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SHADOW EXCLUSIVE:

FBI BOMBED WORLD TRADE CENTER!!

**SQUATTERS
TAKE ON
REAL ESTATE
MAGGOTS!**



JOHN PENLEY

SQUATTER ACTIVISTS CONFRONT PAUL GROGAN, NATIONAL HEAD OF LISC. LISC IS PROVIDING FUNDS TO THE LOWER EAST SIDE COALITION HOUSING DEVELOPMENT--A REAL ESTATE DEVELOPER TIED TO CITY COUNCILMAN ANTONIO PAGÁN--TO TAKE OVER FIVE SQUATTED BUILDINGS ON EAST 13TH ST.

**PIGS EVICT
HARLEM PEDDLERS!**



BARBARA LEE

ALSO INSIDE:

- ▶ ANTONIO PAGÁN SUED FOR SIX MILLION DOLLARS
- ▶ CALIF. FOOD NOT BOMBS UNDER ATTACK
- ▶ CLINTONGATE: THE ARKANSAS MOB AND THE CONTRA-COCAINE CONNECTION

SHADOW EDITORIAL

"WITHOUT YOU, I'M NOTHING"--Deputy Inspector Richard Seta to the SHADOW, on October 21, 1994

RUDY TO BLACK PEOPLE: DIE OR I'LL SHOOT YOU!!

We are in trouble deep, folk. We have a Mayor who responds to a 40% unemployment rate among young Black men by evicting a thousand peddlers from the streets of Harlem. First Giuliani pledges to rid the streets of crime. Next, he pledges to purge the welfare rolls of the cheating scum, who as far as Rudy is concerned, is everybody on welfare. Then he wields the axe on the city payroll, tossing tens of thousands of people on to the job market to compete with the rest of the unemployed. Then he tells a thousand people on 125th Street who up to now had been making a living: go on welfare, commit crimes, but don't dare, dare go out and sell something. Don't try to survive the Amerikan way or we'll beat you up and throw you in jail.

Indeed, who were the peddlers of 125th Street bothering? Whose quality of life were they affecting adversely by selling people the things that they need at reduced prices? The attack on the Harlem street vendors was not done for the people of Harlem, it was done to the people of Harlem. The stated idea of the peddler evictions was to get rid of the non-tax paying peddlers and force the people of Harlem to buy from the tax paying merchants. This must be done, say the overpaid parasites called the "authorities," otherwise government will cease to function. So the government must collect taxes to pay police to evict peddlers, otherwise the people will buy from peddlers who do not pay taxes and the government will have no money to pay the police to evict the peddlers. What a strange way this is to go about things! Why don't they just let the peddlers go on peddling, save the overtime that they are paying the police to evict them, and forget about the taxes? How can Giuliani and his City Hall creeps fail to realize that anyone who is deprived of the means of making a living ends up costing somebody else money?

Giuliani, however, is immune to logic and common sense because he is a bigot. He is an ignorant, uptight, bridge-and-tunnel-moosehead-on-the-wall white Catholic bigot who wants to hurt Black people. Every time he hurts Black people, his constituents out there go "ooh ooh ooh, we love Rudy," because that is what they hired him to do. Giuliani, of course, never says anything about hating Black people. His race bigotry is disguised by a veil of class bigotry, which is a good enough disguise in 1990s New York, where class bigotry is well-accepted among the middle class and the professionals. In the sidewalk cafés where the new information elite gather, they talk the tasteful kind of racist talk: "Oh, no, we don't hate Black people! Why, I have a wonderful Black investment banker living in our building, but those teenagers on the subway and those smelly homeless people! Maybe we need a man like Giuliani." Racism in New York is like chopped liver -- it is something ground up to look and smell like something that it is not -- but in fact is what it is. And Giuliani is adept at dishing out this chopped liver.

Giuliani is running a regime of force, not consent. He took away the Harlem peddlers' living by lining 125th Street with kops in groups of three stationed every ten meters -- the same way the government took Tompkins Square Park away from the people of the Lower East Side. By maintaining massive reserves of police, he has taken away the ability of communities to resist the force of the centralized State. Behind democracy must always stand the threat of resistance and Giuliani stands prepared to deal with this resistance. Surrounded by an army which can be mobilized at a moment's notice, Giuliani and the ruling class of New York feel able to view the Black community with a purely white gaze and to slap the Black community with a purely white hand. This situation will not go on forever. Rudy is pissing off so many people that one day, everybody will rebel at the same time and the kops will be spread too thin to deal with it.

We now have a Mayor who responds to unemployment by throwing people out of work, and to homelessness by evicting squatters from their homes. In spite of a few anti-gun increase-the-peace posters on the subway, we have a Mayor for whom men with guns are the solution to everything and the substitute for a social contract. Giuliani was hired by big real estate as the executioner of enlightenment and the hangman of humanism. Will we let him do his job?

SQUATTERS RIGHTS ON EAST 13TH STREET

Under its federally-funded "Vacant Buildings Rehabilitation Program," the Giuliani administration is preparing to violently evict 200 men, women and children from five fully-occupied squatter homesteads on East 13th Street, homes that were created out of the ruins of buildings abandoned by the City of New York 10 years ago. These buildings sat empty and rotting, not even a tarp placed over the roof to keep out the rains. They sat for years...until squatters arrived.

Forsaking their own legal requirements, the city council "waived" the so-called "Uniform Land Use Review Procedure" (ULURP), which is supposed to review all land contracts (speculation) in New York City with public hearings. Not that it would have mattered anyway. It was a done deal.

The East 13th Street squatters are fighting a legal battle against the planned evictions and will not easily become another by-product of the capitalist's land grab. Squatters are struggling in the courts for rights (their next hearing with Judge Wilk is on November 16), even though getting justice there is like searching for fish in the desert. The most that can be hoped for is to gain the right not to be evicted. Never, under capitalism's myriad forms of greed, will squatters be granted the right to violate the sanctity of private property.

Meanwhile, on the ground in Loisa, City Councilman Tony Pagán scurries to his next meeting with another sleazy real estate financier. His Lower East Side Coalition for Housing Development Inc., is one of a number of corporate fronts set up to make money while pretending to provide low income housing in the name of the poor.

Everyone has the right not to be violated. People have a human right not to be treated cruelly, a right not to be tortured with fear over losing their homes. The squats on East 13th Street were taken out of necessity for affordable housing and a desire to build an alternative community, a community of neighbors that care for each other, that will defend one another by any and all means at our disposal.

The yuppies and those who have secured their own apartments through connections with Community Board Three accuse squatters with: "What gives you the right to seize property?" What gives them the right to speculate on real estate and take housing meant for low-income residents? Every time they "flip" their units for tremendous profits, the cost of living here is driven higher, making life even harder for the poor. They don't have the same needs as the poor; in fact, they can afford to live elsewhere.

Isn't it common knowledge that the rich seize land and property all over the world every day? From whence do the wealthy derive their right to acquire city-owned land and housing and throw people out? What gives them the right to exploit? And why should their rights be more sacred than those of the poor, particularly those who are struggling to survive? We feel no obligation to pay any respect to the rights of any person who denies us our rights.

Whenever poor, hard working people take what they need to survive, when they occupy vacant lots and abandoned buildings as they have on East 13th Street over the last 10 years, they are exercising their human right to a home, to safety and life. Squatters and their supporters are building a new world based on caring for our neighbors rather than exploiting and evicting them, a world where there will be no poor because there will certainly be no rich.

Squatters rights don't exist in some heavenly realm. Like other human rights, they can only be said to truly exist when they are put into practice. Squatters rights don't exist on paper but in the concrete action of opening up empty buildings, working on them and creating homes. Rights are not real unless they are enacted. This is precisely what the East 13th Street homesteaders have done.

Currently, the squatters on East 13th Street and throughout the entire Lower East Side are getting ready for winter. A frigid wind is blowing from Wall Street, up through City Hall, by way of One Police Plaza. Squatters need the warmth and heat of community support during this period when the state is threatening violence against us, which we will resist. With the active support of wise and compassionate people, we will win, and the entire neighborhood will win.

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SHADOW WORLD EXCLUSIVE!!

WHO BOMBED THE WORLD TRADE CENTER? FBI BOMB BUILDERS EXPOSED!!

Combined report by Paul DeRienzo,
Frank Morales and Chris Flash

Two cassette tape recordings, obtained by SHADOW reporter Paul DiRienzo of telephone conversations between FBI informant Emad Salem and his Bureau contacts reveal secret U.S. Government complicity in the February 26, 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City in which six people were killed and more than a thousand were injured.

After careful deliberation, the SHADOW believes the question regarding the bombing boils down to the following: Did the FBI do the bombing, utilizing informant Salem as an "agent provocateur" or did it allow or fail to prevent an independent Salem and his associates from doing it? The taped conversations obtained by the SHADOW seem to indicate the former:

FBI informant Edam Salem: "...we was start already building the bomb which is went off in the World Trade Center. It was built by supervising supervision from the Bureau and the DA and we was all informed about it and we know that the bomb start to be built. By who? By your confidential informant. What a wonderful great case!"

Who is Emad Salem? FBI bomber, Arab double-agent or just greedy? Possibly a combination of all three. Salem is a former Egyptian Army officer who is currently the U.S. government's star witness against Egyptian cleric Dr. Omar Abdel Rahman, whom the FBI says was the ringleader in several bombing plots, including the World Trade Center. Shortly after the bombing at the Twin Towers the U.S. government moved to take Salem into the Witness Protection program.

According to the FBI, Salem was aware of the plot ostensibly because he had infiltrated Sheik Rahman and his associates. He was recruited as a government informant shortly after the 1991 assassination of right-wing militant Rabbi Meir Kahane. As an associate of Rahman, Salem traveled in the cleric's inner circle, surreptitiously recording conversations, and selling his information to the Bureau. But unknown to his FBI handlers, Salem was also secretly recording his telephone conversations with them, most likely to protect himself.

According to attorney Ron Kuby, after Salem was taken into the Witness Protection Program on June 24, 1993, he told the feds about the more than 1,000 conversations he had recorded sometime between December, 1991 and June, 1993. Kuby says that while some of these tapes are not significant, others contain substantive dealings between Salem and his FBI handlers. Salem was actually bugging the FBI.

The World Trade Center bombing, along with subsequent alleged plots to bomb prominent targets in New York City, spawned a number of federal indictments and trials resulting in the conviction of more than a dozen men, all of Arabic descent. Salem's exposure as a government informant who had a year earlier infiltrated the group of men later charged in the bombing conspiracy caused many to wonder why he and the FBI failed to provide any warning of the pending World Trade Center bombing.

The answer now appears self-evident. According to William Kunstler, attorney for Ibrahim El-Gabrowni, one of those accused in the larger bombing case, the entire conspiracy was the product of Salem, the government informant. Kunstler's law partner Ronald Kuby told the SHADOW that within hours of the World Trade Center blast, Salem checked into a midtown hospital, complaining of a loud ringing in his ears. There is a growing belief that some of the four men charged and since convicted and jailed for the World Trade Center bombing, Mohammad Aboulhima, Mohammad Salameh, Nidal Ayyad and Ahmad Ajaj, may be innocent victims of a government frame-up.

Attorneys for those convicted have maintained that the government's case is circumstantial at best, with no evidence or motive linking the accused with the bombing. The FBI and federal prosecutors have not as of yet responded to questions over the lack of warning of the attack on the Twin Towers, despite the strategic placement of their informant.

Two possible scenarios emerge. One: Salem is a rogue FBI informant who created the conspiracy to bomb the World Trade Center for the money his information about the plot (minus his role) would bring. An attorney for one of the convicted men told the SHADOW that Salem was an FBI informant from November of 1991 to the summer of 1992. The attorney says that the FBI became aware of the World Trade Center bombing plot through informant Salem during this period, but they refused to believe his information or to pay Salem's exorbitant fees. In fact, the feds claimed that they dropped Salem as an informant during the summer of 1992 after he refused or failed a lie detector test. This left Salem with a bombing plot but no one to sell it to.

According to the attorney, Salem let the plot that he hatched go forward and the World Trade Center was bombed so that he could get money and publicity. The attorney says that within 48 hours of the bombing, the FBI requested Salem to help them solve the case. Salem quickly pointed his finger at the defendants, all followers of Sheik Rahman.

So, who did it? From the above point of view, Salem constructed the bomb plot with those whom he subsequently set up. The U.S. government and its FBI were innocent bystanders who failed to prevent the carnage due to their unwillingness to take Salem's claims seriously, despite his close collaboration with Bureau agents for the better part of a year.

The other scenario looks like this: Informant Salem organized the bomb plot with the "supervision" of the FBI and the District Attorney as part of a classic entrapment setup. He befriended certain individuals, possibly some of the defendants, convinced



ANDREW WENDELL

them that his intentions to bomb the World Trade Center were sincere, and convinced them to get involved. The bomb goes off. Greedy Salem, with his ears still ringing, sells out his accomplices while attempting to sell more information to the Bureau. In order to protect him and their relationship, the FBI sequesters Salem and utilizes him against the real target of the FBI, Sheik Rahman.

In one of the taped conversations between Salem and "Special Agent" John Anticev, Salem refers to his and the Bureau's involvement in making the bomb that blew up the World Trade Center. As Salem is pressing for money while emphasizing his value as a Bureau asset, the conversation moves in and out of references to the bombing and the FBI's knowledge of the bomb making:

FBI: But ah, basically nothing has changed. I'm just telling you for my own sake that nothing, that this isn't a salary, but you got paid regularly for good information. I mean the expenses were a little bit out of the ordinary and it was really questioned. Don't tell Nancy I told you this. (Nancy Floyd is another FBI agent who worked with Salem in his informant capacity. The second tape obtained by the SHADOW is of a telephone conversation between Salem and Floyd-Ed.)

SALEM: Well, I have to tell her of course.

FBI: Well then, if you have to, you have to.

SALEM: Yeah, I mean because the lady was being honest and I was being honest and everything was submitted with receipts and now it's questionable.

FBI: It's not questionable, it's like a little out of the ordinary.

SALEM: Okay. I don't think it was. If that what you think guys, fine, but I don't think that because we was start already building the bomb which is went off in the World Trade Center. It was built by supervising supervision from the Bureau and the DA and we was all informed about it and we know that the bomb start to be built. By who? By your confidential informant. What a wonderful great case! And then he put his head in the sand I said "Oh, no, no, that's not true, he is son of a bitch." (Deep breath) Okay. It's built with a different way in another place and that's it.

FBI: No, don't make any rash decisions. I'm just trying to be as honest with you as I can.

SALEM: Of course, I appreciate that.

(Later in the conversation..)

SALEM: Did I ever falsify information to the Bureau?

FBI: Falsify? No.

SALEM: So everything in the information I supplied it, it's very excellent and correct. I was talking to Sayyid Nossair's (El Sayyid Nossair, acquitted in the killing of Rabbi Kahane, was convicted on related gun charges and is presently in Attica Prison-Ed.) wife yesterday and she's going to visit him today and I would be going to visit him next week as per the arrangement. What am I supposed to do this trip? I don't have money to do this trip and then to go over there and the guy will ask me to build a bomb again or to kidnap Ajaj again, or to get in touch of so and so to help me do so and so. Who will do that? Who else will do that?

FBI: Nobody. You're the only one who could do that.

(See FBI BOMBERS Continued On Page 23)

SQUATTERS TAKE ON REAL ESTATE MAGGOTS!!

By Chris Flash

On September 22nd, Community Board Three's (CB3) Land Use Committee meeting was surprised by the arrival of dozens of squatters and their supporters who greeted the board members with chants, whistles, yells and stink bombs. The squatters were expressing their displeasure and concern over a motion seeking their removal from their homesteaded buildings on East 13th Street. On the agenda that night was a proposal that CB3 "reaffirm the June 1990 resolution to place 535, 537, 539, 541, 543 and 545 East 13th Street on the HPD LISC/Enterprise Low Income Tax Credit Program and that the Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development Inc. be supported as the non-profit sponsor of this project..."

Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD), a real estate development group reportedly controlled by city councilman Antonio Pagán, has been trying to take over the 13th Street buildings since 1990. As part of their "D. Collazo Plaza" project, LESCHD wants to gut-renovate the buildings that now house more than 150 people from all walks of life to create 41 units of so-called "low-income" housing at a cost of \$3.9 million. According to LESCHD's project summary, "rents and/or income ranges may increase if area median income rises." (So much for "low-income" housing!!) In ten years, the buildings would remain in LESCHD and Pagán's hands and revert to market rate housing.

To accomplish this, they want to use a low-interest loan from the Department of Housing, Preservation and Development (HPD) and funding from LISC (Local Initiatives Support Corporation) and the Enterprise Foundation. According to the Low Income Tax Credit Program, LISC corporate donors and Enterprise investors provide funds for "low-income" housing projects in exchange for federal tax credits. The LISC money is used for renovations while the money from Enterprise is used to manage the renovated buildings.

In September 1990, squatters first learned of Pagán's plans on 13th Street when the Housing Committee of CB3 suddenly recommended that several housing development groups obtain "site-control" of certain city-owned buildings for participation in the LISC/Enterprise Tax Credit Program.

LISC subsequently backed out of financing the 13th Street buildings when squatters informed them that the buildings had been occupied since 1984.

Now, four years later, Pagán and LESCHD are trying to take the buildings again. This time, they are in a stronger position. Pagán is now a member of the city council, representing the newly redrawn District 2. He also chairs the Vacant Buildings Committee on the city council, which oversees the disposition of city-owned buildings to community "housing" groups like LESCHD.

The political makeup of Community Board 3 has changed greatly four years later. Once a mostly liberal and progressive group, the board is now dominated by Pagán appointees (as city councilman, he can appoint half of the board) or Pagán choices appointed by Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger. The executive members and officers on the board are all either Pagán appointees and/or his political allies. Several members of CB3 also live in Pagán-controlled and managed apartments and some work for LESCHD.

The board plays a major role in approving or disapproving housing projects and assigning "site control" of buildings to particular groups like LESCHD so that they can seek financing for building housing projects years before anything actually takes place.

To further expedite the D. Collazo project, the city council passed Resolution No. 510 on June 21st that waived public hearings required under ULURP (Uniform Land Use Review Procedure) and granted the buildings to LESCHD. The council found that "the present status of the property tends to impair the sound growth and development of the City of New York..."

The city council was responding to a request by HPD Commissioner Deborah Wright, who said in a May 25th letter to city council speaker Peter Vallone, "...[13th Street] contains vacant buildings whose deterioration negatively impacts on the surrounding neighborhood...This blighting influence...constitutes a serious and growing menace...Incentives are needed to induce the correction of these substandard, insanitary, and blighting conditions." HPD's attached Land Use Review Application repeatedly lied about the occupancy of the buildings, claiming



that they are all vacant.

With all of the advantages Pagán now has, squatters have quickly organized and diversified their response to this latest threat to their homes. On August 22nd, a group of activists went to the offices of LISC at 733 Third Avenue and the Enterprise Foundation at 888 Seventh Avenue demanding to meet with those in charge. They explained that by funding LESCHD's project, LISC and Enterprise were participating in evicting people from their homes. At LISC, New York president Marc Jahr agreed to meet with squatter representatives on September 7th. Enterprise's New York director Bill Frey agreed to meet, but later declined.

Next, a mass mailing was sent to all of LISC and Enterprise's donors informing them that the 13th Street residents have been there since 1984, that evictions would be without due process, and that Pagán has direct ties to LESCHD and the Collazo project in what appears to be a serious conflict of interest.

At the September 22nd CB3 meeting, squatters explained to the audience why they were there, what the board members were trying to do and the connections between board members, LESCHD and the D. Collazo Plaza project to councilman Pagán. With the help of 7th precinct cops, board members resumed their meeting. Long time Pagán flunky Roberto Caballero read a pre-written motion to approve giving the squats to Pagán's LESCHD and the other CB3 members voted along.

A week later, on September 29th, about 50 squatters and supporters marched from 13th Street to the full board meeting of CB3 at a public school on Essex Street, holding banners, playing drums and instruments and chanting "No Housing, No Peace!!" The auditorium was flooded with cops covering every exit and filling the balcony. Also seated throughout were plain-clothes cops.

Squatters appealed to board members to spare their homes, but their pleas fell on deaf ears. One read from a letter written by Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney to HPD Commissioner Wright, which read in part, "we cannot tolerate the prospect of government officials deploying the police force to deprive these homesteaders of their homes and possessions, without providing them warning requested that squatters at least be able to have their case heard in housing court rather than just be summarily evicted."

Squatter activist Michael Shenker attempted to address the audience as he did at the previous meeting, but was quickly arrested. From that point, demonstrators refused to remain silent. They approached the stage area, and the CB3ers retreated to the stage itself where they could hold their meeting out of earshot of the public. Cops lined the front of the stage to block them off. In

order to get rid of the them, CB3 chair and Pagán ally Luis Soler had the item dealing with the 13th Street squats moved to the top of the agenda. As expected, the board voted to approve the Land Use Committee's vote of the week before. Only one board member voted against the motion while two abstained from voting.

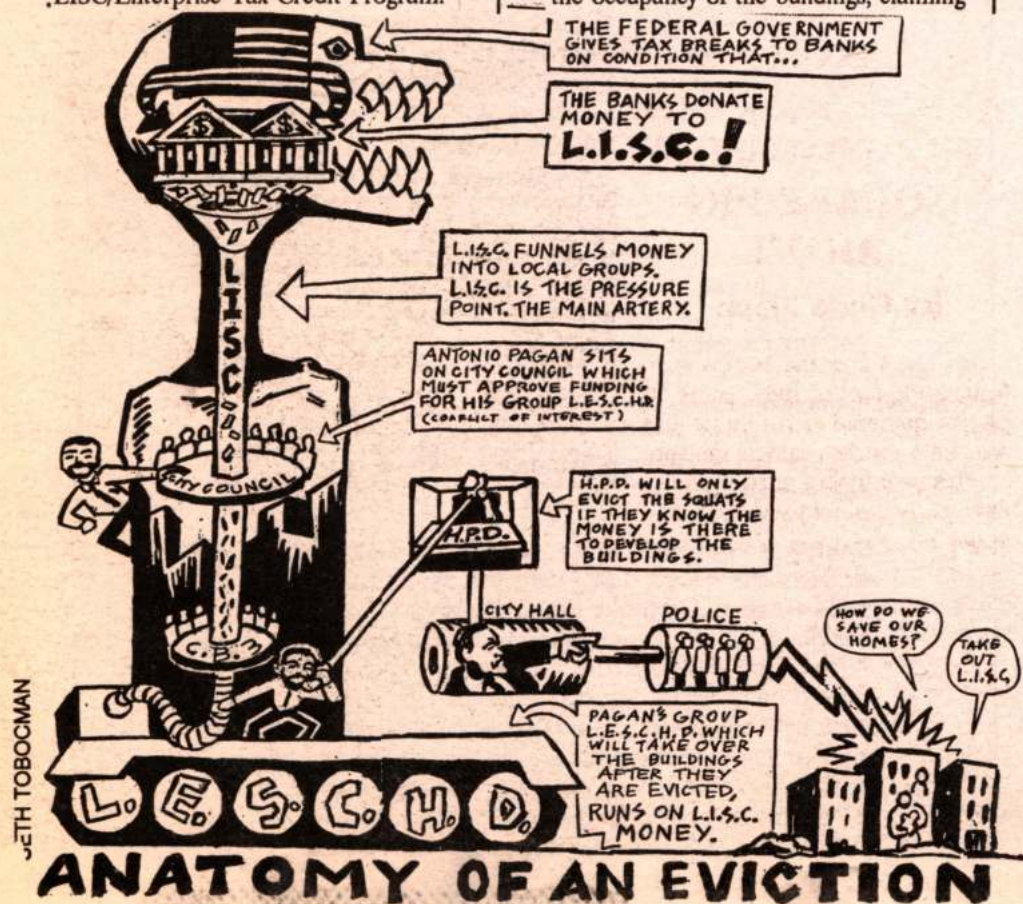
Failing to be heard or receive due process on the taking of their buildings, squatters then obtained a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) from NY State Supreme Court Judge Elliot Wilke, pending a hearing on a permanent injunction they are seeking against the D. Collazo project. Grounds for the injunction include: adverse possession (the city has known of the homesteaders' residency for more than ten years and has done nothing to remove them until now); the UDAP (Urban Development Action Program) characterization of the buildings as "vacant" and "blighted" are illegal and incorrect; the homesteaders' rights to due process have been ignored by the city; preventing the city's use of "self-help" evictions (using police force to remove tenants); failure by the city to honor squatters' FOIL (Freedom Of Information Law) requests seeking documents pertaining to the Collazo project. The TRO prevented eviction of the buildings until the squatters could argue their case in court.

Judge Wilke was well-known as a Housing Court judge in the 1970s-80s. In the 1980s, a group of landlords unsuccessfully lobbied the State Supreme Court to remove Wilke from the bench due to his mostly pro-tenant decisions.

On October 12th, squatters, represented by attorney Jackie Bukowski, met attorneys for HPD, LESCHD, and the city in Judge Wilke's court. Wilke questioned LESCHD's justification for evicting the homesteaders when their mandate claims to create housing. Wilke wondered aloud why the 13th Street residents couldn't remain in the buildings since they are already eligible for low income housing. Wilke added that it didn't make sense to create more homelessness in order to create housing for the homeless!!

The TRO was then extended to November 2nd. Later, at the city's request, it was extended further to November 16th. On that date, litigation will begin.

In the meantime, supporters of the 13th Street Homesteaders should call LISC at 212-455-9800 and Enterprise at 212-262-9575 and urge them to withdraw their funding from LESCHD and the D. Collazo Plaza project. The 13th Street Homesteaders vow to keep their homes from the clutches of LESCHD and Pagán, who reportedly plan to turn the buildings into co-op apartments in ten years!!



GIULIANI + PIGS ATTACK HARLEM PEDDLERS!!

By Barbara Lee + Chris Flash

Like countless immigrants before them, African-Americans and others try to make a living by selling their wares on the street. Suddenly, this form of free enterprise is under attack in New York City.

On the morning of October 17, vendors arrived at 125th Street to find the sidewalks from St. Nicholas Avenue to Fifth Avenue blocked off by riot cops and metal barricades. Several days earlier, Mayor Adolph Giuliani had announced his intention to use cops to stop sidewalk vendors from selling there, claiming he was acting on complaints by store owners and area residents. Chief Wilbur Chapman was quoted as saying, "the merchants requested that we restore tranquility."

Most of the businesses on 125th Street are owned by whites and Asians. Store owners feel that the vendors are making a dishonest living by not paying taxes, are keeping prospective customers from their stores and are leaving sidewalks and streets full of trash.

Clothing vendor Greg Jackson told the **SHADOW** that vendors are as important to the area as the stores are. He said, "We bring as much business to them as they bring to us." Jackson said that vendors attract people from different cities and states who are looking for bargains and that stores benefit from the overflow. Using nearby McDonald's, Ben & Jerry's and Blimpie's as examples of new businesses in the area, Jackson, who has been selling on 125th Street for four years, pointed out that the businesses have come to Harlem because people are attracted to the area by sidewalk vendors. "People could go to those places in their own neighborhoods," he said.

Addressing claims that vendors leave garbage behind, Jackson said "We clean these streets every night when we're done." As for taxes, Jackson explained that vendors pay tax when they buy the goods they resell and again when they spend the money they've earned from vending. Therefore, he said, "tax money is being earned by the city; money is being circulated."

Some in the community also have problems with the vendors, but this is not to say that all merchants and people in Harlem want the vendors to go. One black Muslim-owned business had a sign in their store window which said that people have a right to make a living and feed their families. Most people in fact support the vendors.

The night before October 17, vendors and their supporters were told that cops were coming the next morning to stop them from setting up. Some decided to stay out all night to beat the cops to the punch. An already heavy police presence, begun after Giuliani's first anti-peddler announcements, was getting larger.

Expecting trouble, many stores along 125th Street were closed the next morning. Some couldn't open due to locks filled with crazy glue and plaster. As a number of demonstrators grew in size and volume, the few Asian and White stores open pulled down their metal gates for fear of being attacked.

At the State Building (125th & Adam Clayton Powell Blvd.), a crowd consisting mostly of black vendors gathered to protest the police crack down. The group was led by Morris Powell of the 125th Street Vendors Association, who urged demonstrators to "keep it peaceful."

After more people gathered, the group of about 200 began a march west on 125th Street. At the corner of Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard, several



people were arrested and beaten by riot cops.

The demonstrators regrouped and another large rally was held. Hordes of riot cops and mounted police surrounded them. First, the cops said the rally had to stop, but then said people could speak, but without a bullhorn. Then they said that people could use the bullhorn. At the end of the rally, police said that people could march on the sidewalk as long as they didn't disturb store owners.

Powell and others effectively kept the demonstrators from losing their cool, but this was for nothing, since the cops had set them up. As soon as they reached the south west corner of 125th and 7th Avenue, demonstrators heard cops say "Get them!" The first person cops grabbed was Powell.

The cops were vicious, grabbing people and throwing them around like dogs. A gang of white cops beating up and arresting black people for trying to make a living made a disgusting spectacle. In the end, 22 people were arrested, mostly for "Disorderly Conduct" and "Resisting Arrest," the standard harassment charges brought by cops against those they dislike.

The city has since been trying to push vendors to move to two vacant city-owned lots on Lenox Avenue, between 116th and 117th Streets, an area much less travelled than 125th Street. Many vendors have refused to move there. Jackson told the **SHADOW** that vendors have fought and struggled to establish their presence on 125th Street for years, and that "there's nothing to attract people to a vacant lot on 116th Street." A battery and film vendor asked the **SHADOW**: "Who's going to come to a lot to buy batteries?"

The lots are managed by the nearby Masjid Malcolm Shabazz Mosque along with the Harlem Business Improvement District (BID), which charges vendors \$56 a week rent. The Mosque shares a percentage of the rental income with the city.

Already, the absence of vendors is affecting business on 125th Street. Stores are getting less business and tourists and out-of-towners are expressing disappointment that the vendors are gone. One visitor from Minnesota told *New York Newsday*, "It's [the vendors market] part of this area, isn't it? I don't know if it's a benefit to remove it." A boycott movement is also afoot to make store owners feel the same financial difficulties they have now caused the vendors. The boycott is expected to last until the vendors can return to 125th Street.

Meanwhile, cops plan to be on 125th Street every day to enforce the anti-peddling laws. But, Jackson told the **SHADOW**, "It will cost the city more to move us than let us stay. We're like roaches: when the lights go out, we'll come back."

KIDS BUILD DREAM BIKES AT THE SQUATTER COMMUNITY BIKE SHOP

By Peter Spagnuolo

While most mainstream exposure of the squatting phenomenon on the Lower East Side typically focuses on violent clashes with police or tumultuous community board meetings, one squatter living in the embattled East 13th Street homesteads has quietly provided the kids of his community with a vital, if unheralded service. Bill Stark, who has squatted at 539 East 13th Street for more than eight years, operates a fully functional, free bicycle clinic out of his homestead's storefront.

Packed with thousands of individual bike frames and wheels, stray parts, tools and equipment, the storefront virtually overflows with potential bicycles and the means to make them whole. "Kids hear about it from their friends and come by," says Stark. "They tell me what kind of bike they want, then they do the work -- with a little help." Whatever two-wheeling dreams the bicycle clinic's clients have in mind, Stark makes them a reality -- ten speeds, BMX-style, mountain bikes, and even custom creations.

In supervising the assembly process of each bike, Stark teaches the kids the basics of using hand tools and general bicycle maintenance. "All across the country in urban school districts, shop classes have been cut back or eliminated entirely due to limited funds, sometimes in favor of putting more money into computer labs, sometimes with nothing to replace them," says Stark. "The kids enjoy getting their hands on tools here -- they have respect for the tools and machinery. This week we built a new tool cabinet to keep things in, and they're good about putting the tools away." And for those bicycle hobbyists in the neighborhood in need of a little road maintenance at any hour, Stark leaves a basic complement of hand tools outside the clinic's door, chained to the wall for all to use. "They get used twenty-four hours a day," Stark grins.

For those kids who want a challenge, Stark's custom creations are exercises in applied engineering. A three-wheeled, two-person tandem bike utilizes a custom-made, Ackermann-frame style strut system to stabilize the steering, as found on expensive German sports cars. "The kids helped develop it through trial and error," he explains, "and some of them took it out in the 'Save the Gardens' parade this spring, showing it off to their friends. They were very proud of it." Stark points out the important role played by tandem and solo bicyclists in the nineteenth century "Good Roads Movement," helping to plot routes where only trails existed. In fact, the Grand Concourse in the Bronx started out as a sort of bicycle speedway.

Some of the other strange forms that have issued from the homestead bike clinic include a sort of plastic bathtub with handles mounted on two wheels -- a utility work bike -- and a nine-foot tall inverted peddling machine whose handlebar structure never fails to win strange looks on the street. "The kids get real excited about the custom bikes," Stark says. The latest use for bicycle technology Stark envisions will weld together discarded tube frames from broken bikes into a geodesic ball-form composting machine, which will turn garden compost over with a chain and crank system.

Stark gets the abandoned bicycles from regular trips to the suburbs in Long Island, where he says an average trip through one or two middle class housing areas will net more than a dozen unwanted bicycles. "The sanitation companies out there don't like to pick them up because the tubing is often too strong to crush easily, and they're awkward to deal with," he says. "We're trying to interest somebody in the city's Sanitation Department to work with us, maybe develop a system for strapping the bike frames to the sides of the trash compactor truck, then dropping them off here or at some central collection point where we can get to them."

While he is always looking for more frames and parts, on this Friday afternoon in October, the clinic is all but bursting with raw materials, and two teams of local grade-schoolers are out front on the sidewalk working at their dream bikes. Our conversation breaks off when one of the boys shouts out that his chain is too short. "You have to put some more links in," Stark calls back softly, then threads his way back through the storefront's tangle of riches.

(The bike shop is open after 2:00 pm on weekdays)

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TOMPKINS SQUARE PIG RIOT!!

By Chris Flash

Six years after the Tompkins Square Pig Riot of 1988, about 100 people gathered at 7th Street and Avenue A for their annual reunion.

This year, unlike at past reunions, cops did not try to stop a speak-out and metal jam that went on for hours. Chief Baumert, who was at the 1988 riot, opted to keep cops under control.

By 11:25, the Chief wanted the jam to stop, but jammers had already decided to move to another location. There were no arrests and no trouble, mostly because the cops were cool. Hard to believe, but true!



ANTONIO PAGÁN SUED FOR SIX MILLION DOLLARS!!

By Chris Flash



PAGÁN CELEBRATES PRIMARY ELECTION VICTORY (Congressman Jerold Nadler sits on right)

Once again, city council member and wealthy real estate developer Antonio ("Tony") Pagán is the subject of a lawsuit. This time, it could cost him as much as \$6,000,000.00!!

In the summer of 1993, Pagán was one of seven defendants in two separate lawsuits brought by six members of Community Board Three (Frances Goldin, Margarita Lopez, Lisa Kaplan, Robert Schoenbohm, Joyce Ravitz and Armando Perez) as a result of slanderous and defamatory statements that Pagán made about all of them in a letter to Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger and flyers and leaflets reportedly circulated by Pagán and his co-defendants (Nicholas Caturano, James Burke, Carlos Pérez, Carmen Barreto, Robert Barreto and Frank Consorte.)

Pagán's letter to Messinger came two days after a Community Board Three meeting on June 22, 1993, which erupted in violence when CB3 chair and Pagán flunky Luis Soler refused to allow any more speakers during the public session, although he had requested more than fifty people to sign up to speak. When a group of squatters loudly protested, Soler called in riot cops to beat and arrest them. Soler also ordered cops to arrest two board members, Margarita Lopez and Joyce Ravitz. (The charges against the women were later dropped and both have an additional pending suit against Soler and the NYPD.) (See SHADOW #29 for more--Ed.)

In his letter to Messinger, Pagán accused the six board members of helping to incite a riot at the June 22 board meeting, alleging that they were part of a "coordinated, vicious and dangerous attack." Beside saying that Lopez and Ravitz "decided to incite riot and melee," and that Lopez "has a past record of violent behavior," Pagán also claimed that the events at the CB3 meeting were "coordinated" by the squatters and the six board members. As soon as he sent the letter to Messinger, it was faxed all over town by Pagán as a press release before

Messinger could read it, let alone respond to it.

A defamation suit brought by Frances Goldin against Pagán and his co-defendants was considered settled when Pagán issued a statement signed by him and his co-defendants on October 5, 1993, admitting that his accusations in the Messinger letter and press release were not true and that he and his co-defendants were denouncing the flyers attacking Goldin as "scurrilous, vicious, cowardly, untrue and anti-democratic."

The defamation suit brought by the other plaintiffs was settled on August 3, 1994, when Pagán issued a statement that retracted his accusations against them, as well as his allegation of Lopez' "violent behavior," admitting that they too were "not true."

After the plaintiffs announced the settlement in September, local newspapers interviewed Pagán for his reaction. He told *The Villager* in its September 9 issue, "I apologized for nothing. It [his signed statements] says if I said anything not true or factual, I withdraw that. But I said nothing that was not factual or untrue..." Then, in the September 14 issue of *Manhattan Spirit*, Pagán said "It will be a cold day in hell before I apologize to them." He went on to say "Margarita Lopez does have a past record of violent behavior and the mouth of a trucker." He ended with: "There's nothing to apologize for -- these people were disruptive, facts are facts."

Since Pagán negated the settlement of the two lawsuits by repeating his allegations in public, the six original plaintiffs have now begun a new lawsuit against him in the amount of six million dollars. The new suit is being handled by attorney James Meyerson, who previously represented the family of graffiti artist Michael Stewart, who was murdered by transit cops in 1983. Meyerson told the SHADOW that the plaintiffs are each seeking \$500,000 for punitive damages and \$500,000 for compensatory damages.

Once again, it looks like Tony Pagán is his own worst enemy!!

ANTONIO PAGÁN: MILLIONAIRE?

By Chris Flash

City councilman Antonio Pagán is destined to become a very wealthy man (as if he weren't already!) Controlling "Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development" (LESCHD), a real estate development group, since 1988, Pagán has already amassed thirteen properties on the Lower East Side:

250 East 4th Street	33 Avenue D
252 East 4th Street	35 Avenue D
254 East 4th Street	37 Avenue D
181 East 2nd Street	39 Avenue D
183 East 2nd Street	67 Avenue D
187 Avenue B	69 Avenue D
189 Avenue B	

Not only does the city give him the buildings, but he also gets money (usually several hundred thousand dollars for each) for gut-renovating them into brand new apartments. Then the city gives him tenants for those buildings, which he can accept or reject. (He can also get units for friends and political allies). The rents from those tenants, most of whom are homeless or on welfare, is covered by city, state and federal agencies. After ten years of providing apartments to "low-income" tenants as defined by the city, Pagán and his group get to keep the properties!!

In a nutshell, the city is giving Pagán as a middle man the means to create temporary city/state/federally subsidized low-income housing of which ownership reverts to Pagán after only ten years. Pagán then has the option of renting or selling the units and/or buildings at the then prevailing market rate!!

PAGÁN SHUFFLES AN ALREADY STACKED DECK

This is already a great setup for Pagán, but he's got an even sweeter deal. According to Certificates of Incorporation and Certificates of Limited Partnership for Pagán's LESCHD, Coalition Plaza, Inc., and Coalition Plaza Limited Partnership filed by Pagán's attorneys and obtained by the SHADOW, Pagán has created a few sub-groups under the umbrella of LESCHD. Pagán, as president of Coalition Plaza, Inc., created the Coalition Plaza Limited Partnership in February of 1990. According to the papers, the Limited Partnership's business is "to acquire and hold title to certain real property...situated at 67-69 Avenue D...and 181-183 East 2nd Street, New York, New York..."

In the Limited Partnership, Pagán created two positions for himself: as the president of the General Partner (Coalition Plaza, Inc.), and as the Limited Partner of the Limited Partnership. As the Limited Partner, Pagán "contributed" \$99 to the Partnership. According to the papers, in exchange for his "contribution," Pagán was allocated 99% of the profits and losses and 50% of the net capital profits after expenses!! The Certificate of Limited Partnership was signed twice by Pagán, as the president of the General Partner and as the Limited Partner. Thus, Pagán in effect was able to set himself up as the owner of these properties for a mere "contribution" of \$99!!

Four months later, in June of 1990, Pagán withdrew as the Limited Partner of the Limited Partnership, but retained his position as president of the General Partner (Coalition Plaza, Inc.) He was replaced by National Equity Fund, Inc. (NEF) of Illinois. NEF's "contribution" to the Limited Partnership was \$1,222,464.00!! The allocation of profits remained the same.

National Equity Fund is a spin-off organization of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). NEF provides mortgage money for real estate development. LISC uses corporate donor money to fund development of "low-income" housing in exchange for federal tax credits that can be used by the donors. (LISC, along with the Enterprise Foundation, are Pagán's primary sources of funding for taking over the 13th Street squats--Ed.) It appears that an off-shoot of LISC has actually become partners with Pagán in the ownership of at least four buildings on the Lower East Side, buying their way in with \$1,222,464.00!!

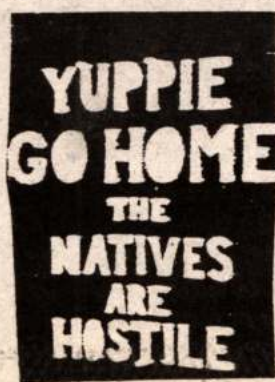
If this is hard to follow, it's probably meant to be that way. All the better for Pagán, who would most likely prefer that no one pay too close attention to all of his corporate maneuvers. With these sub-groups and paper shuffling, Pagán can claim that he no longer controls LESCHD now that he is on the city council. He may not be the executive director of LESCHD, (at least not on paper anyway), but through his sub-groups, Pagán retains control of his properties.

Meanwhile, squatters have been creating housing with their bare hands where none existed before at no cost to taxpayers. Not only do they stabilize their neighborhoods while empowering themselves and learning skills in the process, squatters are also helping to keep down the cost of living by maintaining inexpensive non-profit housing. (When a building is renovated and rented at market rate rents, other apartments and storefronts on the block and in the area are affected with rent increases. As this goes on, only higher income tenants can afford to live and shop in the formerly inexpensive neighborhood.)

Unlike Pagán, who has been trying to be able to sell his city-owned apartment at 7 East 3rd Street for a profit (he pays only \$75 a month), the squatters do not even consider the possibility of private ownership or profit making from their apartments. If a squatter wants to move, his or her unit gets passed on to another low or zero income person or family.

In the next few years, if Pagán and his handlers have their way, the Lower East Side will become completely gentrified, landlords will get maximum rents as tenants and small business owners struggle to pay them and survive, close knit communities will be gone, the poor and homeless will be shipped away somewhere, and Pagán will have a huge portfolio of valuable real estate, all provided with taxpayer money.

Pagán can now have the best of both worlds -- he speculates and makes millions in the name of the poor and comes out smelling like a rose. Could any other speculator get away with this?



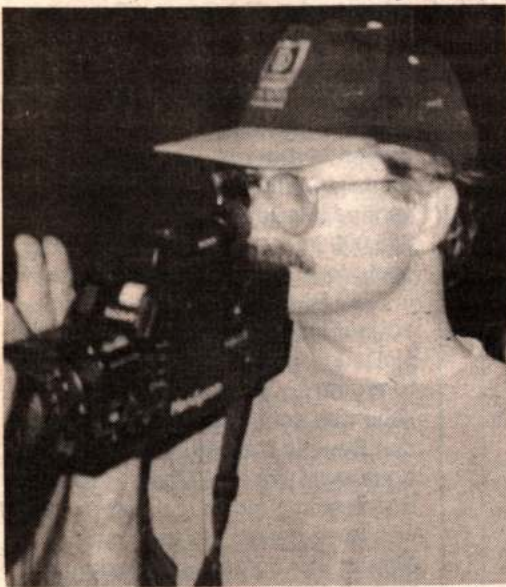
THE SHADOW NEVER SLEEPS!!

WHO IS THIS VIDEO CREEP?

--OR--

HOW CONNECTED REAL ESTATE SPECULATORS KEEP THEIR STATUS QUO

By Gabby Sloan



FLASH FOTO

This slimy character was seen videotaping the Community Board 3 meeting on September 29, making a special effort to film demonstrators. When asked to identify himself and who he was filming for, he refused. We decided to investigate and found out a whole lot more!!

SHADOW sources reveal that his name is David Pentecost. He lives with his wife, Lyn (nee Tiefenbacher) at 52 East 1st Street. (Their telephone number is: 673-1666.)

Mrs. Pentecost, a long time ally of city councilman Antonio Pagán, is a member of his anti-homeless "Tompkins Square Neighborhood Coalition" and is on the board of directors of Pagán's Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD), a real estate development group seeking the removal of residents from the 13th Street squats. According to Pentecost herself, the purpose of her husband's filming at CB3 was to show

LESCHD's corporate donors that people demonstrating at the meeting were involved in the 1988 Tompkins Square Pig Riot!!

52 EAST 1ST STREET: DEN OF THIEVES?

The Pentecosts seem to have no problem doing their share toward helping the eviction of low and zero income residents of buildings repaired by those residents at no cost to the city, but just how did they get their nice apartment?

52 East 1st Street is a formerly city-owned apartment building that became a low-income co-op (regulated under Section 576, Article XI of the Private Housing Finance Law) acquired by Lyn Pentecost and others through their "East 1st Street Homesteaders Housing Development Fund" for only \$2,000 in 1983. That comes out to \$250 per apartment—not a bad deal!!

When you consider that Lyn has made money from her independent filmmaking, that David has a nice job with CBS-TV (according to Lyn), it seems that they have improved their lives by not having to pay market rate rent as so many other New Yorkers must.

The Pentecost's fellow building residents include Lisa Kaplan and Martha Danziger. Kaplan, a long time housing activist on the Lower East Side, has been associated with the Joint Planning Council and Pueblo Nuevo, and is a member of CB3. Danziger, a long-time ally of Pagán who recommended him as the new head of LESCHD in 1988, has been the District Manager of CB3 since 1982, grossing more than \$800 a week for this political appointment. (See SHADOW #11 for more on Danziger—Ed.) Both of these persons have a longtime antagonism toward squatters who are trying to eke out a cheap living space, just like they did.

A SHADOW source reveals that while 52 East 1st Street was part of a "sweat equity" program, many of the building's residents simply used their money to hire other people to do the sweating for them. They now live in beautiful apartments, such as the lovely duplex apartment occupied by the Pentecosts.

The deed for 52 East 1st Street contains a restrictive covenant that prohibits the selling of the units for a profit. According to another SHADOW source, a dispute between building residents resulted when Danziger and Mrs. Pentecost, wanting to sell their units, attempted to get HPD (Department of Housing, Preservation and Development) to set aside the restriction, which reads in part:

"[the building's co-op board] promises to operate the premises solely as a housing project for families of low income...for 15 years from the date of deed."

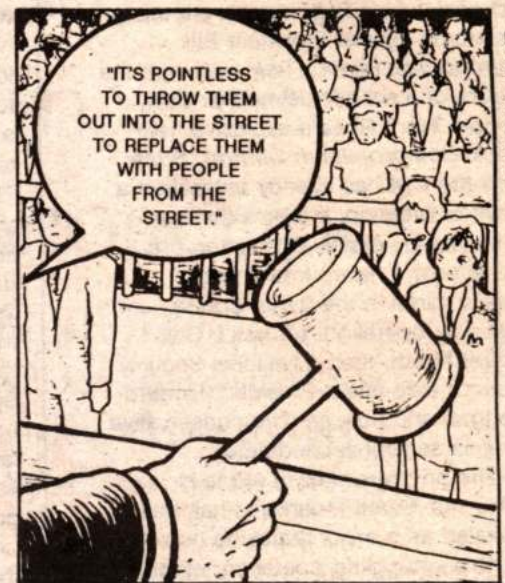
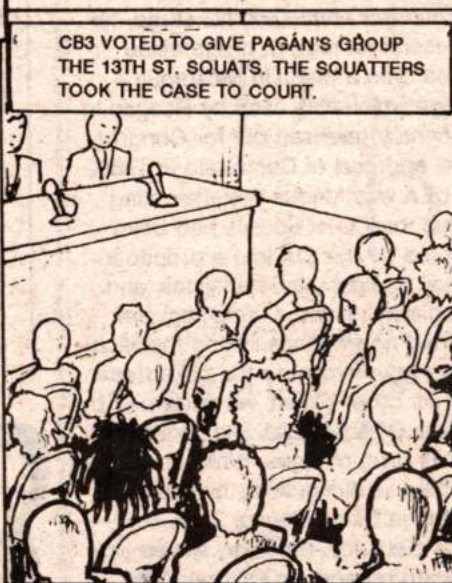
Only two blocks away, Danziger and Pentecost's buddy Antonio Pagán has been trying to do the same thing with his city-owned apartment at 7 East 3rd Street, Apt. #10, where he pays about \$75 a month in rent!!

Four years from now, Danziger and Pentecost will be free to reap their profits anyway. (To her credit, Kaplan is the only person on CB3 to oppose Pagán's heading of LESCHD in 1988, and she joined other residents of 52 East 1st Street in trying to prevent Danziger and Pentecost from selling their units for a profit.)

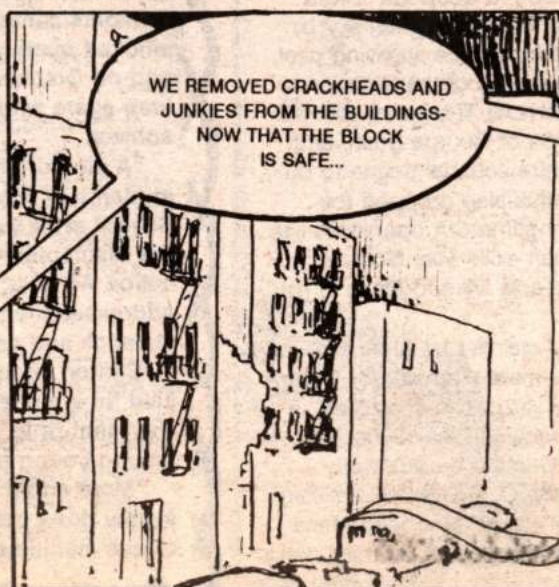
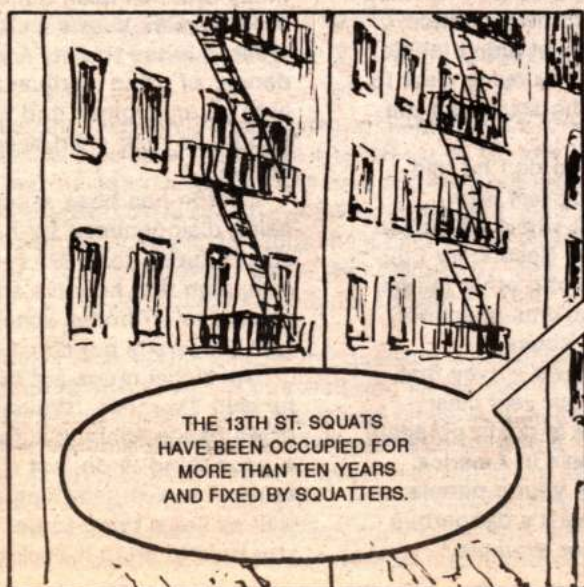
According to other SHADOW sources, members of Community Board 3 are regularly offered inexpensive apartment units and buildings as "insider" deals. The source adds: "Them who has, gets."

Incredibly, Mrs. Pentecost was quoted by the New York Observer and Manhattan Spirit as saying that "it is a matter of reclaiming stolen property...the buildings belong to the city."

Considering the incomes of the Pentecosts, Danziger and Pagán, where do they get off living in cheap housing meant for low-income residents while at the same time claiming that squatters are stealing housing?



LYAN ABBEMA





CLINTONGATE: THE ARKANSAS MOB & THE CONTRA-COCAINE CONNECTION

By Bill Weinberg

Barry Seal was certainly involved in a lot of shady business during the years that he frequented Mena. The millionaire smuggler beat a 1982 bust by offering his services to the DEA. In 1984, flying a coke shipment north as part of a DEA sting against Medellin Cartel figures, he was instructed by syndicate bosses to stop in Nicaragua, then under the leftist Sandinista regime that the Reagan administration was trying to destabilize. Seal unloaded his contraband cargo, then returned to the US where the *Fat Lady* was fitted with

The tedious Whitewater financial scandal, which Republicans are using as ammo against President Bill Clinton, has taken a new twist with the claims of a self-proclaimed ex-CIA spook. Terry Reed's explosive new book *Compromised: Clinton, Bush and the CIA* has already unleashed a wave of litigation. It claims that as Arkansas governor, Bill Clinton presided over a network of financial sleaze mired in the illegal Contra resupply operation run by Lt. Col. Oliver North, then a National Security Council aide under President Ronald Reagan and now an ultra-conservative Virginia senatorial candidate.

The private airfield at Mena in Arkansas' Ozark Mountains has been revealed as a major stateside hub for North's smuggling operation, which turned Medellin Cartel cocaine into a top cash cow for the right-wing Nicaraguan Contra rebels. But was Governor Clinton really involved?

The Contra Connection

Terry Reed claims that the Mena airfield was the center of an elaborate Arkansas-based shadow operation to arm and train the Contras -- part of the masterplan pioneered by then-Vice President George Bush and late CIA chief Bill Casey to make covert action unaccountable to Congress by using private money and facilities. Reed's book details Reed's role in the operation with such figures as the notorious smuggler Barry Seal, who frequently serviced and unloaded his C-123 cargo plane, the *Fat Lady*, at Mena.

hidden cameras by the CIA. When he returned from retrieving his cargo, he had secret footage of drugs being loaded onto a plane in Nicaragua -- footage which was used by Reagan in a nationally televised bid for Congressional approval of Contra aid in 1986. The DEA was furious that their sting against the Cartel bosses had been co-opted by the CIA into a propaganda ploy against the Sandinistas, and immediately issued a statement that they had no evidence linking the Nicaraguan government to the coke trade. Seal, his cover blown, was dropped by both the DEA and CIA and sent to face his drug charges. While on probation, he was blown away by unknown gunmen in Baton Rouge.

The *Fat Lady*, however, stayed in the North network. In October 1986, laden with Contra weapons, it was blown out of the Nicaraguan sky by Sandinista troops. The surviving pilot, Eugene Hasenfus of the CIA's privatized Southern Air Transport, claimed the protection of George Bush, and the Iran-Contra scandal began to unravel. Hasenfus also dropped the names of longtime CIA operatives like rightist Cuban exile Max Gomez, whom Reed now links to Mena in his book.

But Reed claims that Arkansas, more than a mere stopover for smugglers, was a virtual CIA-controlled "banana republic" in the 1980s. He claims that Contra guerillas were brought to the Ozarks for paramilitary training, that the skies around Mena served as a pilot school for the Contra

"air force," and that Arkansas businesses were co-opted into mass-producing untraceable pirate M-16 machine guns to be smuggled down to Nicaragua. And Reed says Governor Clinton presided over the money-laundering needed to hide these operations, using the pay-offs to grease the wheels of his statewide patronage machine.

The Clinton Connection

Reed details one meeting with Governor Clinton in the parking lot of a Little Rock Mexican restaurant to discuss payments. The governor, says Reed, sat in the swivel seat of a van taking on a marijuana cigarette.

Reed claims some \$40 million per month in CIA pay-offs was channeled into the governor's administration through wealthy Clinton supporters -- most prominently Little Rock investment banker Dan Lasater, who employed Bill's brother Roger Clinton as a chauffeur. Roger was later busted for cocaine trafficking, and subsequently cooperated in a state police sting against Lasater. Lasater served two-and-a-half years on a cocaine charge before he was pardoned by Governor Clinton in 1990. Lasater is now back in business. His Little Rock-based Phoenix Group is bidding for assets seized by the feds during the S&L crisis.

Reed traces much of the pay-off money through the Arkansas Development Finance Authority, Clinton's vehicle for the industrial development of the poor rural state. ADFA, created by Governor Clinton in 1985 with no legislative oversight or government regulation, issued municipal bonds which were frequently underwritten by Lasater's brokerage firm.

Reed details a network of Arkansas industries allegedly co-opted by North's operation. One, the Iver Johnson arms company of Little Rock, was, in fact, censured by the government for an illegal arms shipment to Nicaragua in the 1980s. More closely linked to Clinton is the Rockville-based Park-O-Meter parking meter company, which did produce some gun parts for Iver Johnson. But both companies deny Reed's allegation that they were involved in production of pirate M-16s for the Contras.

Park-O-Meter, which Reed says received massive ADFA-laundered pay-offs, was owned by one Seth "Skeeter" Ward, the father-in-law of

Webster Hubbell, a partner in Little Rock's powerhouse Rose law firm. Bill's wife Hillary Clinton was also a Rose partner.

Whether or not CIA money was involved, Hubbell's dealings with the Clintons reek of incestuous Arkansas machine politics. In 1989, Hubbell was appointed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to oversee settlement of the financial mess left behind by the collapse of the Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan, owned by James McDougal, Clinton's partner in the failed Whitewater real estate venture. McDougal, who raised \$35,000 in contributions to pay back costs for Clinton's 1984 re-election bid in Little Rock, was appointed an advisor in the governor's office. When McDougal's Madison Guaranty began to crumble, Clinton had the state securities commissioner replaced with one Beverly Bassett, who had earlier done legal work for Madison Guaranty. Representing McDougal before Bassett was Rose partner Hillary Clinton. Bassett, not surprisingly, approved McDougal's plan for a favorable audit of Madison Guaranty. The S&L squeaked by until the FDIC moved in -- this time with Rose partner Hubbell overseeing the operation. Hubbell now occupies the number three slot in President Clinton's Justice Department.

According to Reed, duffel-bags of pay-off money were airdropped at night onto a ranch owned by Ward and overseen by another son-in-law, Finis Shellnut. Reed says the CIA's "handler" for the Arkansas operation was Bush's future US Attorney General William Barr, who went by the code name "Robert Johnson." Barr denies the story, but admits that he has worked for the CIA.

CIA grease could explain why the liberal Democrat Clinton in 1988 issued Arkansas Traveller certificates -- "key-to-the-city"-style honors -- to Contra commander Adolfo Calero and top Contragate operative Gen. John K. Singlaub.

In one explosive sequence, Reed describes a 1986 secret meeting between the CIA boys and Governor Clinton in a bunker at the Army's Camp Robinson outside Little Rock. The CIA boys told the governor that the Mena operation was to be moved to a new location south of the border in Mexico and that the Arkansas money pipeline was to be cut off. Clinton protested that he had taken risks to accommodate the operation, and didn't want it to end. Barr/ "Johnson" read the governor the riot act.

"This has turned into a feeding frenzy by your good ole boy sharks,

CLINTON TO AMERICAN YOUTH: DON'T INHALE!!

FRAMINGHAM, Mass (Reuter): Much has been said about President Clinton's admission that he once smoked marijuana but didn't inhale, and on October 20 he made clear to teen-agers where he stands on the subject.

"A stupid thing to do," he told students at Framingham High School at an event where he signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that, among other things, addresses the problems of school violence and drug abuse.

Clinton cited a new survey that said "in a modest but very clear way" that drug use is going up again among young people in America.

"More and more young people simply don't believe it's dangerous to use marijuana for example."

Clinton said. "Let me tell you something, every single scientific study that has been done in the last several years shows alarming increases in the toxicity and the danger of using marijuana, especially to young women and what might happen to their child-bearing capacity."

Clinton has been accused of being disingenuous for having stated during the 1992 presidential campaign that he once smoked marijuana as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University but didn't inhale.

"All illegal drugs are dangerous," he said Thursday. "We have to drive down usage again. It's got to be not a good thing to do, not a cool thing to do. It is a stupid thing to do, as well as illegal thing to do, and I want you to help bring it back down."

and you've got a hand in it too, Mr. Clinton," Barr snapped. "Our deal with you was to launder our money through your bond business...10 percent of the profits, not 10 percent of the gross. No one agreed for you to start loaning out our money to your friends through your ADFA...We didn't count on Arkansas becoming more difficult to deal with than most banana republics."

The Cover-Up

Arkansas State Police and DEA records both note Seal's frequent presence at Mena. Former IRS investigator **William Duncan** told the *Washington Post* he documented \$250,000 laundered through local banks in Mena by Seal's network to pay for upkeep of his personal planes. "I can assure you there was a cover up," Duncan, who resigned from the IRS after clashing with his superiors over the Mena case, told the *Washington Post*.

Criminal investigations into the Mena affair have proved fruitless, and have left a trail of investigators embittered by official roadblocks. Following pressure by then-Arkansas Rep. **Bill Alexander**, Congress' General Accounting Office opened a probe in 1988. Within four months, the probe was shut down under pressure from the National Security Council. In 1991, Arkansas Attorney General **Winston Bryant** contacted Iran-Contra prosecutor **Lawrence Walsh** with what he called "credible evidence" of smuggling, money-laundering, conspiracy and cover-up at Mena. Within a year-and-a-half, Walsh sent Bryant a letter, saying without explanation that he had closed his Mena investigation. Arkansas state police investigator **Russell Welch** pursued the Mena case for over a decade, but claims his superiors pressured him to drop the case. Local Polk County prosecutor **Charles Black** told the CBS Evening News that he met with Clinton in 1988 to request aid for his Mena probe. "His response was that he would get a man on it and get back to me," said Black. "I never heard back."

White House spokesman John Podesta denies the whole affair. He told the *Washington Post* that Reed's allegations are "Oliver North meets Oliver Stone."

The BCCI-Sex Scandal Connection

The ADFA was set up, in part, to break the stranglehold of Little Rock financial mogul **Jackson Stephens** over the state bond-underwriting market. During Clinton's presidential bid, the *New York Post* would report that Stephens, a major Clinton campaign contributor, had helped broker the illegal take-over of two US banks by the Pakistan-based Bank of Credit & Commerce International (BCCI).

Stephens and partner **Bert Lance**, White House budget chief for former President **Jimmy Carter**, were censured by federal authorities for skirting disclosure requirements in their BCCI deals. BCCI collapsed in 1991 after revelations that it was hiding dirty money for the Medellin Cartel and criminal organizations worldwide.

Reed claims that Clinton's ADFA picked up some of the BCCI's money in secret loans which were funneled into the patronage mill. Reed even says that some of the funds missing from BCCI's coffers during the government investigation into the scandal had been dropped out of the sky by Barry Seal over Skeeter Ward's ranch.

Clinton's alleged sex affair with **Gennifer Flowers** also fits into the web of conspiracy. During the 1992 presidential race, *People* magazine aired allegations that Flowers was the girlfriend of Skeeter Ward's ranch caretaker and son-in-law **Finis Shellnut**.

The Clinton-Flowers affair was first made public by top ADFA official **Larry Nichols**, fired in 1992 when Clinton alleged that he had made hundreds of unauthorized calls to Nicaragua at state expense. Nichols, fingered by Reed as a Contra operative, spilled the beans about Bill and Gennifer to get even.

The Body Trail

Televangelist **Jerry Falwell** is distributing a lurid video on a trail of dead bodies in Arkansas circles linked to Clinton, claiming a violent mob is trying to protect the President's ass through violent intimidation. In May 1994, **Kathy Ferguson** was found dead of a gunshot wound -- alleged by police to be suicide -- five days after her ex-husband, Arkansas state trooper **Danny Ferguson**, was named as a co-defendant in **Paula Jones'** sexual harassment suit against Clinton. In June, Arkansas police officer **Bill Shelton**, Kathy Ferguson's alleged boyfriend, was found dead, sprawled on Kathy's grave. In June 1994, Memphis attorney **Stanley Huggins**, who had conducted a private investigation of the Madison Guaranty S&L in 1987, was found dead in Delaware of "natural causes" at the age of 46. In August 1993, **Jon Walker**, a federal investigator probing links between the Clintons and Madison Guaranty, fell to his death from a skyscraper in Arlington, VA. In September 1993, **Jerry Parks**, security chief at Clinton's Little Rock presidential campaign office and once Bill's personal troubleshooter, was pumped full of bullets by unknown assailants on a Little Rock street. In June 1992, **Gary Johnson**, Gennifer Flowers' next-door-neighbor, was beaten up so badly he had to have his spleen removed. **Dennis Patrick**, who testified under oath that his account at Dan Lasater's brokerage firm was used to illegally transfer over \$12

million without his knowledge or consent, has survived three attempts on his life, and four men have been arrested by the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms in plots to kill him.

In July 1992, **C. Victor Raiser II**, national finance co-chair of Clinton's presidential campaign, was killed in an Alaska airplane accident. In December 1992, **Jim Wilhite**, close friend and business associate of White House Chief of Staff and longtime Clinton buddy **Mack McLarty**, was killed in a skiing accident in Aspen, CO. Wilhite was vice president of Arkla, a natural gas company run by McLarty, which controlled Houston's University Federal S&L. Arkla is being sued by the federal government to reimburse taxpayers for the bailout of University Federal.

In June 1993, the partially decomposed body of attorney **Paul Wilcher** was found in his Washington apartment. Wilcher had been investigating links between Mena, the "October Surprise" scandal and the federal assault on the Branch Davidian compound at Waco, TX. And all four of the BATF agents killed at Waco had been assigned to Clinton's personal security during the presidential race.

The Vincent Foster Connection

The most notorious death in the Clinton inner circle was the apparent suicide of White House Deputy Counsel and another longtime Clinton buddy, **Vincent Foster**. As a partner in the Rose law firm, Foster had represented such Arkansas economic pillars (and top Clinton contributors) as Tyson chicken and the Stephens family empire. Persistent Washington rumors had Foster in a sex affair with his one-time Rose partner **Hillary Clinton**. After his body was found in a federally-run Washington park in July 1993, the *New York Post* ran a series of articles maintaining that the forensic evidence does not jibe with the official

suicide account. The federal Park Police have not revealed who first discovered the body; nor has the gun found in Foster's hand been identified.

When FBI agents showed up at the White House hours after Foster's death, his boss, White House Counsel **Bernard Nussbaum**, cited "executive privilege" and took charge of the search of Foster's office. When Nussbaum and his personal search crew started spiriting papers related to Whitewater out of the office to the Clintons' personal lawyer, claiming they were not relevant to the suicide investigation, federal police called Attorney General **Janet Reno** to protest. Reno sent two Justice Department officers to the White House to "negotiate" the search.

Among the two White House aides who helped Nussbaum search Foster's office was **Patsy Thomasson**, once Dan Lasater's legal representative and executive of his Phoenix Group. Called upon to testify in the House of Representatives' Whitewater probe, Thomasson is also under suspicion in a federal investigation of alleged Phoenix Group insider-trading related to Tyson Foods' take-over of an Arkansas fishery in a deal organized by the Rose law firm.

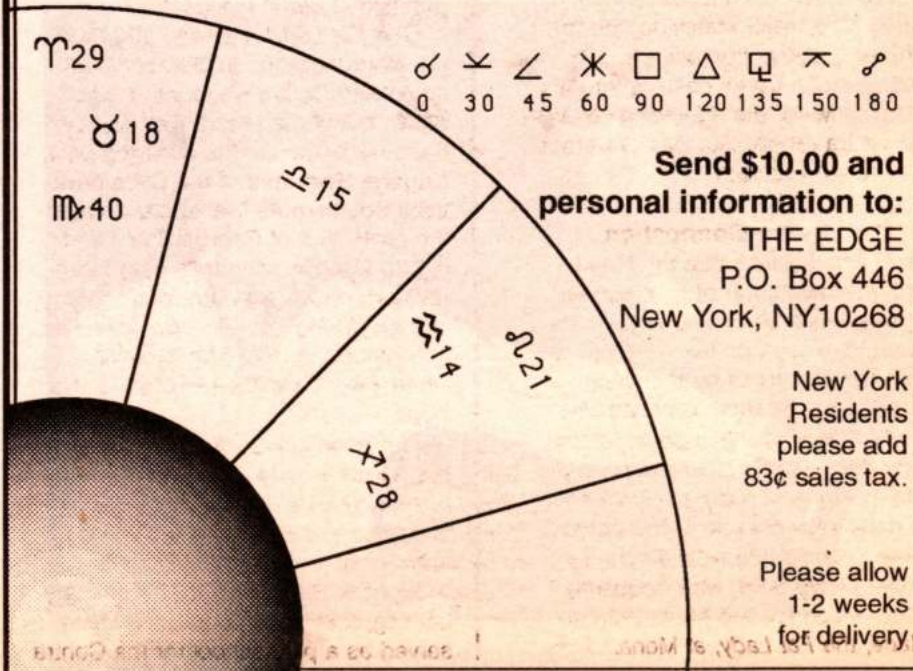
The Foster death has also been linked to a string of mysterious "suicides" of military servicemen whose families are charging murder and government cover-up of illegal gun-and-drug running within the armed services. In January 1993, Little Rock reporter **Sean Harrison** gave Clinton a series of newsclips on the hanging of two young sailors from Arkansas whose parents deny the Navy's allegations of suicide. Clinton told Harrison he would have someone look into the deaths. That someone was Vincent Foster.

Foster alerted Pentagon investigators, but 11 Senators are now calling for an investigation independent of the

(See CLINTONGATE Continued on Page 23)

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CLINTON PLAYS DUMB!!

(Press Conference by the President in the East Room of the White House, 2:00 P.M. EDT October 7, 1994)

Question: Sir, the Republicans are trying to blame you for the existence of a small air base in Arkansas. This base was set up by George Bush and Oliver North and the CIA to help the Iran Contras, and they brought in a plane load of cocaine there for sale in the United States. And then they took the money and bought weapons and took them back to the Contras, all of which was illegal, as you know, under the —. But tell me, did they tell you that this had to be in existence because of national security?

The President: Well, let me answer the question. No, they didn't tell me anything about it. The airport in question and all the events in question were the subject of state and Federal inquiries. It was primarily a matter for Federal jurisdiction; the state really had next to nothing to do with it. A local prosecutor did conduct an investigation based on what was within the jurisdiction of state law. The rest of it was under jurisdiction of the United States Attorneys who were appointed successively by previous administrations. We had nothing, zero, to do with it. And everybody who's ever looked into it knows that.

COMMUNITY BOARD 3 WATCH:

(Where real estate interests, poverty pimps, aspiring politicians and politically-appointed narrow-minded uptight anal-retentive conservative assholes meet to wreak havoc on the Lower East Side)

By Stuart Frankel

One of the least attractive features of CB3 is its continual incest. Board members from various "non-profit" groups vote to give city-owned buildings to each other. Right-wingers (a narrow majority on the board) of course support all these plans in order to run the truly disenfranchised out of the neighborhood. People or groups who are not part of this loose-knit cabal are frozen out.

This kind of corruption encourages sleaziness, even in well meaning people. By all accounts, CB3 member Roberto Caballero used to be genuinely concerned about housing in the neighborhood, but a letter from attorney Mayne Miller, distributed at the September 29 meeting in the auditorium of Public School 20 on Essex Street, indicates that his group Pueblo Nuevo has been engaged in sneaky and probably illegal tactics in order to grab buildings.

The profiteering of city council rep Antonio Pagán (who gets to appoint half of the members of CB3) is the most extreme. Most of his appointees on the board represent his interests. They either work for or are associated with his "housing" group "Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development" (LESCHD) and/or they live in apartments managed by LESCHD and/or they are his political allies. Owing what little clout they have to Pagán, they always vote as they are told, to further the illusion of "community" input on the board.

The most amazing thing is not that outsiders are not in the running for the goodies, but that the board doesn't think that outsiders are worthy of respectful or dignified treatment.

This is what happened to a Baptist church group which made a desperate and angry appeal for a city-owned building at 139-141 Avenue D, the former Glass House squat that was evicted by the city on February 1. CB3 had already decided to turn the building over to groups run by two of its members, Elizabeth García-Cartegena (Loisaida, Inc.) and Roberto Caballero (Pueblo Nuevo), but the Baptists were told to submit a written proposal anyway.

They did as they were told and got a series of rude brush-offs. No one would even respond to their proposal; CB3 District Manager Martha Danziger and Board Chair Luis Soler refused to return numerous phone calls. A Reverend Joan used the public session at the September 29 CB3 meeting to complain about the lack of respectful treatment. Soler kept looking at his watch impatiently. When the two minute bell went off, signaling that her speaking time was up, Soler tried to snatch away the microphone.

The Reverend pulled away from Soler and she refused to let go of the mike. With that, Soler said "That bitch calls herself a Reverend?" Unfortunately for Soler, he was heard by a member of her congregation who confronted him and demanded he take it back. At first, Soler tried to play tough, saying "I called her a fuckin' bitch and she's a fuckin' bitch."

As Soler reared back to punch the man (insuring his second arrest for assault in 3 months - Soler has a habit of this sort of thing), some cops quickly forced their way to Soler's side. (He probably would have gotten his ass kicked anyway!) They hauled him up onto the stage in front, one carrying him by his arms and one by his legs, and dumped him unceremoniously on the stage floor. Hundreds in the audience shouted, "Arrest Luis Soler!!" but the cops just let him lie in a clump until they decided who should be taken away. Soler, expecting to be arrested again, (he was nailed on July 17 after assaulting another woman), stayed put when cops ordered him not to move. Eventually, they chose to arrest the church member instead of Soler, who went on to chair the meeting.

The Baptists tried to encourage the audience to vote CB3 out, but were told that the board is appointed, not elected, and therefore not accountable to the public. When Soler had calmed down enough to take the mike, his voice was almost an octave higher than normal.

The many squatters and their supporters present, who had been expected to cause a major disruption, didn't rattle Soler nearly as much, probably

because he had been through the same thing before. A week earlier, squatters and their supporters expressed their displeasure at a Land Use Committee meeting also chaired by Soler over an agenda item recommending that five occupied squat buildings on East 13th Street be given to Pagán's Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development. This time, there were scores of cops present to help Soler keep control.

The squatters dominated the September 29 public session with several speakers trying to appeal to board-members' sense of decency. This of course was futile, since you can't appeal to something that isn't there. Besides, it didn't matter what anyone said because the fix was in and as usual, most of the board doesn't listen to public comments anyway.

Squatter activist Michael Shenker attempted to address the audience and was promptly arrested after ignoring Soler's demands that he sit down. (In previous meetings, Soler has let his supporters speak after public session was supposed to be over.) From that point on, members of the audience refused to remain silent. Some approached the stage area, and the board members retreated onto the stage at Soler's behest. Cops lined the front of the stage to block off demonstrators while the board continued their meeting behind police lines.

In order to get rid of the demonstrators, Soler had the agenda item concerning the 13th Street squats moved to the top. Predictably, the board members voted to approve the Land Use Committee's recommendation from the week before. Only two board members abstained from voting, only one of whom expressed concern over the fate of the residents of the 13th Street squat buildings if they get evicted.

In the (slightly) larger world of politics, Pagán had a difficult time in the recent congressional primary election. He wasn't running, of course, but he had to back someone. The incumbent and favorite to win (and eventual winner) was Nydia Velázquez. Velázquez and Pagán are not on good terms. She used to be his boss years ago at the office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in Manhattan. She fired him, reportedly for violating confidential personnel records. During her first run for Congress two years ago, someone released her private medical records to the press, and that person is widely believed to have been Pagán. Of course, Pagán backed her opponent in the recent election, someone named Pedro Velázquez. (Gosh, do you think the last name is just a coincidence just to confuse the voters? Nah, that would be too sneaky!) Pedro is an openly gay cop stationed at the 9th precinct, although he doesn't live in the neighborhood (he would have had to move here if he had been elected). Friends of his say he is a nice person (maybe that's why they're his friends), but clueless. Most of his money came from right-wing Cubans in Florida, since Nydia is a strong supporter of lifting the economic embargo against Cuba, but Pedro was reported to be oblivious. The irony here is that Pedro's lover used to work for the Hispanic AIDS Forum, an organization co-founded by Pagán which did nothing except attract funding, and he reportedly hates Pagán because of Pagán's greed and grandstanding. Some friends of Pedro are encouraging him to run against Pagán for city council.

(The next Community Board 3 meeting is on Tuesday, November 22 at The Educational Alliance at 197 East Broadway. Telephone number: 212-533-5300.)



PAGÁN FLUNKIES TURN GARDEN INTO PRIVATE PARKING LOT!!

By Gabby Sloan

Beside acquiring city-owned properties on the Lower East Side for nothing, "Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development" (LESCHD), the real estate development group controlled by city councilmember Antonio Pagán that is trying to take over the 13th Street squats, manages some city-owned properties. Behind a row of buildings managed by LESCHD along East Tenth Street, between Avenues B and C is a public garden for tenant recreation that faces East 9th Street.

In mid-October, a crew of workers claiming to be following Pagán's orders converted the public garden into a private parking lot for LESCHD workers' vehicles. Neighborhood residents told the SHADOW that in order to accomplish their task, the crew cut down a parking sign and a tree in front, and even removed a car that was parked in front. They then installed roll-down gates over both garden door ways and painted a yellow line on the curb and "No-No Parking, Driveway" on the sidewalk.

According to neighbors, the garden is now used by the LESCHD superintendents to drink and hang out as they keep their trucks, vans and their bosses' cars there.

The SHADOW contacted the city's Department of Traffic and was told that this newly-created parking lot and driveway is completely illegal. The man answering the phone guaranteed that they would be over there soon to take legal action against LESCHD!!

If you have any tips about wrongdoers like LESCHD in your neighborhood, let us know and we will give them the exposure they deserve!!

JOHN PENLEY



LUIS SOLER (Right) STARTS FIGHT WITH CHURCHMEMBER (Left)



"THE FIRST THING WE DO, LET'S KILL ALL THE LAWYERS"

By William M. Kunstler
(Office of Kunstler & Kuby, Attorneys At Law)

When William Shakespeare had Dick the Butcher suggest this as part of Jack Cade's initial program in the event his revolution against Henry VI proved successful, he had no way of knowing that it would, figuratively at least, become routine governmental policy in Twentieth Century America. Today, aggressive defense attorneys, throughout the United States, are being subjected to everything from disbarment to censure. In one case, my own, a federal judge decided that I had been overzealous in my representation of a client, and sanctioned me with the following comment: "Mr. Kunstler is apparently one of those attorneys who believes that his sole obligation is to his client and that he has no obligations to the court or to the processes of justice." Incidentally, this judge was recently sternly rebuked by an appellate court for declining "to exercise decision-making authority entrusted to him, even after precedents obliging him to exercise such authority have been called to his attention."

In 1990, Bruce Cutler, John Gotti's trial attorney in three previous criminal prosecutions, all of which had resulted in his client's acquittals, was disqualified, at the Government's request, from representing him at his fourth trial. The reason given by the trial judge for granting the prosecution's motion was that Cutler was "house counsel" to the Gambino Crime Family. When Mr. Gotti tried to replace Cutler with James M. LaRossa, a prominent New York criminal defense lawyer, the prosecutor, later rewarded with a federal judgeship, then placed the latter's name on his witness list, making him ineligible to represent the defendant. Predictably, the attorney was never called to the stand.

Two years later, three of the four men charged with the February 26, 1992, bombing of the World Trade Center, all indigents, asked their trial judge to appoint as their attorneys Leonard I. Weinglass, Lynne Stewart, and Jesse Berman, three extremely experienced practitioners, pursuant to the provisions of the Criminal Justice Act (CJA). Because their names did not appear on the CJA roster, the court refused to approve them, although it had ample authority to do so. As a result, the three Arabs were represented by other attorneys, two of whom were on the CJA panel while the third, a Muslim, served without pay. A young public defender appeared for the fourth, Mohammad Salameh, and proceeded to doom his client by giving a summation in which he virtually conceded the guilt of all the defendants.

Following their convictions, the four defendants asked me and my partner, Ronald L. Kuby, to represent them at their sentencing. We agreed but their trial judge refused to permit us to participate, claiming that, since we were then the lawyers for three of the men accused of a case-related Islamic conspiracy to blow up New York landmarks and assassinate certain public officials, we might interfere with efforts of the four to reduce their sentences by informing on our clients. We were not even permitted to enter the courtroom when the convicted defendants were sentenced, each to 242 months, in total violation of applicable law, without any lawyer standing up for them.

Moreover, in the upcoming conspiracy case, defendant El-Sayyid Nosair, who had been acquitted by a state court jury of the murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane in 1991, asked his trial judge to appoint Michael Warren, one of his attorneys in the Kahane prosecution, who was not on the CJA list. Even though the court had full power to approve Warren, Nosair's application was denied, and today he is represented by two CJA lawyers. Mr. Kuby and I, who originally represented Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, Siddig Ibrahim Siddig Ali, and Ibrahim El-Gabrowni, have been disqualified, again by the granting of a Government motion, from appearing for any of them, ostensibly because of a non-existent conflict of interest. The only lawyers now associated with these defendants are members of the CJA panel, all of whom are paid from the federal till.

When Mr. Kuby and I applied for admission to the applicable CJA panel, we were informed that, despite our almost combined sixty years of practice in many high profile criminal cases, our applications had been denied. The reason asserted, in a form response, was that there were other more qualified applicants. As a result, indigent federal defendants who desire our services will not be able to obtain them via the CJA route. Of course, we are still free to serve as their attorneys on a *pro bono* basis, but, as can be seen in our fate in the Abdel Rahman, Ali, and El-Gabrowni cases, where we did so appear, we remain vulnerable to motions by the Government to disqualify us for one specious reason or another.

In other words, trial lawyers who are feared by prosecutors can now be removed as defense counsel by the granting of disqualification motions or by the chicanery of listing them as potential Government witnesses. In John Gotti's last case, which resulted in his conviction and a sentence of life without parole, both Cutler and co-counsel Gerald L. Shargel were outlawed as his attorneys. Although the theory behind the Government's application was that the lawyers were members of their client's criminal enterprise, a lengthy federal investigation has uncovered no illegal activities by either man. Gotti had been deprived of their assistance by an unproved and unprovable allegation.

Unfortunately, the denial to certain criminal defendants of their right to be represented by counsel of their choosing is not without sorry precedent. In 1735, both New York lawyers for John Peter Zenger, in the printer's prosecution for seditious libel, were disbarred by the royal judges because they dared to question the latter's jurisdiction. Some years ago, I was not permitted to represent a client in an Indiana federal judge's court because he did not like my "politics." Only months ago, the California attorneys who had secured hung juries for the Menendez brothers were forced to withdraw from their upcoming second trials for capital murder when Los Angeles County refused to pay them for defending once more their now indigent clients. In New York, two of the metropolitan area's top black criminal lawyers have recently been suspended for long periods of time.

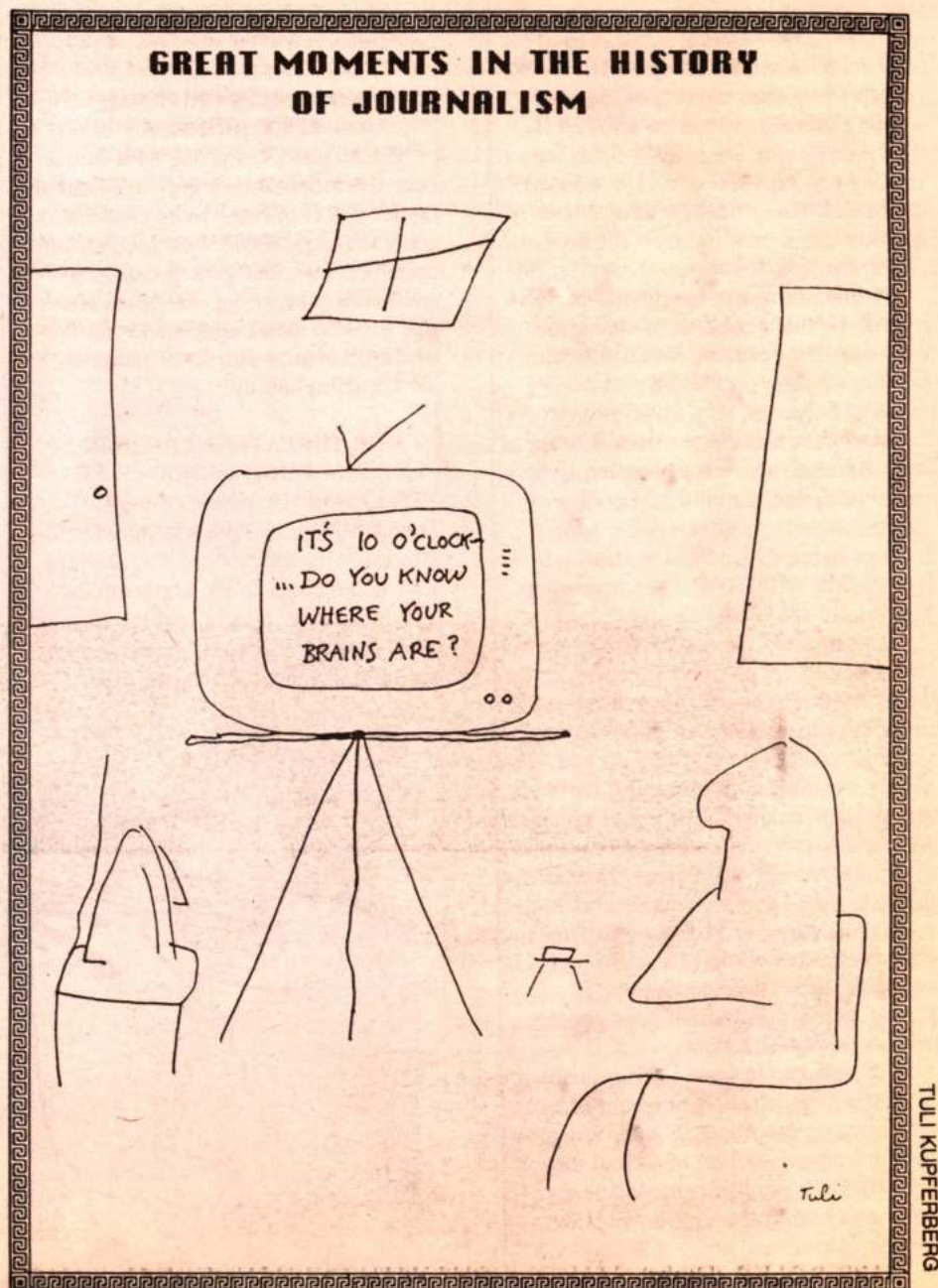
Even where suspension, disqualification, or disbarment are unavailable to the powers that be, there are plenty of other deterrents around. Rule 11 of the federal district court rules provides for the imposition of financial sanctions for the bringing of "frivolous" litigation, penalties that have been invoked mainly against civil rights attorneys and groups. A number of trial lawyers have been indicted or cited for contempt for refusing to cooperate with grand juries investigating their clients. Demands by the IRS for information about client payments have been upheld by the courts. Even CJA panel members who are too aggressive in behalf of criminal defendants frequently find that they have been dropped from the roster.

In short, on both the federal and state levels, there is an ongoing conspiracy to prevent pariah defendants from being represented by counsel of choice when the latter are feared by prosecutors. The Sixth Amendment's guarantee to all those accused of crime of "the right . . . to have the Assistance of Counsel for [their] defence" has now been drastically modified for certain accused to read "the Assistance of **approved** Counsel. . . ." In his ringing summation in his 1912 trial for subornation of perjury, Clarence Darrow told his jury: "I have committed one crime for which I cannot be forgiven. . . I have stood for the weak and the poor. . . I have lived my life and I have fought my battles, not against the weak and the poor - anybody can do that - but against power, injustice, against oppression." His jury clearly understood his message and acquitted him after only thirty minutes of deliberation.

Today, Darrow's progeny are becoming choice prey to prosecutors determined to win at any cost and judges who are perfectly willing to eliminate any lawyers who stand in their way. Despite all the pious pronouncements of the Supreme Court as to the inviolability of a criminal defendant's right to be represented by counsel of choice, this principle is fast becoming more honored in the breach than in the observance. Whether an accused is penniless or affluent seems meaningless if he or she is an outlaw in the classic definition of that word. Unless the organized bar raises its voice against the growing practice of lawyer disqualification in cases involving hated defendants, then another and more penetrating nail will have been driven deep into the sarcophagus of the Bill of Rights.

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

**COMING IN SHADOW #35: Review of William Kunstler's
new autobiography MY LIFE AS A RADICAL LAWYER**



MIKE SCHAFER



Well, here we are again!!

9th precinct kops are enjoying their new reinforcements and their new mandate to harass and arrest people in hit and run raids around the Lower East Side. This all results from a WOR-TV news special called "The Wild East" broadcast on October 19. According to SHADOW sources, the show combined old clips of demonstrations and riots around Tompkins Square in 1988 with rowdy drunks from the West Village with some footage of street peddlers and homeless people around Tompkins Square Park in order to paint a portrait of complete chaos and disorder on the streets. On the show, the WOR reporter walks along Avenue A asking why there are no kops. Behind him, several kops are plainly seen watching him being filmed.

As a result of the TV show, which must have gotten high ranking kops downtown upset, the Tompkins Square neighborhood was flooded with kops, mostly fill-ins from "Manhattan South Task Force" (MSTF). The first targets were the peddlers, including those who have always been discretely set up out of the way along Avenue A.

On October 21, several kops were seen arresting two men peddling in front of the Con Edison sub-station at 6th and A. When asked by a SHADOW reporter why kops didn't give the men a warning that they would be arrested if they didn't move, Sergeant Burgos, the ranking kop on the scene, said "I have no idea." Then he said "It's our discretion whether or not to arrest them or give a warning to pack up."

Shortly afterward, two foot kops tried to harass a book seller on on the west side of Avenue A. When a large number of people gathered and denounced the kops, they slithered away.

Later that night, three book sellers on Avenue A, who have been set up at the same spot for almost a year between 6th and 7th Streets, were forced by kops to leave. One of the book sellers told the SHADOW: "The only rights you get are the ones you take."

Kops are now stationed in pairs on foot along Avenue A and Second and Third Avenues near St. Marx Place as other kops in vans cruise the area, preventing peddlers from setting up and closely watching club goers. But that's not all they're doing. Two fat greasy scooter kops were seen hanging in front of "Paul's Palace," a fat greasy hamburger joint near St. Marx and Second Avenue on October 21 talking to Paul's waitress. Said one kop, "I'll stand here all night." (It is common knowledge among Kop Watchers that kops get free burgers at Paul's!!)

The new kop in town to co-ordinate all of this kop activity is Sergeant Shea, who starts on the midnight shift. Caught on of his recent sweeps, Shea told the SHADOW: "It's not just the peddlers, we're going after anyone who violates the law." Does that mean he'll take on

the drug dealing street gangs east of Avenue A too?

Two days after the TV show, one kop, excited over the overkill, told the SHADOW as he participated in the arrest of a peddler on Second Avenue: "How do you like this action compared to the park? I got 80 hours this week because of 'The Wild East!'" Later that night, Deputy Inspector Seta was seen being driven around by Captain Sino. (Sino told the SHADOW: "We're just hanging out." Seta was happy as a pig in shit (pardon the pun, Richard!) because he has more kops than he could ever want. Now he has to use them, and use them he will. The more they do, whatever they do, the better he looks (Can you say "INSPECTOR Seta?") He's happy with his increased manpower, the kops are happy with their increased paychecks, but are neighborhood residents experiencing increased safety? Somehow, we don't see how chasing peddlers and drunks around a six block radius is making anyone any safer!!

Even before the increased kops in the aftermath of the "Wild East" TV show, kops have been doing their usual thing around Tompkins Square Park, ranging from harassment to outright thuggery. Here are just some eyewitness reports:

KOP BEATS CRIMINAL BEER DRINKER

On August 17, a young man with a beer was stopped by a kop in Tompkins Square Park. In other more civilized countries, people can walk around with open beers without getting tickets or hassled by bored kops. For some reason, the kop didn't understand this and when the man produced his passport, the kop beat him up!!

KOP THREATENS CRIMINAL FOOD EATER

On August 19, a man eating in Tompkins Square Park was threatened with arrest by scooter kop P.O. Ujueta after he objected to the kop's shining a light in his face. Ujueta told the man he could bust him because "tomorrow's my day off and I can use the overtime."

Later that night, P.O. Calabro, standing at the 7th Street and Avenue A entrance to the park, threatened to arrest a group of people because he didn't like what they were talking about. What were they discussing? Police abusing their power!!

KOP BEATS MASCULINITY THREATENING WOMAN

On August 25, a young female squatter was arrested after a huge kop slammed her head into a wall at East 7th Street and Avenue A. Her "offense" was not moving fast enough when kops decided to clear Avenue A of excess people. The kop claimed he had to beat her, shove her into a kop car, beat her some more and put her through the system for "disorderly conduct" because she allegedly called him a "cocksucker" in front of his friends!! (Kops have friends?!?!?)

KOPS HARASS + THREATEN CRIMINAL BICYCLISTS

Earlier that day, three guys riding bikes east on St. Marx, between 1st Avenue + Avenue A, were almost hit by a kop car that suddenly raced toward them with lights flashing and siren wailing. The kops stopped the car at a red light at the corner, prompting one of the cyclists to ask "In a rush to get to a red light?" as they passed the kop car. That was too much for the kops, Sergeant Duke and P.O. Jon Licari, who was driving. Licari quickly cut the bikers off and ticketed two of them for "no reflector" and "failure to yield." When the third biker tried to take down names and badge numbers of the kops, Licari threatened to arrest him. Then two female kops from Tompkins Square Park came to Licari's aid, pushing away the biker and bystanders to prevent them from identifying the kops. SHADOW Kop Watchers tell us that this is not the first time that Licari has charged at people with his kop car just to scare them, and then reacted violently when confronted about it.

JOY RIDING SCOOTER KOPS

Who says enforcing the Tompkins Square Park curfew is boring? On August 30, four kops, including female P.O.s DiDomenico and Lorenzo, were seen joyriding and drag racing their scooters throughout the park shortly after midnight, when everyone had been kicked out of the park. People along Avenue A watched in amazement as the kops alternated between speed riding piggy back, holding what appeared to be a banner in the air, and racing all over the park as they squealed with delight (no lie!) Suddenly, at about 12:30 am, they stopped playing in the park to chase some young people off Avenue A. Seeing a SHADOW reporter collecting

kop names, a male kop approached and dared the reporter to "get my name!" If the kop hadn't quickly scooted away, the reporter would have done just that!

Of course, no Kop Watch column would be complete without addressing the hottest kop issue of the past few months, namely SUICIDE. Some kops may be excited about making lots of money as they fuck with people's lives, and it doesn't bother them in the least, but some kops eventually snap:

KOPS SELF DESTRUCT

It is only natural that those of us who have been abused by the kops should take some satisfaction in the stories of kop suicide that have lately been dominating the press. Kops love to make the people whom they arrest miserable. Anyone who has been high-cuffed to the door of a jail cell, or had valuable objects stolen from them by arresting officers, or been called "fag-got" by these bastards in blue should have no problem appreciating the inner misery of the lonely kop. During the (unconstitutional) forty-eight hours of detention imposed on people arbitrarily by the police for things like pissing in the street, smoking a joint, or drinking a beer, it is only reasonable that we should think long and hard about Officer Schweinhundt's long and dreary ride back to Long Island, back to a six pack swilled ignorantly before the TV screen, no conversation with the spouse or girlfriend because there is nothing there, nothing there at all. Every day, at the wheel of the fucking car, driving, driving and cursing and feeling the metal thing on his hip and saying "not only does this gun give me the power to shoot that bum over there for sleeping in the doorway, but it also gives me the power to extinguish my misery and emptiness in a crimson spray out on an empty street in Commack."

Poor Officer Schweinhundt! His problems are not fundamentally different from our own or those of anyone stuck in the clogged drain of dying capitalism. His dilemma is that in order to continue to live, he must subject himself to the indignity of alienating labor. He must degrade himself to remain one of the haves—or else suffer the same indignity which he visits on the have-nots each day. Either he steps on the man in the refrigerator box, or he becomes the man in the refrigerator box being stepped on.

He must feel so small and dirty sometimes as he steps out of the Sports Page with his gun tucked away in a shoulder holster and a rush of alcohol in his brain. If only he were just a mailman or a gas meter reader, or any other kind of alienated worker like the rest of us, he would just be another unhappy working stiff. The difference is, he has the gun. He is required to carry it around even when he is off duty, even when he is out getting drunk. Officer Schweinhundt, who has the right to grab your

(Continued On Next Page)



KOPWATCH ROGUES GALLERY:

We asked this kop whether that was a gun in his back or if he was just glad to see us. He said he was glad to see us!!



THESE KOPS ↑ HELPED US CELEBRATE THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TOMPKINS SQUARE PIG RIOT ON AUGUST 6TH. THERE'S NOTHING LIKE RETURNING TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME!!

THESE KOPS ↓ WERE SEEN AT THE SEPT.29 CB3 MEETING, INCONSPICUOUS AS ALWAYS!! (The uniformed kop below left is Captain Anger!! Somehow, the name just fits him!!)

forty-ounce out of your hand and pour it out (and to lock you up for forty-eight hours for having it) allegedly to uphold law and order against drunkenness, has the right to strut around with a gun when he himself is drunk. Can you deny that any drunken quarrel or misunderstanding takes on another whole dimension when a gun is involved?

The family argument that took place on September 7 between two off duty kops, Officer Steven Soorko and his brother, Sergeant Douglas Soorko, involved whether or not there would be a stripper at the sergeant's wedding. This

petty argument, mixed with lots of alcohol, turned into a brawl, which ended with Steven Soorko shooting and killing Douglas Soorko with his service revolver. Had this family quarrel erupted among two men who were not paid gunmen of the State, it would have resulted in a few bumps and bruises at most.

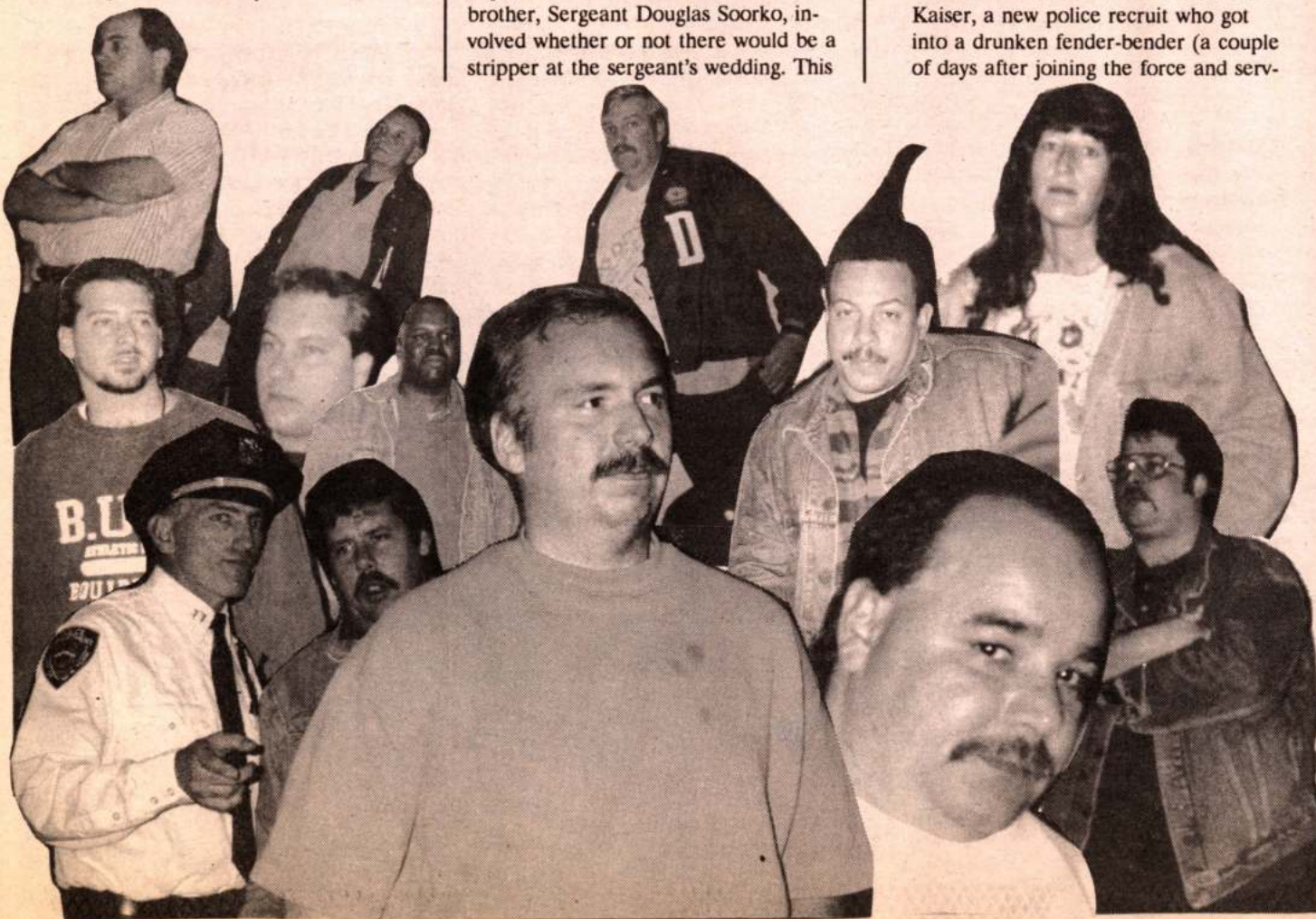
Guns, automobiles and alcohol are the mainstays of the kopper's life. On September 6, 1994, these elements did not mix well in the life of Officer Dirk Kaiser, a new police recruit who got into a drunken fender-bender (a couple of days after joining the force and serv-

ing his first tour of duty with Manhattan South--no doubt busting teenagers for drinking a beer in the Village). Kaiser reported his car stolen and when he was caught in the lie he went home, drank a case of beer and most of a bottle of booze, and shot himself in the head.

In an earlier incident on July 9, Officer Victor DiDonato of the 28th Precinct in Harlem held dozens of other officers at bay for two hours at his Flushing apartment, firing several shotgun blasts out of the window before being subdued with electrified darts. Prior to locking himself in the apartment, DiDonato rampaged through Queens, firing at motorists with the 12-gauge shotgun and stealing a car at gunpoint. He had been suspended from the force for a month after being arrested in a domestic dispute with his girlfriend, but had returned to active duty a few days before the incident with the shotgun.

It may be true that kops are neither more nor less crazy than the general run of the population. It may be true that kops do not commit suicide any more often than the general run of the population. They may not even drink more than the rest of us, though they probably do. Tightly knit male subcultures always have a deep undercurrent of drunkenness which is needed to drown out the repressed homosexuality.

The key difference is that the State has given them instruments for killing the general run of the population and themselves. If there is any way of safely deciding who is to be allowed to walk around with a gun and who is not, it is certainly not being applied to applicants for the job of New York City kop.



(More KOPWATCH On Page 15)



EVENTS! AND ANNOUNCEMENTS!

NOV. 4--"HINTS + ALLEGATIONS": The world in poetry and prose with activist attorney William Kunstler. 7:00-9:00 pm. For location, call Learning Alliance, 212-226-7171.

NOV. 5--"NO EVICTIONS" PLAY: Squatter Action Theater Brigade (STAB) will do free performance at 537 East 13th St., 8:00 pm.

NOV. 6--LOWER EAST SIDE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: With rad historian Bruce Kayton. Meet at 175 East Broadway, 1:00 pm. 3 hours plus literature, only \$6.00. Call 718-492-0069.

NOV. 9--NINTH PRECINCT COMMUNITY COUNCIL MEETING: See what the kops are up to and how they avoid dealing with real issues on the Lower East Side while appearing to seek public feedback. A good place to see which CB3 members work with the kops to go after their political enemies. At Third Street Music School, 235 East 11th St. 7:00 pm.

NOV. 10--VIDEO ON STRUGGLE OF GUARANI INDIANS IN BRAZIL: At the Amanakaa Amazon Network, 584 Broadway Rm. 814, 7:00 pm. Call 212-925-5299. \$3.00 donation.

NOV. 10--SANCTIONS + BLOCKADES: US WEAPON OF CHOICE: Reports from Iraq, Haiti, Cuba and elsewhere by former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark and others. 7:00-9:30 pm. For location, call Learning Alliance, 212-226-7171.

NOV. 11--"METROPOLIS" FILM: The classic 1927 science fiction film look at the future where men and women are programmed into mechanized workers. Book party and additional film to follow. At Film Anthology Archives, 32 Second Ave., 8:00 pm. \$7.00. Call 212-505-5181.

NOV. 12--BENEFIT DANCE FOR COLUMBIA MULTI-MEDIA PROJECT: Support independent media in Columbia and an end to drug war militarization. At Brecht Forum, 122 W. 27th Street (between 6th & 7th Aves), 9:00 pm. Call (718) 369-4182. \$5.00 donation.

NOV. 12--GREENWICH VILLAGE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: With rad historian Bruce Kayton. Meet next to arch in Washington Sq. Park, 1:00 pm. 3 hours + literature, only \$6.00. Call 718-492-0069.

NOV. 12--END THE US BLOCKADE OF CUBA: National march on Washington, DC to demand end to travel ban and blockade. Meet at Malcolm X Park, 16 St. & Euclid St. NW in Washington for 1:00 pm march to White House, 2:30 pm rally at LaFayette Park. For info, call 212-620-0072. For buses to the demo, call 212-229-2388 or 633-6646. (Editor's note: Be aware that this demo is organized by the Workers World Party!!)

NOV. 16--MOORISH ORTHODOX RADIO CRUSADE: Peter Lamborn Wilson and Co-host Bill Weinberg's anarchist and bohemian variety show. On listener-sponsored WBAI-FM radio, 99.5 FM, 11:45 pm to 1:30 am. (Also 11/30, 12/14 + 12/28)

NOV. 17--ANARCHIST FORUM: Sponsored by Libertarian Book Club--Speakers to be announced. At Penn South Community Center, 330 West 28th St. (between 8th & 9th Aves), 7:30 pm. Call 212-979-8353.

NOV. 18--BENEFIT FOR PRINCESS MAGAZINE: New smart and sexy girl's magazine launch party. With Vitapup, Milla, Ruby Falls and other bands. At the Gas Station, Avenue B & 2nd Street, 8:00 pm. \$6.00 at the door.

NOV. 18--REAL LIFE IN THE COMICS: Discussion on role of comics as medium for political and individual expression. With artist Harvey Pekar and others. 7:00-9:30 pm. For location, call Learning Alliance, 212-226-7171.

NOV. 18,19,20--ASSASSINATION & POLITICAL PRISONER VIDEO SERIES: Films on JFK + RFK assassinations, Weatherman Underground, Dhoruba Bin-Wahad and more. At Bullet Space, 292 East 3rd St., starting 7:00 pm. \$2 sliding donation.

NOV. 19--VIDEO ON STRUGGLE OF YANOMAMI INDIANS: At Amanakaa Amazon Network, 584 Broadway, Rm. 814, 7:00 pm. Call 212-925-5299. \$10 donation includes Brazilian dinner.

NOV. 20--LEON TROTSKY-ABBIE HOFFMAN-MADONNA RADICAL WALKING TOUR: With rad historian Bruce Kayton. Meet at St. Mark's Church at 2nd Ave. + 10th St. 3 hours + literature, only \$6.00. Call 718-492-0069.

DEC. 4--GREENWICH VILLAGE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: See entry for Nov. 12. Meet in front of Judson Church, 55 Washington Sq. South, 1:00 pm.

DEC. 14-- NINTH PRECINCT COMMUNITY COUNCIL MEETING: See entry for November 9. At Village View, 175 East 4th St. 7:00 pm.

DEC. 15--ANARCHIST FORUM: Sponsored by Libertarian Book Club--"Pirate Utopias Revisited" by Peter Lamborn Wilson. At Penn South Community Center, 330 West 28th St. (between 8th & 9th Aves), 7:30 pm. Call 212-979-8353.

DEC. 17--GREENWICH VILLAGE RADICAL WALKING TOUR: See entry for Nov. 12. Meet in front of Village Cigars, Sheridan Square, 7th Ave. South + Christopher St., 1:00 pm.

DEC. 19--AN EVENING WITH THEODORE BIKEL: Actor, folksinger, activist shares his life story on working for human rights. 7:00-9:00 pm. For location, call Learning Alliance, 212-226-7171.

JAN. 11--NINTH PRECINCT COMMUNITY COUNCIL MEETING: See entry for Nov. 9. At Boys Brotherhood, 888 East 6th St.

JAN. 12--BUILDING THE IMMUNE SYSTEM: Nutritionist Gary Null on lifestyle, diet, nutrition + herbs that will strengthen your immune system. 7:00-9:00 pm. For location, call Learning Alliance, 212-226-7171.

OFF THE HOOK radio show gives the latest hacking + phreaking news. With Emmanuel Goldstein, publisher of 2600 magazine. Wednesdays on listener-supported WBAI radio, 99.5 FM, 10:00-11:00 pm.

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

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.

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

LET THEM TALK radio show features investigative activist journalist Paul DeRienzo and underground performance artist Fly. Best alternative news and music!! Wednesday nights (technically Thursday mornings) on listener-supported WBAI radio, 99.5 FM, 1:30-3:00 am.



ABC NO RIO, Lower East Side's longest running underground performance space, is still under attack by the city. For a recorded message of each week's shows and events, call 212-254-3697.

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

LES NEEDLE EXCHANGE + HARM REDUCTION CENTER has counseling, case mgmt; Info on SSI, SSD, food stamps, welfare, HIV/AIDS, detoxing, etc. Exchange your used needles for new ones. Bleach kits, condoms and other supplies FREE. Drop in at 39 Avenue C (between 3rd + 4th Streets). Mon-Fri. 10:00 am-6:00 pm. Call 212-228-7734.

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

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.

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.

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!!

SECTOR
LION DUB HIFI

\$5/3 WITH
PASS



Nightingales

13th STREET & 2nd AVE

SUNDAY NOV 6
HERBOLOGY
Sic & MAD
CHANGE
AGENT 99
THE SLACKERS

BENEFIT FOR EARTH MATTERS
HEMP TABLE & HEMP COOKIES FROM
ARADIA'S KITCHEN. Yummy!!

SPECIAL POTATO PROD.

8PM



100%

!BACK FROM THE DEAD!

WIDE
OPEN
MIC AT
ABC
NO
RIO

EVERY
SUNDAY NIGHT
8:30pm at 156
RIVINGTON ST.
S. of HOUSTON BTWN
CLINTON + S. FF.AK

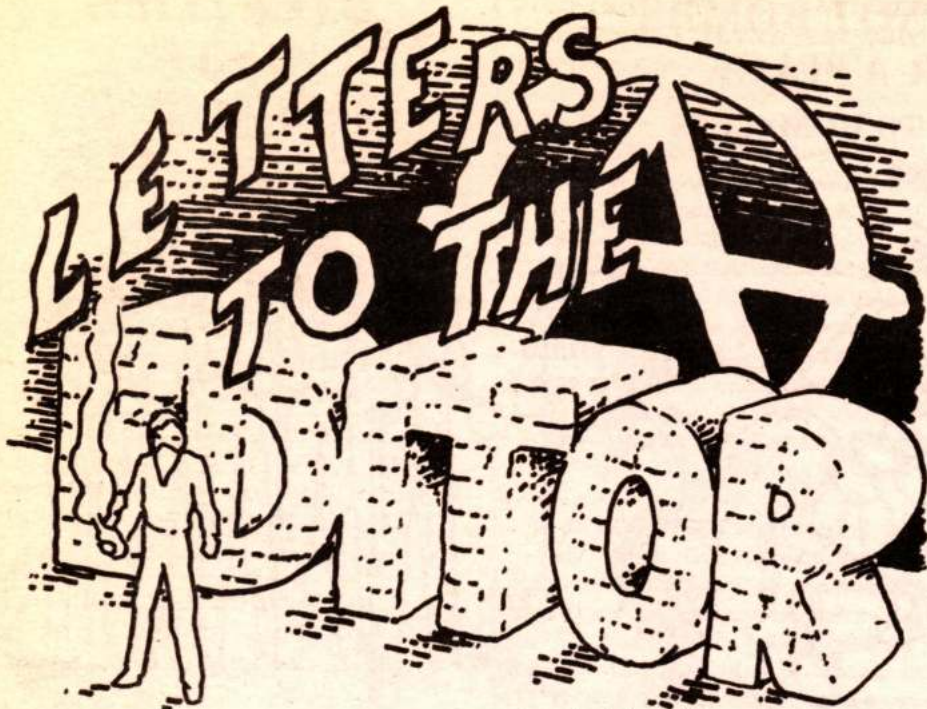
CAN'T SHUT
UP!

WURDZ
MUZICK
ETC.

9/24/94

KOPWATCH

(Continued From Page 13)



To the Editor:

In response to the Kurt Cobain/Geffen article (See **SHADOW #32--Ed.**), it can be said that rock stars have been terminating their lives for close to thirty years.

For a fan of Kurt Cobain's to become despondent enough over the rock star's death to kill himself points to people whose lives are filled with meaningless music (and lyrics). A search would point to many things that have meaning: an overthrow of this Leviathan society designed to kill us all.

A radical slogan pointing to this spectacle of mind control is:

"The rock star is always, always, the enemy of the masses of individuals, the enemy of the individual in himself as in others."

For a free flyer against the cult of personality of rock stars, fashion, and the slavery of work, readers can send an SASE to:

C. Moore
9 Claremont Drive
Springfield, IL 62704-1207

Dear Shadow:

When will the atheists and agnostics of NYC join hands? We are easily 12-16% of the population in NYC yet we have practically no power or press here. The Society for Ethical Culture and the American Humanist Association are some of the few Atheist/Agnostic-friendly groups here in NYC and they are not big. At the Gay and Lesbian Center, space can be had very cheaply. Why can't atheists, agnostics, and anticlericals meet and stand up to the (un)Christian right that has made inroads in NYC!!! It's time for Atheist men and women to stand up and fight. Atheist Greetings,
Eugene Carrington
Former Director, Harlem Atheist Association, Harlem, NY

To Whom It May Concern:

DEFINITION: JUSTICIDE = The intentional, premeditated, legal killing of innocent minorities and poor whites through incarceration by any means for the purpose of gaining publicity for budget increases, newspaper sales, and career advancement of Judges, Prosecutors, Law Enforcement Agencies, and the Department of Corrections Officials. Let's not forget presidential platforms.

George W. White #94-B0605
135 State Street, Auburn, NY 13021

Dear Shadow:

I was recently involved in a Earth First protest of a nuclear power plant in Tennessee, involving approximately sixty arrests. The pigs in Dayton, TN were ridiculously fascist and 16-19 jailed activists went on a hunger strike to

protest pig brutality and to draw attention to the Tennessee Valley Authority's fucked up ecocidal plans. TVA's Gestapo is headed by Norman Zagrossi (Special Investigator or Inspector General, I forget). Head pig Norman, lest we forget, framed Leonard Peltier, hence one of our demands is to fire his ass. The court proceedings (Tennessee vs. us, Activists vs. the police, and possibly a SLAPP suit) are difficult for us activists, who live from Tennessee to Canada. Darryl Cherney was also arrested as were jail supporters who merely walked across the pig parking lot for "inciting and disturbing the peace."

Marlin

Dear SHADOW,

First, thank you for addressing the issue of misogyny within the Loisaïda activist scene (**Shit or Get Off the Pot, A. Kronstadt, SHADOW #33--Ed.**). Your statement about the dangers of "the need to react to a provocation immediately and exclusively through force" was well put. Alienating half of the activist population is just plain stupid. However, elsewhere on the same page, you state "you must be on the side of the people, no matter what their strategy." Even if the strategy is macho and misogynist? Or does more harm than good by spreading divisiveness (as you mention earlier in the same article regarding people who "make it impossible for anyone to sit in the same room with them who does not accept their orthodoxy")? It saddens and repulses me that the main tactic used to combat violence by the pigs is violence against the pigs. How does this retaliation make Us better than Them? We've seen the results of this aggression -- more violence. And they're better equipped for it. I mean, this "S.C.M." scum in your letters column (**SHADOW #33**); how dare he (I must assume it's a "he," the way he postures in this letter) talk about the "victimology of pacifism"? I suppose he hasn't noticed that victims are most often created as a result of aggression and violence, not pacifist disobedience.

As ever, thanks for Kop Watch. Me, I'd rather watch fewer cops, but television doesn't give us a choice. Cops are everywhere on the tube (even more numerous than they are in the Lower East Side) far out of proportion to their percentage in the actual population. This constant glorification, magnified by TV news making a major deal out of every cop funeral, tells the general populace that cops are more valuable, more worthy as people than the general run of the people. I would like to urge your readers to take a stand against the proliferation of glorified cops on TV. Just an idea to work on.

Elayne Wechsler-Chaput
Brooklyn, NY

ACT-UP KOP WATCH
MEETS KAMIKAZE KOP

On a bitter freezing cold night in January of this year, members of ACT UP were tipped off that Giuliani was hosting members of the City Council at a reception at Gracie Mansion.

We hastily printed up a flyer basically saying, "Don't cut the budget at the expense of the lives of New Yorkers with AIDS" and positioned ourselves outside of Gracie Mansion. City Councilmembers would arrive in twos or threes. Most were polite and voiced agreement with our position.

Councilmember Antonio Pagán responded by laughing and saying, "Why should I change my ways now?" Anyway, while we shivered in the cold, a cadre of cops showed up to shiver with us. Eventually, they outnumbered us two to one.

Onto the scene came Captain Terrence Tunnock, executive officer of the Central Park Precinct. Tunnock decided that we were to be prevented from distributing our flyer. One of our number, a high school social studies teacher, pointed out that this was a right guaranteed to us in the Bill of Rights. Tunnock would hear none of that. The other P.O.s on the scene seemed cowed by his nastiness.

Finally, the kops formed a line between us and a posse of arriving councilmembers. Myself and another member of ACT UP decided that we would have none of it. We walked around the line of police, greeted the councilmembers with a cheery "Good evening!" and handed them a flyer. Tunnock deployed his troops. Arresting the woman I was with, who did not resist, Tunnock barked, "Grab her! GRAB HER! Don't be afraid to be rough with her." After we were taken into custody, two other members of our group met with similar treatment. My arresting officer later apologized for having arrested me.

Anyway, according to the local papers, Tunnock killed himself seven months later. Family, friends, and colleagues on the force could only shake their heads and wonder why. One of his fellow cops said that he did seem "very tense" in carrying out his duties. I think that might translate into "psychopathic." Of course, it's my secret wish that upon being notified of the wrongful arrest lawsuit I filed against the city, the decades of evil and power abuse he has perpetrated came washing back over him, and he decided that he could no longer look himself in the mirror to shave anymore, much less live.

INTERNATIONAL KOP WATCH

We received this international Kop Watch report from investigative journalist Robert Knight:

KOREAN KOPS:
You Can't Leave Home
Without Them!!

Undercover agents in South Korea are just like cops everywhere: they travel in pairs; they're matched for brains and brawn; they dress funny; they're clumsily inquisitive; and at any popular event they stick out like a sore thumb.

These observations are based on a two-week tour of Seoul, the demilitarized zone at the border with North Korea, and other parts of the country. I travelled to South Korea, half-way across the Earth, to cover the current nuclear negotiations, to review the U.S. role in the cold war's last divided country, and to observe Korean reunification

efforts with an international delegation from such places as Japan, El Salvador, Palestine, the Philippines and the United States.

The itinerary included meetings with the Korean National Congress, leading members of the National Assembly, U.S. diplomatic officials, student and labor leaders, and long-term political prisoners.

The group's arrival at Seoul's Kimpoo airport was met with the attention of at least a dozen "immigration" officials who detained the group for over an hour because of "visa problems" -- even though current travel laws did not require visas for these visitors! The "immigration officials" (primarily agents of the National Police and the National Security Planning Board, formerly known as the Korean CIA) shadowed us throughout the airport, rotating their "tails" and eavesdropping from restaurant tables close enough to share our breakfast of spam 'n' eggs.

The rest of the trip was a uniquely South Korean rendition of the old anthem, "You'll Never Walk Alone."

We stayed at a deliberately down-scale hotel in downtown Seoul, where the clean-cut, well-dressed agents of the KCIA and local police were decidedly out of place, unlike what they might have been in a more luxurious western colonial-culture hotel. Two agents took a room on our floor, but knowing glances and careful conversations thwarted their effort to hang unobtrusively in the lobby. During the stay, one person's computer mysteriously disappeared then rematerialized.

The security officials posted additional men (all the known agents were men in this incompletely feminized society) at the hotel entrance, where they identified the international visitors to each other and followed them wherever they could.

Which isn't too far if you know what to do: Duck around a blind corner, down the subway steps, stop and smile as the agent rushes in to regain sight of you, but then must keep going past lest he reveal he is following you. Then upstairs fast, into a crowded alleyway, and you're gone!



ROBERT KNIGHT

ROBERT (Center) + KOREAN KOPS

Sometimes under these circumstances, contempt breeds familiarity, so I struck up a genial relationship with some of the agents who regularly followed us, since we were so obviously stuck with each other. In other cases, the agents were more sinister, politely asking us questions to which they obviously already knew the answers.

For a "red-blooded American" like myself, it goes against the grain to be spied on -- at least, so obtrusively. But for the vast majority of South Koreans, it ain't no joke.

(More KOPWATCH On Page 23)



CALIFORNIA FOOD NOT BOMBS ACTIVISTS UNDER ATTACK FOR DISTRIBUTING FOOD TO HOMELESS

By Frank Morales

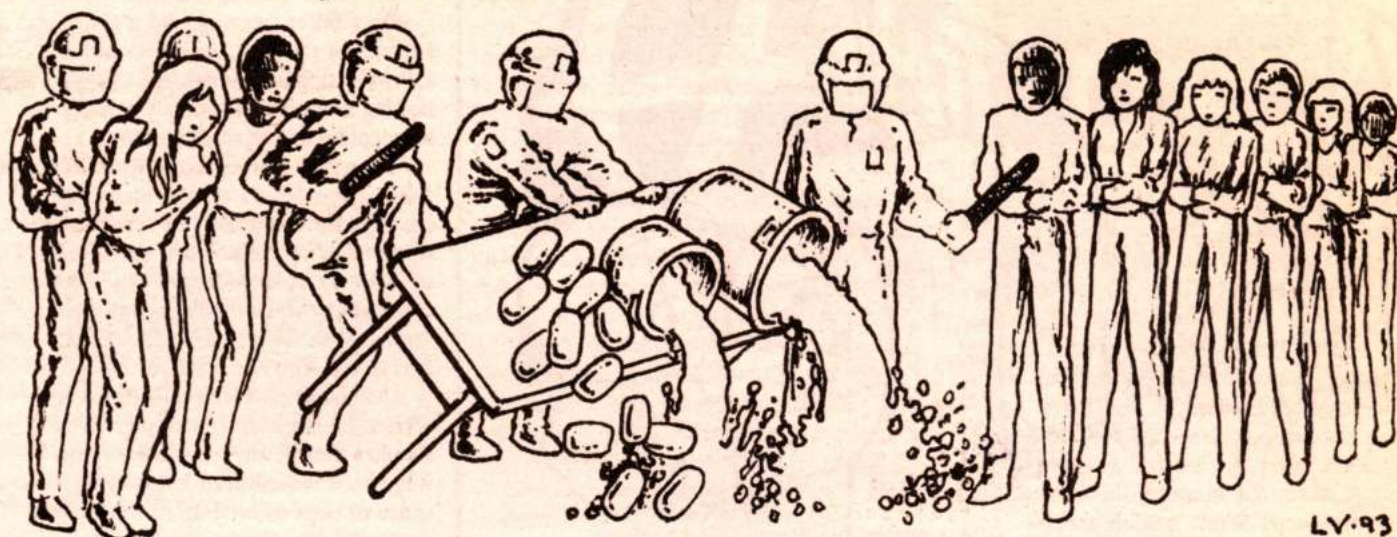
Keith McHenry and other volunteers of the Food Not Bombs (FNB) organization in California are facing several felony charges stemming from numerous confrontations with the San Francisco police and political establishment over their dedicated persistence in distributing free food to the homeless while advocating for the rights of poor people.

McHenry, a co-founder of Food Not Bombs in 1980, which now operates in 65 cities across the nation, is being charged with 5 felony counts for crimes he did not commit. As a political prisoner of the City of San Francisco, he was jailed and later released on \$100,000 bail. Several of the charges fall under California's new "Three Strikes" sentencing guidelines, which means he faces a possible life sentence for giving out food to hungry people! For feeding homeless people in San Francisco, McHenry has been arrested 92 times since 1988. Incredibly, the most recent charges against him are: "Felony possession of a milk crate," "Assault on a glass door," "Burglary of a beeper."

In the case of the milk crate, McHenry was staffing a literature table when confronted by police. Initially unable to figure out what to charge him with, they finally charged him felony possession of a milk crate. In the glass door case, McHenry tried to prevent a mayor's aide from slamming a glass door on a 71 year old elderly friend of McHenry, thereby causing the glass to break and severely cut his hand. Police officers followed a trail of Keith's blood to the office of his attorney across the street. He was arrested and held for 7 hours before receiving any medical treatment for a severed artery and severe loss of blood. City Attorney Randy Riddle, supportive witness to Nancy Kitz, the mayor's aide who slammed the door, has been attempting to stop Food Not Bombs since 1989. Riddle told the news media that he saw Keith "angrily punch his fist through the pane of glass." In the case of the beeper, another aide to Mayor Frank Jordan, Nick Roomel, who had been stalking McHenry for several months, physically attacked Keith inside City Hall. Roomel claimed that he was assaulted and had his beeper stolen. Obviously, the government is trying to portray McHenry as a violent person in its attempt to isolate him and Food Not Bombs from their supporters. McHenry is concerned that people working for the police and city government will try to assault him so that he can be arrested when he defends himself.

San Francisco police have beaten and injured many FNB activists while they have been serving free food. Many women in Food Not Bombs have been sexually harassed by the police. Several vans, 10 literature tables, food, pots and literature have been seized and not returned; all part of the Mayor's effort to stop the protest against his attacks on the homeless. This is in spite of the fact that in the fall of 1993, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors voted 7 to 2 to allow Food Not Bombs to serve free food in front of City Hall. Mayor Jordan considered this non-binding, and the persecution continues.

McHenry was arrested yet again on October 28. He and two friends were manning a food table when Keith left to make copies of flyers about his trial. When he returned, he saw cops arresting his friends, Jeff McDonald and Chris Allen. Someone then took an



LV-93

orange from a box and cops arrested Keith for serving the orange. All three were charged with felony conspiracy to serve food without a permit. They were each held on \$11,000 bail and later released without bail after their lawyer appealed to the judge.

Since 1989, FNB has had 15 lawsuits pending against the City of San Francisco, various city agencies and public officials, including the city attorney, district attorney, chief of police, and the mayor. He now plans a 16th suit against the city stemming from these latest arrests. At the foundation of the suits is the fact that the city has consistently refused to issue Food Not Bombs permits to serve food in public places. The lawsuits are collectively seeking \$100,000,000, an end to further arrests and the return of FNB property confiscated by the city.

"Keith McHenry has been treated more harshly than other community activists...even a crime as serious as armed robbery usually receives a bail of only \$10,000." -- Chief Sheriff Michael Hennessey

"There's a war against Keith McHenry. The mayor is so uptight about McHenry that he's determined to put him behind bars. This is bail being used to punish." -- City Supervisor Terrence Hallinan

Food Not Bombs volunteers, who secure, prepare and distribute free food around the city are human rights activists who are being continually harassed and framed on trumped-up charges as part of Mayor Jordan's effort to squelch protest against his 1993 anti-homeless "nuisance crime" Matrix Program. In fact, Jordan has waged a 6 year campaign of police harassment against Food Not Bombs. Volunteers have been arrested over 700 times for feeding the hungry. All but 20 of the charges have been dropped. Volunteer Robert Kahn was convicted and sentenced to 60 days in jail in San Francisco for giving a

woman a bagel. Sandra Langer was arrested in 1988 and got 30 days in Santa Cruz for serving free food there.

In Arcata, California, Food Not Bombs has just been served with an injunction by the city to prevent them from serving food in city parks, but FNB members expect to be arrested when they violate the injunction by serving food on October 31. Incredibly, the Arcata FNB is being sued by the city for the "cost" of bringing the injunction against them! In Santa Monica, free food distribution was outlawed on October 18. They are the third city in California to do so.

On the positive side, FNB has successfully established additional chapters in Canada, London and Munich. San Francisco FNB is also planning an International Food Not Bombs Gathering to be held from June 15-27, 1995. A true Anarchist style gathering, there will be several workshops on everything from how to cook food, to squatting to direct actions against the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank to building pirate FM radio stations. Organizers ask anyone interested to call 1-800-884-1136 to share ideas for workshops and anything else.

There is more behind the attacks on Food Not Bombs than meets the eye. These are one of many tactics designed to stop successful advocacy of poor peoples rights as well as any organizing for basic survival. Homeless people, peddlers and their grassroots advocates are presently under attack in several cities across the country as part of the US government's ongoing strategy of "spatial deconcentration" in the urban centers, whose aim is the forceful depopulation of cities of potentially troublesome poor people. As it intensifies its efforts to further dehumanize the homeless and those people supporting the rights of the poor, the government seeks to "reconcentrate" millions of poor dispersed people throughout the US into shelters coordinated by HUD (Dep't. of Housing and Urban Development) and (FEMA) the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Providing food and gathering space for street people and housing through squatting is anathema to the state's plans.

Police state america is getting out of hand when feeding a starving person can be criminalized, when starving homeless people are dying on the streets of cities behind a multi-hundred billion dollar annual US budget, half of which goes to the Pentagon. Money for police and armaments, money for the

fearful greed of the ruling elites. In 1993 there were 544,000 full-time police officers in the US with \$32 billion spent on local, state and federal police. The state is gearing up for war. Are you ready?

"The federal crime bill that is about to become law has 100,000 more cops on the streets of America and adds \$38 billion more to the police-state budget. The military budget is growing to keep pace with the increase in poverty." -- Keith McHenry, "Notes From Jail" (May 25, 1994)

The next San Francisco Food Not Bombs court date is: October 31, at Hall of Justice, 850 Bryant, Room 325, San Francisco, CA 94103. Give District Attorney Arlo Smith some hell at this address!!

For more info and to send help, contact: Food Not Bombs, 3145 Geary Blvd. #12, San Francisco, CA 94118, (415)330-5030. Call 1-800-884-1136 for info on the protest nearest your town. International media contact: (415) 386-9209.

Food Not Bombs is now setting up in New York City. Planning meetings are being held at ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington Street on Thursdays at 7:30 pm. Contact them at: 718-398-4431, or write: P.O. Box 436, New York, NY 10009



WELL, ANYWAY, IT AIN'T AMERIKA

A travelogue by A. Kronstadt

The thing to do when traveling around Europe or any other part of the world is to note the differences between the situation in other countries and that in Amerika. Seeing the similarities and differences helps you to understand what is turning Amerika into such a piss hole. I'll confess now that my friend and I went to Holland mostly to smoke pot legally, but went to England mostly to learn about England.

Let's start with Holland. As everyone knows, in the big cities of Holland, it is legal to smoke marijuana in bars and coffee shops. While it is not strictly speaking legal to sell marijuana, the police do not bother the proprietors of these stores for selling pot at the bar. You can therefore buy about a tenth of an ounce of decent herb for twenty-five guilders (about eighteen dollars), and sit at a table with an ashtray and smoke it. You do not have to look over your shoulder or be paranoid in any way. The streets of Amsterdam are cleaner, safer, and more respectable than any that Rudolf Giuliani could dream of. There is little abandoned property and the pot business brings in millions. There is also a legal prostitution district where the prostitutes have a labor union. If a john starts beating up a prostitute, somebody calls the police and the cops will arrest the violent john, not the prostitute. This is the opposite of the general situation in New York.

The city of Amsterdam is rich and liberal to the point of squishiness. You would think that Amsterdam's social battles were fought out years ago and that the only thing remaining of radical politics is a bit of youth revolt. There were no political posters on the walls, and the only outdoor political event was an anti-racism rally sponsored by progressive church folk in Dam Square. It was attended by a well-dressed crowd of middle-class people -- except for a few old guys who panhandle by the train station, everybody dresses well in Amsterdam. There is an anarchist store next to one of the canals -- in the middle of town -- right there among all the shops selling classy leather shoes and fountain pens. The store has only a handful of books, but lots and lots of radical fashion statements -- sweatshirts and sweatpants with circle-A's and bombs. Young people clad in spotless grunge huddle around the espresso machine in the back, sipping coffee from tiny porcelain mugs.

Most of the hundreds of marijuana coffee shops in Amsterdam play International MTV and generic techno/rave tracks continually. The quasi-legal pot bars come in different styles catering to every social class. They range from Surinamese Rastafarian dives to yuppie coffee shops like Cafe Kandinski where real estate deals are concluded over a joint of Northern Lights laced with tiny nuggets of Nepalese hash. It is all very respectable -- you cannot fail to give the Dutch credit for having taken the guns out of the marijuana business. Thousands of people make money off the coffee shops, ranging from the landlords of the seventeenth century buildings where they are located to the young cashiers who weigh out the 25 guilder baggies. Only the Amerikans and some of the Brits seem to pass joints around socially in the coffee shops. The Dutch sit around toking on

their individual joints, usually twisted up with tobacco. For them, tolerance has made pot an ordinary individual commodity like a beer or a cup of coffee.

The Dutch have traditionally believed that tolerance is good business. The Calvinist denomination of Christianity, which to this day is the State church of Holland, teaches that we are all predestined either to be saved or damned, and that only a minority are fated to be saved. Salvation comes from faith, mind you, not from works. The Dutch Calvinist churches also teach that business success is a sign of God's grace. Calvinist ideology is as good an explanation as any for Amsterdam's pot bars and legal red light district. If most people are fated to be damned anyway, they might as well have some entertainment on the way to Hell. Furthermore, they can only be saved by faith anyway, so whether they do good or evil works on earth matters little. Finally, those in God's grace might as well make a few guilders on the deal. The reknowned Oude Kerke, or Old Church, is located right in the middle of the red light district. The Oude Kerke is one of the most venerable Calvinist churches in Holland. You have to pay five guilders to go inside for Sunday services. At night, directly across the street from the church, half-naked prostitutes languidly solicit customers behind two big plate glass windows. On the other side of the sanctuary is the Old Church Coffee Shop. They sell (among other things, including coffee) little packets containing the cardboard tips that Europeans affix to their joints -- decorated with the logo of a bare-breasted angel and the slogan "the way to heaven." This is in stark contrast to New York City, where the shadow of St. Patrick's Cathedral brings down everyone's high for miles round and government's prohibitionistic zeal has resulted in a civil war costing thousands of lives each year. The Dutch were the first to realize that criminalizing marijuana is as stupid as forcing the Jews to live behind ghetto walls -- another medieval abomination which was first abolished in the Netherlands.

Tolerant of many things, Amsterdam is less tolerant of those who would live within her walls without money. Most of the buildings in the center of Amsterdam that have been squatted for ten or more years are now semi-legalized, with the government receiving some money from the occupants. Outlaw squatting still exists, even on choice canal property, but under heavy repression. New occupations of buildings seldom last more than a month. A building that we saw occupied along the Keisersgracht on August 10 had been evicted when we returned on September 3, just as one of its occupants had predicted. Its muralled exterior and banner in support of the German Red Army faction had not been altered by the government, but all of the windows had been removed and replaced with boards. The Maastricht treaty, which is the paper foundation of the new, unified Europe, calls for squatting to be eliminated from the centers of all major European cities by 1994. This is supposed to provide a level playing field for the real estate industry throughout Europe -- with all governments pledging to defend the sanctity of private property. Many of the squats are located in picturesque canal houses -- dwellings of choice for the hip yuppies who peddle stocks and bonds in the middle of Europe's marijuana theme park. Empty canal-side buildings are continually being converted into town houses with high-tech digital door buzzers and enormous picture windows to show off the living room art



LEYTONSTONIA SQUAT BLOCKING M11 ROAD PROJECT

collection. The squats themselves (as we have said, now mostly quasi-legalized) are put forward as part of Amsterdam's cool, in fact, the "Cool Guide to Amsterdam," available in every kiosk selling tourist shit, has a squatter symbol on its cover along with a pot leaf and other sex, drugs, and rock-n-roll signifiers. Squat-front artwork is reproduced on picture postcards sold up and down the Damrak and outside the Van Gogh museum. Everything, even much of the rebellion, is co-opted into the framework of capitalist civilization and people are pacified because it looks like there isn't anything to rebel against any more.

If Holland is a country that has played the capitalist game and used the proceeds to increase its social stability, England is a country that is squandering its social stability at the crap tables of high finance. Central London after 6 P.M. is occupied only by annoying yuppies and people sleeping in cardboard boxes. The pedestrian underpass between graceful Victoria Station and Buckingham Palace now has several homeless people living inside it (though you have to credit the Brits for putting a relatively clean public toilet in almost every one of these tunnels, so at least you have a place to piss if you've got to live down there). The yuppies are a trip. Over there, they call them "Sloane Rangers" because of all the yuppie pubs on Sloane Street near Trafalgar Square. English yuppies are even more uncool than the pinstripes-and-running-shoes types that were all over New York in the mid-1980s. You see them dashing about the City, each with their individual copy of the London Times, classy wood-handled umbrella from Oxford Street, and leather-bound Filofax which identifies a yuppie like a Bible identifies a preacher. All that is missing is the bowler hat -- and we are talking here about people in their twenties and thirties. When you ask them directions they look at you like you owe them money.

each bearing a silhouette of Conan Doyle's fictional superdetective smoking his pipe, with the little silhouettes arranged to create bigger and then still bigger Holmeses. A train ride is outrageously expensive -- 90 pence to get from Trafalgar Square to Piccadilly Circus -- about a buck and a half for a trip that is the equivalent of going from 34th Street to 42nd Street. Once you get out of the central "zone," the price of public transportation gets even higher; the fare doubles as soon as you cross the Thames. South of the Thames, incidentally, is where all of the regular people live.

The fare isn't the only thing that changes when you cross the Thames. All of a sudden the Underground stations become shabby and dirty like their New York counterparts. The artwork disappears and the leaky tunnels smell like an old cellar. Gone is the microprocessor-controlled PA system telling you to "mind the gap;" if you're not a yuppie or tourist you may as well fall on the tracks and reduce the surplus population. Tourists shy away from South London, having been told that it is full of nazi skinheads and West Indian cutthroats. It isn't that bad. The National Front skinheads are confined to the few all-white enclaves in South and East London -- the equivalent of Bensonhurst and Ozone Park in New York. At one time these swine would go into neighboring communities to beat up people from East Asia -- something called "Paki-bashing" -- but now the Pakistani homeboys bash back. There is probably less ethnic tension in mixed-race London neighborhoods like Peckham, Lewisham, and Battersea than in most of New York City. Working-class Brits, Indians, and Black people all speak with the same Cockney accent, inhabit the same broken-down housing estates, and mingle easily with one another in the shops and laundromats. At this time there are still

(See TRAVELOGUE On Page 22)

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EARTH FIRST!
**STRUGGLES TO SAVE THE BIG WILD WITH
MONKEY WRENCHES AND LAWSUITS!!**

By Squirrel Urbana

Ten Earth First! activists paid \$100 fines to avoid a trial in federal District Court in Moscow, Idaho for trespassing in the Nez Perce National Forest last summer.

The trespassing charges resulted from a series of protests last summer near Dixie in the national forest. A group of Earth Firsters known as the Ancient Bus Brigade bought a piece of land within an area of the forest to be logged. They in turn invited other Earth Firsters to use the land as a base for activities aimed at stopping the building of logging roads and timber sales in the forest, which is the largest roadless wilderness area in the lower 48 states.

As a result of these anti-logging activities, the federal government closed a section of the Nez Perce National forest and declared it off-limits to the public, threatening violators with arrest. Members of Earth First! searching for signs of endangered species within the closed off area in order to prevent logging operations there were arrested for trespassing. The government alleged that the activists had engaged in acts of sabotage. This allegation was used to justify the forest closing in the first place.

Instead of risking losing a trial, the activists opted to pay a \$100 "collateral forfeiture" for each item they were charged with. The fine is the equivalent of a traffic ticket. In addition, three of the activists were charged with conspiracy to commit grand theft, alleging that they stole the logging road from the people of Idaho!

Meanwhile, U.S. District Judge Harold L. Ryan has yet to set a court date for a hearing on the temporary injunction of the Noble Creek timber sale. Ryan imposed the injunction and halted all logging in the Cove-Mallard in May. He is expected to decide whether to lift the injunction and allow logging or to permanently stop timber sales in the Cove-Mallard.

The Cove-Mallard has been the target of environmental protests for the past two years. In the summers of 1992 and 1993, Earth First! activists attempted to hinder road building in the Noble Creek and Grouse Creek drainages by chaining themselves to trees and locked gates, burying themselves in the road and violating closure areas.

Two of the nine sale units had already been sold to Shearer Lumber Products in nearby Elk City, a timber town that also displays anti-Earth First! signs in business windows. One of the two units has been logged.

"This is one of the worst projects," said one activist. "The Forest Service is driving a wedge between two large wilderness areas, the Gospel-Hump to the west and the Frank Church-River of No Return to the east. A third wilderness area, the Selway-Bitterroot, lies to the north in this Paul Bunyan-scale country of deep canyons, pine, spruce and fir trees, and clear, fast-running rivers."

The lawsuit, filed last September by the Idaho Sportsmen's Coalition and other environmental groups, charges that the U.S. Forest Service is violating the Endangered Species Act and the Clean Water Act by allowing logging in the Cove-Mallard. "We are expecting a ruling any time" says Steven Davis of the coalition, "It's just a matter of whenever (Ryan) is healthy enough or inspired enough to look at it."

The Forest Service claims that it followed the law and completed all the required analyses before offering the sale.

CONSTITUTION VIOLATED TO STOP EF!ers

Last year, despite protests from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Idaho state Legislature passed a new law making it a felony "to solicit or conspire to halt or impede lawful forest practices." The law took effect July 1. The new law, known as the EARTH FIRST law by the Idaho state legislature, was immediately violated by Earth Firsters who sent out video taped announcements inviting activists to join them in Idaho this summer.

Despite three years of protests that have required \$400,000 in extra federal police coverage in the area, Nez Perce National Forest Supervisor Michael King claims that Earth First! activists have failed to alter U.S. Forest Service management in the controversial Cove/Mallard area. However, when the forest service started building the logging roads, they had hoped to have over 100 miles of roads built by the end of 1994. To date, only 16 miles of road have been completed.



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

WOODSTOCK-SPONSOR PEPSI & THE HEROIN CONNECTION

By Bill Weinberg

As corporate sponsor of last summer's Woodstock mega-concert, PepsiCo cashed in on the peace-and-love image, even getting their corporate logo splashed on the event's official t-shirt. But human rights and ecology activists are boycotting PepsiCo. Reason? PepsiCo's investments in Burma -- the Southeast Asian nation ruled by a brutal military dictatorship which ravages the country's rainforests and exports heroin worldwide.

PepsiCo is one of the few US firms to remain in the country since the bloody 1988 military coup. Levi Strauss and Amoco pulled out, but Texaco, Unocal and Pepsi remain. In addition to bottling Pepsi and 7-Up in Burma, PepsiCo plans to open Pizza Hut and Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurants there. PepsiCo even hosted a trade show aimed at attracting international investment in Burma. PepsiCo's "private" Burmese partner is actually closely tied to the regime, which controls all investment in the country and directs all foreign exchange into the military.

The Burmese regime is run by the

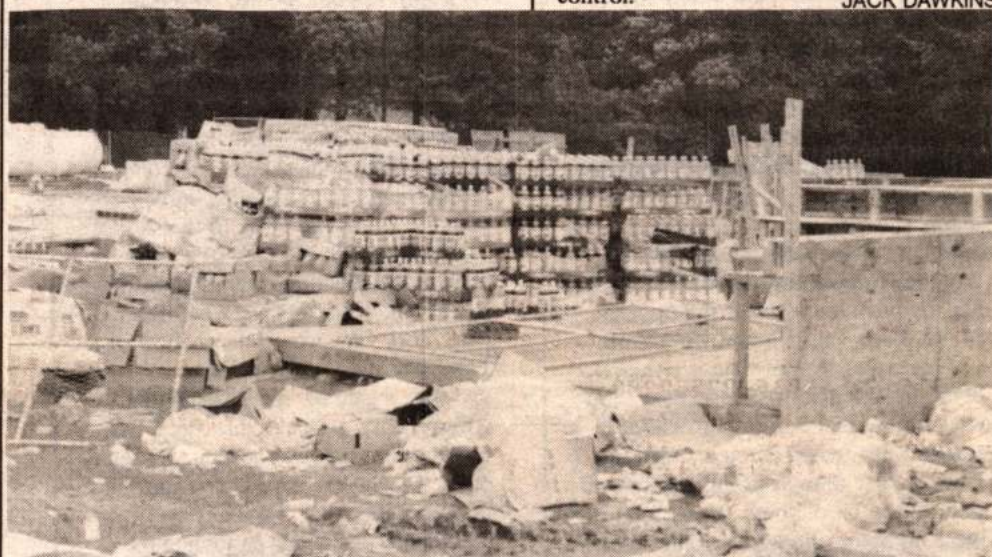
State Law & Order Restoration Council (SLORC), which has slaughtered and imprisoned thousands of pro-democracy dissidents. Elections were held in 1990, but when Aung San Suu Kyi of the National League for Democracy won by a landslide, SLORC had the election annulled and placed Suu Kyi under house arrest. She is now the world's only imprisoned Nobel Peace Prize winner.

With SLORC-connected timber companies raping the northern rainforests, the region's Karen tribespeople have launched an armed rebellion to protect their homeland. SLORC counterinsurgency troops have massacred and forcibly relocated the Karen from their villages. Many villagers are conscripted into slave labor for the military.

Much of Burma's northern mountains are controlled by heroin warlords, whose multi-million dollar empire is a top source of cash for SLORC officers who protect the deadly trade and help launder the profits. The world's top heroin exporter, Burma is ineligible for US aid due to "insufficient narcotics control."

JACK DAWKINS

JACK DAWKINS

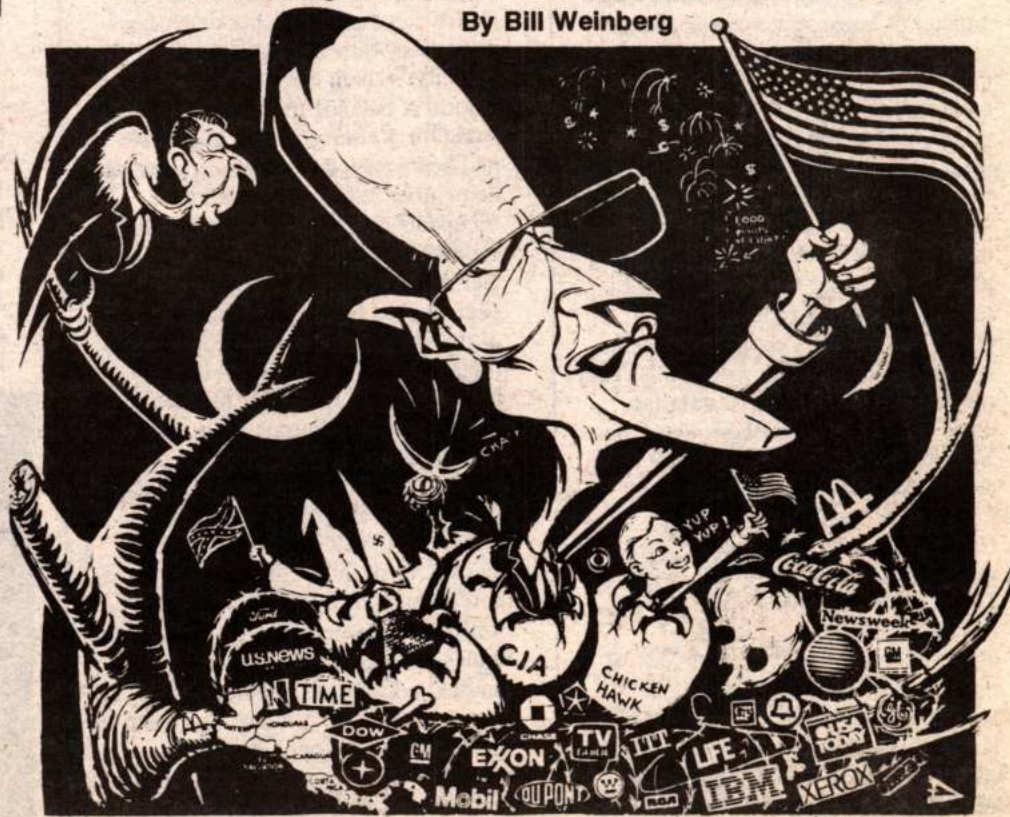


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SUBVERSIVE ELECTRONICS

HOW TO GET AN ADDRESS FROM A TELEPHONE NUMBER

By Roy G. Biv

The phone company has a secret system called CNA Service used by company personnel, feds and pigs that basically acts as "reverse information." Instead of calling 555-1212 and giving the operator a person's name in order to get a telephone number/address, you call the CNA telephone number (different for each state) and give a telephone number in order to get a name and address for that number. Telephone companies change their CNA numbers every now and then, but you can obtain the latest CNA number by calling up the phone company in question and telling them you are from a different phone company and that you need the new CNA number to settle a customer dispute. Unfortunately, you will probably need a 4 digit code for your particular phone company before the operator will serve you. If you use a little trial and error, you should be able to hit a good number. Some of our phreak friends tell us that good code numbers usually have two repeating numbers, like 4_4 or 22. Practice makes perfect!

Area Code	CNA Number	Area Code	CNA Number
201	676-7070	506	657-3855
202	384-9620	507	402-580-2255
205	988-7000	512	828-2501
206	382-5124	513	614-464-2345
208	303-293-2333	515	402-580-2255
209	415-543-6374	516	518-471-8111
212	518-471-8111	517	313-223-8690
214	464-7400	518	471-8111
215	412-633-5600	519	416-487-3641
216	614-464-2345	601	961-8139
217	525-5800	602	303-293-2333
218	402-580-2255	603	617-787-2750
301	534-1168	604	432-2998
302	412-633-5600	605	402-580-2255
303	293-2333	606	502-583-2861
304	344-8041	607	518-471-8111
307	303-293-2333	608	837-1177
308	402-580-2255	609	201-676-7070
309	217-525-5800	612	402-580-2255
312	796-9600	613	416-487-3641
313	223-8690	614	464-2345
315	518-471-8111	615	373-5791
316	816-275-2782	616	313-223-8690
318	504-245-5330	618	217-525-5800
319	402-580-2255	701	402-580-2255
401	617-787-2750	702	415-543-6374
402	580-2255	703	804-747-1411
403	425-2651	705	416-487-3641
405	236-6121	707	415-543-6374
406	303-293-2333	712	402-580-2255
408	415-543-6374	714	213-501-4144
412	633-5600	715	414-424-5690
414	424-5690	716	518-471-8111
415	543-6374	717	412-633-5600
416	487-3641	801	303-293-2333
418	514-861-2635	804	747-1411
419	614-464-2345	805	415-543-6374
501	405-236-6121	806	512-828-2501
502	583-2861	807	416-487-3641
503	241-3440	808	212-334-4336
504	245-5330	809	212-334-4336
505	303-293-2333	815	217-525-5800

If you can't deal with figuring out CNA access codes, there is an alternative to using CNA Service. To get an address for a telephone number, try calling 1-800-433-3210. You will get a woman's voice welcoming you to a mail order catalog company and she will guide you through the system. When you enter the number you want info on, she will ask you to press #1 if it is correct. Next, you may hear a male computerized voice read you an address with a zip code. If not, the woman's voice will tell you that she cannot help you. We tried this system several times with listed and unlisted numbers and got the correct addresses on listed numbers, no help on some unlisted numbers, and a wrong address on one unlisted number! So, while this set up is not perfect, it can be helpful!

Have any Ideas? Please send them to Subversive Electronics,
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ELECTRONIC SWITCHING SYSTEMS EXPLAINED

By Zapper (Nuclear Phreakers, Hackers, Carders)

ESS is the big brother of the Bell family. Its very name strikes fear and apprehension into the hearts of most phreakers, and for a very good reason.

ESS (Electronic Switching System) knows the full story on every telephone hooked into it. While it may be paranoid to say that all phreaking will come to a screeching halt under ESS, it's certainly realistic to admit that any phreak whose central office turns to ESS will have to be a lot more careful.

Here's why! With Electronic Switching, every single digit dialed is recorded. This is useful not only for nailing phreaks but for settling billing disputes. In the past, there has been no easy way for the phone company to show you what numbers you dialed locally. If you protested long enough and loud enough, they might have put a pen register on your line to record everything and prove it to you. Under ESS, the actual printout (which will be dug out of a vault somewhere if needed) shows every last digit dialed.

Every 800 call, every call to directory assistance, repair service, the operator, every rendition of the 1812 overture, everything! Here is an example of a typical printout, which shows time of connect, length of connect, and number called.

DATE	TIME	LENGTH	UNITS	NUMBER
0403	1517	3	1	296-6820
0403	1523	5	3	567-3211
0403	1600	1	0	921-1044
0403	1610	1	0	800-555-1212
0403	1612	10	2.35*	716-221-3184
0403	1629	1	0	000-000-0000
(TSPS)				

A thousand calls to "800" will show up as just that—a thousand calls to "800"! Every touch tone or pulse is kept track of and for most phreaks, this in itself won't be very pretty.

A traffic engineer did an exhaustive study of all 800 calls over the past few years and reached the following conclusions:

- 1) Legit made calls to 800 numbers last an average of 3 minutes or less. Of the illegal (i.e., phreakers) calls made via 800 lines, more than 80% lasted 5 minutes or longer.
- 2) The average residential telephone subscriber makes five such calls to an 800 number per month. Whenever phreakers are being watched, that number was significantly higher. As a result of this study, one feature of ESS is a daily log called the "800 Exceptional calling report." (As Prometheus spoke of in NARC #3)

Under ESS, one simply does not place a 2600 hz tone on the line, unless of course, they want a telco security representative and a policeman at their door within a hour! The new generics of ESS (the #5) now in production, with an operating prototype allow the system to silently detect all "FOREIGN" tones not available on the customer's phone. You have exactly 12 buttons on your touch-tone phone. ESS knows what they are, and you had best not

sound any other tones on the line, since the new #5 is programmed to silently notify a human being in the central office, while continuing with your call as though nothing were wrong! Someone will just punch a few keys on their terminal, and the whole story will be right in front of them, and printed out for action by the security representatives as needed.

Tracing of calls for whatever reason (abusive calls, fraud calls, etc.) is done by merely asking the computer right from a terminal in the security department. With ESS, everything is right up front, nothing hidden or concealed in electromechanical frames, etc. It's merely a software program. And a program designed for ease in operation by the phone company. Call tracing has become very sophisticated and immediate. There's no more running in the frames and looking for long periods of time. ESS is based on ROM chips in computers, which work fast.

Phone phreaks are not the only reason for ESS, but it was one very important one. The first and foremost reason for ESS is to provide the phone company with better control on billing and equipment records, faster handling of calls (i.e., less equipment tied up in the office at any one time), and to help agencies such as the FBI keep better account of who was calling who from where, etc. When the FBI finds out that someone whose calls they want to trace is on an ESS exchange, they are thrilled because it's so much easier for them to trace it.

The United States won't be 100% ESS until sometime in the mid 1990's. But in real practice, all phone offices in almost every city are getting some of the most basic modifications brought about by ESS. "911" service is an ESS function. So is ANI (Automatic Number Identification) on long distance calls. "Dial tone first" pay phones are also an ESS function. None of these things

were available prior to ESS. The amount of pure fraud calling via bogus credit card, third number billing, etc. On Bell's lines led to the decision to rapidly install the ANI, for example, even if the rest of the ESS was several years away in some cases.

Depending on how you choose to look at the whole concept of ESS, it can be either one of the most advantageous innovations of all time or one of the scariest. The system is good for consumers in that it can take a lot of activity and do lots of things that older systems could never do. Features such as direct dialing overseas, call forwarding (both of which open up new worlds of phreaking which we'll discuss in future issues) and call holding are steps forward, without question. But at the same time, what do all of the nasty implications mentioned further back mean to the average person on the sidewalk? The system is perfectly capable of monitoring anyone, not just phone phreaks! What would happen if the nice friendly government we have somehow got overthrown and a mean nasty one took its place? With ESS, they wouldn't have to do too much work, just come up with some new software. Imagine

a phone system that could tell authorities how many calls you placed to certain types of people i.e., black people, communists, laundromat service employees... ESS could do it, if so programmed.

ADVERTISE IN THE SHADOW!!

Subculture

By Scott Cunningham

When the sublet ran out this summer, I moved to that sleepy little toxic artist farm across the bridge, known as Williamsburg. The move took up so much time that I had to skip the last issue of *the SHADOW* (as if anyone noticed). I still feel a bit shaky since leaving the East Village, but, hey, I'll get over it. The biggest problem is all the abandoned cats out here. These cats breed like rabbits. Once you feed 'em, word goes out on their little feline information highway and before you know it--whammo--you're devoting half your life to cat care. But, hey, I'll get over it. Anyway, I've started to get a stack of stuff I want to review and I need to go through it as quickly as possible. Gotta make room for another furry little mouse-killer here at the beautiful Kit-Kat Hotel.

Real Girl is a real good comic that's been kicking around for a couple of years, trying to find a regular readership, but never really carving out a place for itself in the glutted alternative comic market. Too bad I'm mentioning the comic only now, since its run is winding down. The word is that editor Angela Bocage is planning to produce only two more issues before closing down and heading to law school. Too bad! The world needs less lawyers and more comics for women.

You can still pick up the current issue, No. 7, with an extremely evocative cover by one of my favorite artists, Phoebe Gloeckner. On *Real Girl's* flip-side you get a new mini-sized comic (in length, not page-size format) with similar themes, called *Girllink*. *Girllink* is trying to become a full blown, regular title with this launch on the back of *Real Girl*, so if you like them, write and tell the editors. Tons of feverish fan mail can be used as hard evidence by

the *Girllink* staffers (editors Isabella Bannerman, Sabrina Jones and Ann Decker) to get a distributor.

A lot of the comics inside are by regular contributors to *World War 3 Illustrated*, but *Girllink* definitely does not feel like a female version of the East Village's best known political comic. Politics are only a small piece of the personal ingredients that go into the *Girllink* brew. Few of the stories have that angry edge associated with *WW3*. *Girllink* goes for a cooler, more reflective style.

But I don't want to give you the impression it's too laid-back, either. After all, these gals live in New York, not San Francisco. The color cover is funny and juicy, one of the best things I've seen by Fiona Smyth. And there's two really wild strips in the collection by editors Jones and Decker, respectively. Decker's "First Love" starts out as a sweet, true "art student" romance, but winds up with a rape at gunpoint. Now, I know what you're thinking, but you're wrong: the story is completely unpredictable (just the way life is). And this is only the first part of the story. The second half supposedly gets weirder.

Speaking of the weird, that's the word for Jones surreal camping trip-strip "Shadows". Her graphic style is big and bold, but the story is extremely internal -- like a series of random, but connected thoughts and images -- there's no straight narrative. Throw into that mix a clear sense of ambiguity (yes, that's what I said) and you've got a comic that can make your legs feel wobbly. I can't claim to know what's going on here completely, but I can warn you guys out there: don't go camping with this woman! Address your correspondence or contributions to *Girllink*, 143 West 96th St., Apt. #D, N.Y., N.Y. 10025.

Now, let me see, I'll just set the *Real Girl/Girllink* comic aside here, and.... hmmm, what's next on the stack? Ooops...the *Screw Comix*. Now, how'd that get there?

All right, all right. So maybe I know a couple of the artists who work there, and that's how this tainted rag fell into my hands. Well...okay, so I used to work there, too. And because of that, maybe I do know the entire staff and have even met Al Goldstein, in person, once! Okay, so I'm also featured in the comic with an incoherent tribute to Charleston Heston and talking apes, simply titled: "Battle Beneath the Planet of the Giant Penises!" So that's how it got there in my stack!!!

Screw Comix is an unhealthy, but fun, romp through the world of self-deprecating sex gags and nutty perversion. It features a lovely full color cover by local pornister dirty Danny Hellman. And, unlike the actual magazine, with *Screw Comix* you don't have to wade through all those smut photos from the 60's that the mag has been recycling for years. (There's one guy I keep seeing over and over again in the pictures. He has really big Elvis side-burns; I feel like I know him.) Stand-outs in the stable of ink-studs (and studettes) include: the terminally weird Michael Kupperman, the aforementioned Mr. Hellman, the convicted graphic criminal Mike Diana, and the always erotic Spain, (at least when outlining the contours of his sexy character Big Bitch). The *Screw Comix* is available through the previously unheard of Edge Publishing Company, 1503 Bitner Place, Moore Park, CA 93021. Or get it from the source and order it from *Screw* at Milky Way Production, 116 West 14th Street, 10011. It was edited by the able-bodied Kevin Hein.

If you're feeling particularly P.C., (or guilty, especially if you ordered the *Screw Comix*) then you can get a positive, political charge from a one shot anthology aimed at fighting discrimination and homophobia, called *Hands Off*. It's a collection of over 35 artists including some of the biggest names in the alternative comic world, like: Peter Kuper, J.R. Williams, Dennis Elchhorn, Seth, Peter Bagge, Tom Tomorrow, Roberta Gregory, Alison Bechdel, Joe Sacco, Lloyd Dangle and Michael Dougan. It's a lotta comic for \$2.95 and it's for a good cause: all the proceeds go to Washington Citizens For Fairness/Hands Off Washington. It's on the stands now, but you can also order it from Ward Sutton Productions: 501 N. 36th Street, Suite 350, Seattle, WA. 98103.

One more really good new comic is called *Scenes From the Inside*. Don't even bother looking for it around here. It's strictly still a "mail thing" but it's worth your blind investment. The artists are all young and unknown, but there's a lot of work that's really developed and meaty. It reminded me of the first issues of *World War 3*, if it was done by some angry Brits. Sixty pages and only 9 bucks for 4 issues (although I'd throw in more cash to handle postage). Send to: London-5 Borough Road, Isleworth, Mddx. TW7 5DV Bristol-10, Harcourt Rd, Redland, Bristol, BS6 7RG.

Now I've got to go feed some cats.

(Got any comix/zines/shows to review? Please send whatever you've got to the SHADOW)

ZINE REVIEWS

By Stuart Frankel

EARTH FIRST! -- These people do NOT fool around. Serious monkeywrenchers, they are painted by the major media as dangerous, which they most definitely are, and crazed, which they most definitely are not. Vol. XIV, No. VII tells about trouble they've made for a nuke plant, for bulldozers in the last open space on the coast in Orange County, Calif., and other places. Lots and lots of reports from affinity groups all over the world on local successes and failures (Hydro-Quebec, the Helena National Forest in Montana, wolves in British Columbia, and others.) Also techniques for monkeywrenching (for entertainment purposes only, of course), avoiding grand juries, and some bad poetry. *Earth First!* is so effective, it's even had an impact on the mainstream environmental groups which can be even more thickheaded than big business sometimes. (\$3.50, 40 pages, tabloid. PO Box 1415, Eugene OR 97440)

THE FIJActivist -- The Fully Informed Jury Association is making a difference. Juries in this country have the right (and, in many states including New York, an EXPLICIT right) to vote their consciences if they think the law is unjust. Judges hate this and refuse to allow defense attorneys to inform juries about this, which is where FIJA comes in. They contact media and leaflet jury pools and have gotten many people acquitted from ridiculous "crimes" such as selling vitamins or possessing small amounts of marijuana. The newsletter contains original stories and reprints about the FIJA from other media. This is an issue of personal liberty which spans the political spectrum. (\$15/yr for four issues, 64 pages, tabloid + inserts. P.O. Box 59, Helmville, MT 59843)

JERSEY BEAT -- The reliable east-coast punk zine, still going strong after 11 years. Heavy emphasis on the local scene. Ish 52 has band reviews (from the Friggs, Madball (Agnostic Front retreads), Deadguy, Wgl, and more) which are actually interesting (and when was the last time you could say that about band interviews?), an Internet discussion about major labels with Steve Albini, reports from the CMJ convention, and an interview with the founder of High Times. Maybe the best thing about this zine is the tons of reviews, which somehow manage to be good reading. Besides, their likes and dislikes mostly coincide with mine, so I know they have good taste. Editor Jim Testa's review of Helmet's BETTY deserves to be engraved in granite somewhere, preferably on Page Hamilton's brain. (\$2.00, 88 pages? From 418 Gregory Ave., Weehawken NJ 07087)

LIES OF OUR TIMES -- One of the most important sources of alternative news. Prints not only correctives, commentaries and analyses on the *New York Times* (some by former *Times* writers such as John Hess), but also on our society in general (the other meaning of "our times"). The August ish has articles on women in South Africa, our government's war against a nuclear ban, a rapier-like analysis by Noam Chomsky of the modern union busting movement, coverups of environmental problems (like deaths) at a British nuclear reprocessing plant, a deconstruction of the *Times'* love affair with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (senior blowhard from New York), and lots more. If you get any of your news from any of the major media, you need this. (\$3.50, 32 pages, 8 1/2"x11", slick. At newsstands or from 145 West 4th St., New York NY 10012)

SATANIC Lite

A CULT for BEGINNERS

© MICHAEL DOUGAN

INTRODUCTION		
HEX GIVE YOUR WORST ENEMY A MILD HEADACHE	RITUAL GO TO HELL! DAMN DAMN DAMN! SWEAR IN FRONT OF YOUR GRANDPARENTS	CHANT THE DEVIL IS O.K.
HEX GIVE YOUR WORST ENEMY A BUTT RASH	RITUAL CREATE A MINUTEMAN OIL SPILL IN YOUR FISH TANK	CHANT SATAN IS NEAT
HEX GIVE YOUR WORST ENEMY A BAG FULL OF MAGGOTS	RITUAL ADOPT A DIET THAT PROMOTES FLATULENCE AND TOOTH DECAY	CHANT THE DEVIL IS MY MAIN SQUEEZE
HEX GIVE YOUR WORST ENEMY A LOADED GUN AND A PHONE BOOK	RITUAL PAINT YOUR HOUSE BLACK AND STOP MOWING YOUR LAWN	CHANT I AM SATAN'S TENDERONI

SATANIC LITE ♪ ♪ JUST AS EVIL ♪ ♪ LESS FILLING

I DON'T REMEMBER IF MIKE WROTE TO ME, OR SCREW MAGAZINE, WHERE I USED TO WORK. I DO REMEMBER HOW I FELT WHEN I SAW HIS EARLY (HE WAS 19) CRUDE STRIPS & GAGS. I LIKED IT. A REBEL YELL FROM HELL!

THIS GUY COULD SEE RIGHT THRU THE ZOMBIES THAT SURROUNDED HIM IN:

BUTTFUCK FLORIDA

SCHAEFER NATASHA ©1994

HE COULD SEE THE CRIMES IN THEIR WITHERED HEARTS.

WHAT HEARTS? PREISTS & CHILDREN. THEY JUST DONT GET THE JOKE

BACK TO SCREW. I SWEAR I DIDN'T KNOW JOHN WAYNE GACY HAD A SUBSCRIPTION TO SCREW WHEN I PUT HIS CLOWN PAINTERIE IN THE SCUMMY RAG.

OH, NOOOO!

HERE KIDDO! KIDDO!

OOPS. WRONG STORY

BOOM!

ANYWAY, EVERYTIME I PUT MIKE'S DRAWINGS ON THE "BOARDS" AT SCREW THE (THEN) LAMEASS MANAGING EDITOR WOULD BUTTIN' EM, AFRAID

FREE PORN

WHEEZE HACK!

RIGHT ON!

GROOVY!

DO AS YOU ARE TOLD!

the RAG THAT FOUGHT FOR MORE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS BATTLES DURING THE 60S

LAWYER

FINE TAN YER FEES \$\$\$\$

LIBERAL

THAN ABOUT ANY MAGAZINE JUST WHIMPED COMPLETELY WHEN IT CAME TO MIKE DIANA

CENSORED

CENSORED

CAN'T SHOW KIDS HAVING SEX, BESTIALITY, IN FACT, CAN'T SHOW KIDS AT ALL!!

1.

I'VE ONLY SPENT A WEEK OR SO WITH MIKE DIANA. HE FLEW UP TO MY OLD EAST VILLAGE PAD.

I TURNED HIM ON TO A VERY SERIOUS DRUG THAT PLUGS INTO THE CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM. A DRUG I CAN NO LONGER GEE.

HE DID A INTRICATE SKULL 'N' TNT DRAWING I PROUDLY OWN.

WE BOTH WIMPARED ABOUT OUR X-GIRL PETS. BOTH JULIES. BOTH WE MET THRU OUR COMICS.

FROM MIKE
To Julie

FROM JULIE
To MIKE D.

FROM JULIE
To Julie

FROM JULIE
To MIKE

2

I REMEMBER SAYING AT A LOW POINT: "IF SHE TOLD ME SHE'D COME BACK IF I KILLED SOMEONE FOR HER, I'D DO IT!"

HE SAID "BUT YOU WOULDN'T KNOW IF SHE WOULD KEEP HER WORD AFTER YOU DID IT."

IT WAS 4 OR 5 AM & WE'D BEEN SNOOTING DRUGS FOR DAYS -

BUT I KNEW MIKE COULD SEE DEEPER INTO PEOPLE THAN I COULD.

NOT FOR PEOPLE WHO FAINT EASILY!

GOODLUCK MIKE n SUZY FROM MIKE F. ☆ N24254B



ROW OF LEYTONSTONIA SQUATS COMPLETE WITH BARRICADES AND

TRAVELOGUE

(Continued From Page 17)

far fewer guns in London than in New York, and a shooting or armed robbery is front-page news.

London is, by far, a more political city than Amsterdam. The traditional Marxist left is in decline, having cast its lot with the Labour Party, which nobody regards as progressive anymore. There is a growing counterculture-based environmental politik throughout England, however, which the government sees as a great threat.

The biggest current manifestation of this political tendency in London is the "No M11 Link Road Campaign," dedicated to preventing construction of a superhighway extension through several working class neighborhoods in East London. The way the No M11 people do their thing is to occupy buildings in the path of the road that are slated for demolition and squat in them, forcing the government to go to great expense to get them out. The road protestors are, primarily, younger environmental activists, with a sprinkling of people from the old neighborhood who refuse to leave their homes. In the neighborhood of Leyton, an entire street of Victorian houses along Claremont Road has been occupied by a motley crew of hippies, punx, a ninety-three year old woman named Dolly who was born in the building that she is now squatting, and some middle-aged local beer drinkers with no place to move. They have named their street Leytonstonia and have declared their independence from the UK. The construction company has hired dozens of West African men, many of whom speak no English, to guard their equipment from the protestors. The protestors have a strange relationship with the security guards, who stand every five feet along the barrier between Claremont Road and the M11 construction site to keep the rag-tag malcontents from filling the bulldozers' petrol tanks with dirt. One minute they will joke with the African chaps and offer them food; the next minute they will call them tools of Babylon and encourage the little children to squirt them with water guns. Claremont Road itself is a huge multicolored canvas -- and the booby traps set for the construction crew are part of the painting. Protestors have driven huge screws into the core of the condemned trees, making them impossible to fell with chainsaws. In the branches are garishly painted tree houses. Holes just wide enough for two human arms have been drilled into the pavement of Claremont Road. They expose a sturdy iron pipe under the asphalt to which somebody can handcuff him or herself

now making its way through Parliament.

Because British common law contains provisions guaranteeing squatter's rights, elaborate legal proceedings must be taken before police may be brought in to evict people. This has often enabled successful experiments in squatting to be carried off, particularly in the lower rent districts of South London where these legal proceedings are less cost-effective. When evictions take place, they are often combined with compromises enabling the evicted squatters to move into low-rent housing. A long row of gray buildings on Crampton Street, just south of the Thames, had been squatted for years after being slated for demolition by the local Council (a relic of semi-defunct British Social Democracy which is like a Community Board in New York with more power). When the buildings were condemned, some of the respectable tenants moved, though others stayed and were joined by young non-conformist types from other parts of London. Everybody lived rent-free for a while. After years of battles with the Council, a compromise was reached whereby the tenants and squatters would agree to pay about 100 pounds per month (about \$160) in exchange for no further efforts to evict them. The block is now a pleasant mix of old people and freaks. At the end of the street is a storefront food co-op with an anarchist bookstore in the back room (the 56a Infoshop, 56 Crampton Street, London SE 17). The place is rented from the Council for 10 pounds per week.

The British Government in both its Tory and Labour incarnations is very disturbed by these manifestations of people's power. The men in Parliament are concocting a scheme called the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill, which is currently winding its way through Parliament. The Labour Party (Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition and the leaky vessel of British socialism gone sour) supports the Criminal Justice Bill more than the Tories do, because Labour is now "the real party of law and order." The CJB is an attack on traditional British rights in the name of law and order. It is specifically aimed at counterculture activity. In some of the clauses:

- It creates a new offense of "Aggravated Trespass," punishable by 3 months imprisonment -- involving occupation of property with intent to "obstruct lawful activity." This will criminalize direct action protests like the

one against the M11 Link Road. Persons who incite others to participate in such protests may also be charged with this crime.

► It makes it legal for landlords to send private security agents into squatted buildings, and to obtain "interim possession orders" without informing the squatters that proceedings are afoot to evict them. Failure of persons to leave an occupied building within 24 hours after an "interim possession order" has been served will be punishable by 6 months imprisonment. This measure of the CJB curtails the squatters rights that Britons have enjoyed since the days of the Magna Carta.

► It gives the police extensive powers to break up public gatherings. Failure to leave an area when ordered to do so by the police will be punishable by 3 months imprisonment. The police need only take "reasonable measures" like announcing "you must disperse" over a bullhorn.

► It specifically outlaws the playing of "rave" music in the countryside. Rave music is legalistically and ridiculously defined in the bill. Raves, in which hundreds of young people gather to dance and do LSD and XTC in rural meadows, are a popular counterculture activity throughout England.

► It limits the number of people who can gather in one spot on rural land without permission of the owner. Many woodlands and meadows in the British countryside, even when privately owned, have been defined as "commons" where people have a traditional right to gather. Similar to proposed Forest Service regulations in the US intended to outlaw Rainbow Gatherings, this clause of the CJB is aimed at solstice-time New Age gatherings, which have been the subject of much media

vilification. Another provision of the CJB permits localities to establish restrictions on traveller's movements and campsites.

► It establishes special prisons for persons 12 to 14 years of age, and increases the powers of the courts to jail persons that young.

► Miscellaneous provisions of the CJB increase the maximum fine for cannabis possession from 500 to 2,500 pounds, curtail the right of arrested persons to remain silent, enable the cops to take DNA samples from prisoners without their consent, and extend the laws against obscenity and pornography.

► As a sop to the respectable gay movement, the CJB liberalizes the age of homosexual consent, lowering it from age 21 to age 18.

The Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill is about to go back to the House of Commons for a final vote, whereupon the Queen will rubber stamp it and make it law. On October 8, a demonstration of 30,000 people took place in Central London against the CJB. There is little media focus on the Bill, which is presented to Britons only as a measure to stem the growing crime rate in their country. As in Amsterdam, there is considerable pressure on the British government to enact anti-squatting measures according to the provisions of European reunification.

Starting with the Wat Tyler and Jack Cade rebellions, there have been times in British history where the government has gone too far in fucking with people's rights, provoking a cataclysm that forced the reactionaries to back down. However, five years after the great riot against Maggie Thatcher's infamous Poll Tax, the Poll Tax remains, disguised as a more innocuous "Council Tax" imposed by the local Council. The tax is evaded outright by millions of Britons, who sit in pubs exchanging schemes for evading the bailiffs who come around to collect the extortionate tax which hits the poor harder than the rich. It remains to be seen where this repressive trend in Britain will go.

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CLINTONGATE

(Continued From Page 9)

Pentagon. Joanne McCaskill, whose sailor son allegedly killed himself in an El Salvador bar, says that Foster's death makes her wonder. "What did he know?" she rhetorically asked a New York *Daily News* reporter last August.

Can we trust Reed?

How much of this sordid tale is to be believed? Terry Reed is an embittered right-wing spook who may have his own reasons to want to destroy Clinton. A veteran of Air Force intelligence and the CIA's "secret war" in Laos, Reed says he was personally recruited for the Contra operation by Oliver North -- who went by the code name "John Cathay." He also says that his patriotic services got him into legal trouble.

Reed claims that in 1983, North instructed him to donate his private plane to the Contras, then report it stolen to cash in on the insurance. Two months later, a private investigator working for Arkansas state police captain and longtime Clinton security chief Raymond "Buddy" Young discovered Reed's plane in a hangar near Little Rock. Reed faced fraud charges, but in 1991 the case was dropped after the government refused to turn over North's diaries as evidence. Reed retaliated by launching suit against Young, accusing him of fabricating the charges. That case is still pending, and President Clinton has since appointed Young a regional director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in Texas.

Reed has also filed a \$41 million libel suit against *Time* magazine for an April 1992 story characterizing his

book as fiction. Skeeter Ward has threatened to file a libel suit against Reed for allegations made in his book, and has sent letters to booksellers urging them to "immediately discontinue distribution of this libelous product." At least one chain, Hastings Books of Texas, has yanked the title.

Ironically, while Reed's unproven allegations may hurt Bill Clinton, the substantiated charges of conspiracy, drug-smuggling and undermining democracy don't seem to be hurting Oliver North. His felony convictions of lying to Congress overturned on a narrow technicality, North is ahead in the polls in the Virginia Senate race as **The SHADOW** goes to press. Running on an antidrug law-and-order platform, his links to the cocaine trade never received substantial media attention in the US. However, in 1989, an official report by the National Assembly of Costa Rica declared North and four others -- including the US ambassador, the local CIA chief and ex-NSC chief John Poindexter -- *persona non grata* on Costa Rican territory, charging that the secret Contra-re-supply operation they had run near the Nicaraguan border had doubled as a cocaine-smuggling ring. Another little-noted revelation from the Congressional probe into Contragate was the secret plan North developed with FEMA to overturn the US Constitution and declare martial law in the event of widespread protest to the planned invasion of Nicaragua. Since admitting he lied to Congress in 1987, North has raked in \$2 million in book royalties and lecture fees.

In America, it seems, sometimes crime *does* pay.

FBI BOMBERS

(Continued From Page 3)

AGENTS PROVOCATEUR AND THE SECRET GOVERNMENT

The Edam Salem tape recordings speak volumes about the on-going influence of "the secret team", which has over the last four decades assassinated democratic government in America. As concealed as it is deadly to victims of its methods, which includes outright murder, this techno-fascism of control utilizes a type of state terrorism fond of grand spectacles of fiery destruction: SLA in Los Angeles, MOVE in Philadelphia and the Branch Davidian church in Waco, to name a few. An arsenal of weapons at its disposal, including various forms of entrapment, the creation of "patsies" and subsequent conspiracy "frame-up" trials, this strategy has been in operation for a long time.

In 1969-1970, an FBI informant known to student radicals as Tommy the Traveler, organized, planned and helped carry out the bombing of an ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) building at Hobart College in Geneva, New York. Tommy, the prototypical "agent provocateur" masquerading as an organizer for SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), was always the one at anti-Vietnam war meetings to push for the most extreme and violent measures. These agents specialize in infiltrating groups, adopting the most radical pose and pushing legitimate political concerns into illegal areas, hence criminal activities. On one occasion, Tommy showed some students a car load of dynamite. Then, after the ROTC building was blown up, nine students were arrested and charged with conspiracy in the bombing. After a lengthy trial, at which time Tommy (The Traveler) Tongyai, a Thai nationalist, was exposed as an FBI informant, two college freshmen were convicted in the case, despite their obvious entrapment by the informant.

More recently, targets as diverse as Earth First, Animal Rights groups, Central and Latin American solidarity organizations and Black and Latino liberation movements have been victimized by this strategy of manipulation and criminalization by way of the "agent provocateur."

This is the tried and true method the state uses to instill paranoia, restrict civil rights, call for more stringent laws, and imprison revolutionaries and others active in political struggle while criminalizing whole communities of people and nations. In this case, Arabs worldwide, active on behalf of justice and human rights.

The implications of the further exposure of U.S. secret government complicity in the domestic bombing of its citizens are profound. State terrorism of this sort can never be justified. In fact, it is a crime against the people. The sad irony is that the people are not sufficiently strong to prosecute these crimes, crimes perpetrated by elite, fascist america's "secret team".

An especially chilling declaration by "Special Agent" Anticev at the close of his conversation with Emad Salem reaffirms the point of view of the "invisible government." Anticev says:

"...we're doing this for a higher reason. We know what we're doing and we know what it's gonna mean in the future. Forget about bureaucrats! Forget about them. They come and go, okay? We know what we're doing and at the end we're gonna at least be able to look at each other and said we tried the best we could, ya know, not for the government. The government is a very, you know, what do you call, unidentifiable thing, you know? It's a, sometimes it's one person affecting you, sometimes it's bureaucratic things, but we'll still know what we did. That's all we're gonna say."

(Tapes containing both conversations obtained by the SHADOW along with transcripts of each, are available for \$5.00 + \$1.00 postage + handling from the SHADOW, P.O. Box 20298, New York, NY 10009)

MORE KOP-WATCH....

(Continued From Page 13)

While I enjoyed the relative privilege of being an international journalist in a country deeply concerned about its image abroad, native Koreans face a



"PLEASE NO TAKE PICTURE"

ROBERT KNIGHT

singing banned songs, or attempting to reunite their country, which remains divided by the dictates of the cold war.

Historical progress requires that Koreans make their own free choices for the future, and that Americans understand the old role and new possibilities of their own government in relation to Korea. After all, it's their country! *****

The SHADOW is now working with local activist photographers to compile the ultimate Kop-Watch mug shot book. Just as the kops maintain a photo file on political activists whom they enjoy identifying and abusing, we will have our own kop mug shot photo file that can be used by kop victims to identify kops who abuse them, and identify them for future lawsuits. This will be the perfect companion to the Kop-Watch data base now being assembled by SHADOW staffers and data contributors.

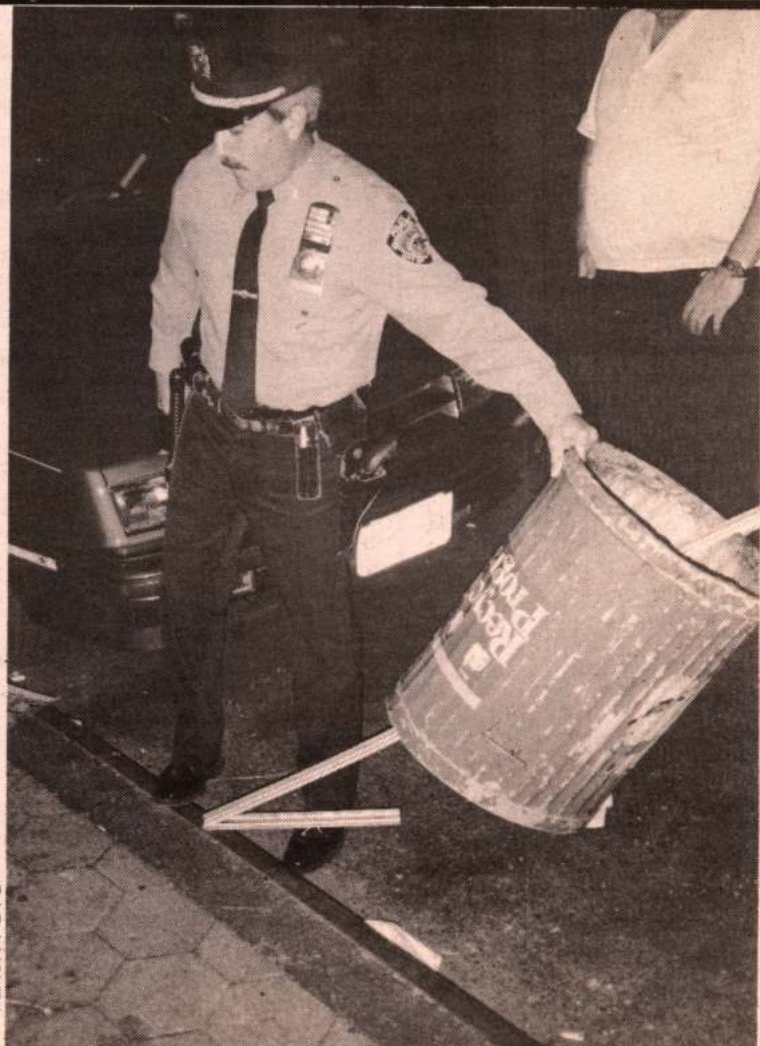
If you have kop data and/or photos (the more info on them, the better) to contribute to these projects, please send them to us. *****

Thanks again to our growing ranks of Kop-Watchers. You can be a Kop-Watcher too!! 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.

As always, keep on watching those kops!!

staggering level of repression for student, labor, feminist, peace and reunification activities.

Under the repressive National Security Law, an outgrowth of decades of dictatorship and United States military and economic influence, South Koreans pay dearly for their steps towards democracy and freedom. Most activists face more severe intimidation, and are past or future political prisoners, with terms ranging from one to forty years for such innocuous activities as labor strikes,



IN SEPTEMBER, LT. GERALD HEINZ WENT ON "TERMINAL LEAVE," (That's "retirement" to the rest of us), WITHOUT EVEN SAYING "GOOD-BYE!!" OH WELL, THIS IS HOW WE'LL ALWAYS REMEMBER HIM!!

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INCARCERATED ANARCHIST, vegetarian, into yoga, meditation, philosophy, framed by the amerikkkan judicial system, is trying to reach out and touch someone. All communications are welcome!! Peace, I'm out of here!! Lewis Peralta #93A0446, 135 State St., Box 618, Auburn, NY 13024-9000.

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ANARCHIST ACTIVIST: Incarcerated at Auburn, NY for having a blast. Fresh meat eater, pagan by faith, race: human, welcomes all communications. George W. White #94B0605, Auburn, NY 13021

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ANARCHIST ACTIVIST doing 12 years for selling LSD to a cop in a sting-op. Into vegetarianism, pagan spirituality, Rainbow Family. Welcome all communications. Dale R. Gowin #91-B-0209, Elmira Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 500, Elmira, NY 14902.

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