the findings and penalty are merely recommended to Police Commissioner William Bratton, who may accept or reject any part of them. *Thus, even with the civilianization of the CCRB, the police still police themselves.*

The CCRB has nothing whatever to do with prosecuting police for crimes such as assault, murder or corruption. Only the District Attorney's office can do this, and cops and DAs have much in common.

The "complaint history" of police officers, (i.e., CCRB complaints filed against them that did not result in departmental punishment) is not taken into account in determining the substantiation of any charge against a cop. Civilian "chronic complainants," however, are flagged by the CCRB staff prior to review by the board.

Only 29% of civilian complaints grow out of arrest or summons situations. This refutes arguments that complaints of force and abuse are smoke screens used by arrestees to cover their own wrongdoing. This is also consistent with observations from the Tompkins Square Police Riot of 1988, in which there were over 120 CCRB complaints but only twelve arrests.

50.6% of "offensive language" allegations against police officers in 1993 involved anti-Black slurs and 11.8% anti-Latino slurs. Only 3.3% involved anti-Caucasian remarks. The breakdown by race of the complainants was 45.6% Black, 26.4% Latino, and 24.0% Caucasian. The breakdown by race of the officers complained against was 72.4% Caucasian, 10.4% Black, and 16.5% Latino, which is strikingly similar to the racial breakdown of the NYPD as a whole: 72.7% Caucasian, 11.6% Black, and 14.7% Latino. So, while cops of all colors are equally capable of offending the populace, most of the people whom they offend are Black and Latino.

Only a small fraction (1.1% in 1992 and 0.5% in 1993) of CCRB complaints stem from political demonstrations.

SUBCULTURE

CITY MENACING ARTS CENTER

By Stuart Frankel

The city seems determined to shut down a flourishing community arts center, perhaps in order to sell the carcass to a real-estate developer. For twelve years, **ABC NO RIO**, at 156 Rivington Street, has housed independent, non-commercial art such as Saturday afternoon punk/hardcore shows, photography and art exhibits, Wednesday-night discussion groups, poetry readings, and coffee houses. The volunteer-run arts center figures frequently in tourist guides to the city. Since this is the kind of thing that makes this city (ahem) great, you'd think that the city would want to keep it around. That should be easy to do, since ABC is housed in a city-owned building, pays rent to the city, and is partially funded by the New York State Council on the Arts.

But the city, citing the poor condition of the building, has terminated ABC's lease. This is ironic, since ABC has been complaining to the city for years about the poor condition of the building, and the city has refused to make adequate repairs. Suddenly, they "discover" that the building has structural problems. They have offered ABC another building at 121 Manhattan Ave. in Williamsburg (a location obscure enough to jeopardize the entire operation) while they make "repairs," but they have refused to guarantee, in writing at least, that they will allow ABC back into 156 Rivington after the repairs are completed.

The city has also refused to provide ABC with scale plans for the repairs so that ABC can have them evaluated by an independent architect. Several architects and building engineers familiar with the building told ABC that the "repairs" the city has described informally - placing steel beams to shore up 3 corners of the building - might weaken the structural brick. They add that the building is safe for its current activities. ABC fears that the city is looking for an excuse to tear down the building entirely; in fact, the city has a habit of "accidentally" damaging

buildings it claims to be repairing, tearing them down, and then selling the newly vacant lots. By some strange coincidence, the real-estate developer who has bought the building next to 156 Rivington has expressed interest in seeing ABC evicted so he can buy the lot.

On May 23, ABCers held a demonstration at the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) at 75 Maiden Lane to protest the city's refusal to negotiate with them in good faith. The artistically inclined ABCers painted signs and buttonholed passersby across from HPD, drawing a warm response from the normally too-busy-to-care New York business crowd. After several hours, HPD invited several representatives from ABC in to negotiate, but when Jane and Chris from ABC finally spoke with Donald Appel, HPD's Director of Commercial Leasing, he just told them, "I think you should talk to your lawyer," and refused to deal. Of course, HPD was refusing to deal with their lawyer - that's why the demo was called in the first place.

Shortly before press time, a mindless bureaucrat in HPD has threatened to have ABC evicted immediately. This is probably just a pressure tactic. ABC wants to buy the building - then the city wouldn't have to "repair" it and wouldn't have an excuse to demolish it.

Even though the Giuliani administration doesn't recognize the arts as an asset to the city, city councilmember Kathryn Freed's office does; they have been actively advising ABC on the one hand and prodding HPD on the other. But city governmental authority is heavily weighted towards the mayor, and Giuliani, in the words of ABCer Sam Donaldson, "wants art to be for the rich only; he'll give millions to art museums whose boards are loaded with millionaires and who own their own buildings, but let a poor community try to encourage art and he'll close you down any way he can."



FLASH FOTO

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JACK DAWKINS

LIVING THEATER ACTS ON DEATH PENALTY

By Chris Flash

On May 16, in the finest tradition of hit and run guerilla theater, members of the legendary Living Theater troupe gathered on the recruiting station island in Times Square at 10:00 p.m. to perform **NOT IN MY NAME**, a protest play against the death penalty.

According to Living Theater member Joanie Fritz, the play "addresses what the group perceives to be the underlying issue of the death penalty -- the cycle of vengeance which lives at the very foundation of civilization."

Garrick Beck told the SHADOW that the group's objective is to teach the play to others across the U.S. to be performed at each execution. Beck says the group opposes "state sponsored execution" and adds that "murdering is inhuman."

NOT IN MY NAME contains three parts. At 10:30, troupe members, all dressed in black, appeared with props and banners. Act I, called *The Eve of Execution*, began with members singing "Break the cycle of violence..." and explaining "We are here to witness the intention of the State of Maryland to kill John Thanos according to the law." Actors confronted bystanders separately, telling them "Two wrongs don't make a right" as other actors mimed the killing of a prisoner.

Scheduled to die by lethal injection one minute after midnight was John Thanos, a Maryland death row inmate who admitted to killing three people in 1990. Thanos did not object to his execution. In Maryland, the state is not required to tell when an execution will take place until eight hours before. "Don't do it," the actors implored.

As Act II, *The Hour of Death*, began at 10:45, several cops arrived and demanded to know what was going on. The actors continued the play as if they weren't there. Living Theater co-founder Judith Malina quickly chilled out the cops, who didn't realize that they had been drawn into the performance. After some discussion, six cops surrounded the performers on the island to "protect them from traffic."

As the hour of death approached, it was announced: "In this moment we confront the great lie; that two wrongs don't make a right." The actors began a silent vigil and mourning period, parading in a large circle wearing black veils with flashlights illuminating their faces from underneath, creating a ghost-like appearance. An actor stood by with a large clock on a pole displaying the time, which was

running out for John Thanos.

Finally, the actors stopped, turned off their lights, and with heads bowed, began to weep silently. "We will not further the cycle of rage and hatred," an actor declared. "If John Thanos was killed tonight, we will gather at 8:00 a.m. to reverse the cycle of vengeance. Reverse the suffering of revenge. Turn hate into energy. Join us."

At 11:20, the troupe split up as suddenly as they had arrived, each carrying away a prop. A light rain began to fall, perhaps symbolizing sympathetic tears from the sky. That night, John Thanos was executed.

The next day, the Living Theater troupe returned to the island to perform Act III, *Breaking the Cycle of Violence*, in which actors personally promised audience members to reverse the cycle of vengeance.

NOT IN MY NAME was again performed in Times Square on May 19 for Steve Nethery (executed by lethal/legal injection in Texas) and Charles Campbell (executed by hanging in Washington state) and on June 14 for David Lawson (executed by gas chamber in North Carolina.)

The Living Theater has created theatrical works that challenge existing notions and question society's structure and form since being founded in 1947 by Judith Malina and the late Julian Beck. The Living Theater, with anarchopacifist philosophy and collective action at its core, was among the originators of the off-Broadway avant-garde movement.

The Living Theater's most recent performance space on East Third Street was lost in January of 1993. Since then, the troupe has been homeless, often performing at the Theater for the New City at 155 First Avenue and working out of other spaces in New York City and Europe.

For **NOT IN MY NAME**'s continuing performances, the Living Theater has consulted several groups for information on pending executions, including the Death Penalty Project, WBAI Public Radio, NAACP, Amnesty International, the War Resisters League, and the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty.

A core group of actors is standing by, ready to perform the play as information on executions is received. Anyone interested in participating or making suggestions can contact the Living Theater at: 800 West End Avenue, #5A, New York, NY 10023. (212) 865-3957 or 969-8905.

SUBVERSIVE ELECTRONICS

TRACING CELLULAR TELEPHONE CALLERS

By Roy G. Biv

Cellular telephones are tracable whenever they are powered up. When you power up a cell phone it sends out a signal to the Cell Network to let it know that it is on and what cell it is in. It is thought that this signal is sent every 5 minutes. The cell network keeps track of the phone so that it knows it is on and where it is.

There are two different systems. One is an active system which queries the phone every few minutes so that the system knows where each phone is, all the time. This way, the system knows exactly where to route the call when one comes in for that cell phone.

The other system is passive. It does not query the phone at all. When a call comes in for the cell phone, it sends out a query on every single cell, and waits to see where the response comes from. I don't know of any carrier in my area that uses this type of system, but I know that Cantel in Ontario uses it. This system is preferable to the continuous query system because it makes you less traceable and your battery lasts longer since it is not always transmitting an answer to the system's queries.

The only thing that they can get from a cellular call is the cell you called from, or the cell you are in. If your phone is in standby mode in LA, there are a number of cells per square mile.

When you start a call with your cell phone, all the repeaters within reception range will keep a log of your phone's ID and the perceived signal strength of your transmission. Triangulation will then be able to place you more exactly within any particular cell. Moving between cells also helps to give your position and movements away. This is how they discovered O.J. Simpson's position as he was driving on the LA Freeway making all those calls on his cell phone.

Remember, your cellular telephone is just a fancy radio. If they can trace the source of a radio broadcast, they can trace you too!

About every three to five minutes the cell phone will scan the airwaves, locking into the strongest cell. As for what info one can get from a cell call in progress....EVERYTHING! With the right equipment you can pluck the ESN, MIN and just about anything from the RF spectrum. This is inherent due to the nature of operation of the cellular telephone network.

You can track cellular, with some cash. There is a device for just under \$500 that you can obtain, but you may have to convince the local authorities that you are not going to use it for "evil" purposes.

CELLULAR SURVEILLANCE INTERFACE TEST SET

The Cellular Surveillance Interface (CSI) decodes the data transmitted on cellular control channels. It interprets the data as cellular commands, displays it on your PC screen, and tunes your radio.

The CSI will work on cellular systems in North America, Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, etc. Anywhere there is a cellular system using the AMPS, TACS or ETACS standards; including those international systems that use variable control channel starting points for different countries.

In simple terms, the CSI reads the control channel data in a cell and switches your radio to the specified voice channel when a cellular call is placed or received in that cell. This allows you to monitor the call for voice quality, etc. When the call switches to a new voice channel, your radio now switches as well. In essence, the CSI turns your radio into an extension of the phone that you're monitoring. No more partial calls. You get it all.

The CSI is a high tech, low-cost test instrument for the service shop, a surveillance unit for law enforcement, and a development tool for new cellular and other radio data applications for the engineer or hobbyist.

The Icom R7000, R7100 and R9000; the AR-2500 and AR-3000A; and the Radio Shack PRO-200x (with the modifications noted later on in this document), can be connected directly to the CSI. The CSI will automatically change the radio frequency in order to follow the call from one voice frequency to another.

The CSI hardware will support future software enhancements such as pager decoding, and trunked radio and MDT surveillance. Preliminary development has commenced, but no firm in-service date is available. When you order your CSI, you'll be on the mailing list for future software enhancements.

The CSI requires 12 volts DC at 300 ma. It is portable for service and surveillance use with a laptop PC. The CSI comes with PC software that can be used to perform advanced tasks. For example, it can be used to wait for specific commands or phone numbers, and take an action only on those commands. It can be configured to keep a log of specific events. A radio that can be controlled over a serial link (Icom, AR, highly modified PRO -200x) may be connected to the CSI and the software will issue frequency change commands to the radio. This will enable you to monitor the audio for voice quality.

The CSI commercial test equipment set is assembled, tested, and installed in a case. It is shipped complete with a 12 volt AC adaptor, all cables to connect your radio and IBM compatible PC to the CSI, the latest version of their PC software package, your choice of radio interface kit, and an excellent user's guide. They even pay the shipping on pre-paid orders. Allow six to eight business days from receipt of your order until delivery, via UPS. Order from: E.C.I., 65 - 31 Avenue South West, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, T2S 2Y7.

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COMPUTER CRACKDOWN IN ITALY

By Bernardo Parrella

(Downloaded from Internet)

On May 10-12 1994, the first nationwide crackdown on telecom nets was carried out by Italian police. Acting on a warrant issued by a prosecutor in Pesaro, about sixty community bulletin board systems throughout the country have been visited and searched by police officials. Dozens of people were formally accused of "distribution of illegally copied software and appropriation of secret passwords" under the law approved by Italian Parliament in January of this year. In several cases, police officials didn't know what to search for, thus seizing computers, floppy disks, and modems along with surge protectors, answering machines, audiotapes, and personal effects. The raids also hit private houses and belongings, and in some places, sleeping people were abruptly woken up facing machine guns. After searching around one third of the entire network - including more than 300 BBSes - police officials closed several Fidonet nodes, but no arrests were made. A still undetermined number of people were charged with software piracy, and dozens of computers and related devices were seized - along with thousands of floppy disks, CD-Roms, and W.O.R.M.S. On the pretext of moving after a suspected software piracy ring run by people involved in a Fidonet node, the crackdown started in the night between May 10 and 11 in Milan, targeting, in the two following days, BBSes in Pesaro, Modena, Bologna, Ancona, Pisa and other cities.

Fidonet Italia, a member of the worldwide Fidonet network, is a non-profit organization devoted to distribution of shareware and freeware programs as well as to electronic forums on topics ranging from technological to social issues. An essential communication tool for several groups and individuals throughout the country, Fidonet Italia became an active multi-cultural vessel and distributor of several different nodes dedicated to specific issues: Peacelink (solidarity, human rights), Cybernet (cyberpunk), Ludonet (games), Scoutnet, Amynet, and others. For thousands of Italian people, Fidonet BBSes today are invaluable tools of information exchange, social activism and professional activities. The network policy strictly prohibits any distribution of illegally copied software and fraudulent appropriation of secret passwords. Also, Fidonet is one of the few international organizations that has always stated and pursued a clear position against unauthorized copying of software. At the moment, the raids seem to be motivated by accusations against two people involved in a Pesaro-based BBS who were using Fidonet contacts to allegedly distribute illegal copies of computer programs. However, there are no reasons for such a vast law enforcement operation. Most likely, the prosecutor acted simply on the basis of the publicly available Fidonet telephone numbers list owned by the two persons suspected of software piracy. The vast majority of the people searched don't have any kind of relationship with the suspects, and many of the search warrants stated a generic "conspiracy with unknown" for the crime of software piracy. Particularly, the random seizures of floppy disks and personal computers are completely arbitrary, because every BBS is a completely independent structure and each sysop (bulletin board operator) is running his/her own hardware and software. The seizures will resolve in a great economic loss for these people and their professional activities will be surely affected by negative publicity. Some of them own small computer-related companies, while

others are physicians, hobbyists, or students who risk personal savings to run their services. Because police officials also seized electronic and paper archives containing data and numbers of people who logged onto Fidonet nodes, it is evident that investigations are going even further - thus violating the constitutional right to privacy. The first result of this crackdown is that many Fidonet operators have decided to shut down immediately their systems all over the country, fearing heavier police intrusions in both their public activities and private lives. While the Italian Parliament recently approved specific laws about copyright and piracy of computer software, there are still no rules to protect personal privacy in the electronic medium. This legislative void inevitably makes the sysop the only responsible person about anything happens onto and around his/her own BBS. Fidonet operators do not want and cannot be the target of indiscriminate raids that, forcing them to closing down their activities, cause serious damages to themselves as well as to the entire community. In an article published Friday 13 by the newspaper *La Repubblica*, Alessandro Marescotti, Peacelink spokesperson, said: "Just when the worldwide BBS scene is gaining general respect for its important role at the community level, in Italy the law hits those networks that have always been strongly against software piracy. Charging dozens of honest operators with unjustified accusations, the main goal of this crackdown is directed against the social activities of small community nets - thus clearing the space for commercial networking."



HOW TO TELL IF YOUR PHONE IS BEING TAPPED

By Roy G. Biv

(Info from Internet Usenet alt.2600, the Internet News Group)

This is not a fool-proof system and may apply only to phones in the New York, Jersey and Connecticut area.

Dial 1073214049889664 on a touch tone phone. You will hear a tone and then a computerized voice will slowly read your number back to you. We tried this and heard the voice read our test number and then say "eight" followed by "zero" nine times. Next, the voice will say a number from zero to five.

According to this info source, if you hear a number zero, one or two, your line is clear. If you hear a three, four, or five, then your line is being tapped. The number we got was a "two."

This may mean that we are not being tapped, but you should always assume that you are being tapped when you speak on the phone. It's just common sense telephone safety!

We don't know how accurate this system may be, so we ask that any hackers/phone phreaks or tele-company personnel who know more about this and other systems dealing with detecting taps, tracing calls, reverse information (CNA), etc. let us know. (If your info is not for publication, we will respect your wishes.)

**GOT SOMETHING TO REPORT?
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Book Review

SELF-DEFENSE REQUIRES NO APOLOGY

By Jan Jones

SURVIVAL SHOOTING FOR WOMEN

By Tom Givens

PRINCIPLES OF PERSONAL DEFENSE

By Jeff Cooper

"Listen to a woman who has been raped and now jumps every time a man touches her. Talk to the gay person who has been bashed, ask a man who has had a knife held to his throat during a robbery. They will tell you, without exception, that they will never be vulnerable again." -- Jan Jones, **SELF DEFENSE REQUIRES NO APOLOGY**

Most women are unprepared to confront an armed attacker for a variety of reasons. They have been conditioned since childhood that confidence, resistance, and self-reliance are not feminine and that there will always be a man there to take care of them. Fortunately, society is changing and young girls are learning otherwise, but for many it is necessary to reprogram their thinking.

It's a simple matter to change one's thinking from that of a victim to that of a resister. It does not involve hours of self-defense and shooting practice as much as it does on concentration on preventive methods and mental-emotional preparation.

Following the suggestions in "Self-Defense Requires No Apology" by Jan Jones, "Survival Shooting for Women" by Tom Givens and Jeff Cooper's "Principles of Personal Defense," you will be luckier than most people. You will profit from the experience of those who have been assault-ed without having to experience it yourself. You will possess the skills, and hopefully, the willingness to defend your life if necessary. The paradox is that if you have this ability, you will probably never be forced to use it.

Recent statistics indicate that one out of every three people will be assaulted at some point in their lives. If you don't happen to live or work in a high crime area, your chances of being attacked are even less. If however, you happen to be that one out of three, the statistics are irrelevant.

It is not the intention of the authors to convince you that their self-defense plans must also be yours. Nor to convince that you must carry a gun or prepare in any other specific way. Indeed, you are urged to provide for your own and your family's protection in a way that conforms to your own philosophy and lifestyle.

An acceptable self-defense plan is possible and desirable regardless of how you live. It is important to be well protected and to have peace of mind regardless of what the statistics say. Even if chances of being attacked are only one in a million, if it does happen, the stats change to 100%.

In the past, too many people have found themselves victims of violent assaults and have been totally helpless. This feeling of total helplessness far surpasses the feeling of pain, embarrassment and foolishness. Do not put yourself into this position of feeling that you have no choices, that there is nothing you can do. You don't want this to happen, and it doesn't have to.

You have the right to live an unmolested life, and preparing to do so is positive rather than negative. Many women who have learned about shooting for self-defense have also become interested in various aspects of the shooting sports. More and more women today are involved in trap and skeet as well as combat and silhouette shooting.

Shooting provides excellent training, particularly in concentration, which transfers well to other sports. It provides an opportunity to train reflexes, hand-eye coordination, and breath control. Those who learn self-defense skills AFTER being attacked are doing it the hard way. They do not have the luxury of deciding which approach will be most effective and adaptable for them. Rather, they use the most immediate and available method of self-protection. This strategy only guarantees confusion during a confrontation.

Preparing a self-defense plan in advance gives you the opportunity to experiment, explore and formulate your protection plan as a non-victim. You will develop expertise which will reach into nearly every aspect of your life. Your concentration will improve as well as your skill level in other sports and activities. Preparing for self-defense is a beneficial goal. Remember, **"SELF DEFENSE REQUIRES NO APOLOGY"**!

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SECRET AND SUPPRESSED: BANNED IDEAS & HIDDEN HISTORY

Written/Edited by Jim Keith

(P.O.Box 20593, Sun Valley, NV 89433)

(Feral House, 1993)

Reviewed by Lee Bracken

This book poisoned my dreams. Columns of HIV-infected crabs--each one bigger than the last--were released into my bed by the C.I.A...And when I woke up in a cold sweat, the eyes of the skinhead on the cover of the book were fixed on me in a menacing stare. Thinking back on what I'd read, from John Judge's dispassionate case that the U.S. intelligence services were involved in the Jonestown massacre, to Kenn Thomas' contextualization of "A Draft of Danny Casolaro's Octopus Manuscript Proposal," I knew what had poisoned me: the truth. As the editor put it in his introduction: "It seems fair to warn you, however, that even a tentative scratching at the gargoyles-facade that passes for reality will likely unleash a clutch of demons from the far side of Truth."

The most disquieting essays are in the "Menticide" section of the book. Anna Keeler gives us the best exposition to date of "Remote Mind Control Technology"--if you doubt that exists, READ THIS ARTICLE!!! To my mind, there is nothing so nefarious as targeting the brain with coded microwaves, which is what your friendly government did to the female peace activists of Greenham Common, England, who were protesting the build-up of nuclear weapons, and to those under siege at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco. When you hear a madman yell, "They made me do it!" ask yourself what makes him so mad. And after reading

Robert Naeslund's "An Open Letter to the Swedish Prime Minister Regarding Electromagnetic Terror" (including X-Rays showing brain implants), Kerry Thornley's case for paranoia seemed very reassuring to this paranoid.

And then the book gets really weird. We have the Downard's "Science of Symbolism" that Robert Anton Wilson described as the most absurd, the most incredible, the most ridiculous Illuminanti theory of them all." A nice compendium of the myths surrounding the death of Jim Morrison. "The Last Testament of Rev. Jim Jones" with a picture of the Rev. kissing a chimp. "Secrets from the Vatican Library" from a Franciscan monk--a grandiose conspiracy theory that centers on the "Teutonic/Zionist clique" (a Vatican library chit is reproduced at the end of the essay). G.J. Kruepy's article on the origin of AIDS is an extremely well-written, researched and reasoned report on the likelihood of Pentagon involvement in creating the disease. And to round off this tour-de-force of the unacceptable, there's a long, riveting interview with Nazi International Chief, Otto Skorzeny.

Whereas the owners of the world use the mainstream media as the guardian angel of sleep, this dispatch from the margins is a wake-up call. SECRET AND SUPPRESSED gives you the poison of truth that will make your stomach turn, like a little dose of cyanide.

GREAT MOMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM

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EDITORIAL

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A CROWD HAS NO MIND

If anyone doubts that purely reactive politics has been figured out by the government, let them read the DISORDER CONTROL GUIDELINES put out by the NYPD (available from *Shadow Press*). This manual is all about how to "disperse and demoralize" spontaneous gatherings of people before they turn into riots. Several different tactics are described, but the general idea is that the police form wedges and push their way into the center of a gathering crowd, forcing people to the margins and eventually drive them out of the area (See *SHADOW #26 + #27* for more crowd control techniques). The manual was put together by an NYPD think tank after the Washington Heights, Crown Heights, and, yes, Tompkins Square riots. The new anti-riot strategy, in combination with the vast expansion in numbers of the NYPD, have become New York's substitute for a social contract. The ruling class is no longer worried about the riots that will happen when they fuck with the people, because they have put up this blue wall to protect themselves. Adolph Giuliani now feels that he can do anything to the people because he has an effective strategy to "disperse and demoralize" spontaneous gatherings.

Of course, political movements have been militarily repressed without becoming demoralized. Demoralization is something that people do to themselves and not something that the police do to them. If spontaneous riots do not work to effect social change, then you have to think of something new--that is, if you still want to be a revolutionary and not wallow in beer-bloated demoralization, saturated with self pity and violence toward those closest to you. If a political movement is socially coherent, it can withstand the ravages of police repression and reconstitute itself in a new form.

MOVE X

We talked about move X before, and I call it that because I am not prepared to tell you what it is. It's not a secret, I just don't know. There are people who are always prepared to tell you exactly what to do next, and they are usually part of the problem and not part of the solution. Move X just means do something unpredictable. Instead of doing the same old metal jam after a concert where 20 people get surrounded by the cops and busted, do something else. Form a coalition with other people in the neighborhood who hate Rudolph Giuliani: gay people, for instance. Participate in some of their stuff and let them participate in some of yours. Agree to disagree with them about some things, like voting in elections. Hold public meetings about police repression and brutality in the neighborhood. Set up a counterweight to the damned block association creeps and Business Improvement District assholes. Make some links with the older political activists in the neighborhood, who are feeling as isolated as you are. Under Giuliani, we are all in the same boat, liberal and anarchist, tenant and squatter. Imagine organizing a concert at which all of the forces opposed to the crackdown are represented. The police don't have a plan to disperse a crowd that big, and if they tried, the political consequences would be catastrophic for Giuliani and pig chief Bratton.

TELL YOUR OWN STORY

It is also necessary to learn to explain things to people in the surrounding community. This has to be done in an intelligent, convincing manner that appeals to people's innate moral sense. Nobody knows who the squatters or the people who produce those concerts in the park are. People a block away from Tompkins Square Park have to read the *New York Times* to find out why bottles were thrown at the police. There they will read that it was a "heavy metal" concert that was happening in Tompkins Square Park on May 30, and that the crowd of drunken metalheads rioted because they didn't want the music to end. That's Henry Stern's story, that's the cops' story, that's the *New York Times*' story. Nobody gets very far when they let the people who hate them tell their story, without bothering to tell their own. If you believe in housing for everybody, freedom on the streets of the city, and a revolution in which the people take control of their own destiny, you've got to tell that to other people and try and make them believe in it too. If the cops come and fuck with you because you believe these things, and you are forced to defend yourself by picking up a bottle, you have to let other people know. Otherwise, you can't blame people for believing that a riot over "heavy metal" happened in TSP on the night of May 30 and the stupid drunken slob in the park attacked the noble officers of the law.

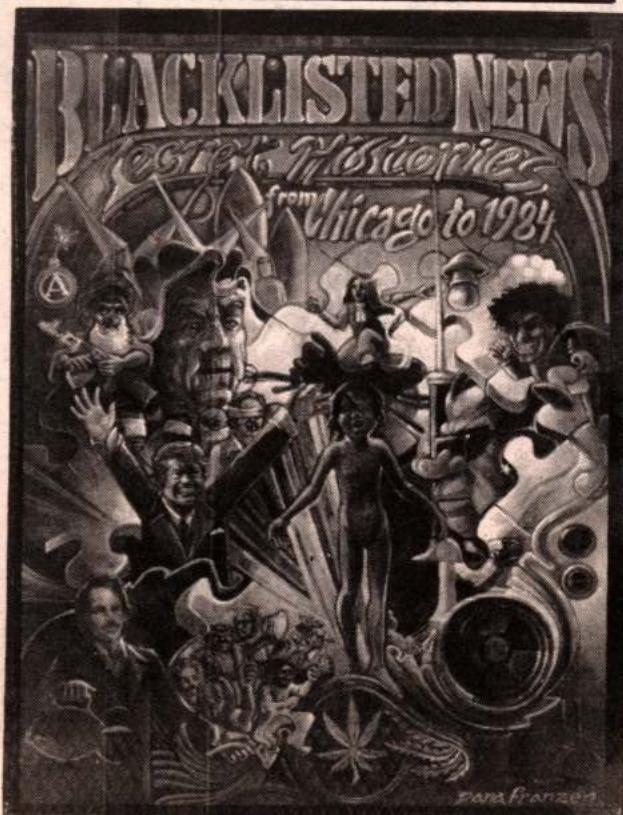
The government and cops depend on us to be stupid. Let's disappoint them for a change.

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PAGÁN CRONY BEATS WOMAN

Continued From Page 10

According to Riviera, at the end of the contentious meeting that was repeatedly interrupted by ACT-UP and supporters and opponents of School Superintendent Ubiñas, she was approached by a reporter for cable tv station NY1. Riviera says Pagan jumped in and demanded the reporter interview him as an elected official -- despite the fact the Riviera is herself an elected official. An argument ensued between Pagan and the reporter as Soler approached. According to Riviera, the conversation took the low road, "basically it was some curse words," she says, "referring to my sexual orientation." Luis Soler refused to respond to SHADOW inquiries to rebut the charges and Pagan has said he won't give interviews to the SHADOW.

The slate of candidates that won last year's school board elections in District One, the city's smallest and one of its poorest, has been under attack since they voted not to renew the Ubiñas contract. But Riviera says "there were many things in the district that had to be changed to make the district independent of the patronage system and I set about to make some major changes."

A related issue that Riviera says she feels strongly about is Seward Park, where she feels the government should "keep the promises we made when we said we would build housing for the poor."

Opponents of the new school board took their complaints to Mayor Giuliani at a raucous town hall meeting in April. The Mayor told Ubiñas supporters he would talk to the District Attorney. Subsequently, a grand jury began its investigation and school board supporters say this was the result of improper political meddling with an investigation.

The DA's office denies being pressured but they ominously add that the grand jury is not necessarily limited to the specific charges against Sister Kelliher.

District One School Board Chair Dolores Schaefer may be unseated if Sister Elizabeth is indicted for election fraud. Schaefer says the grand jury investigation is "scandalous and truly unbelievable." Schaefer concedes there may have been "technical problems" with Sister Elizabeth's petition signatures but she adds that the rules governing petitions and school board elections are so byzantine as to make it impossible to get it all perfectly right. Instead, Schaefer questions the wisdom and priorities of an investigation of minor violations when millions of dollars are regularly stolen from corrupt school districts throughout the city.

A long time friend and supporter of Sister Elizabeth is thirty-year Lower East Side resident Ruth Silber who says that "if they can get away with attacking Sister Elizabeth then they can get away with attacking anything decent in this community because she stands for everything decent in this community." Silber, who gathered signatures for Sister Elizabeth, has been repeatedly harassed by police detectives trying to serve her with a subpoena to testify before the grand jury.

Dolores Schaefer says the complaints against Sister Elizabeth can be traced back to the school board members who were defeated last year. She says that the campaign manager for the opposing slate, Joanne Carey wrote the letter to DOI that began the investigation. Carey could not be reached for comment. Among the politicians who supported Ubiñas are councilmembers Antonio Pagán, Kathryn Freed and powerful State Assembly speaker Sheldon Silver.

But despite the political attacks the school board recently chose a new superintendent, Harvard educated Dori Collazo-Baker, a Harlem middle-school principal with 25 years of experience in New York public schools.

The politics of intimidation on the Lower East Side aren't limited to physical attacks by disgruntled political appointees. A 72-year-old Roman Catholic nun, Sister Elizabeth Kelliher, who supported Riviera and other progressive candidates has been the focus of a grand jury investigation into election fraud. Residents who face subpoenas to testify before the grand jury say they are being terrorized by the District Attorney.

The conflict began after a reform slate swept last year's school board election on the Lower East Side. The new board then voted five to four to terminate Ubiñas' contract. Although he's popular with many in the district's large Latino community -- the majority on the new board criticized Ubiñas for a "chaotic management style and failing to meaningfully improve math and reading scores."

Ubiñas refused to accept his firing, blaming the new board for everything from corruption to being under the control of gays and lesbians. Several of the new board members support the Rainbow Curriculum -- a controversial lesson plan designed to teach tolerance of gays and lesbians. But the political dispute took on a new dimension when Ed Stancik, the Special Commissioner for Investigating School Corruption released a report accusing Sister Elizabeth Kelliher of collecting fraudulent signatures for the School Board election.

Sister Elizabeth had been a board member for the past 13 years. According to local residents, when Cardinal John O'Connor discovered Kelliher was running with a slate of candidates supporting the Rainbow Curriculum, the nun was told she had to drop out of the race.

Sister Elizabeth turned her 200 nominating signatures over to a new candidate, a common practice in New York State elections. The new candidate was another former school board member, Dolores Schaefer, who won with the highest vote total ever recorded in the district for a school board election. But according to Stancik, Kelliher knew the church wouldn't let her run when she was collecting the nominating signatures that ultimately went to Schaefer. Stancik also charges some petitions were back-dated and witnesses falsely swore they were the ones who collected the signatures.

In December, 1993, the Department of Investigation ruled the school board election was legal and the issue seemed over until the office of District Attorney Robert Morgenthau stepped in with a grand jury and began forcing nominating petition signers to testify.



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