

# the SHADOW

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## LONG SQUAT SUMMER!!

### Pigs Roll Tank On Lower East Side Squatters Fight Back

Thirty-one people were arrested after a twelve hour street battle with riot cops and machine-gun toting SWAT teams trying to evict three squatted buildings on East 13th Street.

May 29, 3:05pm: It was like the Battle of Berlin, March 1945. Community defenders and squatters worked furiously around the clock in preparation for a promised mass eviction set for 4:00 the following morning. The sounds of chainsaws and generators filled the air as bikes and obstacles were welded to fire escapes. Windows and doors blocked, barricaded and welded shut. Building joists cut to size to block doors shut. Razor wire wrapped around scaffolding. Poles to push away police ladders. Booby traps throughout each building with large warning signs for the expected invaders. A dead car stood by parked at the curb for later use.

#### CITY USES VACATE ORDERS TO CIRCUMVENT LEGAL PROCESS

In the middle of ongoing evidentiary hearings brought by the squatters against the city, the Department of Buildings suddenly issued orders to vacate 541 and 545 East 13th Street and the ground floor of 539, based on non-existent "dangerous" conditions. After the vacate orders were nullified in court, the city obtained an Appellate Division ruling that supported the squatters' case while giving the city the ability to vacate the buildings until a later decision could be made by the court. (For more on the court case, see SHADOWS #34 + #35)

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CHRIS FLASH

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BLOCKHEADS CLOSE LA PLAZA CULTURAL



# SHADOW EDITORIAL

## YELLOW RIBBON OF TERROR

By A. Kronstadt

It is hard to condemn other human beings for taking up arms in their own defense; but it is hard to defend those who commit aggression in the name of bigotry. Oklahoma City mass murder suspects Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols are no freedom fighters. They are Nazis. They believe that they belong to a master race and have the right to decide who will live and who will die. They and their cothinkers have a burning hatred for non-white people in general, immigrants in particular. Far from being the action of an anarchist, the Oklahoma bombing was a very government-like act. This does not (necessarily) mean that any current government official ordered the bombing—but no one can deny that Timothy McVeigh's habit of killing people with explosives developed while he was a soldier in the United States Army.

The Oklahoma bombing is really a sequel to the Persian Gulf war, of which Timothy McVeigh is a decorated hero. First of all, it proves that those of us who protested the assembly-line slaughter in the Gulf were right. When, in January 1991, the Shadow editors and colleagues dumped a pile of pork guts in front of the NBC offices and set the mess ablaze with lighter fluid to demonstrate the effects of war on humans—we were accused of being violent. "Violent," they said. While our pile of pig entrails smoldered in the middle of 57th street, Timothy McVeigh was sitting in the gun turret of a gigantic Bradley armored vehicle sending blazing human entrails flying in all directions. McVeigh's job during the war was to operate a huge machine gun, a cannon, and four rocket launchers mounted on the Bradley, a multimillion dollar high-tech vehicle designed to break through fortifications such as those built by the Iraqi army in Kuwait. When the Iraqi fortifications were breached, McVeigh would open fire on the men inside as they tried to flee. He would use the cannon and rockets to incinerate Iraqis in their bunkers and trenches. All this, McVeigh

carried out from the turret of his armored behemoth with little danger of being killed himself, because the Iraqis had few weapons capable of destroying a Bradley.

Timothy McVeigh was not punished for what he did in the Persian Gulf. He was paid a salary by the Government, and in the end he was given a medal. Fools festooned themselves with yellow ribbons throughout the country in hope of his safe return. The news of the war was transmitted to Americans through the slitty eyes of men like McVeigh—"let's kill 'em all quick and get the job done." The flaming human entrails, the men disfigured for life, blinded—you were not allowed to see these things; only the "professionals" like McVeigh need to see the gory details in this most modern of wars. When several SHADOW readers and writers plastered Manhattan with posters depicting a hideously burned Iraqi soldier crawling out of a bunker—it could have been one of McVeigh's rockets that did it—we were called "extremists." To show the horrors of war those early months of 1991 made you an extremist, to inflict them made you a hero.

A hundred and sixty dead people was probably about a days work for Timothy McVeigh in those heady months. What happens to a man's mind when he does such things, day in and day out for three months? Is it surprising that he should return to the United States and continue his killing career. Once a man has been trained in mass killing, do you think that a mere difference in nationality—a piece of paper that says somebody is an American and not an Iraqi—is going to stop him from killing again? Is the demonization of "mud people" and "race traitors"—spewed forth by McVeigh's Nazi gurus—really that different from the demonization of Iraqis by the U.S. media during the Persian Gulf war? If they are convinced that surveillance will prevent future Oklahoma City-type tragedies, government officials should surveil the people whom they and their ilk have trained to kill, starting with the heroes of the Persian Gulf who have the highest body counts.

It is not difficult to understand why people all over Amerika hate the government. Far from "getting government off our backs" the shift toward the political right in Amerikan politics has made government more intrusive than ever before. From the war on drugs to "quality of life" crusades, government

has stuck its nose in more people's business than at any time in Amerikan history. That supposed friend of the poor man, Bill Clinton, has continued the trend, established by his predecessors Reagan and Bush, of locking poor people up instead of offering them opportunities. With a percent of our population already behind bars, the government offers not classrooms or useful work opportunities but more jail cells. The Republican promise of getting government off our backs has turned into a lie for the common conservative, and the Democratic promise of a free and civilized society has turned into a lie for the common liberal. These lies are making the number of people who hate the government grow. There is no easy stereotype for people who hate the government. Some of us are thoughtful, others stupid and mean. Some of us try to win over people's minds and create alternatives to government. Others, like Timothy McVeigh are trained as professional killers and will go out and kill somebody.

In response to the Oklahoma blast, the government is now seeking to ban bomb recipes from the Internet—but there is no evidence that McVeigh or his alleged cohorts got their deadly knowledge from the Internet. The government is now seeking ways to restrict the use of encrypted computer data and phone calls, although no one claims that any of the parties to the bombing communicated with encrypted data. The government is using the bombing as an excuse to strip immigrants of the right to due process, though no immigrants were involved in the bombing—in fact the people who did the bombing hate immigrants. Government officials are doing everything but asking themselves why people hate them. People hate the State because government has become a purely negative force in most people's lives. Government in 1995 comes bearing neither relief from poverty, nor education, nor health care—it comes bearing guns and handcuffs. From the inner city to the boondocks—government is perceived not as a helper but as an interfere with those who help themselves. Look at the street peddlers in New York City. Look at the marijuana growers in the Ozarks and Northern California. The government takes away the welfare, then arrests people for trying to make a living. The government is nothing but a corporation of life ruiners, and like all life ruiners, they provoke others to pay them back, ever stirring the spiral of violence.

We should however take the "anti-government" credentials of the militia demagogues with a grain of salt, however. These wannabe Hitlers capitalize on people's honest distrust of government policies to set up the putsch that will put them in charge of the government. The Amerikan Nazi bible called the *Turner Diaries* ends with white supremacists taking over the government and killing all the mud people and race traitors, just like in Germany. Militia fuhrers like Bo Gritz tell their followers to hate the government because it is run by Jews and protects niggers. They warn the rednecks that Bill Clinton is coming to prevent them from dumping their septic tanks in the river and Hillary is going to make them stop beating their wives. The freedom that they crave is unrestrained patriarchal, white colonial settler freedom. They'll restore slavery if we let them get away with—as far as these neo-confederates go, that's freedom with a capital "S."

Aside from the literal loss of life, the tragedy of the Oklahoma City bombing is that the people who did it are not the ones who will pay in the end. With the Omnibus Anti-Terrorism Bill winding its way through Congress—it looks like immigrants are going to take the rap for McVeigh's misdeed. Under this bill, the answer to the terrorism of lily-white immigrant-hating racists is to make it possible to deport immigrants without due process of law. Thus, if Timothy McVeigh's life is painlessly snuffed out by lethal injection at the government's new \$350,000 death chamber, he will die a successful martyr. His icon will hang on the wall of a hundred thousand bonehead homes as the man who made it easy for the government to deport the spooks back to Haiti and the bean eaters back to Guatemala. Not a bad end for a fascist pig!

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PETER LEVASSEUR

## CITY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PROTEST BUDGET CUTS: PIGS SQUELCH FREE SPEECH!! A Chronology of Protest

Special Report From *Coalition Press*

### 12,000 STUDENTS PROTEST AT CITY HALL--70 ARRESTED

In the largest student demonstration in years, twelve thousand students swarmed over City Hall Park on Thursday, March 23, to protest New York Governor George Pataki's budget, which calls for 25% funding cuts in city and state colleges and the reduction of financial aid. CUNY (City University of New York) students were joined by thousands of high school students, faculty and staff members and students from private colleges. 60% of CUNY and SUNY (State University of New York) are women and minorities and 50% come from households with family incomes below \$22,000 annually. (A smaller demonstration at NY's Hunter College resulted in a police attack on students.)

Although the organizers of the rally, the CUNY Coalition Against the Budget Cuts, had announced its peaceful intentions and had called upon the police in letters to the Mayor and the Police Commissioner to respect that peaceful intent, the police--in full force of astounding numbers including riot police and police mounted on horses--were given orders to barricade the crowd in order to forcibly prevent a march out of the City Hall area to Wall Street. Under these orders, the police refused every attempt on the part of groups and individuals to leave the rally area for whatever reason. The police refused even to accommodate children's groups from elementary schools brought by their teachers. All exits were forcibly closed to keep the crowd penned in.

Violence erupted when the police allowed a small group to begin a march north onto Chambers Street, then closed them off from their fellow protesters, surrounded them, and began to arrest them without warning. Many in the group, among them a faculty Chair from City College in cap and gown, then sat down in sign of passive protest but were arrested anyway.

After the initial violence subsided, the police at the corner of Chambers and Broadway indicated that the demonstrators should march to the east around City Hall. As they proceeded to march in this direction, they encountered more police who were not informed that the marchers had been told by the westernmost police contingent to proceed. These officers pushed angrily into the crowd, instigating further violence and making more arrests. Police hit indiscriminately at women and men, hitting one woman with a billy club who was loudly screaming that she was pregnant. Several members of the press were

beaten and thrown to the ground. A representative from City Council Member Tom Duane's office was hit and shoved to the pavement and then told to get out of the street. One police officer was hit on his helmet with an army helmet wielded by a student in the crowd. The officer was knocked unconscious by the blow and had to be dragged off by his fellows.

When the skirmish calmed and the attacking police were called away, the crowd resumed its peaceful march around City Hall. As the marchers approached full circle at the stage area, some gathered at the barricades at Broadway and demanded to be allowed to cross the street. The police gathered on the opposite side of the barricade, shoulder to shoulder, about four bodies deep and pushed the barricades against the protesters who, however, refused to give ground. Although rally leaders using bullhorns urged the students to back away from the barricades, students continued to gather to help keep the barricades back. The students and police engaged in a ten minute face off with the barricade between them. The police began to shove the barricades over, entrapping students who were sandwiched between their comrades on their side and the advancing police on the other. The situation nearly resulted in serious injuries ironically prevented only by the escalation of the police assault: they sprayed the crowd with pepper gas causing sudden dispersal and confusion in the crowd, during which they made further arrests.

The crowd, which had intended to gather peacefully and was not prepared for these assaults, gradually backed off with the arrival of the mounted police. Several school contingents then left the park and headed to Borough of Manhattan Community College. There they regrouped and headed to 1 Police Plaza where many of the arrested students were being held.

The protest then continued with speakers using a small megaphone. As the speakers walked away from the area, they were arrested for using a bullhorn without a permit. Among the speakers arrested was the faculty Chair from City College who had only moments before been released from jail on his arrest at the City Hall rally site. The by now modest crowd, which contained many high school students, was almost outnumbered by riot police. Observing these arrests, the group decided that it would leave en masse to prevent anyone from being singled out for arrest. After several more speakers were heard,

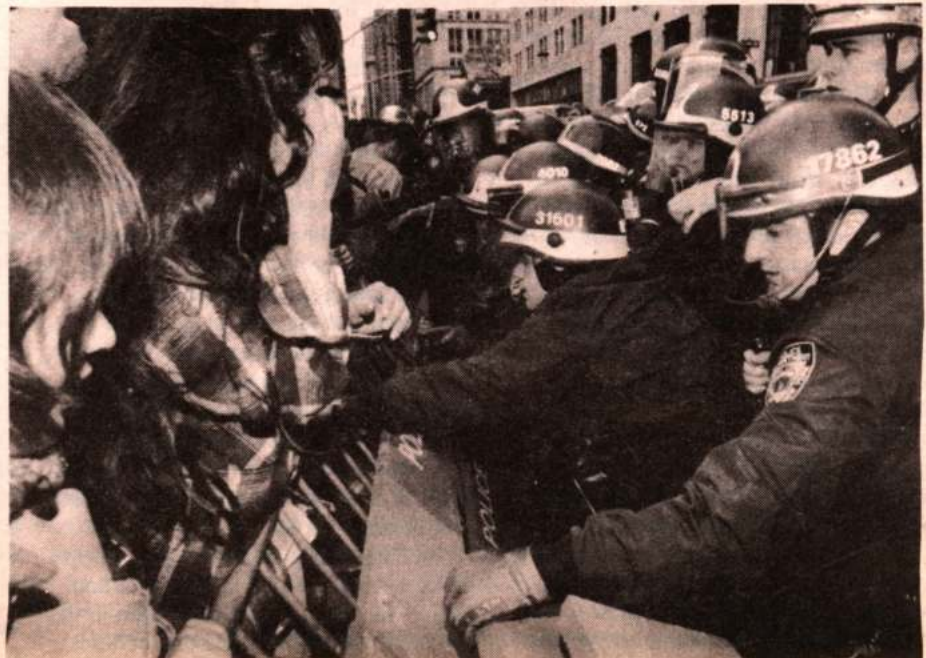
everyone began to move towards Park Row. As night fell, the group left the area without further incident.

### 43 HUNGER STRIKING STUDENTS ARRESTED BY CAMPUS SECURITY FORCE

On Tuesday, April 11, the City College security "peace" officers arrested 43 students conducting a peaceful hunger strike to protest the Governor's proposed budget cuts to the CUNY system. The students held their hunger strike in the open rotunda in the North Academic Center (NAC), a large building which is usually open to students around the clock. Yolanda Moses, President of City College, entered the NAC at midnight to announce that the building was closed and to order the arrest of all students choosing to remain there. With media observing, the special campus security team used their power of arrest to cart off the students to the 24th police precinct on West 100th Street where the fifteen women and twenty-eight men were held all night until being released

that students not be allowed to continue their hunger protest overnight.

The student government is housed in the NAC building and is given permission to use the building at all times. Among the arrested hunger strikers were two student government officers, Malik Small, President of the Day Student Government (and son of CCNY Professor James Small), and Tyler Hemingway, the President of the Graduate Student Government. In solidarity with the group, they allowed themselves to be arrested as well.



PETER LEVASSEUR

### PIGS WRESTLE WITH BARRICADES

at eight o'clock in the morning. All were charged with criminal trespass, a "B" misdemeanor. Upon being released, the students quietly returned to City College to continue their hunger strike.

NYPD riot police had also been called onto campus but remained outside the building. This was the first time CUNY security has arrested students. The police-trained security team is an innovation of Chancellor Reynolds in response to the 1991 CUNY-wide take-overs. (See SHADOW #17--Ed.)

The following day, President Moses explained that she had ordered the arrests to prevent a building takeover. However, it was pointed out to her that the students had made no attempt to close the building nor exclude anyone from entering. Nevertheless, she insisted

From *Coalition Press* (CUNY student activist journal) c/o the *Advocate*, CUNY Graduate Center, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, New York, 10036 (212) 642-2852. For up to the minute info, call CUNY Coalition Against The Cuts at: (212) 642-2549.

GOT A TIP??!!



DREW CRAWFORD

### WOMAN KNOCKED UNCONSCIOUS BY PIGS



## SQUATTERS FIGHT EVICTIONS BY PARAMILITARY PIGS!!

By Chris Flash

**"Expect a cast of thousands"--  
NYPD tipster to 13th Street  
squatters the day before the  
evictions.**

The squatter community was tipped off to the coming raid by two sources: a ranking NYPD cop who knew the evictions would be illegal and a source connected to HPD (Department of Housing, Preservation and Development).

As the building defenses were fortified, some residents moved their most valued possessions to safe locations to later rejoin the work crews and put their bodies on the line when needed. An armada of moving vans and trucks loaded belongings as squatters and their neighbors hugged each other. Neighborhood kids hung out in front of the squatter bike shop at 539, using the free tools and parts to assemble and fix their bikes, seemingly unaware of the desperate activity around them. Banners draped from buildings read: "This is an Illegal and Unjust Eviction," "MOVE," + "Home Sweet Home."

By 4:30, many joined the fortification effort. Food Not Bombs set up a food line and quickly fed everyone. Plain-clothes cops passed by watching the activity, followed by a Fox-TV news truck shortly after. Inside, the homesteaders' legal committee was busily preparing motion papers to present in court the following morning.

Later that evening, a violent thunderstorm with heavy rain came as movers continued getting stuff out. By midnight, it ended, allowing preparations to continue as cop cars kept passing by. Legal co-ordinator Peter Spagnuolo went on Paul DeRienzo's WBAI-FM radio show to tell New Yorkers what was about to happen on 13th Street. Completely broke, he was given a free ride back to the squats by a cabbie listening to the show.

As 1:00am approached, welding crews had to speed up their progress, but were unable to weld some apartment doors since the frames were either too thin or of an incompatible metal. Soon, the call came for all those who were staying inside to lock themselves in. The three buildings were then sealed and welded shut. It was decided that the squatters would try to hold off the evictions as long as possible, giving their attorneys Jackie Bukowski and Stanley Cohen time to get a court order the following morning to stop the evictions.

Outside, the dead car was turned upside down and pushed into the street. Gasoline was poured all over it. Heavy barricades consisting of joists, garbage dumpsters, old stoves, appliances and bags full of garbage were erected at the

corner of 13th Street + Avenue B and halfway up the block toward Avenue A. A few cop cars arrived at 1:40 and watched helplessly as the barricading continued under their noses. More pigs arrived and fled when they smelled the heavily gas-soaked barricades. Music blared from Bob Dylan and the Clash on squatter stereo speakers as the number of defenders in the street increased.

Cops were unable to respond to the street action in force since their back-ups wouldn't arrive until at least 4:00am. Captain Conroy confirmed this at 2:30 when he was overheard by the **SHADOW** telling Inspector Seta on his cell phone: "I have very little manpower." After Conroy and other ranking cops negotiated with Stanley Cohen, some people agreed to douse the car with water and sand.

By 3:20, the stand-off continued as the number of squatters and their supporters in the street grew. Police moles told the **SHADOW** that the head pigs were frightened, unprepared for such an angry and organized response. Reconnaissance crews reported that only 25 or so cops were mobilized on 14th Street, versus the 80-100 people on the streets and in the buildings. Several layers of barriers were set up along 13th Street.

At 4:00, recon crews reported that more than 200 pigs in riot gear had arrived on 14th St. Reconners reported two buses full of riot pigs were deployed along the 10th Street side of Tompkins Square Park half an hour later. Five head pigs with binoculars were then spotted on the roof of a high rise apartment building overlooking 13th St.

By 5:00, flares were lit as pigs set up police lines at 13th + A, 12th + B and 14th + B. A metal jam then began in the middle of the block. A pig barrier truck passing 13th + A was descended upon by a media mob and attacked by the angry crowd. News trucks from Fox and Channels 4 + 7 were on the scene.

At 5:30, the metal jam was going strong, with neighbors joining in. Riot pigs in formation marched toward squats from Ave. A, as some gained access to rooftops. Defenders reinforced their positions with added manpower, chanting "No Pasaran, No Police State," while maintaining their positions at the Ave. B barricades. Special riot cops in navy blue fatigues and combat boots appeared. Large gas cannisters and gas masks as well as plastic strips (used in place of hand cuffs) were attached to their belts. They advanced slightly toward one of the barricades near Ave. A. Rather than retreat, the very angry crowd advanced toward them, with sticks in hand, continuing the metal jam. The pigs quickly stopped and took to nearby rooftops instead.



JACK DAWKINS

## TALES OF THE TRIAL: Cops Abuse Reporters At Squat Eviction

By Paul DeRienzo

It was noon in Justice Elliot Wilk's courtroom at State Supreme Court on June 12 and the judge was visibly perturbed. A witness who had been subpoenaed to testify wasn't present on the witness stand -- as he should have been. Prompting Stanley Cohen, an attorney for the 13th Street Homesteaders Association, to ask for a moment to make a phone call. When Cohen returned, he told the astonished judge the witness wasn't coming to court because his lawyers said he didn't have to.

The missing witness was writer and reporter John DeSantis and his attorneys are from the legal department of his boss, The New York Times. DeSantis was one of four persons, including two photographers, who were on a roof overlooking the evictions of 13th Street squatters on May 30 when they were ordered to lie flat on their stomachs by gun wielding police officers. The Times reporter, who has also written books on police misconduct, recounted the story at a protest on June 10. Two days later, he received a subpoena to testify in the squatters case.

DeSantis told Cohen and several bystanders that police officers in military style jackets and helmets with 9mm pistols drawn ordered him to first lie flat on his stomach and then to get up. DeSantis said his awkward position leaning over the parapet of the building prevented him from moving fast enough and the officers grabbed him by the scruff of the neck. In pulling him up, they slashed the inside of his arm against an exposed roof nail.

Although reported on local radio stations, news of the gun pointing incident didn't make a splash until a June 9 Newsday column reporting a letter sent

by venerable WNBC reporter Gabe Pressman to Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Police Commissioner William Bratton. The letter, written with New York Press Club President and WCBS reporter Deborah Wetzel, stated that what happened "was not in keeping with the tradition of the relationship between police and press in New York." Pressman and Wetzel wrote that the three reporters had press cards issued by the police and were on the rooftop overlooking the eviction with the permission of a building resident who was also forced to lie prone at gun point with the reporters.

Police claimed they were just trying to "insure the safety of reporters" when they ordered the press into "pens" far away from where more than 200 cops were arresting 31 squatters as they forced open their buildings. Police press officers said the police "followed standard procedure and as soon they [the reporters] were identified, they were escorted away." But Pressman and Wetzel say that they couldn't recall "any precedent for the procedure followed that morning." They complained that "the attitude of the police was arrogant and obstructionist," and their letter added: "It's time for drastic action."

Freelance photographer Q. Sakamaki testified in Judge Wilk's court on June 12 before DeSantis was due. He told the **SHADOW**: "Police press liaison came to me and gave me a kind of warning that when the action started I'd have to leave the scene." Sakamaki was determined to get his pictures, so he found a tenant of a residential building across the street from the evictions who gave him permission to enter the building and go the

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ASHLEY THAYER

A Mutt + Jeff team from the office of Deputy Commissioner for Public Info (DCPI) walked up to media people with press passes and told them that they wouldn't be able to guarantee their safety when the cops moved on the squats. They offered the "safety" of media pens set up far away from the action.

At this point, the pig strategy was to wait the squatters out, since most or all of the defenders had been awake all night, with some drinking beer as well. Those leaving the area to piss, get food and some rest were later unable to get past the police lines to return to 13th Street.

Another pig strategy was to give the impression that they didn't really want to evict the squats; that they too were waiting for the court decision the squatters hoped was coming in a few hours. A **SHADOW** reporter was told by cops that there would be no evictions and that they were only there to "keep the peace." Other cops spread this false information to people in the crowd. An undercover

pig detective kept asking people if the squatters inside had any guns, explosives or weapons.

As of 6:00, cops maintained their distance as the jam went on. Three pig helicopters hovered above. Suddenly, a bagel war erupted between defenders of 545 and people in the street. Some dumpster-dived veggies and jelly beans were added to the fray. The pigs and media morons don't know how to react to this strange display. The numbers of squatters and supporters were at a peak of 150-200.

Just after 7:00, riot pigs began bolder moves, setting up barriers at 13th + B. Various city officials from the Corporation Council, HPD, and NYPD arrived and observed the scene from 13th + B. Riot pigs slowly but surely fortified their ranks and moved in closer to the action. The defenders used a short lull to begin a street clean-up with brooms and garbage cans.

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rooftop. According to Sakamaki, at around 9:15 am, "about five or six special squad of police in black uniforms approached me, a New York Times correspondent, an Associated Press photographer and the resident of the building and pointed guns at us saying 'lay down' and ordered us to show an ID." Sakamaki said he and the others were made to lie face down on the roof with his hands outstretched. He told the **SHADOW**, "We were so nervous, it was incredible, it was like a dream." Sakamaki said that after he produced his press pass, he was escorted off the roof by the police, who prevented him from taking pictures.

Against this backdrop, an attorney for the New York Times, George Freeman, appeared before Judge Wilk at 3 pm on Monday, June 12. Freeman argued that although he had only heard about the case two hours earlier, he was convinced that DeSantis was covered by New York State's so-called "shield" law, intended to protect journalists from turning over unpublished and confidential information in a trial. Freeman told Wilk that the Times would "lose its objectivity if reporters are made to testify in the case." He also maintained the newspaper might lose the cooperation of people who believed their role might wind up in court. He summed up by asserting that reporters are "not the paid investigators for lawyers."

But three days later, a promised showdown between Stanley Cohen and the New York Times failed to materialize.

Cohen told the **SHADOW** that on June 15 Justice Wilk asked the city's attorney, Terry Sellers, if she objected to the Times reporter's testifying. Sellers jumped up and voiced her objection as Wilk stared on incredulously. He motioned the attorney to be silent and asked if the city understood the implications of their objection. Wilk then said that Cohen would be entitled to call police officers who were present on the roof to testify about what transpired with the journalists. Sellers shrugged aside Wilk's warning and the trial continued.

The next day, Wilk decided that while Cohen would be permitted to call the officers, he would not allow the issue to delay the end of the trial. Wilk told Cohen he could consider the incident between police journalists established as fact based on photographer Q. Sakamaki's testimony.

The issue of police misconduct towards reporters seems to be growing in recent years. During rallies by CUNY college students in recent months, several reporters and photographers have complained of being thrown to the ground or clubbed by police officers. But as in the case of the New York Times and cases involving the Daily News and television correspondents, fear of being isolated from police news sources have generally discouraged reporters from speaking out. The Times attorney argued that point when he told Judge Wilk that to cooperate with the squatters case might make DeSantis appear partisan, giving the police a reason to come down harder on reporters. Judge Wilk responded: "You mean next time they might pull the trigger?"



BARBARA LEE

## SQUATTER TANK ROLLS OVER SQUAT KOPS!!

By Chris Flash

Cops were again caught with their pants down as activists raided their positions in a hit and run raid on June 3.

Four days after the eviction of squats on 13th Street by riot cops, machine gun toting SWAT teams and an armored tank for visual intimidation, the anarchist and squatter community decided to respond with a raid of their own, complete with a home-made tank.

Days earlier, with participation from the annual Nationwide Nomadic Festival, activists created banners, masks, wild outfits and a prop tank named "Little Rudy," (in honor of the mayor), made of cardboard.

On June 3 at 6:00 pm, a parade of more than 100 people made their way up Avenues C and B to 13th Street, where only a handful of cops were guarding the police line barriers in front of 539 and 541 East 13th. Cops on the street were caught almost completely by surprise by the marchers' arrival as cops on roof tops ran downstairs to back them up.

Barriers were overturned and thrown at cops as bottles flew. People played tug of war with cops over the barriers. A stuffed effigy that read "HPD Sucks" was tossed out a nearby window. "Little Rudy" aimed its "turret" at cops, who overturned the tank on top of several demonstrators in wheel chairs. A rope was tied around a scaffolding support beam and pulled by a group of people in order to make it collapse like the scaffolding at 319 East 8th Street did in 1989. (See **SHADOW** #3--Ed.)

Pig reinforcements arrived en masse and cops made several arrests, gassing and beating as many people as possible. Witnesses told the **SHADOW** that Sergeant Mahoney and P.O. Blair were seen gassing people they had knocked down. One pig, spotting activist attorney Stanley Cohen on the scene, ran up to him and sprayed him in the face.

P.O. Murphy, running toward an activist who was allegedly trying to break a cop car windshield, tripped when someone pulled up a police barrier under him. Murphy landed square on his chin. The activist was beaten and then arrested, with blood streaming down his face as he was led away.

The resistance quickly withdrew and remobilized a few blocks away at 7th Street and Avenue A, where another street march began. Their numbers grew to more than 200, as they made their way up St. Marx Place and then back to Tompkins Square Park.

By 7:30, they arrived at Avenue B + 7th Street, where a Speak-Out was held under the eyes of riot pigs. A MSTF (Manhattan South Task Force) sergeant with 50 riot pigs was overheard asking a lieutenant, "Should I surround them?" When Stanley Cohen reminded them what happened in 1989, the lieutenant thought about it and then told the cops to move out.

More than 100 cops spent the rest of the night at 13th Street, 6th St. and Ave. B, 9th St. and Ave. C, and St. Marx and Ave. A, maintaining barricades from 12th-14th Street, waiting for another raid that never came. As always, too much too late!!



JOHN PENLEY

13TH ST. RAIDERS PUSH "LITTLE RUDY" BACK ONTO COPS



JOHN PENLEY

## SQUATTERS FIGHT BACK....

By 9:00, the pigs' strategies appeared to be working. The number of defenders had thinned out to the point where the riot pigs felt ready to move on the squats. Attorney Stanley Cohen told the **SHADOW** that just before the pigs did so, he overheard plans to use tear gas grenades to get squatters out of two of the buildings. He told the pigs in command that the squatters had welded themselves into their apartments and buildings and would be killed in such a gas attack. The surprised commanders repeatedly radioed their troops: "Don't use the gas!!"

Riot pigs led by Captains Fox + Spadaro moved on 13th + B, taking down barricades. Two EMS trucks removed dumpsters. Pigs came from Ave. A, dismantling barricades, arresting people and grabbing media persons at random, taking away some of their press passes. They chased people off fire escapes watching the action, taking over rooftops.

Riot pigs tried to arrest a man who rolled under a parked car to avoid them. They lifted the car up, gassed him, and roughly pushed him into a paddy wagon. Another man objecting to the pig violence got arrested too. The first man escaped from the wagon still cuffed behind his back, but he had nowhere to run. The

pigs caught and beat him, carried his prone body into the wagon and locked the doors.

An armored tank was used to pull away the dead car, instead of using an EMS truck as before. 25-30 people lined up in front of 541-545 behind a thick rope. At 10:00, a pig was heard on his radio saying: "We're where we want to be. Stand by."

Only a few people on the line were arrested, while others were released after being gassed. Pigs cut open 545 and adjacent garden gates with SAWZ-ALLs. SWAT team pigs were seen on the roof of 539 with automatic weapons drawn.

At 10:27, pigs entered the garden, as white-helmeted bureaucrats posted Orders to Vacate on the front doors of 539 + 541. One cop read the Riot Act, saying the squatters are "in violation of a vacation order." Everyone cheered and said: "We want a vacation!!"

Minutes later, 541 + 545 were opened. Pigs entered, arrested a woman and pulled people off the fire escape. Other pigs gained access to squat roofs through rear fire escapes and windows.

Over the next few hours, sanitation trucks removed garbage from the street

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## PIGS AND BLOCKHEADS TAKE OVER LA PLAZA CULTURAL!!

By Chris Flash

PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS



On June 5, La Plaza Cultural, a city-owned formerly vacant lot taken over and renovated by neighborhood residents more than ten years ago, was closed off to the community by a handful of people helped by police.

After the sterilization of Tompkins Square Park in 1991, La Plaza became the central meeting spot for political activists, homeless persons and people who just want to relax and talk with their neighbors under the huge willow trees. La Plaza has also been used by Hope For The Future Ministries to serve meals and bags of food to homeless and poor neighborhood residents three times a week. For many of them, this has been their main source of sustenance.

Over the past ten years, a loose knit group of neighbors and community activists have looked after La Plaza, adding new plants, erecting a barbecue grill, and even rebuilding the bleachers using a mosaic of recycled cobblestones, bricks, slate and other masonry.

In February, cops suddenly began harassing and chasing away sidewalk peddlers along Avenue C. They had been selling their wares along the Avenue every Sunday for the past 20 years with the support of the community. After several weeks of this, the situation came to a head. On Sunday March 5, cops stopped the Avenue C peddlers from setting up. As the morning wore on, a metal jam began inside La Plaza with activists and residents shouting their anger at cops as they cruised the area. Soon, the pigs raided the park and ticketed three people for making noise, stealing their instruments in the process.

The next Sunday, neighborhood activist and squatter Jerry The Peddler, along with four Hispanic community members, approached newly-installed 9th precinct commanding officer Captain Ovese and negotiated a compromise that would allow the Avenue C peddlers to sell inside La Plaza Cultural on Sundays. Ovese agreed and the cops backed off for a while. The Sunday flea market at La Plaza quickly thrived, often spilling out onto the surrounding sidewalks.

In recent months, the 9BC Residents Block Association (9BC), a handful of people unhappy with the types of people attracted to La Plaza, suddenly began to take steps toward taking over the park for themselves.

Like their counterparts in the Tompkins Square Neighborhood Coalition tied to City Councilman Antonio Pagán, who used political pressure and help from the police department to close and gentrify Tompkins Square Park a block away, the 5 members of 9BC Block Association decided to use the same tactics.

During the second annual May Day Pig Roast held in La Plaza, a New York Times reporter and photographer came by. The reporter was told that the roasted pig being eaten symbolized "dead cops." Two days after an article appeared in the May 7th Sunday Times, about one dozen cops with cars, vans and paddy wagons entered the park. They harassed the 20-30 people there, woke homeless persons, and checked IDs. Four people were arrested, allegedly for having open warrants. Apparently, the cops were looking for the person who made the "dead cops" comment to the Times, but they failed to find him.

On May 30, as he watched the evictions of the 13th Street squatters at machine-gun point, Jerry The Peddler was arrested for having an open container of beer. Rather than receive the usual Desk Appearance Ticket for such an "offense," Jerry was put through the system, effectively removing him from the scene for at least 24 hours. That night, 9BC members raided La Plaza and destroyed the stone slab barbecue grill. Jerry told the SHADOW he believes he was held overnight in jail to keep him out of the way so that the block association could make their move without opposition. Jerry also reported that he learned of a secret meeting between city officials and 9BC members on William Street. He said that he was told if anyone from the neighborhood other than the 9BCers attended, the meeting would be cancelled by the city.

On June 5, after Jerry had been again arrested at a demonstration against cops on 13th Street, the 9BC blockheads moved into La Plaza, cleaning the grounds, reinforcing fencing and adding new locks. When they were finished, several new "No Trespassing" signs were visible through the fence. All of this was done even though they had no "Green Thumb" lease from the city, which would give them responsibility over the park for a year. Without the lease, the 9BCers had no more "legal" claim to the park than anyone else in the neighborhood.

The 9BC raiding party continued their occupation of La Plaza, even having thugs stay overnight on Saturday, June 10, lying in wait for the arrival of peddlers the next day.

When the peddlers came to sell their wares at La Plaza on Sunday morning, cops forced them to set up a block away, between Avenues C + D. Once the usefulness of the 9BC blockheads was over, cops then turned around and locked them out of La Plaza. For the rest of the day, a cop van with two cops remained stationed outside. The next day, 9BC obtained a Green Thumb lease and posted it inside La Plaza.

## ABC NO RIO THREATENED WITH EVICTION BY HPD!!

By Peter Spagnuolo

The world-famous L.E.S. arts and music center ABC No Rio finds itself under threat of eviction by its landlord, the Dept. of H.P.D. In answering the City's dispossession notice in civil court on June 18th, attorney Jacqueline Bukowski has bought some time for the embattled arts group, winning an adjournment of the case until July 6. Since 1981, the group has had an HPD commercial lease for the storefront at 156 Rivington Street, but beginning in May of last year, the City stopped accepting the group's monthly payments, and the following October organizers received in the mail a packet of uncancelled checks with a Notice of Termination of Lease. "They gave us no explanation," says No Rio organizer Matthew Bray, adding that the City didn't seem interested in honoring its long-term commitment to the community arts group.

Many homesteaders and squatters in the community see this as only the latest attack on the self-help culture of the Lower East Side, coming less than a month after the military-style eviction of homesteaders on East 13th St. While HPD has promised the building on Rivington Street to Asian Americans for Equality, AAFE has indicated in the past that it has no intention of developing the site, nor has it the funds to do so. While most abandoned buildings in the neighborhood have been assigned to one or another community group for "site control," it is rare for HPD to carry out an eviction of squatters or month-to-month lease-holders when no project is planned. Speculation about the timing of HPD's eviction attempt leads many to wonder if ABC No Rio's activism in the squatter movement has earned them special treatment.

While many of ABC No Rio's activities in recent years have centered around the vital L.E.S. punk and hardcore scene, its origins can be traced all the way back to one of the watershed events in the downtown arts scene, as well as in squatter/homesteader history. When in late 1980 a group of artists intimate with the growing squatter movement—including Rebecca Howland, Robert Goldman and Kiki Smith—frustrated with creeping gentrification making it difficult for artists to live, they decided to take over an abandoned, HPD in rem commercial space at Delancey and Norfolk Streets to stage a two-day art show and party. This show, known as "the Real Estate Show" for its critical theme, spawned many more takeovers by artists, and its high-profile, critical success forced the City to deal with the artists' group, Collaborative Projects. As a result, HPD offered the group the storefront

on Rivington St. for \$200.00/month, and there ABC No Rio flourished to the present.

Over the first seven years, the arts gallery and performance space became famous for installations, poetry readings, and solo and group shows by artists from around the world, and its early years of art shows from 1980 through 1985 are documented in a book by Collaborative Projects, *ABC No Dinero*. Throughout its entire fifteen year history, the space has received regular funding from the New York State Council on the Arts, and has presented artists funded by the National Endowment for the Arts.

In more recent years, the space has become renowned for pioneering in New York City "all-ages" punk and hardcore shows. Amanda Trevins, a program booker and sound engineer for the music space, explains the importance of these shows to the community: "The music really comes out of the kids, but because the bands mostly play in nightclubs and bars, the younger fans who need exposure to it can't get in. The all-ages show makes the music accessible without regard to whether someone is old enough to drink alcohol." Trevins, who grew up in Boston, points out that younger people need a place where they can feel respected, instead of excluded, and that No Rio has filled that function for years. In addition, its punk show benefits over the years have helped many groups—ACTUP, the Durruti Anarchist Brigade (from Chile), Blackout Books, the Black Hand Collective (from Prague), and virtually every LES squatter organization.

Bray emphasizes that the activities of the music space have underwritten the costs of ABC No Rio's other, non-commercial events, saying, "The punk shows sustain the space's costs with a surplus, allowing all the other activities to stay free." This summer, ABC No Rio has planned a free arts and crafts program for neighborhood children. The program, scheduled for six weeks from early July through mid-August, already has seventeen kids from the community enrolled, and eight adult artists committed to teaching assignments; classes in Spanish are being offered as well. Art materials have been donated by the non-profit group, Materials for the Arts, and any non-material expenses incurred will be covered by the No Rio general fund.

What will happen to the arts program and its students if HPD carries out its eviction? "I'm not ready to think about that yet," said Bray, vowing that the arts group will fight for the space it has occupied all these years, and is not willing to leave without a community-based struggle.

Also seen outside La Plaza on Sunday enjoying the new development was Antonio Pagán's flunky Luis Soler (recently kicked off Community Board Three by Borough President Ruth Messinger), hanging out with undercover cop Alicia DeCurtis from "Community Affairs."

Sources have told the SHADOW that several of the 9BC blockheads are also supporters of Antonio Pagán. Others reveal that Pagán is seeking control of city-owned and managed buildings at 614-16-18 East 9th Street where he wants to hike rents from the current average of \$400 per month to more than \$1,000 per month.

Pagán and his fellow real estate developing poverty pimp thieves have long sought taking La Plaza Cultural from the neighborhood. Pagán's efforts to acquire the site to create phoney low-income housing for senior citizens failed in 1989, mostly due to exposure of his role in what came to be known as the (Senator Alphonse) D'Amato/HUD Scandal, in which federal guidelines were violated in order to push the project through. At the time, Pagán testified at a City Hall Board of Estimate meeting that La Plaza was "a vacant lot...a drug-ridden hell hole that should be wiped off

the face of the Earth..." (See SHADOWS #8 + #12 for more—Ed.)

Strangely, 9BC leader Don Yorti worked with many of the same activists now forced out of La Plaza in order to stop the city from giving site control of the park to Pagán's group, Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD), the same group now seeking to take over the 13th Street squat buildings evicted on May 30.

While La Plaza was in need of better care and maintenance, the 9BCers could have made some effort to include those who used the park in their plan to revitalize it. Together, a solution could have been reached with full community participation, not just control by a handful of people who represent themselves.

Instead, only Antonio Pagán's agenda has been served. Using an opportunity to play a few people against their neighbors, Pagán has temporarily succeeded in gaining a foothold on 9th Street.

La Plaza is now in the hands of a minority making decisions for the rest of their neighborhood, using goons to threaten those who don't like their power play. La Plaza now sits idle and vacant, removing the only true "People's Park" on the Lower East Side from the people.



# PIGS CELEBRATE PUERTO RICAN DAY WITH CLUBS AND MACE!!

By Gabby Sloan

On the evening of June 11, scores of riot cops chased, beat and maced hundreds of people at random in the streets of Bushwick, Brooklyn, in an effort to disperse neighborhood residents celebrating Puerto Rican Day.

That night, people were still celebrating by waving Puerto Rican flags, dancing, and driving slowly through the streets of Bushwick. Police were controlling traffic and arresting some people who were celebrating too boisterously. Inspector Joseph Esposito, commanding officer of the 83rd precinct, said the people had been given a permit until midnight, after which the police were going to clear the street. Until then, according to Esposito, the police would arrest some violators and allow everyone else to play.

At approximately 10:30 pm, this SHADOW reporter was in the vicinity of Myrtle and Knickerbocker Avenues in Bushwick, where the police were engaging in unbridled violence against people as young as eight years old. Police blockaded streets and stomped on Puerto Rican flags that they had confiscated from revelers.

Riot cops were sweeping down the sidewalk clubbing people who could not move out of the way. They were followed by a command officer in a white shirt who casually sprayed Mace into windows at families inside who were looking out at what was going on, like an exterminator splashing roach spray into a corner. He was followed in his wake by the amazing sound of screaming parents and children.

At 11:15, David Tornella, a construction worker in his twenties said: "We are Puerto Rican; we ain't done yet. The party has just begun." The crowd was mixed, consisting mostly of families with young children. The street was probably more orderly than it usually was in the daytime. Police vans and Emergency Service Unit trucks converged at the corner of Knickerbocker and blocked the street. The cops that came out swatted a few kids and arrested four boys in front of a Burger King.

Lisa Hernandez, 27, a housewife who was pushing her baby in a stroller asked, "Why are they doing this? It ain't fair, they shouldn't be doing this." She and others said the boys were unaware of any trouble and were coming out of the restaurant when they were arrested.

At 11:30, six police jumped a small man on the corner of Menahan Street and arrested him. He had done nothing to provoke the attack. Cops began clearing both sidewalks along Myrtle and telling people sitting on stoops to go inside. Fifteen police moved people from in front of the K+S market at 1364 Myrtle and arrested four others who didn't get out of the way in time.

Meanwhile, I was told that police were saying that members of the press were going to get hurt. In fact, this reporter was within a few feet of the police beatings and sprayings, and people mistaking me for a cop dropped objects out of windows on me.

At 12:00 sharp, police attacked. A squad car was bellowing "Vamanoose, Vamanoose. You have to get off the street. Thank you very much. We will see you next year. Vamanoose-go home!"

Two squad cars blocked both ends of Irving Avenue (between Green and Gillespie). Foot police in riot gear forced people off the sidewalks and stoops along Irving Avenue. I was pushed out of the way with a club and people next to me who were trying to see what was going on were arrested.

Police followed people around the corner onto Greene Street. They rushed on to stoops and shoved people inside. They kicked people into doorways and sprayed them with mace. Denise Acevedo, who lives on Bleeker Street, told the SHADOW, "I was standing on my stoop and they shoved me inside. I hit myself on the door." She had a large bruise on her left eye. Ray Velez, 24, a salesman who also lives on Bleeker said, "We were sitting here. They came in a group and started shoving us. They hit her. One raised a nightstick and hit her."

A young male stopped his bicycle in the street to try and get his bearings. Police in car number 2337 told the boy to move. He didn't seem to hear them. They crushed the rear wheel of his bicycle with the squad car. The boy tried to get off the bike and the cops were on him. They beat him with their clubs and arrested him. I did not see him do anything to provoke the attack.

Maria Morales, who was visiting her aunt on Bleeker said, "We were on the corner and they said everybody go inside. They pushed us inside. We locked the door and they left. It's too crazy, they're too wild."

Milagros Matos, 47, a disabled, retired funeral director said, "It's incredible the way the police act. They came running and pushed us inside. They banged my elbow." (It was visibly swollen and bruised.) "It's not right; we live here. We don't do nothing. There were five kids on the stoop." (Ages 2, 4, 10, 12, and 13.) "They pushed them too."

Around the corner on Irving Avenue, police had cleared the street. Two young men in a badly dented car strayed into the area. The passenger was waving a Puerto Rican flag out the window. A policeman batted the man on the head as he passed, like he was hitting a fast pitch. People on both sides of the street were sickened by the sight and sound of the

club on his skull. The police pulled the man out of the car, beating and arresting him. He did nothing to resist. Bottles were thrown at the cops as they beat the man.

Joe Cuasco, another witness, told the SHADOW, "They beat the shit out of him for no reason. They were just driving along, and the cop hit him with a baton. He was hanging out of the window; they hit him and dragged him out of the car."

Police forced their way into buildings on both sides of the street to gain entry to the roofs. I saw them batter doors and break windows. They were screaming "Open up, motherfuckers. Open the fucking door."

Robert Miranda, who lives on Irving, said, "They beat the shit out of everybody. We have videotapes. They came over here and broke our windows to get inside. They arrested the guy upstairs for standing on his stoop. They beat a pregnant woman and a couple of guys."

A press vehicle drove by and had its windows smashed. The crew split in a hurry. Bottles were flying. The police broke the windows of 1237 Bleeker with their batons and went inside to the roof.

Police swept Irving Avenue again, forcing people off their stoops into their apartments. I saw one policeman attack a man who was trying to get in his door. He kicked the man in the stomach hard enough to kill him.

Rosa Nufiez of Irving Avenue told the SHADOW, "We were at the windows and they sprayed us with pepper spray. It went into our mouths and eyes. There were five kids in the window." The children were with their parents.

I followed the screams inside and saw a family that was severely traumatized. The children were hysterical, and their mother, Elsie Santana, was in agony. She had been sprayed in the eyes. The children tried to help her. They were terrified and in pain. Eight-year-old Crystal said, "The spray go into my mouth."

Miranda, who lives on the first floor in a front apartment said, "They sprayed me in the mouth. I was in the window. The cops said 'Get your ass in the window' and sprayed me. This shit burns."

When they called an ambulance, none came. The police came to the door and asked if anyone needed medical attention. The injured people told them they did not. The cops had inflicted the injuries. Other reports received by the SHADOW include: a Chinese couple on a pay phone roughed up by cops; a Polish man walking through the neighborhood grabbed and arrested in a sweep by cops; four men driving by beaten and dragged from their cars by cops.

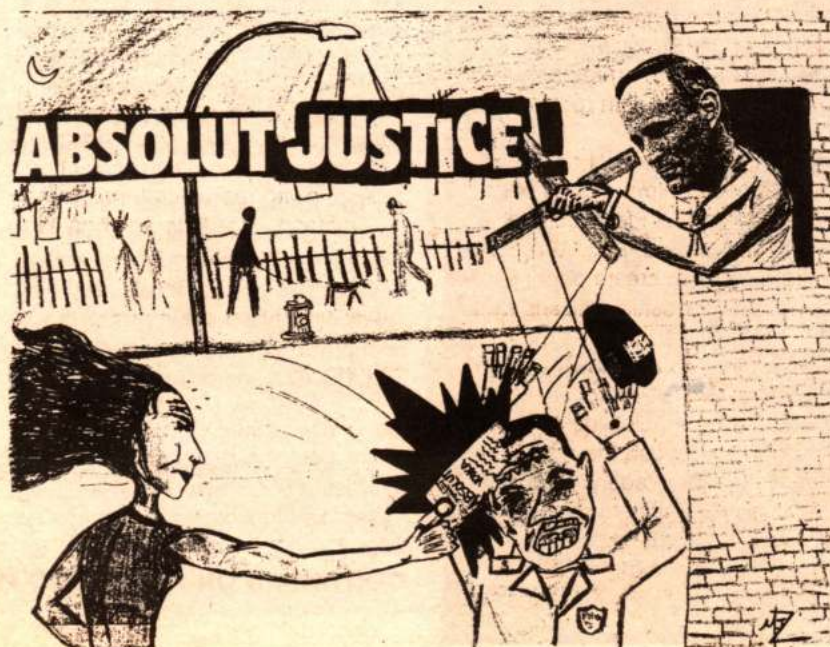


BILL TURNBULL DAILY NEWS  
Officer Paul Campson

One cop, P.O. Paul Campson of the 83rd precinct, received a head wound requiring 25 stitches when he got hit with a brick. Sources told the SHADOW that Campson was one of the most violent cops that night, viciously attacking people at random. Said one observer: "He got what he deserved."

Police officials justified their actions, saying that a show of force was needed because the celebration was in danger of getting out of hand. Inspector Esposito told the Daily News: "We moved in when we decided the conduct was becoming too dangerous for the people in the neighborhood."

Mayor Rudolf Giuliani, who was booed as he marched in the Puerto Rican Day Parade on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan earlier that day, praised the police actions. He said: "They got it under control with a minimum of damage." A total of 124 people were arrested, with four cops injured.



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## CRIMINAL INJUSTICE CRIME BILL CRACKS DOWN ON DISSENT IN THE U.K.

by Sarah Ferguson

Last December, the United Kingdom's Tory government passed the Criminal Justice Act, one of the most repressive measures in recent British history. Besides cracking down on squatters, New Age travellers and ravers, the CJA bans most forms of protest and strips away the defendant's right to silence. Now housewives and schoolchildren are joining vegans and crusty punks at the barricades to challenge the law.

LONDON -- "It's best to do it in pairs, or with cameras around. Otherwise they'll torture you till they get you out," says Allison, a soft-spoken 22-year-old squatter with paint-splattered dreads. A veteran anti-roads protestor, Allison was explaining the mechanics behind the "sleeping dragon"--one of the many tactics that she and 350 other demonstrators used to stave off police and wrecking crews during the 4 1/2-day siege on Claremont Road in east London last December.

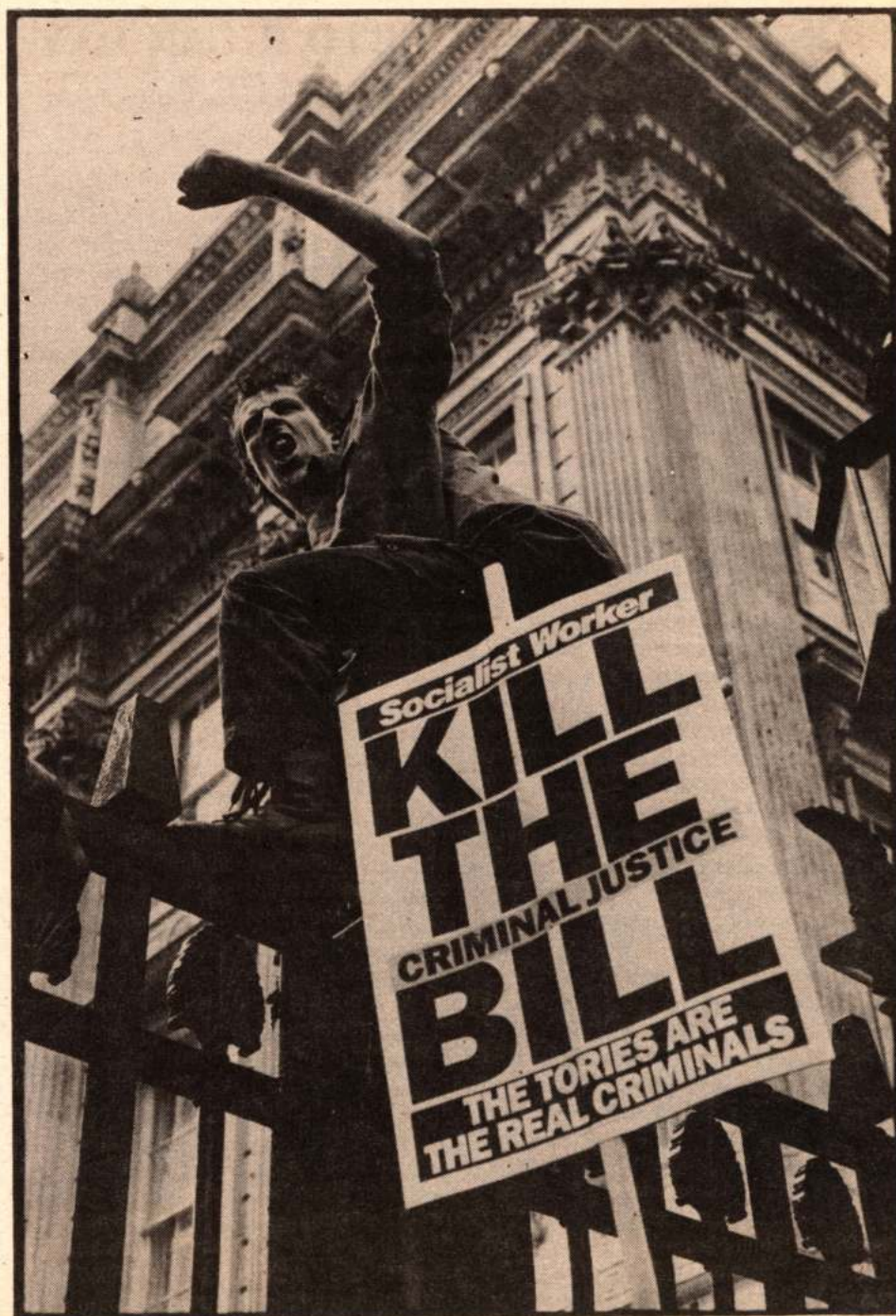
For weeks, protestors had strategized to defend the block of 35 squatted houses--declared the Independent Free Area of Claremont--that was slated for demolition to make way for a 3 1/2 mile extension of the M-11 link road. They filled the ground floors with rubble, concealing an underground network of tunnels and bunkers, where some buried themselves to create a living barrier against the bulldozers. They built fortified treehouses and erected a 100-foot scaffolding tower, then welded themselves inside a metal cage at the top. They flung themselves on cargo netting strung up between houses and nearby trees, dangling 20 feet in the air to escape the reach of bailiffs sent to the rooftops to arrest them.

And several, like Allison, cemented their arms into the road using "sleeping dragons"--steel tubes embedded in concrete. Each tube has a metal rod in the center so the protestor can slide her arm inside and clip on with a carabiner (a hiking clip). "It's good to mix scrap metal in the concrete, so they have to use both hacksaws and a

jackhammer to cut you out," Allison advises. Unless, of course, the cops resort to simple coercion. "They try to wait till no one's looking then yank your arms. It can get pretty painful," she added standing in the cluttered front room of the squatted flat that was temporary headquarters of the anti-road campaign. On the wall behind her, amid a flurry of newspaper clipping and fliers, a slogan was scrawled in green magic marker: "The State will Wither As Green Rage Emerges"

It took more than 700 riot police, 200 bailiffs, and hundred of private security guards to evict the Claremont campaigners, at a cost of over £2 million--the most expensive and lengthy eviction of squatter in post-war British history. There were 47 arrests and several injuries as police tore into the netting and dumped piles of rubble and urine down the bunker holes. And it wasn't just hardened crusties and eco-savvy hippies at the frontlines. Local housewives, high school and college students, a record producer, even 93-year-old Dolly Watson, born and raised in one of the homes, all took part in the campaign--outraged at the government's plan to tear up a community for the sake of shortening the commute time to London by seven minutes.

The Battle of Claremont reflects the mounting opposition to the government's £20 billion road-building scheme, which would ultimately put a fifth of Britain under tarmac. But it's also testament to the increasingly militant--albeit non-violent--protest culture that has arisen with the passage of the Criminal Justice Act last December. When it was first proposed, Home Secretary Michael Howard touted the CJA as a "comprehensive program of action against crime" that would restore social order to the countryside. In fact, by taking on travellers, ravers, squatters, and virtually all forms of protest, the government has unwittingly united a wide range of single-issue groups into a growing movement of direct-action style dissidents who feel increasingly emboldened to challenge the law.



"This is pretty much a revolution going on. A non-violent revolution," says Stevidge, a member of the Freedom Network, a broad coalition of activist groups which formed last year to combat the CJA. One of the chief proponents of DIY (Do It Yourself) culture, the network encompasses squatters, environmentalists, housing and animal rights groups, even soccer fans--all united under the credo "Deeds Not Words." "Everyone is doing what they can to push the law, bend the law," Stevidge says. "They're rebelling all over the place. But they've learned, this time--they're doing it a la Martin Luther

King or Gandhi."

Last summer, as the law was being debated in Parliament, tens of thousands of protestors took to the streets in a series of mass demos that rivalled the popular uprisings against the Poll Tax in 1989. Protesters clashed with police in Hyde Park, overtook Trafalgar Square with bicycle-powered sound systems, and scaled the walls of Parliament. Since then, there have been a series of mass trespasses at the homes of conservative ministers--including the country estate of Prime Minister John Major.

These mass actions were aimed at challenging the "public order" provisions of the law which give the police vast discretionary powers to thwart protest. The CJA creates a whole new category of offense called "trespassory assemblies," which allows police to ban gatherings on both public and private land which they "reasonably believe" might cause serious disruption. Anyone that the police "reasonably believe" might be heading to such an assembly can be turned away under threat of a three-month jail term or a 2,500 pound fine. In addition, individuals who go on land with the perceived intention of intimidating others or disrupting lawful activity can be arrested for "aggravated trespass."

The government claims these provisions are aimed primarily at ravers who take over empty property for all-night electro-pop bacchanals and hunt saboteurs--animal rights crusaders who disrupt fox and hare hunting parties. In fact, the CJA can be applied to a wide



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# BRIT SQUATS

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range of peaceful protests, including trade union pickets, road actions, and anti-nuke demos. "In effect, it criminalizes most forms of legitimate dissent," says Andrew Puddephat, general secretary of Liberty, a civil rights lobby.

During the mid-80s, the Thatcher government used very similar public order laws to cripple the massive miners' strike by setting up road blocks and arresting labor leaders. Courts later ruled that the government had acted illegally. But now, police are allowed to stop and search persons and vehicles if they reasonably suspect that "incidents involving serious violence may take place" in a certain area--regardless of whether they believe the persons intend to take part in such incidents.

The CJA also explicitly targets raves, defined by the Act as 100 or more people playing amplified music characterized by a "succession of repetitive beats." If police suspect that as few as ten or more people are preparing to set up a rave, they can be ordered to disperse and have their vehicles and sound systems seized. Cars and individuals suspected of heading for a rave can be turned back for up to five miles. Refusal to comply can bring up to three months in prison or a £2,500--even if the event has full permission of the landowner. As if to dampen the party mood even further, the CJA also quintuples the fine for simple possession of marijuana and amphetamines, from £500 pounds to £2,500 pounds.

The rave crackdown may reflect more than just noise complaints. A report released last year by the Henley Centre, a private think tank, estimated that £1.8 million of young peoples'

drinking money was being diverted annually to raves--presumably for more than just vitamin-jolted smart-food drinks. And Britain's giant brewing companies have long been some of the Conservative Party's most generous financial donors.

The restrictions on gathering and protest are part of an overall attack on all forms of counterculture--anyone who bucks the nine-to-five role. Critics say the CJA is tantamount to "cultural cleansing." Perhaps the most dramatically affected by the law are gypsies and New Age Travellers, who roam the country in vans and buses, working the land and setting up free festivals. The CJA revokes the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, which required localities to set aside sites with facilities to accommodate Romany gypsies and Celtic tinkers. Now police can throw any gathering of six or more vehicles off the land--even common or public land--and arrest the owners if they don't comply. Smaller gatherings may also be evicted if "damage" (by the cops' estimation) is done to the land. Police may also impound the travellers' vehicles--confiscating or even destroying the travellers' homes along with all their possessions and means of support.

"There's been a constant trend of eviction," says Steve Staines, founder of the Friends, Families, and Travellers' Support Group. "We get routine reports that certain police forces are using the powers extensively." Last year, as the passage of the CJA approached, attacks on travellers by both police and local vigilantes, sometimes acting in concert, increased. Travellers have had their homes petrol-bombed and blasted with shotguns, and had their dogs maimed or blinded by angry farmers. With free festivals all but banned, this itinerant culture is losing its economic livelihood. Thousands of travellers have already



migrated to Ireland, southern France, Spain, and Portugal. Others are seeking housing or moving back into squats--although there's not much security there.

The CJA ends what had been a relatively tolerant policy towards the estimated fifty thousand people living in abandoned and unauthorized property in the UK. It's still actually legal in Britain to squat properties not in use. But now, landlords may gain an eviction order without squatters even knowing about the case; if the squatters don't disperse within 24 hours, they may be jailed for up to six months. In addition, the CJA authorizes owners and bailiffs to use "violent entry" to displace squatters. Housing advocates fear the law will be used by unscrupulous landlords against legal tenants and subletters, noting that the tenants will not be allowed to present their side in court until *after* they are evicted.

Taken as a whole, the CJA makes a profound attack on the notion of public space. Stevige of the Freedom Network compares it to the Enclosure Acts of the 1760s, which forced the peasants off the common lands that they had farmed for centuries, rendering them disenfranchised paupers. "From the moment the bill became law, almost completely it became illegal to be anywhere that you don't own or rent -- even if you had permission to be there."

Just how draconian the CJA will be depends on largely on how police choose to enforce it. As the *Shadow* goes to press, police guidelines for enacting some of the new provisions have yet to be put in place. As of June, there have been 296 arrests, mostly of hunt saboteurs. (151 hunt sabs, 50 anti-roads protestors, 25 environmentalists, 11 travellers, 11 tree-defenders, 3 animal rights campaigners, and surprisingly, 45 soccer fans nabbed under the new rave restrictions.) Still, at many protests, authorities have seemed reluctant to implement the new regs for fear of exciting further unrest. This year, over 1000 people have been arrested during protests against the export of live calves. But instead of busting demonstrators under the CJA regs, police have charged the animal rights campaigners using an older public order act. "I think it's because so many of the animal rights people are middle class. It would make the [CJA] too controversial," comments George of Justice, an anti-CJA clearinghouse in Brighton.

"A lot of the traveller sites and squats are starting to get evicted, but the police are mostly going through the old laws--which just means they have to go to court to get people out," George adds. In some parts of the country, police forces have complained that they have neither the money nor the manpower to take on such wide-ranging powers. Others have found it easier to simply harass squatters and travellers

than to actually arrest them.

That's likely to change this summer, warns Camilla Berens, a former Fleet Street journalist who's now editor of *POD*, a pro-active journal of DIY culture. "Police forces are waiting for the summer months to organize big mobilizations to stop travellers, stop parties, stop squatters," Berens says. "It's going to get very nasty in some areas, but the good things will outweigh the bad. The spirit is so strong."

Her prediction is echoed by Chief Constable David Wilmot of the Association of Chief Police Officers, who warned in a recent article in the *Police Review Journal* that "Unless the social problems which underpin the traveller phenomena are tackled, the police and public could be caught yearly in a summer pincer movement of urban and rural violence."

The expanded police powers are particularly ominous given the CJA's concerted attack on the rights of the accused. Under the CJA, the defendant's right to silence would essentially be eliminated, allowing judges and juries to infer guilt if a suspect declines to talk. Previously, arresting officers were required to warn suspects

"you do not have to say anything unless you wish to do so, but what you say may be given in evidence"--much like the Miranda rules in the U.S. Now, officers would no longer be required to inform suspects of their right to silence. Instead, they would be warned that their refusal to talk could be used against them in court.

The CJA also extends police powers to forcibly take DNA samples from suspects arrested for both violent and non-violent crimes, regardless of whether the samples are needed to investigate the crime. Previously, police were empowered to take so-called "intimate samples"-- blood, semen, urine, pubic hair--only when investigating serious offenses such as murder or rape. Now, persons charged with offenses as minor as shoplifting or resisting arrest can have hairs plucked from their head or a swab of saliva taken from their mouth, without consent. (The CJA also restricts a person's right to have their fingerprints or samples destroyed, even if they are never charged with or convicted of the offense.)

The stated aim behind the expansion in DNA sampling is the creation of the world's first national database of DNA profiles. In November, the government announced that it was allocating £1 billion for a new police computer system that would cross-reference DNA samples with criminal records.

Authorities expect to take 140,000 samples over the next year alone.



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Since the cataclysmic April 19 blast at the Oklahoma City federal building which left over 150 dead, the news media have finally started to focus on the rapidly-growing Militia movement. Now organizing in some 20 states around the country, this homespun paramilitary movement apparently stands for local political autonomy and thinks the federal government is the pawn of a United Nations conspiracy to take over America. But in this era of "free trade" and radical industry deregulation, the Militia agenda actually reflects much of the rhetoric and political program which is issuing from Washington.

#### OKLAHOMA CITY: Forgotten Facts and Unanswered Questions

No government can perpetrate as much violence around the world as the US has, especially since World War II, without expecting to reap violence at home. Most obviously, Oklahoma City was the chickens coming home to roost for the FBI/ATF raid on the Branch Davidian compound at Waco, TX, which left scores dead, including many of the children the raid was ostensibly aimed at saving. It was after Waco that the Militia movement exploded across the country, with many in middle America coming to see the federal government as the enemy of their cherished gun and property rights.

Less obviously, Oklahoma City was the chickens coming home to roost for Operation Desert Storm and the reign of terror instrumented by the Pentagon and CIA in Central America throughout the 1980s. Accused Oklahoma City bomber Tim McVeigh is a veteran of Desert Storm. He participated in the incident in which Iraqi troops in Kuwait were buried alive *en masse* by US military vehicles. McVeigh was also trained at the US Army's School of the Americas in Ft. Benning, GA, notorious in Latin America for training such masterminds of massacre and torture as El Salvador's late death squad boss Roberto D'Aubisson, Guatemala's General Hector Gramajo, and Haiti's Emmanuel Constant.

In the days after the bombing, it came to light that McVeigh and his presumed co-conspirator Terry Nichols had connections to the Michigan Militia. Founded in 1994, the Michigan Militia is among the largest and most prominent in the country. The group's political guru, "Mark from Michigan", aka Mark Koernke, a janitor who calls himself an "intelligence analyst" and claims to be a veteran of Army Intelligence, is a favorite on the far-right video, shortwave and lecture circuit.

The group's leaders denied knowing anything about McVeigh or Nichols. Federal investigators alleged McVeigh and Nichols were involved in illegal gun dealing to the Michigan Militia.

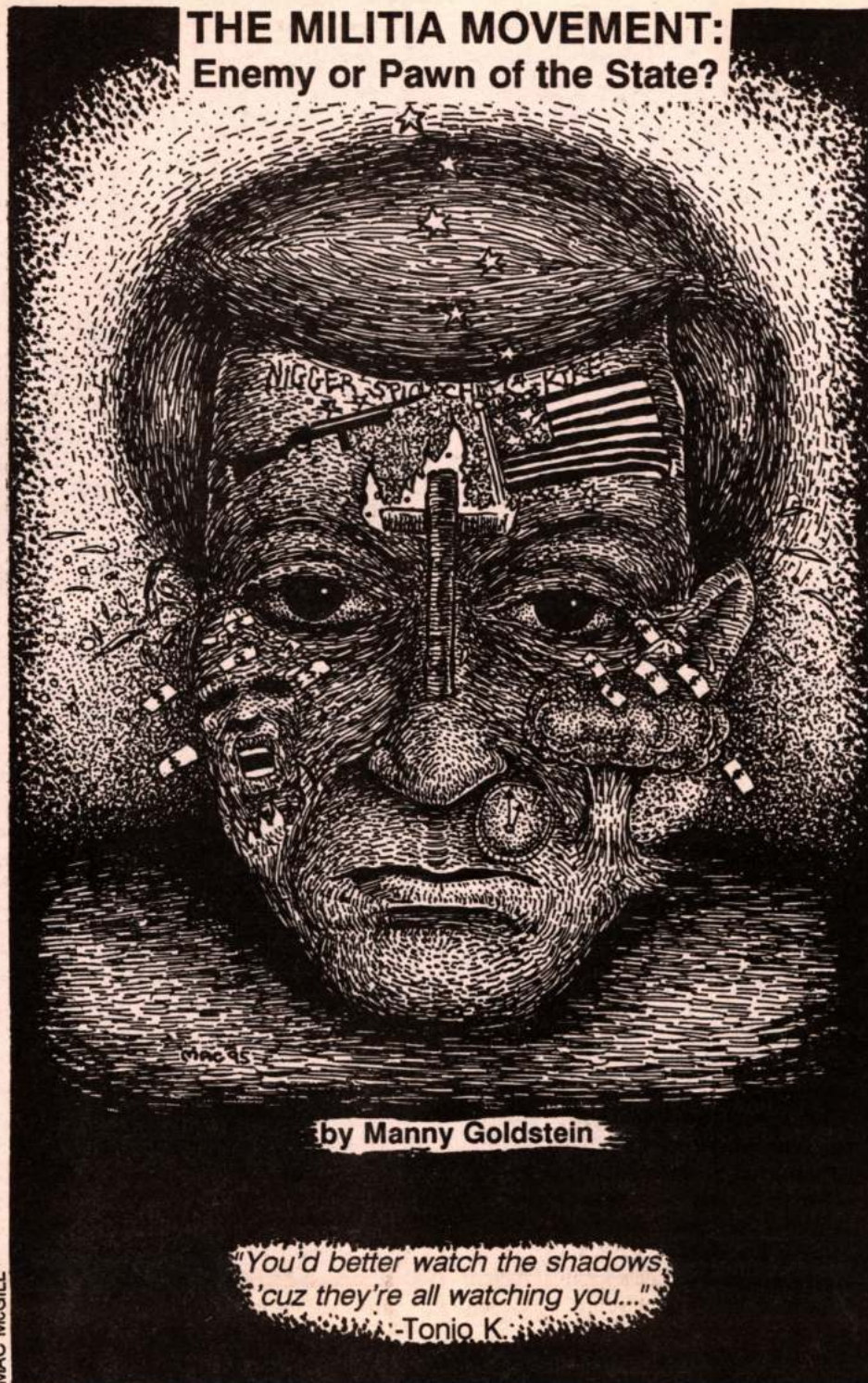
On April 24, *NY Newsday* reported Mark Koernke had sent a fax to Rep. Steve Stockman, a Texas Republican who is on Newt Gingrich's Firearms Task Force, about an hour after the explosion. "Bomb threat received last week," the note read. "Perpetrator unknown at this time." The word "Oklahoma" was underlined below. Stockman said his staff threw out the note, then fished it out of the trash after learning of the blast.

The National Rifle Association said it received a copy of the fax from Stockman later that day. "We want to know what was Koernke's source of information," a federal investigator said. "Also, we want to know from the congressman what he's doing sharing it with the NRA rather than an investigative agency."

But the investigator denied initial

MAC MCGILL

## THE MILITIA MOVEMENT: Enemy or Pawn of the State?



press accounts that the fax had actually arrived minutes *before* the bombing.

Koernke, wanted for questioning, disappeared into the woods of Michigan. A federal manhunt and possible crackdown on the Michigan Militia loomed.

Also quickly forgotten were initial media reports that Oklahoma state seismologists had detected not one, but two blasts at the Federal Building--the first at four seconds past 9:02, then another of "equal magnitude" at 14 seconds after 9:02. Federal investigators now deny that there was a second explosion. The North Point Tactical Team, a North Carolina Militia group, has produced propaganda seizing upon the "two-blast" theory as evidence that McVeigh is an "Oswald" (that is, a fall guy), and that the blast was an "inside job"--a government trick to justify martial law, a crackdown on the Militias and disarming the populace.

The March edition of *Taking Aim*, the newsletter of the Militia of Montana, issued a call to arms for April 19, the day of the Oklahoma blast:

*"If this day does not ring a bell for you then maybe this will jog your memory.*

1. April 19, 1775: Lexington burned.
2. April 19, 1943: Warsaw burned.
3. April 19, 1992: The feds attempted to raid Randy Weaver...
4. April 19, 1993: The Branch Davidians burned.
5. April 19, 1995: Richard Snell will be executed--unless we act now!!!"

Randy Weaver is the Idaho white separatist wanted on federal gun charges who got into an armed stand-off with the FBI and ATF. The stand-off climaxed in August of 1992 with the

deaths of Weaver's wife and young son as well as a US marshall.

Richard Snell was the white separatist who was on death row in Arkansas for the murders of a Texarkana pawnbroker (who he apparently thought was Jewish) and a black state trooper who had stopped him for a traffic violation.

After the Oklahoma blast, the US was on the brink. A federal crackdown, on the Militias seemed imminent. But the feds backed down, and Tim McVeigh's connections to the Militia movement have since been de-emphasized both by federal investigators and the media.

The Militias themselves have made certain concessions. The Michigan Militia, which makes an effort to distance itself from open racism in its propaganda, has since officially disavowed Mark Koernke. The Michigan Militia has also reshuffled its leadership, after its spokesmen publicly alleged that the Oklahoma blast had been carried out by the Japanese in retribution for the gas attacks on the Tokyo subway (apparently believed to be the work of US agents).

Why did the Justice Department change course? Were 11th-hour deals cut between the federal government and Militia leaders?

#### THE FASCIST CONNECTION: Nazis in the Shadows

In 1988, ten white separatist leaders across the country were arrested by federal authorities for their role in an alleged 1983 conspiracy to overthrow the United States government by force. The defendants included:

\*Richard Snell, who was already on death row in Arkansas

\*Richard Butler, chief of the central Aryan Nations compound at Hayden Lake, Idaho

\*Louis Beam, the veteran Texas Klansman who is considered the Aryan Nations' "ambassador at large" to the white supremacist movement in Europe

The Aryan Nations is at the forefront of the so-called Northwest Territorial Initiative, which calls for the formation of a secessionist "White Bastion" homeland in what is now the states of Montana, Idaho, Washington and Oregon. The Aryan Nations coat-of-arms, proudly displayed at the Hayden Lake compound, is lifted from the insignia of a Nazi tank division.

Federal prosecutors in the '88 trial claimed that the '83 plot--which included counterfeiting, armed robberies and plans to assassinate federal judges and the Arkansas FBI chief--was to begin with the detonation of a truck bomb at the Oklahoma City Federal Building.

All of the defendants were acquitted. But that very same building would be blown up by a truck bomb on the very day of Richard Snell's execution.

Snell died knowing of the explosion. His last words were a warning to Arkansas Governor Guy Tucker: "Look over your shoulder, justice is on the way..."

Snell remained an important figure in the radical right network even from his death row cell, publishing a periodic newsletter called *The Seekers*, in which he claimed to be a POW in a "war to establish righteousness."

Federal prosecutors in the '88 case based their claim on the testimony of James Ellison, founder of an Arkansas radical right group called *The Covenant, the Sword & the Arm of the Lord*. Ellison told of travelling to Oklahoma City with Snell to case the Federal Building in preparation for the bombing.

Ellison agreed to become a government witness because he himself was facing 20 years on racketeering charges. Before his capture in 1985, he had barricaded himself against 200 heavily armed state and federal agents at his northern Arkansas compound. The day of the stand-off was April 19--ten years to the day before the Oklahoma blast.

Ellison was persuaded to surrender by his friend and spiritual mentor Robert G. Millar, leader of an apocalyptic white separatist sect called Elohim City, with its own armed compound in Oklahoma.

After the Oklahoma blast, *Newsweek*, citing unnamed sources, claimed that McVeigh was suspected by federal investigators of having visited Elohim City and that he had called the compound on April 5, two weeks before the bombing. Millar denied to the press that he had ever heard of McVeigh.

The Militia of Montana (MOM), which put out the call for action on April 19, is at the vanguard of the Militia movement. MOM runs a mail-order clearing house for militia propaganda and how-to videos. MOM is a focal point from which the network is growing.

MOM conspicuously avoids neo-Nazi rhetoric. While the Aryan Nations call the feds the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG), MOM speaks of UN conspiracies and a New World Order. Aryan Nations calls for a racially-pure white homeland; MOM talks of defending the Constitution. Despite these style differences, there are connections...

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The elder statesman of the MOM is John Trochman, whose young nephew Randy Trochman provides the group's para-military leadership. The elder Trochman has been a guest at the Aryan Nations' Hayden Lake compound on several occasions, including once in 1990 when he was a guest speaker at an Aryan Nations congress.

In 1992, John Trochman co-founded United Citizens for Justice to support Randy Weaver after his surrender. The other co-founders were Aryan Nations "ambassador" Louis Beam and Chris Temple, a follower of the racist Christian Identity cult, which holds that non-whites are sub-human offspring of Satan.

Chris Temple was also the Montana organizer for the presidential campaign of Ret. Lt. Col. James "Bo" Gritz, a prominent survivalist leader who came in to mediate during the siege of Weaver's home. The charismatic Gritz called for "patriots" (read: white separatists) from around the country to converge on the town of Ruby Ridge to defend Weaver. Police battled armed skinheads who answered the call.

In October 1992, two months after the Weaver surrender, Pete Peters, a Christian Identity minister in Colorado, called a meeting of some 175 radical right leaders. Among those in attendance were Aryan Nations ambassador Louis Beam and his lawyer, Kirk Lyons of North Carolina. Also in attendance was former Virginia legislator and Gun Owners of America leader Larry Pratt, who advocated "armed militia units" like those in Central America. Beam presented a paper to the meeting called "Leaderless Resistance", which called for small autonomous cells united by ideology but acting independently.

This became the model for the Militia movement—and perhaps for Timothy McVeigh and his co-conspirators.

It may also be the model for the anti-abortion terrorist underground which has escalated since 1992. In 1985, the Aryan Nations released a statement decrying that America's "sheep" are manipulated by the "Jew media" into "killing their own children." The statement closed: "We the enlightened minority must show the docile mass why these murders are happening... Periodic disruption of these murder parlors can only slow down the real holocaust!!!"

After Oklahoma City, Bo Gritz was quoted in the media as saying the blast was "a Rembrandt—a masterpiece of science and art put together."

Gritz recently founded a "Christian Patriot" community called Almost Heaven in the mountains of Idaho, where he is an advisor to the local Militia.

Idaho Militia leader Samuel Sherwood was recently quoted by AP as telling his followers: "Go up and look legislators in the face, because some day you may have to blow it off."

Bo Gritz's political connections lead straight into the ugly underbelly of red-white-and-blue fascism. A veteran of the Green Berets who boasts of having partaken in blood-drinking rituals with his Cambodian mercenaries, Gritz was the real-life inspiration for Rambo. His expeditions to Indochina to seek out POWs were underwritten by H. Ross Perot, who also offered to send him down to Latin America to off drug kingpins. His claims to inside knowledge about CIA complicity in the Southeast Asian heroin trade have won him admirers on the left—including an interview in *High Times* magazine.

In 1988, Bo Gritz was running mate with "former" Louisiana Klansman David Duke on the presidential ticket of

the Populist Party. When the press started making an issue of Duke's "past", Gritz dropped out, and the Populist Party split. Gritz's 1992 presidential bid climaxed with the Weaver episode at Ruby Ridge. He settled in Idaho after the incident, launching a paramilitary training program called SPIKE--Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events.

Gritz's strange beliefs about the US Constitution shed a sinister light on the innocent-sounding Militia rhetoric about upholding the Bill of Rights. Gritz's presidential platform called for making the United States a "Christian nation", and called the Constitution a "divinely inspired" document.

The Christian Patriot worldview has a racist and theocratic view of the Constitution. Only the original document is "divinely" conceived, so those who had rights under that document--i.e. white males--are considered "organic sovereigns." Those whose rights were recognized by later amendments--e.g. African Americans after the Civil War--are considered "wards of the State." Those later amendments were added by a government no longer "divine", but increasingly in the sway of corrupt conspiracies. Today the federal government is the Jewish-controlled ZOG, bent on destroying the white race.

Less mainstream figures such as Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler use these theocratic terms more openly than Gritz. Tracing Butler's past also leads to interesting connections.

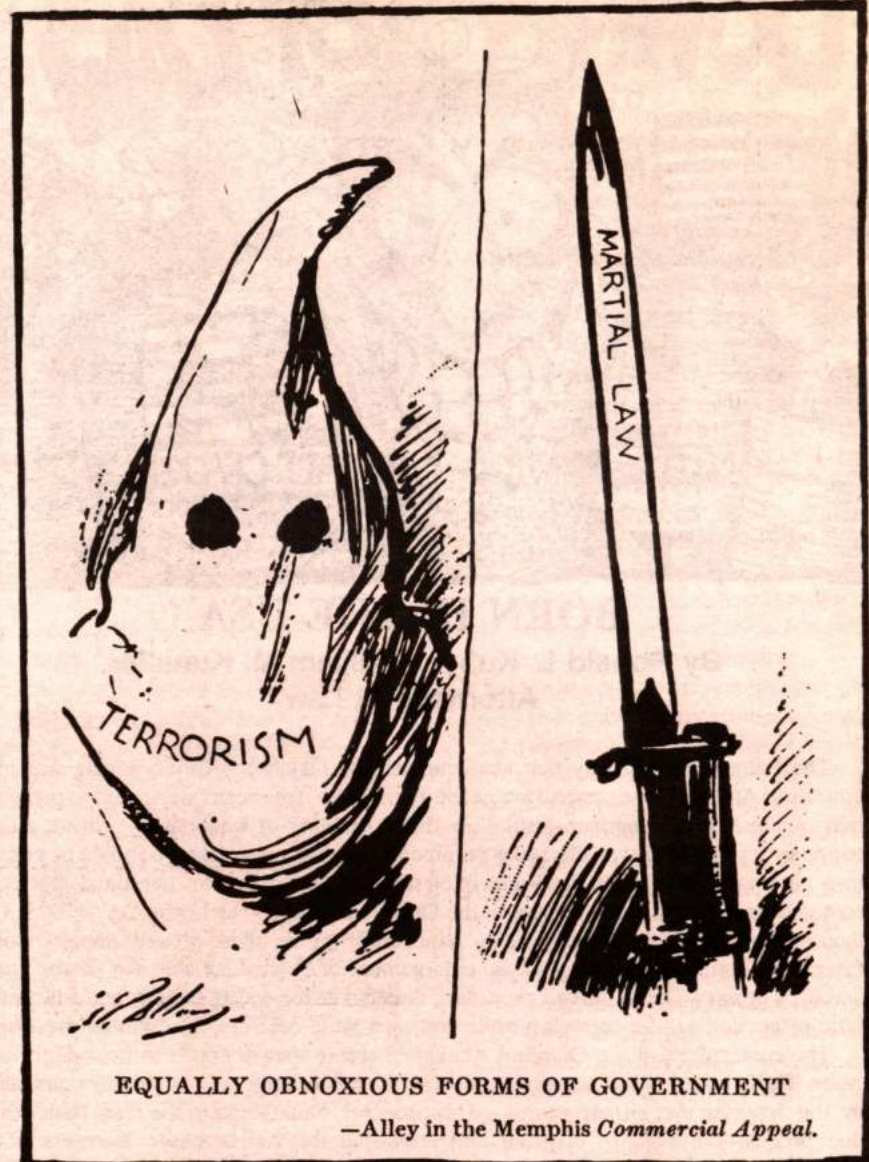
Butler was an early follower of the Christian Identity cult in California in the 1960s. Another member of that seminal Christian Identity congregation was William Potter Gale, who had been a staff aide to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in World War II. Gale's spiritual mentor was MacArthur's intelligence chief, Gen. Charles Willoughby (real name: Adolf Tschepe-Weidenbach), who MacArthur affectionately called "my little fascist." Willoughby was an open fascist sympathizer who was deeply involved in intelligence intrigues with the Axis. He later arranged for the Texas billionaire Hunt family (who hired Willoughby for a private intelligence probe into the JFK assassination) to fund Gale's paramilitary group, the California Rangers.

Gale, in turn, was spiritual mentor to Tom Metzger, the leader of White Aryan Resistance (WAR), which organized a skinhead "Aryan Woodstock" in California in 1989. WAR was successfully sued by the Southern Poverty Law Center for complicity in the skinhead beating death of an Ethiopian exchange student in Portland, OR.

Shortly after the Oklahoma blast, Gritz travelled to the hills of North Carolina, where he met with Kirk Lyons, the lawyer who represented Butler and Beam in the '88 conspiracy case, about his plans to sue ABC over their coverage of his "Rembrandt" statement.

Federal authorities have also issued a warrant for a member of the far-right Arizona Patriots said to have been an associate of McVeigh. Members of the Arizona Patriots are currently doing time for plotting to blow up the Phoenix Federal Building, a synagogue and nearby power plants.

Michigan Militia leader Norm Olson—one of those who stepped down after claiming the Japanese were responsible for the Oklahoma blast—says he plans a multi-million dollar lawsuit against the Southern Poverty Law Center, which claimed in its newsletter *Klanwatch* that Olson is in contact with Bobby Norton, the veteran Tennessee Klansman who is



the Aryan Nations' regional director for the Southeast and who served five years in prison on charges of plotting to bomb a synagogue.

More terrorism may be in the works. On May 16, self-proclaimed white separatist Larry W. Harris of Ohio was arrested for buying \$300 worth of the bacteria which causes bubonic plague through the lab where he worked.

#### THE ANTI-ENVIRONMENTAL CONNECTION: Corporate Power in the Shadows

None of this is to imply that the rank-and-file of the Militia movement is monolithically neo-Nazi. Indeed, the Militia leaders could not have been as successful organizers as they have been if they hadn't played down the fascist rhetoric. With banks foreclosing on farms and federal marshalls evicting farm families, with jobs heading south of the border under the NAFTA transnational economic regime, and with police forces routinely trampling the Bill of Rights to enforce unjust drug and gun laws, Americans have legitimate reasons to be angry at their government.

But powerful economic interests are poised to exploit this groundswell of anger. The very transnational corporations which are the architects of NAFTA are now aiming for a radical reversal of the modest gains made in environmental protection over the last generation. The advance guard in this struggle for the complete unshackling of corporate power from public oversight are the industry lobbyists who wrote NAFTA and Contract With America. The rear guard are the "County Rule" and "Wise Use" movements—a new Sagebrush Rebellion of ranchers and corporate interests in revolt against federal jurisdiction over lands across the West. These movements are increasingly armed, and interlock with the Militias.

Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-Idaho) is sponsoring a bill that would require approval from local law enforcement officials before feds could use weapons or make an arrest. MOM sells a videotape of a speech by Chenoweth.

The feds have filed suit against

Nevada's Nye County for unilaterally claiming jurisdiction over areas of the Toiyabe National Forest, and for threatening National Forest Service officials. Last July, there was a tense stand-off with federal forest rangers when County Commissioner Dick Carver, backed up by an armed posse, bulldozed open a washed-out road in the Toiyabe, in defiance of orders to stop. The Forest Service has backed down while the case is pending, and ceded control of the road, citing "concern about the safety of the lives of the crews."

Carver, a local rancher, is a prominent spokesman for the fast-growing County Rule movement. Some 100 counties throughout the West have unilaterally claimed jurisdiction over federal lands, and threatened to arrest federal agents who get in the way of plans by local ranchers and miners to use the public lands. Litigation with feds over such county claims is pending in Idaho, Washington and other western states. The Forest Service has issued official warnings to rangers throughout the west, along with protocol on how to behave if confronted or arrested by county authorities. The FBI has been alerted.

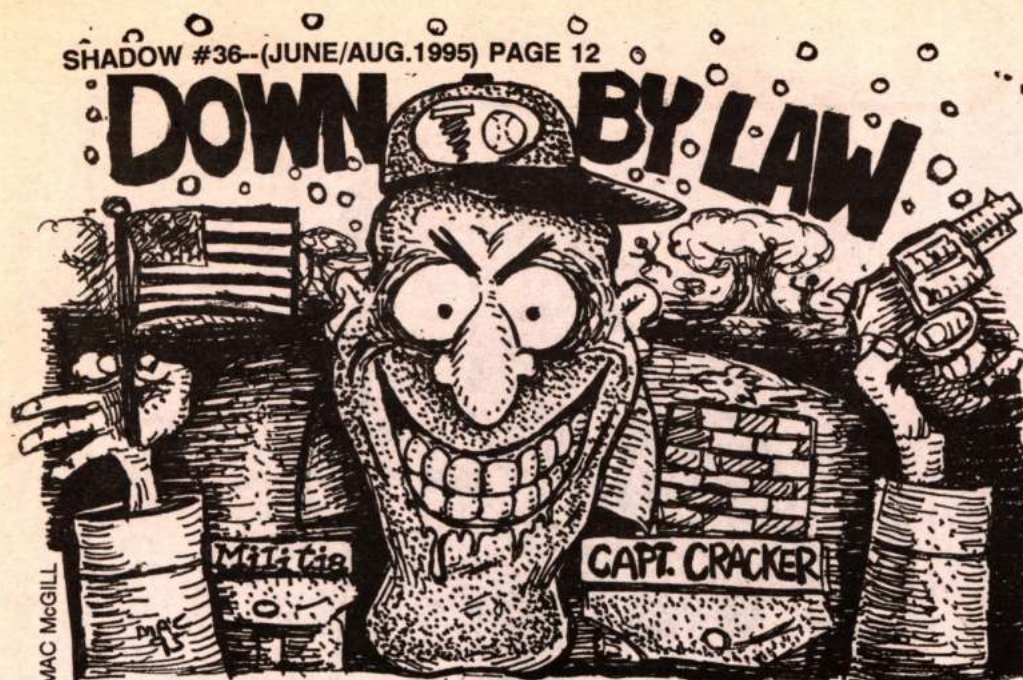
Three weeks before the Oklahoma blast, a bomb blew a hole through the wall of a National Forest Service office Carson City, NV, reducing a computer to rubble. Hours later, three pipe bombs destroyed a Forest Service outhouse in Elko County. A few days later a threatening phone message left at the Toiyabe NFS office said, "You're next."

On Halloween night 1993, someone tossed a bomb on the roof of the Bureau of Land Management's state headquarters in Reno.

Much BLM land is leased out to local ranchers for grazing, while NFS lands are made available to big timber companies for logging. Environmentalists see wanton plunder of the public trust, and decry "welfare ranching" and "welfare logging." But the ranchers and loggers want federal limits

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## BORN IN THE USA

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

The hatred and brutality that characterizes the Oklahoma City bombing was made entirely in America. The accused are native-born, white Americans, dedicated to preserving that quintessential American institution--the stockpiling of weapons by private citizens expressly for use against an elected government. Yet, at a time when we should be engaged in a national campaign to eradicate intolerance in the American heartland, politicians continue to clamor for the passage of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Act of 1995, a law focused almost exclusively on foreign nationals living on these shores. Simultaneously, President Clinton argues for a vague enlargement of federal surveillance power against domestic groups. These are bad proposals, directed at the wrong targets, and will provide little protection against terrorism while costing a great deal in constitutional protections.

The centerpiece of the Omnibus Act would create special courts to hear deportation cases. These courts could rely on secret evidence unavailable to, and hence, unassailable by, the deportee and his/her attorney. This proposal is anathema to the most basic idea of due process--the right to confront and cross-examine your accuser. Boosters of this provision have yet to explain how speeding the deportation of alien sheiks will prevent Zeke or Clem from going down to the implement store with a stock tank, buying 500 pounds of fertilizer, drenching it with diesel fuel obtained from the local Quik-Stop, and loading the whole mess into the back of a pickup truck for later detonation.

The Omnibus Act will also permit increased electronic surveillance of suspected international terrorists. While an argument could be made that white, male flag-wavers with crewcuts and tatoos should be more closely monitored than hitherto has been the case, this legislation ignores them. And President Clinton's proposal that the FBI also be given unspecified greater powers to surveil and infiltrate unspecified domestic groups is wholly unnecessary. The FBI has the authority to monitor organizations whenever there is a reasonable basis to believe that their members are violating the law. The more potent, and intrusive, law enforcement techniques--wiretaps, secret microphones, and audiovisual monitoring--are available by showing "probable cause," that is, more likely than not, the suspects are planning crimes.

Another part of the Omnibus Act would prohibit domestic fund-raising for any "foreign organization" whose members are found by the President to be engaged in terrorist activities. Such legislation would affect not one whit the ability of rightist militias to acquire funds for weapons and land on which to build fortified bunkers and redoubts.

Moreover, the designation of a group as "terrorist" has been notoriously political. In 1988, then Vice-President George Bush's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism designated the Irish Republican Army, Yassir Arafat's Fatah organization, and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress as "terrorist." In addition to being shortsighted (all of these groups are engaged in peace processes and are bulwarks against more extreme organizations), such a designation had nothing to do with the safety of Americans. None of these groups had ever conducted an armed action on U.S. soil, nor targeted Americans.

Ironically, far from illustrating the weaknesses of domestic law enforcement, the FBI's investigation into the Oklahoma City bombing is an excellent example of how efficient law enforcement can co-exist with respect for civil rights. Justice Department officials have not thrown up their hands and complained that compliance with the Constitution has harmed the investigation. To the contrary, the FBI has moved with amazing swiftness in arresting the alleged bomber, while simultaneously protecting the rights of all suspects.

For example, when the hopelessly befuddled, dark-skinned, Pakistani-born Siddiqy brothers made a wrong turn and ended up under arrest after asking the Oklahoma highway patrol for directions, the FBI did not start kicking down doors or rounding up Pakistanis. They sought, and received warrants to search the Siddiqy residence in Dallas. They searched the house in accordance with those warrants and then released the two hapless, innocent young men. Similarly, the Arab-American travelling from Oklahoma to Amman, Jordan on the day of the bombing turned out to be guilty of nothing more than overpacking his luggage. In scrupulous adherence to the law, the Justice Department sought and obtained a material witness order from a federal judge, detained and interrogated the man in accordance with the Fourth and Fifth Amendments, then released him.

Just as tellingly, when it came time to search the Decker ranch in Michigan, warrants were applied for, granted, and served as models to guide the searching agents. Mr. McVeigh was arrested pursuant to a warrant, he was swiftly arraigned before a federal judge, and he was provided the assistance of counsel. Granting him these basic rights hardly makes it more likely that he will go free if guilty. To the contrary, providing these rights helps to insure that a verdict is obtained in a just and fair manner and that's it.

The failure of law enforcement to detect and prevent the Oklahoma bombing has nothing to do with lack of police authority or manpower--groups like the Michigan militia can be surveilled under existing law. Adding 1,000 agents, as President Clinton has proposed, will not change the sad truth is that the radical right has never been perceived as a major threat by the Justice Department. Throughout the 1980's, the FBI refused to classify abortion clinic bombings as "terrorism," and watched mutely while the rightist militias organized, obtained arms, and wrapped themselves in the flag and the Second Amendment. That myopia, obviously, is ending.

The Justice Department needs to direct the formidable powers it now has against the proper targets, rather than seeking new powers that are dangerous to civil liberties.

## CCR BEGINS LAWSUIT TO STOP ILLEGAL EVICTIONS BY CITY

By Peter Spagnuolo

In a new development on the legal front important for squatters and homesteaders, lawyers from the Center for Constitutional Rights have filed a class-action lawsuit in Federal District Court, Eastern District (Brooklyn), on behalf of a wide class of potential plaintiffs living in any City-owned or abandoned property. In their initial filing before Judge Korman, co-counsel Michael Deutsch and Raymond Brescia announced their intention to strike at the heart of what HPD and City officials have long characterized as "peaceable self-help"--the use of police to carry out evictions of "unauthorized occupants" without first going through the courts.

The class will include anyone living in any city-owned building without benefit of a lease: this covers squatters, "licensees" with sublet or secondary agreements, straight and gay conjugal partners who survive their lease-holding partners, holdover tenants who outstay their leaseholder roommates, and conceivably many others. According to Brescia, New York City has declined to offer leases to tens of thousands of apartment-holders now living in City-owned buildings, despite routinely accepting rent from many of them. Under current policies, residents

without leases in HPD central management buildings and NYCHA housing, as well as squatters and homesteaders in abandoned buildings can all be treated alike by the City when it wishes to remove them.

"A lot of people with claims to title to buildings or as leaseholders are stripped of their property by peaceable self-help without due process of law," says Brescia. "This violates our protections under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments." Invoking the spectacle of the East 13th St. evictions last month, Deutsch and Brescia hope to win a Federal ruling against the City's use of cops as a form of "vigilante-style landlordism," so that, in Brescia's words, "no single mother with kids living in City-owned housing, no seniors, no people with AIDS, ever need fear that they can be turned out in the street without the City first having to prove its case."

If stopped from using cops to evict people, the City would be on an equal footing with private landlords, and would have to first serve a Notice of Dispute on a house-holder they wished to evict. After that, Brescia says, "the City would be obligated to prove its case in court like any landlord, and it wouldn't be able simply to rely on its strong hand."

## GREAT MOMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF LOVE



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Well, here we are again!! The June 19 NY Post reports that kops are pulling out the heavy gear in their effort to maintain their ever-loosening control over the populace. While every social program has been targetted for budget cuts, the untouched NYPD has found the funds for such things as an Armored Photo Observation Truck, a Remote Mobile Investigator Robot (\$100,000), a Torpedo Retriever Ship (\$3.5 million), Forward-Looking Infrared Cameras (\$110,000), and even two tanks (one was used at the May 30 evictions of the 13th Street squats). Lt. Glenn Panazzolo, of the Emergency Service Unit, said: "In the current political climate, you're going to see that kind of weapon on the streets of New York." If only the kops were as concerned about the criminal climate, but then again, political activists don't shoot back, do they?!!

Eager to employ their new civilian combat gear, kops have now begun routinely spraying civilians with pepper spray at the slightest provocation.

Recently, kops at demonstrations have changed their tactics noticeably. Kops used to try to disperse people by covering one end of a block and then sweeping them toward the other end. Next, kops would attempt to divide the group into several smaller groups that would not be able to rejoin to create another demo. This maneuver was practiced and seemingly perfected in several skirmishes with civilians around Tompkins Square in the past four years. Now, kops prefer to cover both ends of a block (and/or using barricades to contain a group), eliminating the "escape valve." They then charge at those trapped off, using pepper spray and clubs on anyone within range. This method was witnessed at several CUNY/SUNY demos and at the kop attack on Puerto Rican Day celebrants in Bushwick, Brooklyn.

When kops start upping the ante by using more than the usual brutality and employing new gadgets and weapons like pepper spray, tear gas, uzis and tanks, how long before formerly peaceful and non-violent demonstrators respond in kind? Kops in charge should keep in mind that the people can play the same game too, only better. If kops remove the only means of expressing displeasure with the system, attacking non-violents with violence, then they will drive people underground where they cannot be monitored, infiltrated, negotiated with, etc. Creative guerilla actions may come next. Perhaps this is what the NYPD's and Giuliani's string pullers at the Manhattan Institute want: cause a violent response to NYPD violence in order to justify further violence and repression to respond to the violence they originally caused. In other words, a nice little police state right here in New York City!! What a performance!!

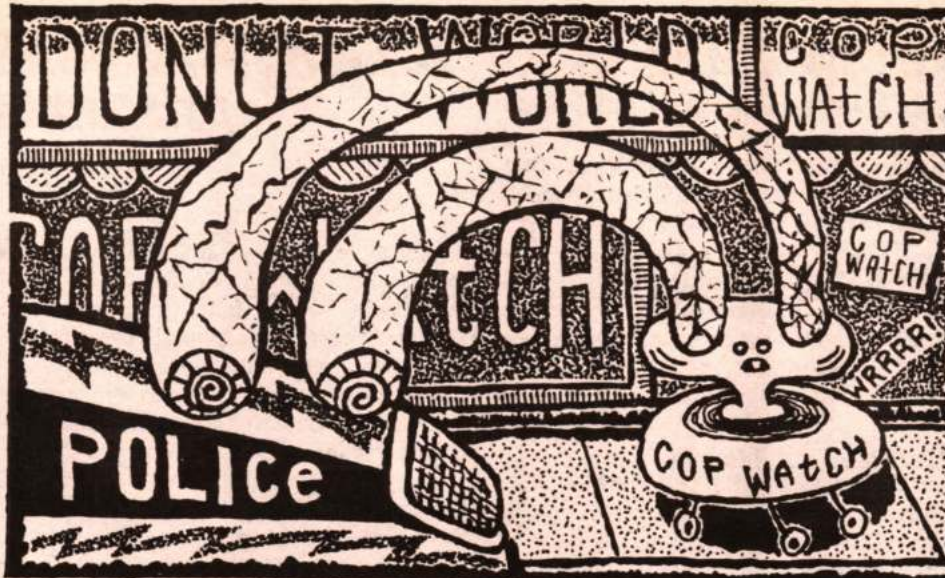
Kop-Watchers tell us that kops have begun using different methods to report police "actions" in order to foil reporters and anarchists who monitor kop radio

## ACLU Hits Cops On Pepper Gas

Warning that 27 criminal suspects have died in police custody in California in the past 2½ years after being subdued with pepper spray, the American Civil Liberties Union yesterday petitioned the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission to regulate the use of the device nationwide.

The Southern California branch of the ACLU said that the use of pepper spray by police officers is becoming increasingly indiscriminate despite written expressions of "grave scientific concern" by the state Environmental Protection Agency about its safety.

679.25



transmissions. They have been changing their radio codes, using false codes, wrongly reporting what is going on, switching to other new frequencies, and they use cellular phones more often. We wonder what they would be trying to hide from the civilians they are supposed to be "protecting and serving?" This might work for a while, but remember that cell phones are only fancy radios, and they can be monitored as well as radios.

Moving another step toward non-public accountability, mayor Ghouliani has just dissolved the offices of DCPI (Deputy Commissioner of Public Information), thereby ending a source of info relied upon by mainstream reporters to cover kop activities. Beside causing mainstream press reporters to get off their asses more often rather than rely on NYPD versions of events, another result is a drop in the reporting of crimes, which makes the crime rate appear to be dropping when it's not, and the NYPD likes that a lot!!

On June 17, diminutive P.O. Nicole Matos of the 9th precinct was seen shoving around a group of young punkers trying to enjoy the nice weather in Tompkins Square Park. Apparently, she was trying to get them to respond to her provocations so that she could call in her back-ups to save her ass and make some false arrests. (Hey Nicole, can you say "10-13" ten times fast?) Matos did the same thing exactly a year ago in the same park, resulting in the arrests of three people, including SHADOW editor Chris Flash. Does Capt. Ovese know about this little loose pistol he's got on park patrol?

Roger Eppes and his brother Mark were in Harlem at about 11 P.M. on the night of April 26, 1995, when Roger had an asthma attack. His brother attempted to rush him to Harlem Hospital--in the process going through several red lights. Two cops in an unmarked car from the Street Crime Unit began chasing them, without lights or siren--and when the Eppes brothers stopped in front of the hospital, plainclothes cop Callanan ordered Mark to lie on the ground and searched him at gunpoint. When Roger Eppes staggered inside the hospital, Callanan's partner, Officer Newton Harvey pursued and stopped him, whereupon Callanan turned his gun on Roger and prevented him from getting immediate medical attention in the emergency room. Roger Eppes died an hour later. When Harlem Hospital officials made a complaint to the Civilian Complaint Review Board, they were referred back to the Police Department because "no excessive force was involved."

On April 27, 1995, Bronx cop Daniel Rivera got 90 days in jail, 57 months of probation, and 300 hours of community service for the March 12, 1993 beating of Anibal DeJesus. Cops in the courtroom at the sentencing made threats and taunts toward Assistant District Attorney Carlos Calderone. Rivera was convicted of 2nd degree

assault in a bench trial before Judge Phyllis Bamberger. DeJesus had been stopped by Rivera for a broken headlight. He got out of the car and reached for his wallet when Rivera grabbed him by the neck and hit him over the head, then threw him out of the car and kept hitting him over the head with a baton until other police officers arrived. The trumped up charges brought against DeJesus were dismissed.

Officer Lowe of the 48th Precinct has since been indicted for third-degree assault in another incident in which he and another officer, William Laham, allegedly took turns beating a drug suspect in the back of a patrol car on December 18, 1994. Officers Michael O'Connor and Matthew Siciliano were also indicted for stomping on the same suspect's hands at the station house and putting a gun in his mouth. Lowe is also accused of searching an apartment unlawfully and filing false reports about the search. Siciliano is additionally charged with stealing money from another apartment that he gained entry to through a false 911 call.

In another 48th precinct incident, Anthony Amaroso of Arthur Avenue, a 55-year old parking lot attendant, alleged that he was mistaken for a drug buyer last January by Officer Richard Rivera while walking near his home. According to Amaroso, after Rivera threw him to the ground and stepped on his neck, the cop took him to a nearby hospital to have his stomach pumped in an effort to find drugs. When no drugs were found in Amaroso's stomach, Rivera planted a crack vial on his bed and arrested him, Amaroso alleges. Amaroso is quoted as saying, "ever since Giuliani came in, he has given the police a free hand to do whatever they want." Rivera has been indicted for stealing money from two apartments and for robbing a man in an apartment lobby. He is also accused of perjury in testifying about the arrest of two women.

On July 2, 1994, Officers Michael Kalanz and Michael O'Callaghan of the 48th Precinct beat Oliver Jones with kicks and blows from a flashlight, leaving him unconscious in a pool of blood. They then arrested him for allegedly stealing a police radio and resisting arrest--charges that were dismissed shortly afterwards. Jones says that he had been standing in front of his apartment building talking to his father and several neighbors when a group of police officers were seen chasing a man down the block. A bystander yelled "police brutality" whereupon two of the cops forgot about the suspect they were chasing and singled out Jones for a beating. Kalanz and O'Callaghan have been charged with assault in the incident, and Sgt. Michael McCarthy has been charged with filing a false report in the incident, which he witnessed. Oliver Jones, who missed three months

work at his job as a security guard because of injuries suffered, was denied workman's compensation because he had been charged with a crime.

New York Newsday reported on May 8, 1995 that Officer Anthony Abbate is running for the post of Brooklyn South Financial Officer of the Patrolman's Benevolent Association. As he has obtained the endorsement of the PBA, his election is virtually assured. Abbate has had 30 civilian complaints and 121 allegations of misconduct lodged against him, and has been placed on probation by the NYPD for going AWOL and disrespecting his superiors. In 1992, he was placed under special NYPD monitoring because of the large number of complaints against him.

On May 13, 1995, Julio Nuñez was with his family at his apartment on Morrison Avenue in the Bronx when two plainclothes police officers entered with their guns drawn, without announcing that they were police officers. The cops had come in response to a complaint by a man who said that Nuñez had threatened to kill him in front of the building. Nuñez was on the telephone in another room, talking to the man with whom he had the dispute. Nuñez was shot once by the police, and allegedly jumped out the kitchen window to his death. Cops allege that Nuñez reached into his waistband and they thought he had a gun. The cops have been placed on sick leave as a result of their "trauma."

The New York Times of April 25, 1995 reported that four officers from the 112th Precinct are being investigated for having handcuffed, beat, and kicked a store clerk whom they had mistaken for a suspect in the robbery of a Queens supermarket. Marcos Maldonado, 26, said that while he was handcuffed and lying on the floor of the store's basement, one cop put a gun in his mouth, used an ethnic slur, and told him, "you know you're going to die tonight. I'm going to blow your head off." Maldonado, a Guatemalan immigrant and second-year psychology student at Queens College, was being held hostage by robbers in the supermarket basement when a plainclothes cop entered and shot one of his captors, without identifying himself as a police officer. Maldonado fled and took cover in the boiler room, but complied when the cops told him to come out with his hands up, saying "don't shoot, I work here." The cops immediately began hitting him with their pistols and sticks, and later menaced him with a gun. The cops failed to apologize and left Maldonado outside the store to go to the hospital by himself. Police spokesman Tom Kelly said, "It is standard procedure for officers to be wary of everyone at a robbery scene to avoid being caught off guard."

Thanks to all of our Kop-Watchers for all of their contributions. If you have any info (stories, eyewitness reports, photos, badge + plate numbers, etc.) that you'd like to see in the SHADOW and added to our files, please send it all to: The SHADOW, P.O. Box 20298, New York, NY 10009, or call us at: 212-631-1181.

**DUE TO SPACE RESTRICTIONS, WE ARE UNABLE TO RUN PHOTOS OF UNDERCOVER KOPS AND RELATED KOP HELPERS. THEY WILL APPEAR ON THE INTERNET AND IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE SHADOW.**



## EVENTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**JULY 2--GREENWICH VILLAGE RADICAL WALKING TOUR:** Sites include: Thomas Payne, The Rosenbergs, IWW, Draft Riots + more. Meet in front of Village Cigars in Sheridan Square at 1:00pm. Only \$6.00. Call 718-492-0069.

**JULY 3--MUMIA ABU-JAMAL DEMONSTRATION:** Protest the signing of the death warrant on political prisoner Mumia, framed for killing a pig. At the Liberty Bell, 5th + Market St. 11:00am, in Philadelphia, PA. Buses leave 7:30am from Main Post Office, 33rd St. + 8th Ave. Tickets avail. from Creative Visions, 260 W.125 St. (212-368-3560); Black Out Books, 50 Ave B (212-777-1967); Revolution Books, 13 E.16 St. (212-691-3345), or call NY Coalition to Free Mumia: 212-330-8029.

**JULY 3--BILL KUNSTLER READS THE CONSTITUTION:** Famous activist attorney also gives the real deal on amerika's founding fathers. Presented by Paper Tiger TV, on Public Access Cable TV. Channel 16 at 7:30pm. Call 212-420-9045.

**JULY 7--CENTRAL PARK TRAFFIC CALMING RIDE:** TIME'S UP-sponsored bike rides to slow down park traffic. Meet 6:15pm on Lower Loop Road, across from Tavern On The Green restaurant at 65th + Cent. Pk. West. Call 212-802-8222. (Also on 7/14).

**JULY 7--RALLY VS POLICE BRUTALITY:** In memory of Anthony Rosario, shot 14 times in the back by pigs + Hilton Vega, shot 8 times in the back by pigs. Noon rally at 2784 Claflin Ave, Bronx. March to Bronx Supreme Ct., 161 St. + Grand Concourse. Call 212-614-5355.

**JULY 10--MOORISH ORTHODOX RADIO CRUSADE:** Erudite Anarchist banter with Peter Lamborn Wilson + Bill Weinberg. Every other Tuesday on WBAI radio (99.5FM), at 11:45pm.

**JULY 16--RADICAL CENTRAL PARK WALKING TOUR:** Sites include: Robert Moses, Joseph Papp, Strawberry Fields, Hooverville + more. Meet at main fountain at SW corner of the park at 1:00pm. Only \$6.00. Call 718-492-0069.

**JULY 23--ANNUAL DISABILITY INDEPENDENCE DAY MARCH:** Assemble

along 41st St. between Fifth + Park Aves. at 1:00pm for march down Madison Ave to 23rd St. for 3:30pm rally. Guests include Pete Seeger and Screaming Mimi. Call Naomi at: 212-977-6023.

**JULY 24--"FLAVA IN YA EAR":** High school students from the Community Voices League speak out on budget cuts. On Public Access TV, Channel 16, 7:30pm.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS:

**TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK SPEAKOUTS!!** Gather to speak your mind and get it all off your chest!! Meet every Saturday night at 7:00pm where the bandshell used to be. Don't be fooled by phony Speak-Outs held by the CWO at 7th St. + Ave. A!!

**ABC NO RIO EVICTION WATCH!!** Get on the contact list to join the fight against the city's attempts to remove one of the few truly alternative spaces on the Lower East Side!! Call 212-713-5743 or 254-3697.

**SUPPORT THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION!!** Contact the Zapatista Solidarity Committee at: 212-642-5212, and the National Committee for Democracy in Mexico at: 212-614-6662.

**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.

**FOOD, NOT BOMBS** prepares food every Saturday + Sunday at ABC NO RIO. Come help them cook at 10am Sat. + 9:00am Sun. Share food at 2pm at ABC on Sat. + La Plaza Cultural (9th St. + Ave. C). Call 212-254-3697.

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

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

COMMUNITY BOARD THREE REPORT:  
(IT DON'T MEAN SHIT!!)

By Stuart Frankel

For those interested in Stupid Political Games, a sort of bloodless spectator sport, the downward spiral of Community Board 3 is at least vaguely entertaining. Of course, the Community Boards are irrelevant for people with real lives to lead; they are essentially powerless organizations which are supposed to provide the government with community input (which the government can then ignore), but in reality they wind up as playpens for amateur politicians who are just as ignorant and opinionated as the professional politicians but whose intolerance of diverse viewpoints (i.e. REAL community input) rises in proportion to their impotence.

For reasons not clear, one of departing CB3 member Nancy Sosman's pet projects was to kill the Lower East Side Needle Exchange, which currently operates just outside Tompkins Square Park, among other places. The May CB3 meeting was told the usual horror stories about people finding needles in the park; one worker was stuck with a needle deliberately hidden in a blanket. There was no indication that any of these needles were connected with the LES Needle Exchange; in fact, the number of needles in the park has DECLINED since the Needle Exchange set up shop. No one at the meeting pointed out the obvious fact that the Needle Exchange doesn't cause any needles to be put into circulation because it EXCHANGES them. The point is to clean up the needles that are in circulation. In spite of these facts, the board voted overwhelmingly to require the Needle Exchange to label their needles and not to operate near schools or parks. The Needle Exchange reports that they used to label their needles but the labelling has to be done by hand and is so time consuming that it would interfere with their work; there's no indication that their needles are any problem, they do not see why they should scale back their activities to address imaginary concerns. Of course, they have no particular desire to exchange needles near schools; if they were to move away from parks, they would be seriously crippled. And of course, CB3 has no authority to tell them what to do or where to do it, so the CB3 resolution is of no effect. No one at the board meeting mentioned this, either.

Even more ridiculous, however, are CB3 internal politics. Alas, we will not be witness to the antics of board chair Luis Soler any longer; boro prez Ruth Messinger, fed up with his divisive and incompetent leadership (forbidding board members who disagreed with him from speaking, ordering the arrest of his political opponents, etc.), refused to reappoint him to the board. She also didn't reappoint his partner in depravity, Nancy Sosman. In a futile attempt to forestall charges of political favoritism, she pointedly failed to reappoint two of her own supporters, Robert Schoenbohm and Marvin Wasserman. (The attempt was futile because Sosman and company have learned from the mentor Antonio Pagán to hurl loud and frequent accusations against your opponents without regard for the facts, and the press will report these as solemnly as if they were true.) Sosman also, unprompted, denied to the SHADOW that she drinks gin. By contrast, former board chair Soler, although he initially stayed away from the May meeting in protest, did finally show up and gave a gracious speech in which he said he had a life to live, and he asked everyone in the community to work together.

His own supporters on the board ignored this plea, however. As a "spit in your eye" gesture toward Messinger, they elected Albert Fabozzi for board chair. A neighborhood activist once described Fabozzi as "so stupid he's almost endearing." Little Albert is fond of swinging his (little) weight around; our favorite Fabozzism is "We have a neighborhood to run" (wrong: the community boards aren't supposed to run anything; they're supposed to give advice. Fabozzi should read chapter 70 of the city charter). We also remember fondly the time when he was shouting incoherently to someone or other in Tompkins Square Park (we don't remember the exact details) that he was a member of the community board and blah blah blah. Local landlord (and now former CB3 member) Krystyna Piorkowska led him away, patting him on the arm saying, "There, there, Albert."

## ERIC DROOKER



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To Editors: re "DEA's Finest Details Corruption" (SHADOW #35): Excerpted from the SHADOW: "Dope and undisciplined soldiers were problems Castillo left behind when he volunteered to join a secret sniper unit in neighboring Cambodia in 1971. The Vietcong used Cambodia as a staging ground for raids on South Vietnam since the US Congress had declared it off-limits to American soldiers. Castillo's twelve-man team would pick off commanding officers at VC bases with M-14 sniper rifles. 'We never missed,' Castillo recalled. 'According to the Pentagon, we were never there.' These were the first of many US Government cover-ups Castillo was to be involved with in his twenty-one year career as a public servant.

"Things were tamer back in Edinburgh, Texas, where Castillo served as a police officer while earning a criminal justice degree from Pan American University in 1975. 'I drank in every detail of the lectures, paying particular attention to any mention of drug laws. They would be my weapons in the streets.' Serving first as a dispatcher at the Edinburgh Police Department, he moved to the field, using his Vietnam surveillance and combat skills well, often surprising thieves and other miscreants during the commission of crimes."

What is this shit?! The VC were defending their families from being bombed, crippled, kidnapped, tortured, and killed by Nazi American Storm-troopers like scumbag Castillo. What you call "Vietnam surveillance and combat skills" was nothing less than Castillo's violent terrorism against an impoverished and relatively defenseless civilian population. There were lots of "anti-drug" thugs in the German SS. Who cares? They were torturers and murderers, the scum of the earth! Reporting government drug-trafficking is one thing. But your article praises Castillo, who is a murderer and a terrorist, and is lower than any dope pusher.

From the SHADOW: "While Castillo empathized with contra soldiers in the field, who were dependent upon the erratic stream of supplies by the US, he would not tolerate drug trafficking by anyone."

The contras ran around Nicaragua raping and killing as many civilians as they could. They usually butchered dirt-poor peasants living on farms. Do you, nobly, "not tolerate drug trafficking by anyone," yet "empathize" with the terrorist contras too, like your pal Castillo? Stop promoting right-wing nazi gangsters! --Anonymous, via the Internet

Dear Anonymous,

Celerino Castillo was a devoted agent of the DEA who really believed in his government's phony War on Drugs. When he discovered and tried to investigate US-sponsored drug trafficking, weapons smuggling, money laundering, tortures, murders, and the training of death squads in El Salvador and Guatemala by the DEA, he was attacked and discredited. Finally, after avoiding an assassination attempt, he was suspended for minor violations of DEA regulations. Castillo was also instrumental in Oliver North's unsuccessful Senate race in 1994. By holding town meetings and going on radio and television to expose North's drug use and dealing, he was able to convince enough people that North was not their hero after all.

All of this is in the article, yet you only chose to cite Castillo's past in Vietnam, Texas and Nicaragua. Regardless of whether he was right or wrong, this is all part of Castillo's background that led him to become a DEA agent. Where do you get the idea that we support any of Castillo's past deeds or misdeeds?

The big picture that you seem to be missing is that Castillo has decided to



expose the government's Big Lie rather than keep quiet and stay alive while collecting a fat pension, like so many others. Castillo still receives death threats on a regular basis. As far as the SHADOW is concerned, we feel it is important to get this information directly from former DEA agents like Castillo and Michael Levine (interviewed in SHADOW #22,) who put their lives on the line to educate the public. These men are not "right-wing nazi gangsters," they are HEROS, and we praise them for coming forward with the truth.

By the way, the SHADOW does not tolerate drug trafficking when it involves death drugs like heroin or cocaine and when it serves as a method of privately funding and arming fascist government troops. Do you? --The Editors

Dear SHADOW:

Isn't it a coincidence that the Department of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms cleared out of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City before it exploded (April 19, 1995--Ed.), and that there were no ATF casualties?

Isn't it coincidental that the Internal Revenue Service moved out at least a week before the bombing? Isn't it convenient that the last true Patriots in America--those who believe in the Constitution of the United States and who would say: "only an armed people can be a free people," should be scapegoated and set up to look like psychopathic terrorists, responsible for the deaths of innocent children, just when the government wants to undermine our constitution itself and destroy and discredit these true Americans, who would warn the people to resist being disarmed by our corrupt government, and the wealthy foreign and domestic interests who would enslave us?

Would the government who massacred the Branch Davidian children at Waco, cremating them alive, have any qualms about killing anyone (including children), if it furthered their strategy of using the chaos that they would create as an excuse to deprive us of our guns and our Constitutional Rights in the name of a manufactured "National Security" crisis?

The government would have no qualms about doing this, and in fact, has done this in Oklahoma. The fact that some Secret Service agents died in the blast was worth the sacrifice to them, to make it look believable to the public. This is the way the Elites think about those who would serve them, expendable at a whim. First the International Bankers stole our economy by undermining our currency and contriving the usurious "National Debt" to steal the wealth of our Nation. The corrupt rich and the cheap politicians of both our major parties were bought off long ago, our government is

not controlled by, or for, the People. THEY ARE FORECLOSING ON AMERICA! Will you be ready when they create more "emergencies," as an excuse to declare Martial Law, forever destroying our liberties and freedoms? Will you be ready, when U.S. and United Nations troops come to enslave us all, massacring our loved ones in the streets?

Americans, Arm Yourselves! and Wake Up!! Be ready and able to fight for Freedom!! (Photocopy and reproduce this message! It is not copyrighted. Spread the message of Freedom!)

--Anonymous, California

Dear SHADOW, \*\*\*\*\*

Now that St. Patrick's Day is finally over, I have been thinking about the hell raised by some of my Irish brothers about the so-called "gay Irishmen" joining in on St. Pat's Day marches.

As we Irish all know, there are really no gay Irishmen and it is really a case of Jews, Germans, Italians and Englishmen who are pretending to be gay Irishmen.

However, at least in my opinion, St. Pat's Day is that wonderful experience when everyone becomes Irish for 24 hours.

Let our Afro-American friends wear green shirts and tell wild Irish stories....Let our Italian brothers learn there is more to good food than spaghetti and meatballs....Let our English brothers know some of us do not give a damn about the English queen and her royal family....Let the Jews and Germans shake hands, the gays wear green dresses, and, if some of you New York jackasses must come in the nude, you can at least dye yourselves green.

I do hope some of our silly Catholics will quit going bananas over who's Irish next year. There are Irish Protestants. --John B. Denson, Florida

\*\*\*\*\*

#### PRISONER MAIL:

To The Editors,

In my 49 years, I have all but heard the truth about the problems that we Americans are having. The reasons why are obvious, it's because we have always been exposed to the Establishment's point of view, the Corrupt Politicians' points of view, and the Hate Groups (no matter what Color, Creed, Nationality or Religious points of view). It has all served to preserve the Corporations, Special Interest Groups, and the Rich (Money Monkeys). We the people have to see the truth and the truth is that all of the Hate (for ourselves and others), Suffering, Anger, Pain, Sorrow, Fear, Depression, Hopelessness, Helplessness, and Confusion, etc, are just Symptoms caused by the pressures from the "Criminal Elite." We will never be able to get them out of Power if we don't Stop the fighting at the bottom and focus our efforts on those at the TOP. We can no longer afford the Prides and Prejudices that we have for

each other, to allow them to stay in Power. It's them who profit by our fighting at the bottom and them who Create it. Their GODs are MONEY, POWER and DECEPTION. Their MOTTO is Divide and Conquer. So please, all of you Come Together and take back the power of the people. Get rid of them by any means necessary. THIS IS A WAKE UP CALL!!!!

George W. White #94-B-0605  
135 State St., Auburn, NY 13021  
\*\*\*\*\*

Hey:

In this place of Amerikan authoritarians, all sources of news other than the mainstream party-line dogma are read with great relish. The whole "left" must unite and make an attempt to change society. And I think a good way to start is the spreading of knowledge.

Government is like a zookeeper controlling 3 billion animals locked up in cages called countries and kept weak and scared by force and

intimidation. Now is the time for all animals to unite and bust out of our cages. It's time for the animals to kill their keepers and to control their own destiny.

Tim Olsen #100823  
P.O.Box L, Yuma, AZ 85366-0003  
\*\*\*\*\*

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# SHADOW INTERVIEW

## DHORUBA BIN WAHAD

By Bill Weinberg

*Veteran Black Panther and 19-year political prisoner Dhoruba Bin Wahad (formerly Richard Moore) won his freedom in 1990 after a New York State judge found that the FBI had suppressed evidence that could have helped clear him of his 1971 attempted double-cop murder charge. Since his release, he has returned to outspoken political activism, and has been particularly vocal against the War on Drugs. With his newly-organized Black Coalition on Drugs, he advocates decriminalization and "harm reduction" strategies. Dhoruba spoke with SHADOW reporter Bill Weinberg on May 11, 1995. Photographer John Penley also participated in the interview.*



JOHN PENLEY

**BW:** Have you seen the flick *Panther*? What do you think of it?

**DBW:** Yeah, I saw *Panther*. I see this movie in the context of my own experience, rather than in the context of where we're at now in 1995. One of the things that people don't realize is how effectively radical analysis has been removed from the debate around issues that affect people's lives. This is a direct consequence, of course, of the Counter-Intelligence Program. It delegitimized militancy, it delegitimized revolutionary consciousness. And the way it delegitimized that was by criminalizing revolutionaries and criminalizing the movement. And the criminalization process is continuing today in the African American community.

For instance, you can talk about the War on Drugs. The face of the War on Drugs in America is the face of African people, it's the face of Latinos. It's the face of people of color—that's the face of the quote-unquote "criminals" who are the targets of this War on Drugs. And this image, this illusion, is perpetrated by the mass media, which plays upon people's emotions to gain support for the War on Drugs.

And of course the ability of the state—and I think this is the bottom line—to control the democratization of technology is directly contingent upon its capacity to get the masses to subsidize and support their own repression through the creation of foreign or domestic enemies.

**BW:** What do you mean by the "democratization of technology"?

**DBW:** Because of the giant strides of technology, especially in the realm of organizing information through computers and electronic media, this technology is readily accessible to anyone. You can buy a PC and

CD-ROM system and tune in to some of the most sophisticated levels of organized information in the world. You can tap into mainframe information banks. This was unheard of as little as 20 years ago. As young people come up in a society that's increasingly dependent upon information, if they have this kind of access they could influence debates, they could begin to think for themselves, they could begin to search out other like-minded folks.

**BW:** OK, so how is this process of the democratization of technology being controlled?

**DBW:** It's being controlled in a whole host of ways. You've noticed the recent brouhaha of the Clipper Chip? We know that technology is the modern means by which the rich utilize the labor of the poor to transfer wealth to themselves. Technology is now very important in criminal law enforcement. It is very important in the state's ability to control its own vast bureaucracy. So the state is completely dependent on technology, and of course the state is a creature of the rich. So, they are trying to control who has access to certain types of information. They say they have to write new laws to deal with freedom of speech in the electronic age. There are security concerns, where you might access someone's business files or bank account. They're moving away from cash to plastic, so they'll have to have a more efficient way of identifying people. They want one universal number, maybe your Social Security number. Look where we're moving. We're moving to restrict people's access to certain basic resources unless they go through a certain type of electronic process.

And I don't want to sound like someone who's afraid of

technology—I'm not. What I'm saying is that what people don't understand is that the organization of information is a revolutionary phenomenon that is happening right now as we speak. And as long as this organization of information is in the hands of a system which has had a history of utilizing its military, its police forces and any other tools at its disposal to control its people, to usurp people's rights, their lands, their lives—we should be very suspicious, at the minimum, of this process; we should question this process. And it's happening on a multiplicity of levels under different guises.

**BW:** What has all this to do with the movie *Panther*?

**DBW:** The movie *Panther*—even though it is not an accurate portrayal of the Black Panther Party—shows how the police were very brutal and racist and functioned in a way that was above the law because they had a mandate to terrorize the African-American community. And it shows that the way that we dealt with that was to organize in our communities around those issues that related to people's lives. And we showed that we were ready to stand fast against that type of repression, and indeed, if necessary, *kill* in our defense of these ideals. And three, that drugs—hard drugs, heroin—were introduced into the African American community for political reasons, to control, to misdirect and ultimately to defuse the development of revolutionary consciousness. These three messages come across clearly in the movie. And it is for those reasons that I appreciate the movie.

What it *didn't* show was that the consequence of developing a revolutionary consciousness would inevitably mean that you were going to become the targets of the state. And once you became the targets of the state, there were no holds barred. And the way they went about doing that, of course, was to first *demonize* the Black Panther Party in the minds of white people, so the police would be seen as having a difficult time at best, and therefore you couldn't be too

critical of how they act. And that plays, of course, off of the racist mentality that underlies this society, especially among white males, in relationship to black people and black males.

For instance, when something like Rodney King happens, the jury can come back and acquit these individuals because they rationalize, "Well, this was a big, black dude, you know, he just wouldn't lay down, they had a hard job, so they had to do what they did, how else were they gonna survive in that ghetto, so what?" So once you realize that we are going to struggle against these conditions by any means necessary, that means that there are going to be those of you who are going to be framed, who are going to be murdered, who are going to be forced into exile.

**BW:** That's what happened to you.

**DBW:** That's what happened to me, and that's what happened to Mumia Abu Jamal. That's why Mumia Abu Jamal is on death row. Which of course brings us to another issue—the death penalty in this country. And if we really deal with the death penalty in this country, and its administration and its *purpose*, we can only conclude that the death penalty does not protect its citizens. In fact, it legalizes the murder of citizens under the guise of protection and law enforcement. In those states which have the death penalty, homicide is not appreciably decreased. But the new Omnibus Criminal statute significantly increases the crimes that are punishable by death. And they make struggle by the oppressed—when defined as terrorism—punishable by death as a means of intimidating those who would stand up against tyranny. This is what happens, you get electrocuted, you get a lethal injection.

**BW:** You did 19 years in prison for attempted murder of two New York City police. And in the interim, new evidence came to light indicating that you had been framed. How did that new evidence come to light, and what is your current legal status?

**DBW:** It came to light as a  
CONTINUED ON PAGE 20





# THERE 'LL BE FIRE IN THE SKIES IF MUMIA DIES!!

By A. Kronstadt

On June 2, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge signed a warrant for the execution of Mumia abu Jamal, a former Black Panther and an award-winning journalist who was convicted in the 1981 shooting death of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Ridge set the execution date for 10:00 P.M. on August 17 (coincidentally or not, the birthday of Black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey).

Mumia abu Jamal, whose slave name is Wesley Cook, earned the title of "voice of the voiceless" for his exposure on radio and in print of former Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo's racist policies, in particular the persecution by Philly police of the radical Black back-to-nature group called MOVE. In the early morning hours of December 9, 1981, Officer Faulkner was found dying of gunshot wounds to the head and back at the corner of Locust and 13th Streets in downtown Philadelphia, with Mumia lying critically wounded no more than four feet away. Both were taken to the hospital, where Faulkner died shortly afterward. At Mumia's 1982 trial, the prosecution used eleven preemptory challenges to exclude potential Black jurors, ending up with a jury of nine whites and three elderly Blacks. This jury heard evidence to the effect that Faulkner had stopped a Volkswagen driven by Mumia's brother, Billy Cook, and that some sort of struggle was going on when Mumia arrived on the scene. A taxi driver named Robert Chobert also testified against Mumia, but Chobert told a very different story than he did on the night of the killing. At the scene of the killing had told police investigators that he had seen a Black man of approximately 225 pounds shoot Faulkner, then run away; later that night Chobert told investigators at Police Headquarters that he saw the shooter run approximately 30 steps on the opposite side of the street. But when confronted on cross-examination with the fact that Mumia weighed only 170 pounds, Chobert admitted that Mumia did not look like someone who weighed 225 pounds and was not "heavy." Chobert said that he had been mistaken on the night of the murder, and told a new story in which the killer fell to the ground no more than ten feet from Faulkner. Could it be that Chobert's turnabout had something to do with pressure from the cops? It turns out that Chobert was on probation for arson (he had thrown a Molotov cocktail at a school for pay) and was under threat of being sent back to jail because of a drunk driving conviction. Similarly, the only person to testify that Mumia had a gun in his hand was Cynthia White, a prostitute who worked the area who had three open prostitution cases the time of Mumia's trial. During that trial, White was protected by undercover police officers while working the streets. None of the other witnesses testified that they saw Cynthia White at the scene of the killing. The jury was also told by Officer Faulkner's partner that Mumia had blurted out a "confession," while lying wounded in the hospital. Another cop, Officer Gary Wakshul, who was there at the time the confession was purportedly made, wrote a police statement noting that "the negro male made no statements." Wakshul was, however, unable to testify at Mumia's trial because the police department had sent him on vacation. No ballistics or other tests had been done to prove that Mumia's gun, which had been introduced into evidence, was indeed the weapon that killed Faulkner.

Mumia's attorney, Leonard Weinglass, is demanding a new trial, and is also demanding that Judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the trial at which all of this misinformation was introduced into evidence, be removed from the case. Sabo, who imposed the death sentence was deemed "a defendant's nightmare" by the Philadelphia Inquirer. Judge Sabo refused to postpone the proceedings to enable Officer Wakshul to return from vacation. Sabo also refused to allow Mumia's lawyer to cross-examine witness Robert Chobert about his troubles with the law. A former sheriff, Sabo has had a long-time connection with Philadelphia's Fraternal Order of Police, which is currently



lobbying for Mumia's execution. Sabo also allowed the prosecutor to question Mumia regarding his political views, and his statement (as a teenager more than a decade before the killing) that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

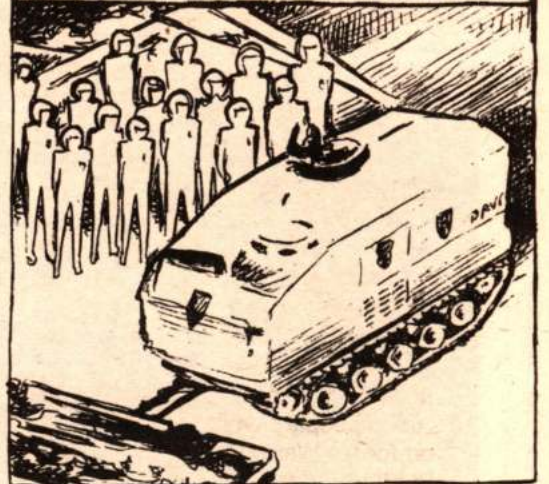
In the days after the signing of the death warrant, activists have gathered to demand a stop to the execution of Mumia abu Jamal. In Minneapolis, a June 3 demonstration against the execution was violently dispersed by police who sprayed pepper gas and arrested 11 people on charges of "probable cause to riot." In New York, one thousand people marched around Penn Station on June 5 in a demonstration that seemed to bring out every political activist in New York City. The large crowd was hemmed in on the sidewalk in spite of obvious opportunities to take over Penn Station or at least the street, thanks in part to the demonstration marshals (from Workers' World Party and December 12 movement) who passed around a flyer that stated "no civil disobedience of any kind will take place." (Actually, demonstrators did move aside police barricades that had been set up to impede the march.) Numerous demonstrators expressed dissatisfaction with this policy in spite of cooperating to avoid a display of dissention among the supporters of Mumia. It remains to be seen how long this "protest as usual" policy will persist as the date for the judicial murder of Mumia abu Jamal draws near.



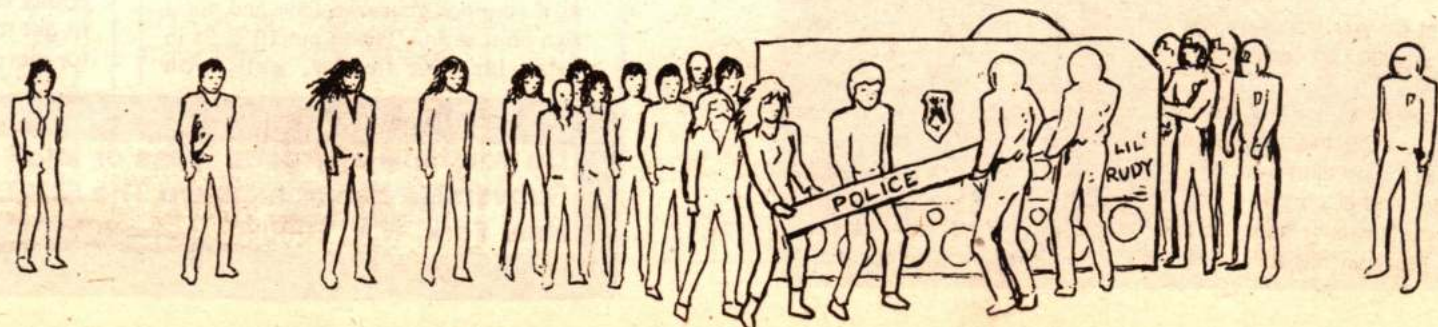
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# SUBVERSIVE ELECTRONICS

## BEEPER USERS BEWARE!!

Beeper Buster Pager Intercept System Now Available!!

By Frank Lee  
(The SHADOW's man in the beeper business)

Anyone who has or makes calls to a beeper should be aware of the "Beeper Buster," sold by Shomer-Tec, a law enforcement supply company that only sells to pigs. The Beeper Buster can "monitor every message sent to any pager. You do not need the co-operation of the paging system operator, nor will the user of the pager know that you are monitoring all his messages."

Under normal circumstances, pigs investigating you or your beeper number(s) must present your paging company with a court order in order to obtain information on the numbers called to your beeper. Because calls to beepers are generated by telephones, these messages are protected by the same privacy laws that cover telephone communications.

In order to use the advertised surveillance equipment, the pigs are required by law to obtain the court order. Yet, despite this, Shomer-Tec suggests that they can avoid the "paperwork hassles" required of them for each number they investigate, in effect encouraging them to use this equipment illegally.

This new technology available to pigs through the private sector is spooky. The Shomer-Tec ad continues: "The Beeper Buster can capture all messages containing particular search data (such as a phone number of a suspect location or pay phone) or any combination of the above. Special techniques are used to determine the capcode (the unique address of each pager), meaning you do not access to the target pager to capture its messages. The Beeper Buster even perfectly intercepts the new alpha pages (these are the newer pagers that let you receive entire sentences). Since it operates automatically, it can run for days unattended. You can utilize the search



string feature to uncover many persons involved in an investigation that you otherwise might never know about. You can put in a target telephone number, such as a pay phone at a street corner or a bad guy's cellular phone number, and the Beeper Buster monitors all pages on a channel and lets you know who is getting beeped to call that particular phone number. It will provide you with the capcode of all those who called, and you can then plug those numbers into the Beeper Buster and watch each of them individually. It can monitor up to 100 pagers simultaneously and print out separately all messages any of those pagers receives. Remember, you don't need anybody's co-operation to use the Beeper Buster. No hassles, paperwork, or security leaks. Many of the bad guys know you can hit their phones, so they avoid them. But they think that their pagers are secure, and the messages you'll intercept can be very revealing. And they'll never know you're watching their every move."

## COCOTS: WHAT THE HELL ARE THEY, ANYWAY?

By "...oooOO Count Zero OOOoo.." (The Midnight Computer Wiring Society)

Let's make this phile short and to the point...a COCOT is an acronym for "Customer Owned Coin Operated Telephone"...in other words, a COCOT is a fone OWNED or RENTED by a PAYING CUSTOMER (most likely, a hotel or donut shop)...a COCOT is NOT a normal payfone...the Telco doesn't own it, and the actual fone line is usually a normal customer loop (unlike payfones, where the fone line is a "special" payfone loop, allowing the use of "coin tones" to indicate money dropped in...more on this later)...SO!...A COCOT may LOOK and SMELL like a telco payphone, but it is NOT....

Why do COCOTs exist? Simple.....\$\$\$\$\$\$!...a customer owned payfone is money in the bank!..you pay MORE for local calls...and long distance is typically handled by sleazy carriers that offer poor/EXPENSIVE service...the owner/renter of the COCOT opens the coinbox and keeps the money him/herself!...Also, a particularly SLEAZY quality of a COCOT is the fact that it DOES NOT RECIEVE INCOMING CALLS...this, of course, is because of \$\$...if people are calling IN to a COCOT, the COCOT is not making money...and businesses always want to make as much \$\$ as possible...even if it hurts the consumer...(think about it...it REALLY sucks calling someone at home from a COCOT, then not be able to have him/her call you back to save \$\$..."Guess I'll have to keep feeding the COCOT quarters!")

Where is a good place to look for COCOTs? Restaurants, clubs, bars, hotels and other "convenient" locations.

How do you figure out if you have found a COCOT? Simple...a COCOT will have NO TELCO LOGOS on it....no New England Telephone symbols....it may look just like a Telco fone...chrome, with blue stickers and all that...ALSO...a COCOT typically charges MORE for a local call than a regular Telco payfone (in Massachusetts, local calls are a dime, in places like NYC, they are 25 cents...)....a COCOT will most often have a synthesized voice that asks you to "please deposit 25 cents" or whatever...ALSO...some FaNcY COCOTs will not look like payfones at all...some in hotels have weird LCD displays and look totally different...but they ALWAYS charge you more than a normal payphone.

You must understand that the COCOT is a MIMIC... essentially, it wants you to THINK that it is just a plain ol' payfone...pick up the handset...hear that dialtone?...HAH!...that dialtone is FAKE... synthesized by the innards of the COCOT...you are at the mercy of the COCOT...REMEMBER...a COCOT runs off of a normal customer loop...SO...unlike a Telco payfone where you MUST deposit money to generate coin tones that are read by the CO, the SECURITY of a COCOT depends SOLELY on the COCOT fone itself...it's as if you took your own fone and put a sign on it saying "Please put 10 cents in this jar for every call you

make."....COCOTS are not naive...they won't let you NEAR the unrestricted dialtone until you fork over the cash-ola...heh heh...or so they THINK!

See, the Achilles heel of the COCOT is the FACT that ALL PAYFONES MUST LET YOU MAKE 1-800 CALLS FOR FREE!...it's not just a fact, it's the LAW...so, now pick up the handset again and place a 1-800 call...any 1-800 number will do.

When they answer at the other end, just sit there...do nothing...ignore them. wait for them to hang up the fone...here's an example...

<DIAL 1-800-LOAN-YES>

<Ring, Ring>.....<click> "Hello, you wanna buy some money? Hello? HELLO?!"

<CLICK>

<You will now hear some static and probably a strange "waffling" noise, like chh, chh, chh, chh, chh>

<CLICK>.....DIALTONE!

NOW!...what have we got here?...a DIALTONE?...yes, you guessed it, the dialtone you now hear is the UNRESTRICTED dialtone of the COCOT's customer loop...with an UNRESTRICTED dialtone, all you need

See COCOTS On Following Page

## REVERSE INFORMATION: MORE ON HOW TO GET AN ADDRESS FROM A TELEPHONE NUMBER

By Roy G. Biv

In SHADOW #34, we described two methods for obtaining addresses when you only have a telephone number. We have recently discovered "UnDirectory Service" which provides a reverse information service for only \$1.00 per minute. Just call 1-900-933-3330 and follow the synthesized voice instructions. UnDirectory is extremely fast and accurate, providing name, address, city, state and even the zip code. They also give every person's name on a shared listing. The only drag is that they don't give info on unlisted numbers. For those, the telephone company's CNA system is still the best bet, though you'll need to figure out your own four digit access codes to give the operator in order to get the info. (See SHADOW #34 for more.)

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# THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PUBLIC SPACE ON THE NET

By Paul Garrin

The Internet was started in the 1970's by the U.S. Defense Department as a communications tool and is now being bought out by I.B.M., M.C.I. and other megaCorporations. April, 1995 marked the closing of the National Science Foundation's part of the internet, and signalled the beginning of the end of the publicly-funded computer network infrastructure.

This race toward "privitization" is taking place behind closed doors and in corporate boardrooms, well outside the sphere of public debate, and threatens the very existence of free speech over electronic networks. Just as shopping malls are private property, where "freedom of speech" means that the owners of the property have the right to silence those with whom they disagree, often using their own private security personnel (rent-a cops), the private spaces on the internet will follow the same model. This is not just paranoid alarmism, there is already historical precedent to support this claim. In 1990, Prodigy, an online service owned jointly by Sears and IBM, decided to charge higher rates for customers sending large volumes of email. When users posted notices protesting the limits on the amount of speech, and sent email to Prodigy's online advertisers threatening boycotts, Prodigy read and censored the messages and cancelled the users' accounts. A spokesman for Prodigy wrote an arrogant opinion piece in the New York (lies of our) Times stating that

the company would continue restricting speech as it saw fit, including criticisms of the company.

The first course of action, of course, is to boycott the large corporate net providers such as America OnLine, CompuServe, Prodigy, E-World, and other "shopping malls" on the net. Support local, independent internet providers who give real internet access and do not restrict usage. Encourage others to cancel their accounts on the "malls" and to sign up with independent providers or get an account through a university (students and professors usually get free accounts on university servers).

Some may resist giving up the "convenience" of these services because it's often more difficult to set up "real" internet access, and requires a bit more time to learn how to use it effectively. However, these should be more reasons to boycott the megamalls, who would rather keep you shopping and playing games than have you use your brains.

Instead, participate in and support the growing number of independent sites on the World Wide Web. Create sites and link to other independent sites. Take control of the web and create content--worldwide distribution is now within reach. Establish a strong presence and make your voices heard before what is left of the public space on the internet is legislated away by the cronies of the Christian Right in government and the multinational corporations who want to create a global "virtual megaMall."

## COCOTS....

(Continued From Following Page)

to do is place a call via DTMF tones (the tones a touch-tone keypad generates)...now, try dialing a number with the COCOT's keypad...WHOA!...waitasec, no sound!...heh heh...this is a typical lame attempt at protection by the COCOT...just WHIP out your Radio Shack pocket tone dialer, and try calling a number...ANY number...place it just as if you were calling from a home phone...call a 1-900 sex line...call Guam...you are FREE...and the COCOT's customer loop is being billed!

\*\*\*\*NOTE: Some COCOTS are more sophisticated at protecting themselves...some will RESET when they hear the dialtone...to get around this, make a loud hissing sound with your mouth into the mouthpiece after the 1-800 number hangs up...also, get your tone dialer ready near the mouthpiece...when you hear the dialtone, quickly dial the first digit of your number to call...if you hiss loudly enough, you MAY be able to mask the sound of the dialtone and prevent the COCOT from resetting...and once you dial the first digit of the number you are calling, the dialtone will disappear (naturally)...ok, you can stop hissing like an idiot now...finish dialing your PHREE fone call...

Also, some COCOTs actually disable the handset after a call hangs up (in other words, you can't send DTMF tones thru the mouthpiece)...oh well, better luck next time...

HOWEVER...MOST of the COCOTs I have run across ONLY disable the DTMF keypad...so all you need is a pocket dialer to circumvent this!

OTHER THINGS TO KNOW: Sure, you can't call a COCOT, but it DOES have a number...to find out the COCOT's number, call 1-800-933-3258...this

automated ANI service will tell you the number you're dialing from...now, try calling the COCOT from another fone...you will hear one of 2 things:

- 1) synthesized voice: "Thank you...CLICK...hang up"
- 2) weird carrier

A COCOT's number is ONLY used by the company that BUILT the COCOT...by calling up a COCOT, a tech can monitor its functioning, etc...in case (1), you must enter a 3 or 4 digit password and then you'll get into a voice menu driven program that'll let you do "maintenance" stuff with the COCOT...in case (2), you are hooked to the COCOT's 300 bps modem (YES, a MODEM in a PAYFONE)...likewise, if you can figure out the communication settings, you'll be into the COCOT's maintenance routines...

Personally, I haven't had much luck (or patience) with calling up and hacking COCOT maintenance functions...I just like making free fone calls from 'em!

Here are some companies that deal with COCOTs...try out your social engineering skill on them:

Cointel, Inc.  
130 Broadway St. Somerville, MA02145  
1-800-999-5152

Int'l Telecharge, Inc.  
P.O. Box 50579  
Dallas, TX  
1-800-322-7741

**Do you have any good ideas or info? Please send them to Subversive Electronics, c/o The SHADOW, P.O. Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009.**

**ADVERTISE IN THE SHADOW!!**

## WORLD WIDE WEB VERSUS WAR AND GENOCIDE IN SARAJEVO!!

By Paul Garrin

MediaFilter is honored to present "Sarajevo Pipeline", an electronic link between the world wide web and the war-torn regions of the former Yugoslavia.

The objective of the Sarajevo Pipeline is to break the siege of Sarajevo by promoting free expression and dialogue with the inhabitants of Sarajevo. To raise support and help provide the means to maintain open channels of communications and break the stream of disinformation by the mainstream media by providing a public forum on the internet where citizens of war can write their own history in their own words. To develop direct contacts with the citizens of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Split, Belgrade, Skopje, Ljubljana, Pristina and Zagreb.

MediaFilter, since its inception on March 1, 1995, has been cooperating with the ZaMir Transnational Network, the backbone of the "Sarajevo Pipeline."

The ZaMir Network, set up just over two years ago in a dimly-lit basement in the north German city of Bielefeld, "ZaMir" -- Serbo-Croat for "towards peace" -- is a computerized collection point, and forwards messages to and from former Yugoslavia.

Two Bielefeld artists, Rena Tangens and her partner who calls himself Padeluun, tend 2.6 gigabytes of computer mailbox power that provides a gateway to the war zone where rebel Serbs are pitted against Croats and Bosnian Muslims.

Tangens says 500 to 1,000 users are now regularly connected via nodes in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Split, Belgrade, Skopje, Ljubljana, Pristina and Zagreb to the worldwide web of computer users and the network is expanding rapidly. MediaFilter, in New York City, founded by MediaArtist Paul Garrin, is one of the latest additions to the network, providing access to ZaMir over the World Wide Web.

MediaFilter, along with the publishers of ARKzin, an alternative, multicultural, anti-war publication based in Zagreb, is mounting an effort to gain support for the continuation of the "Sarajevo Pipeline."



Our intention is to expand the already established lines of communications to the region premanently, in the interest of peace and understanding.

Participation in the ongoing event can be accessed on the MediaFilter World Wide Web site at:

<http://MediaFilter.org/MFF/SJform.html>

The current contents of the Sarajevo OnLine event can be accessed at:

<http://MediaFilter.org/MFF/SJ.html>

Further information and articles about the ZaMir Network, as published in the magazine ARKzine, can be found at:

<http://MediaFilter.org/MFF/WarZone.html>

Please help continue the moves towards peace by supporting efforts to provide day to day communications facilities.

Let's go beyond the Media Hype and DO SOMETHING to STOP THE GENOCIDE. Don't let the established media continue to conceal the truth. It's time to let people write their own history! Let's start now.

[Editor Note: The author can be reached through MediaFilter at: [mf@MediaFilter.org](mailto:mf@MediaFilter.org) His World Wide Web site is: <http://MediaFilter.org/MFF/mfhome>]

Netscape: MF ad

Location: <http://MediaFilter.org/MFF/ad.html>

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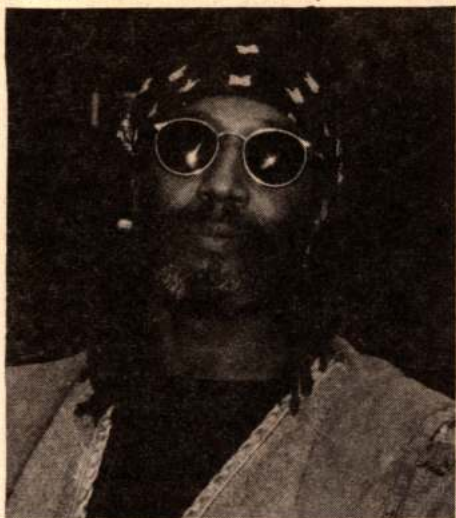
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World Wide Web  
<http://MediaFilter.org/MFF/mfhome>  
[feedback@MediaFilter.org](mailto:feedback@MediaFilter.org)



# SHADOW INTERVIEW



JOHN PENLEY

consequence of a long struggle to prove my innocence. In 1975, four years after I was captured, I filed a suit in federal court, in the Southern District in New York. At that time they had the Church Committee hearings on government excess as a consequence of Watergate and all that stuff, and it was revealed that the FBI had carried out this massive Counter-Intelligence Program in the African-American community and especially against the Black Panther Party. So when I heard this—knowing that I was innocent, of course—I knew that the FBI must have information about my case and I filed my suit. They danced around for five years, and then in 1980, the federal judge ordered the FBI to turn over all of the documents that they had on me and the Black Panther Party in New York. And they turned over 300,000 pages. And when we went over these documents we found material that indicated that they were working with the New York City Police Department every step of the way and that at major junctures in the investigation into the shooting, they had been present, and that they had taken in the same information. But, unlike the New York City Police Department, they didn't make like they had lost the documents. Because they needed their information to be accurate. So I got some of these documents. They were heavily excised, heavily deleted. But after fighting over each deletion, we got enough evidence to go back into state court and overturn my conviction. That was another three-year process.

So in 1990, I was released as a consequence of this. I was the first and only member of the Black Panther Party leadership to overturn a conviction based on evidence received from the Counter-Intelligence Program.

**BW: Is there going to be a retrial?**

**DBW: No, they surrendered.**

**BW: How's your case going? Are you still suing the FBI and the New York State prison service?**

**DBW: Well, yes. They're starting to surrender too.**

**BW: You think they're going to settle?**

**DBW: Yes, I do.**

**BW: There's a scene in *Panther* where the Panthers raid a heroin warehouse. You were involved in similar incidents.**

**DBW: Yeah, there was a place that the police let operate in Harlem; it operated with their knowledge, and their pay-offs. We, the Black Liberation Army, the underground in the black**

community, had a policy of anti-heroin interdiction. A lot of these guys who I grew up with in the South Bronx who were selling heroin—they knew that what they were doing was having a debilitating effect on the black community. They knew it wasn't right, but they were just in it for the money. So the only way that you could deal with these individuals was to deal with them on a level that they could understand. They understood violence. They understood intimidation. They understood controlling territory. So we had to wage that type of struggle with them. Of course, they had the police on their side.

So we would try to identify where they hung out, where their processing places were, and we would knock them off. The most heinous drug dealers, of course, we would have to try to make an example out of. I can't go into that.

But the police used the drug dealers as their network against the black underground. They would tell them, look, you're not dealing any drugs here unless you give us what we want. So they would use their network of drug dealers and informants in order to get information on the Black Liberation Army.

**BW: So these actions against heroin dealers were carried out in 1971 by the Black Liberation Army. Did the BLA develop from elements within the Black Panther Party here in New York City?**

**DBW: This is true. It developed that way as a consequence of a split within the Black Panther Party. It was an ideological split, but it was also a split that was manufactured by the Counter-Intelligence Program, and in certain respects by the cocaine addiction of people like Huey Newton and David Hilliard. The Counter-Intelligence Program was able to focus in on these weaknesses in the leadership, and that led to a split in the Party which, absent the government's involvement and absent a certain amount of paranoia on the part of the leadership, could have been resolved. But because these forces were there to make sure these contradictions were never resolved, the Party was split. And then the government really went after the most militant faction, the so-called Eldridge Cleaver faction which was mainly in the eastern United States. And this was the beginning of the Black Liberation Army.**

On the other hand, the West Coast faction of the party went more into electoral politics and, not ironically, into gangsterism. When they went into straight electoral politics without the revolutionary nationalist perspective that we had on the East Coast, they resorted to gangsterism. Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown ran for office, and that really set the stage for the first election of a black mayor in Oakland. I'm not saying that their involvement in electoral politics in the Bay Area didn't have a significant empowering impact on the black community there. I don't think that was ever the criticism. But it's not coincidental that at the same time that they did that, they were into gangsterism. The Party lost all relationship to the organization that I had joined—politically, ideologically, morally.

**BW: Tell us about the work you're currently doing in Africa.**

**DBW: I'm trying to set up a Database Institute for the Development of Pan-African Policy, which basically hopes to embody Kwame Nkrumah's axiom that before Africa could achieve economic unity it first must achieve political unity. And I think that one of the keys to organizing the African-American community here is to organize Africans everywhere, internationally, around a common vision and a common perception of the African condition. So I'm trying to set up an institute that will develop policies, programs, and ideas, and bring together people from the African diaspora around the world.**

We have NGO status in Africa. We are trying to train Africans in the diaspora and Africans on the continent in a common language and a common organizational network, and organizing information through the Internet. It'll be a database institute much like the RAND Institute, much like any other institution that studies problems and presents solutions and analyses to heads of governments and people in positions to make these policies into viable programs. For instance, we have a center that studies the contemporary political, social and geographical problems of Africa, and presents its findings to the various governments in the Organization of African Unity.

**BW: Tell us about your current work here in the US.**

**DBW: I work with the Campaign to Free Black and New African Political Prisoners in the US. One of the things we are doing now is raising petitions for Mumia. Right now we have about 2,000 signatures. We're going to present those names not only to the governor of Pennsylvania, but also to the president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, whom we have a relationship with, and hopefully encourage him to speak out against the death penalty in general and against Mumia's execution in particular.**

We also are currently starting to develop a mobilization of young people around an independent political movement in this city. It's still in its infant stages at this point. But there's a considerable amount of potential. We think the time is right in this city for an independent black political party. At the same time, we feel the time is right for a coalition in this city that transcends class and caste and gender. People in this city are sorely oppressed, whether they're black, white, male, female, gay, straight. We are all subjected to the Giuliani and Pataki economic program, which is subsidies for the rich and subjection for the poor. So I think that this city is ripe for a grassroots political movement, ripe for an insurgency within the rank-and-file of organized labor. I think that all of these potentialities are here, but many of us who claim to be activists are not willing to come together and deal with them in any type of coherent fashion.

**BW: What would be the stance of this party towards the left wing of the Democratic machine, Dennis Rivera, Ruth Messinger, et cetera?**

**DBW: Well, of course an independent political tendency in this city would have to see the Democratic Party and the Republican Party as part-and-parcel of the same thing. However, we**

realize that there are progressive people in the Democratic Party who are black, and who are white and who are Latino. And there may be progressive people who have gotten into the Republican Party as a means of organizing from within. That may well be. But we think that if they are truly progressive, that they will support within their own party the same kind of agenda that we support. So the presence of an independent political party can only strengthen their hand inside the Democratic or Republican party, it can only enhance their position. So we don't see them as being mutually exclusive.

I think that black folks and poor people want results. And they can't get results inside an institution that's ultimately controlled by people like Stanley Hill and other opportunists who pull \$100,000 salaries, who have no relationship to the masses of people. I don't think that the communities want that kind of political representation anymore.

**BW: You've spoken against the militarization in the name of the War on Drugs. What kind of solutions do you see to the drug crisis? Do you support legalization?**

**DBW: I support decriminalization, because I think that decriminalization is in the interests of poor people in the African-American community. I think it's very important for people to understand what a political pretext for repression the War on Drugs is, and how the War on Drugs has translated into a war on Black America. It's important for us to understand that the entire militarization of the police department in our community has gone on in the past ten years under the rubric of the War on Drugs. The erosion of our civil rights has occurred to a significant degree as a consequence of the War on Drugs. We have to understand that 80 to 85 percent of the people in prisons, especially state prisons, are in prison for so-called drug-related crimes. So we have to take the criminal justice system out of the drug problem. We need to see the drug problem for what it is.**

We need to see people who are addicted to hard drugs, first of all, as people who should have help. They don't exist in a social vacuum. The largest segment of people who are addicted to drugs are addicted to legal drugs. They are the Stepford Wives, you know, the everyday office worker who's under pressure. So the use of drugs to relieve the pressure and cope with the quality of life in the developed societies has to be seen as a consequence of the alienating process, a wholistic alienating process that we have to begin to address.

**BW: In 1995, the most well-armed, radical, uncompromising movement in America is on the right. What's your take on the militia movement?**

**DBW: Two weeks before the bombing in Oklahoma, who was on the cover of *Soldier of Fortune*? The Michigan Militia, saying they "defend America." OK, *Soldier of Fortune* isn't your mainstream, you know, *Life* magazine.**

But if you look at the current militia system, much of it was instigated and organized under the Federal Emergency Management Agency's direction. These militias grew out of the United States government. You notice that Clinton was reluctant to condemn the militia even after the Oklahoma bombing. He said, well of course they

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



# MILITIAS....

on their activities overturned altogether.

New Mexico's Catron County has joined Nevada's Nye at the forefront of the County Rule movement. County attorney James Catron (whose ancestors gave the county its name) has drawn up ordinances barring the feds from regulating its own lands in the county. To help write the ordinances, Catron called in Karen Budd, a longtime foe of environmental regulation who formerly worked in the Reagan Interior Department under Secretary James Watt. She also worked in Watt's own anti-environmental organization, the Coors beer-funded Mountain States Legal Foundation, which defends corporations and developers.

The Catron sheriff has threatened to arrest NFS personnel, and has formed an armed posse of local ranchers to back him up. The October 1994 newsletter of the Utah-based National Federal Lands Conference, mouthpiece of the County Rule movement, featured a lead article calling for the formation of Militias, and reprinting Militia start-up info provided by MOM.

NFS personnel in Catron were threatened with arrest last June for attempting to run a water quality test at a gold mill owned by a local rancher on public land.

The County Rule movement interlocks with the Wise Use property-rights movement, which is underwritten by real estate, ranching, agribusiness, mining and timber interests as well as private utilities and energy conglomerates. Giant corporations like Georgia-Pacific and DuPont are harnessing the anger of small property owners—who often *really* are struggling under costly and labyrinthine federal regulations—to push through the political changes they need to further plunder the continent's land, water and forests in the global Free Trade order.

Western Republican leaders such as Sen. Larry Craig of Idaho and Gov. Fife Symington of Arizona have attended Wise Use meetings this year.

Republican Gov. Mike Leavitt of Utah unveiled his "Conference of the States" plan to end federal usurping of local authority at the Western States Summit in Phoenix last spring.

Nye County's Dick Carver has been a featured speaker at both Wise Use and Christian Identity events.

County sheriffs are also deputizing local posses in the name of good old American racist law-'n'-order. In Phoenix, Sheriff Joe Arpaio has deputized local suburban weekend warriors—and outfitted them with guns and uniforms—to help him round up Mexican migrants and other undesirables for the desert jail camps he is building with barbed wire fences and Korean war surplus army tents.

In March, US Fish & Wildlife agents investigating the shooting of a wolf under the Endangered Species Act in Idaho's Lemhi County beat a hasty retreat after Sheriff Brett Baraslou threatened to "go to Plan B." A local rancher explained to the agents that means calling up the Militia.

Cal Greenup, a paramilitary buff arrested for threatening officials in Montana in March, and now a fugitive, told authorities: "There cannot be cleansing without shedding blood."

## THE MARTIAL LAW CONNECTION: Federal Spooks in the Shadows

The Militias say that martial law is about to be declared in the USA, as a part of the UN conspiracy to take over the country. Militia units near the US border in Washington and Arizona have more than once scrambled for their guns, believing that rumors of military

activity indicated an imminent UN invasion—only to find that it was the just the Border Patrol on joint maneuvers with the DEA.

However, federal plans for martial law are quite real. In 1984, National Security Council aide Lt. Col. Oliver North drew up a plan with the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to suspend the US Constitution and seize draconian powers in the event of a US invasion of Central America. Under the scenario, thousands of Central American refugees were expected to flood through the US-Mexico border, and anti-war protests would erupt throughout the country. FEMA would establish detainment camps on ten pre-designated military bases across the country to round up thousands of refugees and protestors.

A "readiness exercise" dubbed REX 84 ALPHA was carried out by FEMA in coordination with the INS and other related agencies. Mandated by an executive order signed by President Ronald Reagan, REX 84 ALPHA was carried out in secret. However, word leaked out during the Congressional hearings on Contragate in 1988, and a few articles on the scheme briefly appeared in the press.

Interestingly, one of the first papers to break the story was *The Spotlight*. There is reason to believe that the radical right would be privy to inside information on the FEMA martial law plan.

Among the groups participating in REX 84 ALPHA were the little-known State Defense Forces. Under the martial law plan, these groups were to be armed and "deputized" by FEMA in the event of national emergency.

The State Defense Forces are a revival of the defense militias which existed in the US during World War II. In the 1980s, they were created by state legislation at federal behest in 24 states across the country. During this period, National Guard troops were being sent down to Honduras and elsewhere in Central America at federal command to back up US military efforts in the region. The US appeared to be escalating towards an invasion. If National Guard troops were mobilized to Central America, it was reasoned, an auxiliary force would be needed to take their place at home—especially to back up police in quelling "civil disorder".

The State Defense Forces sought recruits by placing ads in para-military and survivalist magazines. Consequently, many radical right elements were drawn to the SDFs. This soon resulted in a backlash.

In 1987, Governor Norm Bangerter purged the Utah State Guard of all but 30 officers out of a force of 400 after investigators found that members of the Aryan Nations had infiltrated the group. *The Salt Lake Tribune* reported that Utah State Guard officers were training at the Hayden Lake compound in Idaho and conducting commando exercises in the Utah desert with live ammo and explosives. The FBI opened an investigation into weapons thefts from a Utah's Tooele Army Depot, where Utah State Guard officers were suspected of diverting arms to the Aryan Nations at Hayden Lake.

Also in 1987, the Texas State Guard came under investigation. One Texas State Guard battalion led by Robert Holloway, a former Vietnam Green Beret who had served as a mercenary for the white supremacist regime in Rhodesia, was disbanded for being too "gung-ho"—abandoning the standard green uniform for camouflage fatigues and engaging in search-and-destroy training, outside the group's formal regulations. Ironically, the unit's activities came to light after it was praised in an article in *Soldier of*

*Fortune* magazine.

In 1990, a similar scandal erupted in Virginia, resulting in several hundred officers of the Virginia Defense Force getting the sack. An investigation by the state legislature revealed that units were engaging in similar "gung-ho" activities, including training for drug raids and planning to purchase a tank.

Nonetheless, the following year, SDFs in Virginia, Georgia and other states were mobilized to help keep order at home as army reserve troops—which overlap with the National Guard—were mobilized to Saudi Arabia for Operation Desert Storm.

The biggest scandal was in California, where an investigation by Assemblywoman Maxine Waters revealed that the State Military Reserve had drawn up a contingency plan in the event that the California National Guard was mobilized overseas. The plan entailed arming the force with M-14 rifles from the National Guard's Camp San Luis Obispo and called for the force to open "counterintelligence investigative files." It was also revealed that a *Soldier of Fortune* editor was training State Military Reserve units in desert warfare.

However, bills to disband the State Military Reserve were consistently voted down in Sacramento.

Numerous federal bills, introduced by the likes of South Carolina's Sen. Strom Thurmond and Ohio's Rep.

James Traficant, to provide federal arms and training for the State Defense Forces have also been voted down. But under the REX 84 ALPHA scenario (in which Congress is out of the loop because constitutional government is suspended), the SDFs would indeed be federalized.

Some researchers alleged that some of the arms distributed to the SDFs in REX 84 ALPHA were never in fact returned to army stockpiles, but were diverted to the Nicaraguan Contras. Others may have been diverted to the rightist para-military groups linked to the SDFs. Oliver North was at that time working closely with many such groups, especially those under the umbrella of the quasi-fascist World Anti-Communist League (WACL), in his efforts to secure private funding for the Contras. WACL chief Gen. John K. Singlaub, former commander of US forces in South Korea, was deeply involved in the illegal Contra resupply operation led by North. In the 1970s, Singlaub had been groomed by his friends in the ultra-right Lyndon LaRouche cult to lead a military coup d'etat against President Jimmy Carter.

There are elements in the Pentagon who are clearly sympathetic to the Militias. After the Oklahoma blast, a newsletter called *The Resister: The Official Publication of the Special Forces Underground* was discovered in the library at Ft. Bragg, NC, the Army base where Green Berets are trained, and where Tim McVeigh was posted. Filled with bitter diatribes against Clinton and the Waco siege, *The Resister* is apparently produced by active-duty Green Berets, and circulated among both Green Berets and "civilian" Militias across the country. One recent issue included an open letter to the Militia movement warning that an armed confrontation with the federal government would be premature. "Should the federal government decide to act against the Militia groups and the Militia groups stand and fight, they will not in their current configuration last one month," the issue read. It then went on to offer training in spycraft, special operations and clandestine communications for Militias to prepare for the coming showdown. Green Berets are specially trained in these elite

military skills.

New York's Democratic Rep. Carolyn Maloney is introducing legislation to halt the Army Civilian Marksmanship Program, which sponsors local shooting clubs and sells surplus arms and ammunition through the state National Guards. In the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing, Michigan Militia members were expelled from the program at the state's Camp Grayling armory, but Maloney alleges that "40 million rounds of ammunition have fallen into the hands of extremists."

Given these connections, the Militias' paranoia about FEMA and martial law plans may be based on inside information (even if the paranoia about the UN takeovers based only on kneejerk xenophobia).

There are some pretty obvious lessons here. The challenge before progressive people in America in 1995 is to establish a grassroots network of folks across the country who are opposed to both fascist violence and police-state measures (whether they come from Democrats or Republicans)—and find ways to act before it is too late.

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# SHADOW INTERVIEW

JOHN PENLEY



have a right to march around on the weekends in uniform and of course they have a right to bear arms, and we shouldn't paint everybody with the same brush as these two evil individuals. Now could you imagine the president of the United States saying that about the Black Panther Party?

**BW:** Well, do you think the militia has the right to bear arms and march around on the weekends?

**DBW:** I don't think that's the issue. I think the issue is that the climate that was created by the traditional right, by so-called conservatives in government, and by big business, has engendered these attitudes on the part of white males. They define these people as "angry white males with apocalyptic visions." I mean they're just making excuses for that shit.

Their vision of the US government isn't all that crazy, you understand. It's just that they go to extremes, with talk of Russian troops on the borders and all that. But their vision of government, and how government treats the small person and relates to the people, is not all that different from ours. Which gets back to my point about the development of the European nation-state into a national security model that sees all of its citizens as potential subversives.

**BW:** So where do you see the militia fitting into this?

**DBW:** They fit in just like the Ku Klux Klan fit in during Reconstruction. If you recall, during Reconstruction in this country, they used the veterans who had lost the war on the Confederate side, with the complicity of certain Union elements, to organize the Ku Klux Klan to terrorize black people away from the polls, to terrorize the newly-freed slaves back into submission and back onto the plantation under share-cropping. That was their role. And they marched on Washington a hundred thousand strong.

**BW:** So how do you see the analogy to the militia in 1995?

**DBW:** Just like law enforcement was involved in the Ku Klux Klan; law enforcement is involved with these militias. The military belonged to the Ku Klux Klan, and trained them; the military is involved in these militias—many of them from covert ops, many of them special teams, like SEALS and special commando units that are indoctrinated with the anti-terrorist theology of the state. OK? So the relationship is that whenever they needed to terrorize the African community or terrorize poor people,

they have given rein to the right wing—and then used the *reining-in* of the right wing as a justification for repression on the *left*, and against poor people all over again! And that's exactly what they're doing now!

**JP:** And there are public figures who were part of the Ku Klux Klan who are now involved in these militias.

**DBW:** Right. And this phenomenon is rapidly occurring throughout the spectrum of the European nation-state. Its happening in France, its happening in Italy...

**BW:** With Jean-Marie LePen and the Mussolini nostalgia people...

**DBW:** Yeah! I mean look what happened with LePen in France, he got almost 20 percent of the vote! And what's his platform? Anti-immigration. And what's the platform of the right-wing militia here? That people of color and slime-balls from the Third World are diluting America. What's LePen's position on France? That France has to reassert itself as nation with a great mission, which is the same fascistic vision that Hitler had for Germany. What's the right in the United States talking about? About reasserting the old values that made them great. OK? These aren't coincidences. These are things that are happening in a way that accrues to the benefit of a particular elite in this society. Why are working white folks, so-called "white trash", attracted to the extreme right? What was the greatest element in support of slavery in the antebellum south? "White trash." They didn't even *own* slaves. But the existence of slavery was the only thing that made them special. Otherwise *they* would have been slaves.

Now one of the things that the militia talks about is how the government has bent over backward to deal with poor people, with people of color, to give things to Black workers, to Latino workers, to the exclusion of white males. That's the same rationale that poor white trash used in the antebellum south about slavery—if you freed the slaves, where would that leave a self-respecting white man? That's why the Ku Klux Klan became necessary—to terrorize them back into submission.

The bombing of the federal building can be looked at from a number of perspectives. If we believe in conspiracy theories, we can say that its really a fantastic "black op" on the part of US intelligence. Or perhaps we can say that it was something that was set into motion that got out of control. Or we can say that the government had absolutely nothing to do with it because they never suspected that they would need a justification from the right in order to do what they are going to do to the American people. I think it might be a combination of all three.

Look at how the new legislation is being pushed through. They're saying, if you don't push this legislation through, you're soft on terrorism. But look at states like Israel, which is a completely militarized national security state—and *they* can't stop attacks on their civilians. So what makes the United States think they can?

**BW:** What do you think of the Zapatista revolutionaries in Mexico?

**DBW:** Look at Mexico's relationship to the United States. Here's a full-blown peasant revolutionary movement that came out of nowhere, nobody even knew about it. That shows you how in touch they were with the rural Indian population.

Increasingly in the Third World, and particularly in Latin America, we see the browning of the population. The population is browning again after the first wave of the European conquistadors. Every state in Latin America is a European settler state. Every one. Just like South Africa, just like the state of Israel. And almost throughout the history of Latin America, only those who resembled the light-skinned conquistadors were in positions of power, up to the point where some of them even have German names. But with the browning of the population, these light-skinned descendents of the conquistadors are becoming increasingly isolated. They are depleting their resources at a phenomenal rate to maintain their position, while the descendents of Indians and of African slaves are reasserting themselves, and reasserting their rights and reasserting their majority status.

**BW:** What do you have to say about so-called "gangsta rap," and people like Tupac Shakur, whose mother was a Panther but who has obviously embraced a certain kind of nihilism?

**DBW:** We have to understand that the reason rap is so controversial is that it reflects the reality of lower-class black youth. And this reality has come into conflict with the black bourgeoisie, the black middle-class professionals who want to portray themselves as the success story of African America. Culture is a legitimate arena of the struggle for liberation. Just like rock in its initial form was a music of rebellion, a music that expressed the nihilism of white youth who were fed up with this white mom-and-pop picket-fence reality that didn't reflect the terror that was going on behind the picket fence...you know? The rape and brutalization of youth behind the picket fence.

So look at rap music and look at where it came from. It came from out of the South Bronx. It came out of Brownsville, it came out of Harlem. These were kids who had no place to go, who had no movement to go to, because the Panthers were destroyed, to whom a hero was nothing but a fish sandwich. So they would gather together in the park or in the basement of vacant building and they would play tapes and rap over the music, or they would go get their mom's and pop's old records and scratch on them, and they created a like the state of Israel. And almost throughout the history of Latin America, only those who resembled the light-skinned conquistadors were in positions of power, up to the point where some of them even have German names. But with the browning of the population, these light-skinned descendents of the conquistadors are becoming increasingly isolated. They are depleting their resources at a phenomenal rate to maintain their position, while the descendents of Indians and of African slaves are reasserting themselves and reasserting their rights and reasserting their majority status.

**BW:** What do you have to say about so-called "gangsta rap," and people like Tupac Shakur, whose mother was a Panther but who has obviously embraced a certain kind of nihilism?

**DBW:** We have to understand that the reason rap is so controversial is that it reflects the reality of lower-class black youth. And this reality has come into conflict with the black bourgeoisie, the black middle-class professionals who want to portray themselves as the success story of African America. Culture is a legitimate arena of the struggle for liberation. Just like rock in its initial form was a music of rebellion, a music that expressed the nihilism of white youth who were fed up with this white mom-and-pop picket-fence reality that didn't reflect the terror that was going on behind the picket fence...you know? The rape and brutalization of youth behind the picket fence.

So look at rap music and look at where it came from. It came from out of the South Bronx. It came out of Brownsville, it came out of Harlem. These were kids who had no place to go, who had no movement to go to, because the Panthers were destroyed, to whom a hero was nothing but a fish sandwich. So they would gather together in the park or in the basement of vacant building and they would play tapes and rap over the music, or they would go get their mom's and pop's old records and scratch on them, and they created a whole genre of music that was first attacked as being transitory, irrelevant. But it was white males who controlled the music industry that made gangsta rap—the 2 Live Crew genre of rap, the misogynist rap, the homophobic rap—the type of rap that was popular. They didn't gravitate towards the positive rap, because most of the positive rap was black nationalist, that reflected the ideology of organizations like the Black Panther Party. You see? This genre of rap was completely ignored.

**BW:** What's your message today to the kids in Bed Stuy and the South Bronx?

**DBW:** The same message that the Black Panther Party called forth. That they organize to defend the integrity of the African American community on all levels, and that they understand that because violence is as American as apple pie, they have to organize the community's capacity to carry out revolutionary violence in its own self-interest. I say that with the proviso that as long as we don't have control over law enforcement agencies that brutalize and murder us, then we have to deal with racist attack on that level.

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## BRITISH SQUATS....

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9)

Many will undoubtedly come from demonstrators. With the end of the Cold War and the IRA ceasefire, British intelligence is increasingly using computer surveillance to target domestic dissent. Last summer, the government initiated Operation Snapshot to monitor and record the movements and personal data of travellers and festival organizers. Since then, Scotland Yard has directed the Special Branch--the agency responsible for gathering intelligence on threats to nation security--to assemble computerized files on activists--including animal rights groups, "environmental terrorists," and members of the Freedom Network.

The increase in surveillance and restrictions on right to silence have provoked a storm of opposition from top magistrates and the leading law societies. But like the Democrats in the U.S. with Clinton's Crime Bill, the British Labor Party did not actively oppose the CJA for fear of seeming "soft on crime." While a few progressive members campaigned against the bill, the leadership chose to abstain.

Liberty's Puddephat believes the CJA marks a trend in "punishment culture, spreading from the U.S. to Britain and propelled by what he calls a "market approach to crime."

"Increasingly the crime debate is being shaped by the interests of those who have something to sell in that environment--police, the security industry, the media, etc." He points out that in Britain, just as in the U.S., the expansion of police and judicial powers is coupled with a move to privatize prisons.

The CJA authorizes private firms to design and manage prisons, including new "youth training centres" for juvenile offenders. The CJA also permits the use of privately-run prison ships and allows the Home Secretary to declare any building a prison if necessary.

This trend toward for-profit incarceration goes along with a growing tendency by the government to employ private security guards to police demonstrations--particularly anti-road demos. The government has also begun contracting private detective to identify activists so that the state can bring criminal charges or sue for damages. The Department of Transport spent over £400,000 on private detectives at Claremont Road alone.

Underlying the CJA is a fundamental effort by the Tory Party to reassert tradition values as a palliative to social unrest.

Although the Tories like to paint themselves as the party of law and order, they've presided over the biggest increase in crime in this century. The addition of the CJA powers has only polarized the public further. The clampdown on squatting and travelling comes at a time of rising homelessness in Britain--particularly among young people, who can no longer receive government assistance if they're under 18 and leave home or drop out of school. The Tories are also seeking to gut the Homeless Person's Act, which requires localities to provide housing to homeless people. Worse still, new regs introduced by the Department of Social Services would allow the government to deny public assistance to anyone with "disheveled hair and clothing" or "the appearance of an alternative lifestyle" (e.g. dreadlocks and piercings).

"The Tories have made such a mess of the economy, they're trying to find a

common enemy. So they're focusing on travellers, squatters, ravers--those people who represent an alternative lifestyle," says Mark Chadwick, lead singer of the Levellers, a rock group that takes its name from the 17th century rebels who advocated the abolition of all private property in Britain.

But now, the government's scapegoats are biting back. Over the spring, the country was rocked by increasingly violent protests by animal rights groups intent on blocking the transport of live calves to Europe. Police are now calling groups like the Animal Liberation Front the biggest threat to security on the mainland since IRA laid down arms. And while the government likes to portray the activists as "eco-terrorists" and "professional agitators," many school governors and old age pensioners have also taken part in the blockades.

Now, instead of big demos against the CJA, activists have spread out to a multitude of causes. There's a growing land rights campaign--last April, several hundred people took part in a week-long campout to protest the privatization of public lands. In May, 300 occupied the sacred stones of Stonehenge to challenge the public restrictions on the site. In addition, bicyclists have mobilized a burgeoning "Reclaim the Streets" movement to protest "car culture." Bikers in cities across the country are orchestrating "critical mass" bike rides--despite the angry response of motorists, who have already smashed several bikes. (One in 7 kids in the U.K. suffers from asthma, yet most of the country's cars still run on lead fuel.)

"What we're really addressing is our social and environmental decline--because they go hand in hand," says Berens. "There's no point in pinning your hopes on any political party. Just focus on what's causing you the most anger and take direct action, because that's the only way we're going to get change. We've got nothing to lose."

It's almost as if the government set out to give Britain's disparate subcultures a cause to unite behind. What's significant is how the young protestors have been able to transform their disenfranchisement into a defiant, yet surprisingly celebratory resistance movement. Ross is a 24-year old Scot who's been squatting and living on the road since his parents kicked him out of the house when he was 16. "A few years ago, everybody was just hanging out getting out of their heads," he told me, warming his hands by a fire at an abandoned dairy where he and the other Claremont Road demonstrators had retreated after the eviction. "Now everybody's getting together and fighting. It's good. We've become one big family."

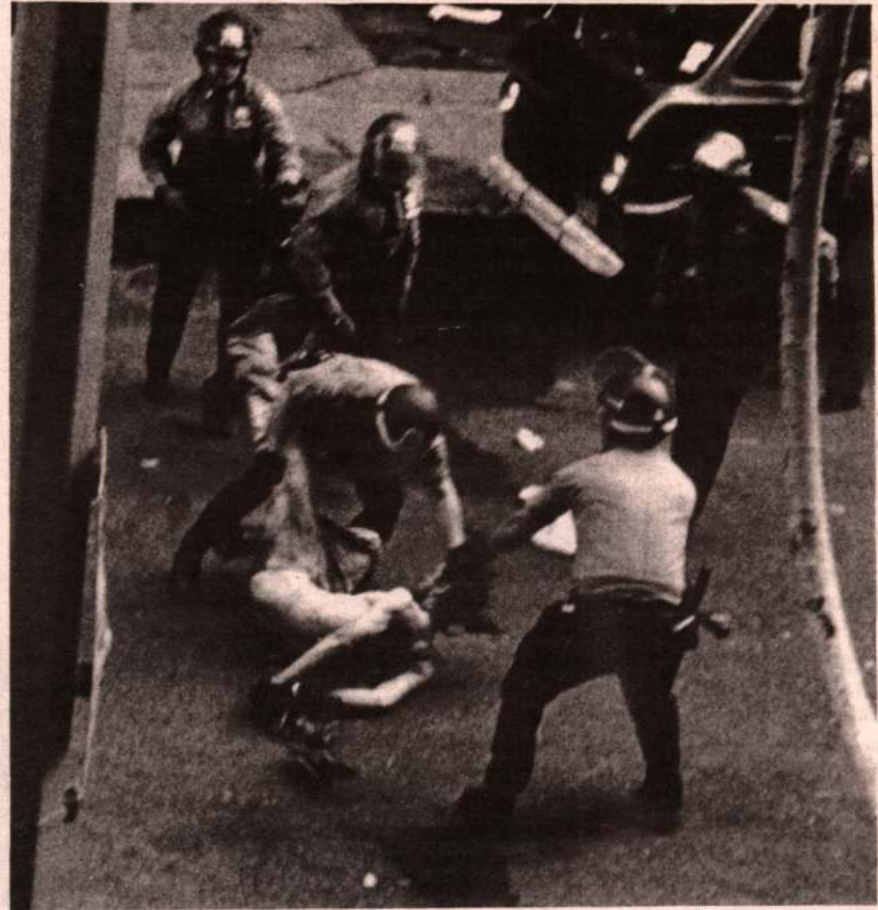
A brawny kid with a touse of ratty dreads sprouting from the top of his shaved head, Ross seemed an unlikely convert to the ranks of non-violent road protestors--or "fluffies," as the more militant punks like to call them. While he defends those protestors who hurled bricks at police last summer as acting in self-defense, he emphasizes something different. "We've got to fight 'em," he says. "But it's got to be peaceful. Any other way and you wind up with what they've got. And we don't want what they've got. They want what we've got..."

And what's that? I asked him.

He paused, then flashed me a gap-toothed smile. "Love."

## SQUATTERS FIGHT BACK....

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5)



JACK DAWKINS

### PIGS BEAT SQUATTER AFTER HIS ESCAPE FROM PADDY WAGON

and covered oil slicks and paint with sand. Tow trucks hauled away vehicles parked near the squats.

Later that afternoon, HPD's private contractors erected scaffolding at 541 + 545 and boarded up windows. A new roll down gate was installed at 539. Upstairs residents were allowed to remain. Almost all those arrested earlier were released, except for a man named Cheese who went through the system for "Obstructing Government Justice" and resisting arrest when he was busted for miming nazi salutes and goose steps on the roof of 545.

Several squatters allowed inside to retrieve their belongings later that day discovered many things stolen by HPD contractors. Earlier, an HPD moving van also took a load of squatters' property to an unknown location. Nearby buildings had banners and signs hanging outside

reading: "Justice for the 13th Street Squats" + "OINK," "PIG," "SWINE."

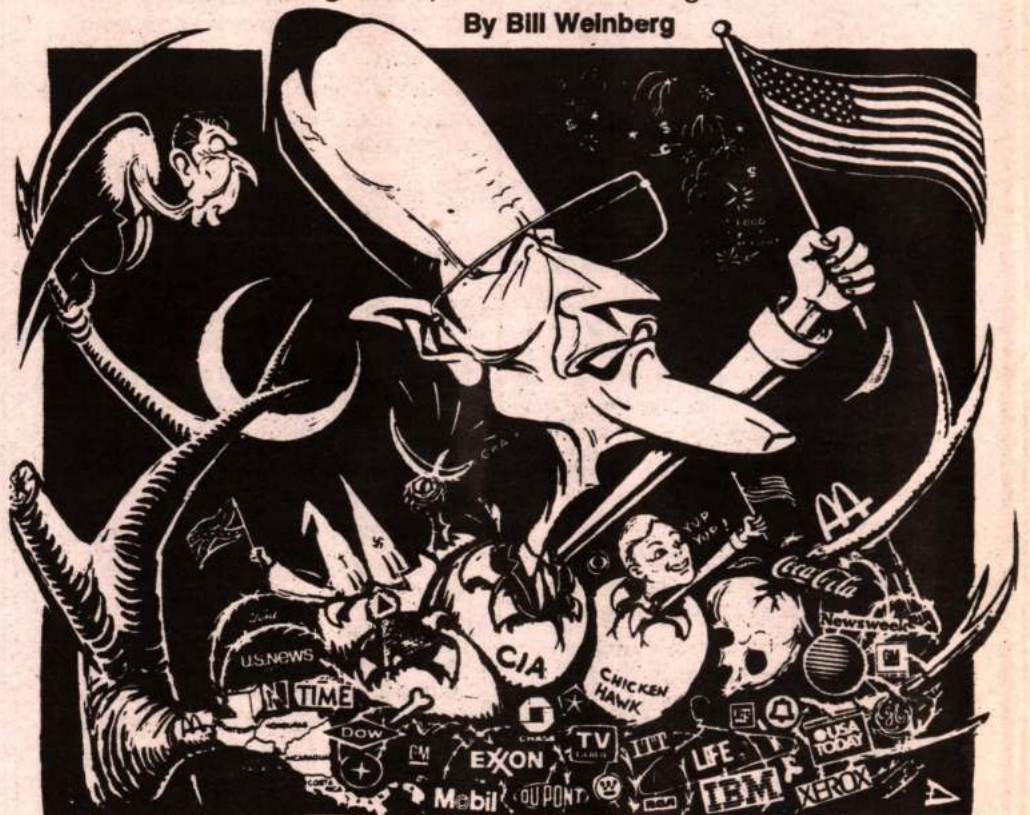
Stanley Cohen later told the SHADOW that the commanding cops believed that squatters would burn their buildings with themselves inside when the pigs raided. Stanley feels that the large number of press people, street opposition and NYPD Chief Bratton's presence on the scene is what kept the pig violence down. "Ranking cops could not afford the battle that would have erupted if they had not been there," he said.

In the end, the pigs underestimated the willingness of the community to defend the squats. They were surprised by the level of resistance, which demonstrated co-ordinated organized collective decisions, as opposed to the random scattered unsuccessful responses to pig actions of the past.

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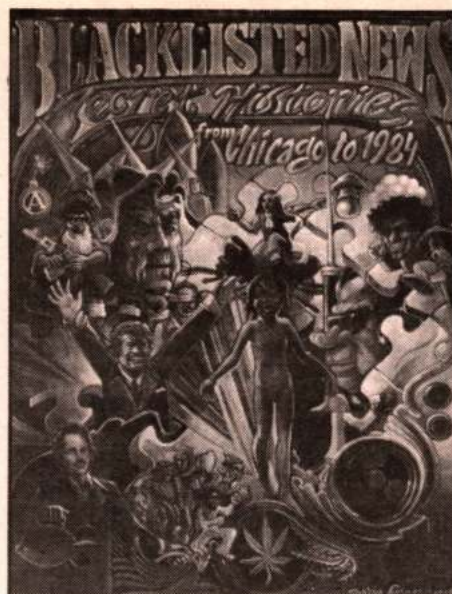
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