

the SHADOW

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH ZACHARY SKLAR OF MOVIE "JFK"--(Page 9)

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INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

MAY DAY 29 VICTORY!!!



FLASH FOTO

SHADOW EDITORIAL

"YOU'RE GONNA GET YOUR ASS BEAT, BOY"--(P.O.Maher to SHADOW editor Chris Flash on November 14, 1991)

ANTONIO PAGAN "INSTALLED" IN CITY COUNCIL!!

Under the guard of about 20 cops, newly-created City Councilman Antonio Pagan, in the true spirit of a public official, held an "invitation only" coronation ceremony at the Great Hall in the Cooper Union building at Cooper Square on January 8, 1992.

In attendance were ranking cops from the ninth precinct, including Captain Esposito, Captain Hanley and Lieutenant Heinz. Also standing by were P.O.s Richard "Chokehold" Johnson and Carl Tyler, (both of whom are rarely seen wearing their uniforms).

Luckily for the cops, the number of demonstrators was low due to the very cold weather. Most were confined to a "pig pen" made from police line, barriers as they chanted at Pagan's arriving guests: "Antonio Pagan--Landlords' Pawn", and "Where's the \$60,000?" (in reference to the sum of money missing from Pagan's "housing" group which gets federal monies and control of city-owned buildings which will revert to his ownership after 10 years in exchange for providing temporary "low-income" subsidized "housing" in his buildings.)

The guests, mostly white, very well dressed, and obviously well-to-do, included many landlords and people connected with neighborhood real estate. On the guest line, former Puerto Rican politician Herman Badillo only laughed when people wondered out loud why he was there to honor the fascist Pagan. (He was once known for being progressive, looking out for the interests of the poor, but apparently, he too has sold out!!)

Inside greeting the arrivals were Pagan's new "chief of staff" Anne Hayes, who conveniently also holds the position of "assistant district manager of community board three"!! (What conflict of interest?) With her was Renee Williams, member of gentrifier Kate Walter's St. Mark's Block Association, and now Pagan's "liaison" to CB3, responsible for his effort to stop the construction of a facility on East Seventh Street for persons with AIDS. With them were more of Pagan's gang, including right-wing landlord Krystyna PiorKOWska, would-be real estate speculator Howard Hemsley, and would-be journalist and propogandist Steven Vincent. They all screened everyone entering the building and would not allow inside anyone they didn't like.

Shortly after 6:00, Pagan arrived, blowing kisses and waving to the crowd of demonstrators as more cops arrived. One woman who had earlier managed to get inside the auditorium with an "invitation" she obtained was forcibly removed by Johnson and Tyler, who pushed her out the front door. When she insisted that she had the right to be present at the ceremony and refused to move, she was arrested and taken away.

Minutes later, Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger (formerly known for her alliance with progressive political groups) arrived in her chauffeur-driven car. When asked by a WBAI reporter whether Pagan had stolen the election (due to the new unfairly redrawn city council district lines), she said "I'm not here to discuss the election, I'm here to attend the inauguration." Later, Pagan was seen slipping out a side door of the building, guarded by more cops.

PAGAN GETS COMFORTABLE

Until he gets his new office set up at 250 Broadway, Pagan will be operating out of his sponsor and partner in corruption Assemblyman Sheldon Silver's office at 270 Broadway. This is the ideal marriage for Pagan, since his roots of corruption connected with Silver and their circle of handlers, friends and financial supporters going back many years, includes local gangsters, the Koch Administration, the "Puerto Rican/Hispanic Council" and various phony political and "housing" groups. (See SHADOWS #17, #18, #19 + #20 for more information).

With Pagan now in office, he will be able to realize his ultimate dream of attaining personal wealth and accumulating real estate while making life miserable for the poorest and least powerful segments of society, namely the homeless, squatters, low-income tenants, street vendors, and persons with AIDS.

LANDLORDS' PAWN

The SHADOW has obtained a copy of the November/December 1991 edition of "Housing Insights", the newsletter of SPONY (Small Property Owners of New York, 1681 Third Ave, New York, N.Y. 10128, Telephone:212-410-4600). In an article "Post Elections Evaluation", editor Linda Bloom writes "...several dozen SPONY members contributed financial support. Pagan's victory rid us of Miriam Friedlander, possibly this city's most rabid, anti-owner politician...DEFEATING MIRIAM FRIEDLANDER WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL WIN OUR SIDE HAS EVER HAD." The article goes on to warn landlords and real estate owners to organize further against pro-tenant politicians like Friedlander: "The other side makes constant effort. They never give up. Witness the fight Friedlander put up when she lost the primary....Friedlander's bulldog persistence cost the Pagan forces a lot of money. They are now totally depleted. And rumor has it that Friedlander is already gearing up to challenge Pagan in two years...that's why we owners must involve ourselves in races outside our own districts...by supporting candidates who are fair to property owners...two such candidates are Anthony (sic) Pagan and Andrew Magidson."

Luckily for some members of this community, Pagan's reign of terror may last only two years, since this last election was an "interim" election. By then, he will be exposed for the gentrifying fascist he is (as well as getting further exposure from ongoing SHADOW investigations), but unfortunately, many poor people will have suffered by then. The SPONY scum are very nervous about this, reminding their readers: "In politics, two years is a very short time. The next campaign will be starting in a little over a year. Are you going to leave the field to the (Tom) Duanes and the Friedlanders?"

It's true--Pagan can be removed from office in a short two years, but he will have major money pumped into his campaign from the gentrifiers and other criminals he is fronting for. It is up to all of us to organize against Pagan and every other anti-tenant, anti-homeless and pro-real estate owner/developer politician in any and every way possible!! (Use your imagination!!) Don't allow our neighborhoods to become the breeding grounds for gentrifying vermin like Antonio Pagan and his handlers!!

SHADOW STAFF:

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HERE COME THE DEMOPUBLICANS!!

By A. Kronstadt

Every four years, when the two official political parties in the U.S. nominate their candidates, each party throws its convention in a city where it thinks that it is in the saddle. In 1968, the Democrats held their convention in Chicago, where the party of the jackass had ruled for twenty years in the person of Richard Daley. The Democrats are coming to New York in the summer of 1992. What the Democrats of 1968 and the Democrats of 1992 have in common is that they both have their Vietnam. In 1968, Vietnam was in Southeast Asia; in 1992 it is in New York. New York's housing crisis is the Vietnam War of 1992. Like the Vietnam War of 1968, this new Vietnam War was created by Democrats.

The Democrats, of course, will hotly contest this allegation. They want you to believe that the Republicans created the housing crisis, and that they, the Democrats, when returned to office, will put an end to it and build lots of housing for everybody just like in the old days. New York is the living proof that the Democrats of 1992 are no more the party of decent housing than the Democrats of 1968 were the party of peace. Successive Democratic administrations in New York have left hundreds of thousands of units of housing under city control to rot. After taking control of thousands of buildings for delinquent taxes, they did nothing with these buildings except sit on them, waiting for the right real-estate developer to come along and snap them up for conversion to luxury housing. During the yuppie boom of the 1980's the city ran a budget surplus. The Koch administration had tons of money, but spent none of it on rehabilitating housing. They continued to speculate on empty buildings, selling one here and there to a developer, doling out tax breaks to landlords who rehabilitated apartments that no one but the rich could afford. The ranks of the homeless swelled and still City Hall did nothing with its money but pay police to keep people out of its myriad vacant buildings.

Now, New York City is broke. The real-estate boom has come and gone, vacant buildings still abound, and more and more people become homeless each day. The situation is far worse than it was before 1980. Landlords warehouse apartments with impunity, making sure that rents stay high even in the midst of the new depression. Millions of square feet of offices, luxury condos, new and renovated space of all descriptions all remain uninhabited because landlords find it more profitable to keep it empty than to drop the price. So much for the free market straightening things out. Furthermore, most manufacturing has been driven out of the city by the spiraling rents of the 1980s. This industry will never return, and the people who once did these jobs are now permanently consigned to the underclass. The new "information economy," the great future into which Koch and Cuomo claimed to be leading us, is now busy informing its workers that they don't have jobs anymore.

In the summer of 1992, tens of thousands of people will converge on Madison Square Garden to tell the Democrats one thing or another. Many of these people will still regard the Democratic party as their voice, and will come to put their issues on the Democratic agenda. The Democratic agenda, however, is clear insofar as the dispossessed of New York are concerned. The Democrats want the poor of the city out of parks and city-owned buildings; even out of the subways where they seek shelter on sub-freezing days. They want the poor neatly boxed up in jails and in festering shelters where they will soon die of tuberculosis and get out of the way. They want to reinstitute loitering and vagrancy laws so that those with no place to go will not even be able to walk the streets in peace. Face it--the Democratic Party is the party of big city real estate. It represents the interests of the Trumps, the Macklowes, and the Kalikows, and its job is to see that these people continue to prosper.

When the Democrats roll into town, the people in this city should roll into the streets to tell them to go to hell. They ruined this town, and should not be allowed to feel welcome here. People can survive without these prostitutes in neckties, hustling votes in exchange for degrading handouts. People can take over these abandoned buildings themselves--they don't need some fool to give them out as charity. We don't have to petition the Democratic jackasses for anything--they should just get the hell out of the way!

THERE'S NO GOVERNMENT LIKE NO GOVERNMENT!

PREPARATIONS ARE NOW BEING MADE FOR CONVERGING ON THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK CITY THIS SUMMER. IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN JOINING THE EFFORT, WRITE OR CALL THE SHADOW AND WE WILL FORWARD YOUR INFO TO THE PLANNING COMMITTEES INVOLVED.

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CB 3 PARKS COMMITTEE ASKS CITY TO REPLACE TSP BANDSHELL

By Stuart Frankel

On January 13, the Parks Committee of Community Board 3 voted to "demand" that the Parks Department build a permanent replacement for the Tompkins Square Park bandshell, which was demolished on August 28th over the protests of community residents and "elected officials." In a motion whose exact wording was not decided on, but whose sentiments were unanimously agreed on by the members present, the committee stated that they believed the intent of the bandshell demolition was to "limit the range of political and artistic expression with the Department of Parks as arbiters." The motion also pointed out that the temporary sound stage proposed by the Parks Department to take the place of the bandshell was not an adequate replacement, since there would be a fee charged, it would require a permit issued by the Parks Department, and it would preclude impromptu or small-scale performances.

The committee also received contemptuous responses to letters they had sent various city agencies. They had written the Parks Department a detailed, 8-page letter, asking specific questions about the park, and requesting that the Parks Department stick to the "scope" (plan) previously agreed to. In response, Parks sent a vague couple of paragraphs, saying that "certain items may be adjusted to fit filed conditions."

The Community Board had also written to the Corporation Counsel asking (1) if the Parks Department's failure to consult the board about the Tompkins Square "renovations" was a violation of the city charter, and (2) if the suspicious-looking contract let for the park demolition work was possibly illegal. (SHADOW readers will remember that the Corporation Counsel fought in court against activist attorney Stanley Cohen's legal efforts to reopen the park and prevent the bandshell demolition. Stanley argued that the mayor and Parks Department violated the city charter by circumventing community approval and that the demolition contract was illegal since it violated the bidding process and did not include an environmental impact study.)

Ruth Markowitz of the Corporation Counsel's office didn't respond to the second question. She said that the board had been consulted about the bandshell demolition and mentioned specifically a 1984 plan, which in fact the board had never even voted on. However, she concluded with a final slap in the face, the community board is merely advisory.

People might want to take note: the city government sets up these "community boards" specifically to provide public access into the government -- this is what it says in the city charter. This is THEIR board that THEY set up and they STILL feel no compunction about telling them to fuck off whenever they feel like it.

Committee member Robert Schoenbohn said that the city never argued that the band shell was demolished because of safety or policing requirements, and that in his opinion the demolition was an attempt to abridge the First Amendment free-speech rights of the people of the Lower East Side.

Support for this position comes from a source in parks commissioner Betsy Gotbaum's office, who said that the bandshell was torn down because the mayor's office was afraid it would be used to "start riots," and that they "muscle[d] [the demolition] in over the head of the community board."

Since most of the riots in the neighborhood actually appear to have come from the 9th precinct and Police Headquarters at 1 Police Plaza, it looks like the city tore down the wrong structure!

GRAMERCY PARK LOCKED UP!!

(Special to the SHADOW)

Outraged over the closing of Tompkins Square by the city, a group of eco-terrorists took the law into their own hands one evening last November. Armed with lengths of heavy chain and cheap padlocks, the terra-ists closed down Gramercy Park--New York City's only private park. Using the dark of night to cloak their actions, they locked all of the gates leading into the park, and left the notice printed below at all the entrances. Their actions were witnessed by one zombie-eyed woman who kept walking around the park, over and over again.

Since the chains were cut by 10:00AM the next morning, it is not known how many of the ruling class were unable to go for their morning stroll, or how many of their dogs were not able to take their morning shit next to their favorite tree. The terra-ists said that they would repeat the action, they also encouraged others to take similar actions. There are many targets in and out of our neighborhood just screaming for direct action to happen there. And, like Gramercy Park that night, many of them are not constantly guarded by police.

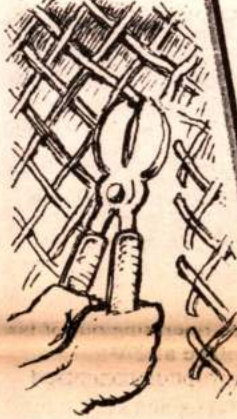
NOTICE OF PARK CLOSING

Dear Friends and Neighbors,

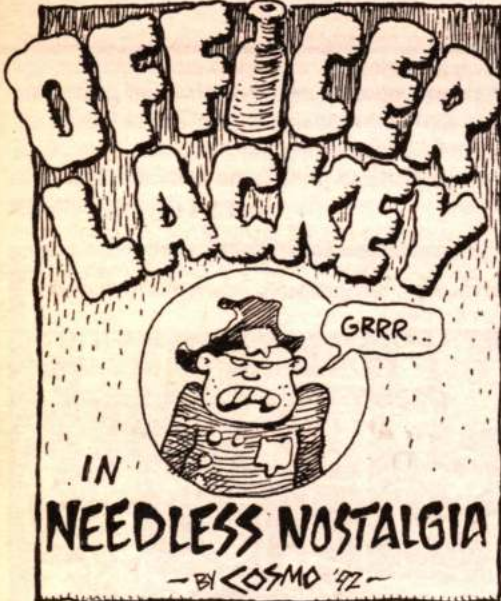
Sorry for this inconvenience. Gramercy Park is being closed today in memorial to Tompkins Square Park. Our "new" (to our district) neighbors to the south have been robbed of their park and we believe that the only civilized steps are those in solidarity with them. Therefore we will remain closed until Tompkins Square Park is restored and reopened.

The Gramercy Park Committee in Solidarity with Tompkins Square Park.

NOW'S THE TIME!



AT TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK, ITS..



...THERES ALWAYS A FLYING BOTTLE LURKING ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE!



"ON MENTAL HEALTH AND OTHER MATTERS"

This month, come with us to explore the world of mental health, real estate interests, city agencies (most notably HPD, the mis-named Department of "Housing, Preservation and Development"), government officials (including newly created councilmember Antonio Pagan), corporate bigwigs and the ties which oftimes link these seemingly unrelated entities together.

The thing which initially caught our attention was the unusual occurrence last spring over the contest as to who should get control over the "Gouverneur Hospital Site" for development as a mental health residence, coming down to a choice between two local agencies--Community Access and the Lower East Side Mutual Housing Association (LESMHA), the latter being eventually endorsed by the community board by a healthy majority. However, within a short period of time, this decision was seemingly set aside and the mental health project, with its large federal and state funding, was accorded to Community Access following intervention into the matter by the district's Congressman Bill Green. Being somewhat amazed at the marshalling of such heavy clout, (although the Resolution Trust Corporation "RTC," a federal agency was involved in the proceedings to some extent), we were all the more so when we subsequently observed that Bill Green figures prominently on Community Access' board of advisors list. (Shortly thereafter, Eric Kolbe, the Executive Director of LESMHA, was replaced and the position was taken over by Luis Nieves, a former associate of Antonio Pagan!!)

Looking over the composition of the board of Community Access, one is immediately struck by the representation of heavy real estate "Blue Ribbon" law firm of Strook & Strook, comprising virtually one half of the board membership. Of the board, not more than two members could be even remotely described as being mental health professionals, or as having any kind of regular contact with the mentally ill.

No less revealing are the links to the city agencies. As it is acknowledged by even their own executives, Community Access is now getting most of the vacant buildings on the Lower East Side specifically designated for mental health facilities, and as it is certainly not the only agency interested these locations, one wonders what has become of the bidding process? Can it be that they have found a friend at 100 Gold Street (HPD headquarters), a certain assistant commissioner whose top staffers have been steady guests at their lavish fundraisers to which, incidentally, "clients" are never invited? What, however, is demonstrable, is the fact that the agency recently acquired a new top staff person, Liz Glass, who transferred directly from the position of head of HPD's "SRO Office"!! (One of their main duties is picking sites for mental health facilities).

The ties to the local power structure lie in the fact that Zulma Zayas, on the staff of Community Access, is simultaneously on the staff of Pagan's Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development!!

For all its close ties to the wealthy and well-connected (in reality, it is their creation), in services to the mentally impaired population, this agency is remiss in at least one respect, i.e., they concentrate on the least difficult cases and tend to avoid the harder ones, so-called M.I.C.A.'s (Mentally Ill Chemical Abusers), being in conflict with, at least, the spirit of new state thinking on the problem.

Also, Community Access is not so "accessible" when it comes to working with the community, as their minions have loftily disdained to entertain participation in any form of "Community Advisory" set-up, which most similar agencies both in the neighborhood and throughout the City do have.

**ANTONIO PAGAN GANG
TRIES TO KILL AIDS
HOUSING PROJECT!!**

**HIV TREATMENT CENTER PASSES
COMMUNITY BOARD VOTE**

By Stuart Frankel

Housing Works, a spinoff of ACT UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power), is moving ahead with plans to construct a housing and service center for chemically dependent people with HIV (the Human Immunodeficiency Virus). Housing Works is organized as a minority-controlled not-for-profit corporation. Most of the board members are HIV-positive and many of them have been homeless.

They are planning to build a residence for 30 homeless people with HIV-related illnesses and a day-treatment center for another 60 on 186-194 East 7th Street, a lot currently split between a parking lot and a really ugly garden. Their architectural plans involve actually expanding the area available for the garden.

This block of 7th Street, between Avenues B and C, is the scene of some of the heaviest drug dealing in the neighborhood. If experience with other drug treatment centers is any guide, strict policing of the Housing Works center's residence will help to cut down on the drug dealing right outside.

As soon as they got wind of the proposal, would-be gentrifiers from city councilman Antonio Pagan's Democratic Action Club (DAC) started to mobilize opposition to the project. The DAC was formed to propel the gay homophobe Antonio Pagan onto the city council. People from the DAC began telling scare stories, such as that Housing Works was going to bring drug addicts into the neighborhood (actually, they don't have to; there are already quite enough of them here), and that the project somehow endangers children. (It must take a really warped sensibility to turn away someone desperately seeking medical treatment on the grounds that his or her presence is offensive. Nevertheless, the DAC stooped to the task.) They organized people to speak against the proposal at two successive Community Board 3 meetings. Their constant drumbeat was that this neighborhood has too many social services and that we should, presumably, ship people they find unattractive out of the neighborhood.

Renée Williams, a DAC member and Pagan campaign worker, and now councilman Pagan's "Community Board Three Liaison," said: "Frankly, we're exhausted," and she called for a moratorium on approval of new social programs. She didn't say exactly what she was exhausted of. If it's AIDS or drug addiction, she'd want to encourage social programs. Probably, she's tired of having to LOOK at those awful people who need help.

In the end, the Community Board was not swayed by phony arguments, such as that the people being treated should be drug-free before they go in for drug treatment. The Board voted 23-3, with 8 abstentions, to approve the project.

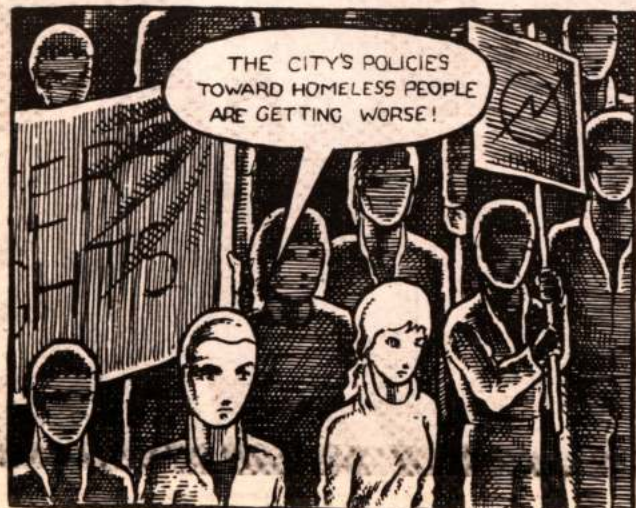
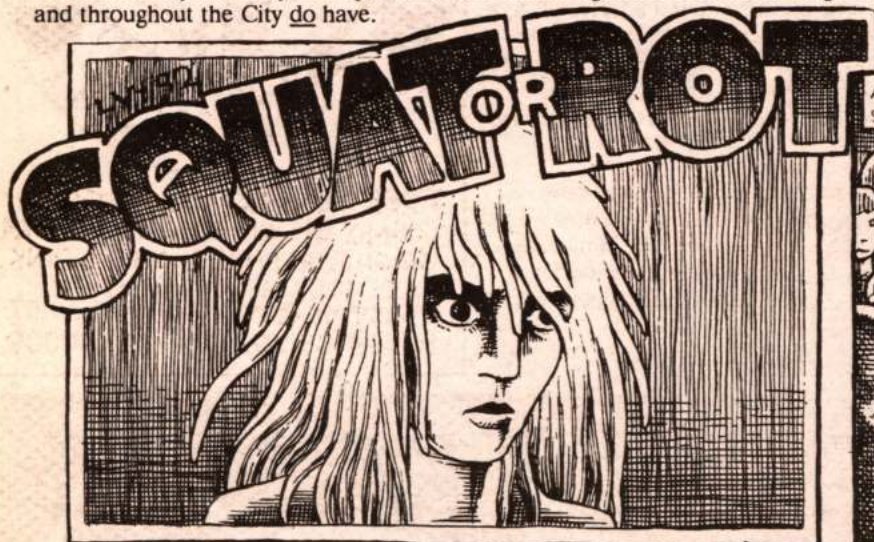
Board member Mike Eilenfeldt pointed out that the language of the DAC is the language of property. Board member Anne Johnson, not normally a SHADOW favorite, gave a strong speech saying she was "sick of all the outrageous comments, (such as) 'people are afraid to catch AIDS' or 'what will the children see?'" Looking directly at Pagan ally and local landlord Krystyna Piorkowska, Johnson added that that a lot of the opposition to the project was from "racist, homophobic people." Board member Charlie Crespo said he had "new information" about the project -- he voted against it -- but he wouldn't tell anyone what it was.

Housing Works hopes to begin construction this summer and, with any luck, they will be treating people by early 1993.

This is all the more surprising as one of their residences is situated on one of the worst drug blocks on the Lower East Side (7th Street between Avenues B and C) and that's saying a mouthful. Their participation here could be of great significance.

Saddening to see such a high-profile agency with such exalted "bona fides" display, at least up to this point, such poor community spirit.

SHELTER WATCHER





SETH TOBOCMAN

HOMELESS, SQUATTERS AND TENANTS MARCH TO DEMAND: "NO EVICTIONS"!!

By Chris Flash

On December 22, a noon rally and concert was held at Union Square, organized by the Housing Solidarity Network, a coalition of homeless people from city shelters, squatters from the Lower East Side and the Bronx, tenant groups and political activists from different sides (whose ideologies normally have them at odds with each other).

Their objectives include stopping the city's removal of homeless persons from public spaces, the eviction of squatters and homesteaders from city-owned abandoned buildings, and the speeded up process of tenant evictions as agreed to by the city's *Housing Court*. In addition, they demanded the reopening of the firehouses that have been closed due to the city's declared "budget crisis", since fires create even more homelessness.

Surrounded by scores of cops under Captains Esposito and Frey, both of the 9th precinct, the crowd was entertained by musicians Moogy, Professor Louie, Stevie D. and the Emmaus House Posse, Randy Harris, and Roger Manning. Speakers included Dr. Roderick Wallace (whose research has exposed the city's "planned shrinkage" that caused the burnout of neighborhoods in the 1970s), Nelly Hester-Baily (with Columbia Tenants Union, whose husband Bruce was murdered and butchered by goons hired by landlords) and Matthew Lee (of Inner City Press/Community on the Move, a Bronx Squatters Community group). By 3:00, the audience had grown to more than 200 and were ready to march uptown. On the way, marchers played musical instruments, carried banners and chanted their demands for housing for the homeless. Joining the marchers was Norman Seigel of the New York Civil Liberties Union, who was there to guarantee that the marchers' First Amendment rights were protected.

At Herald Square, the large number of police vehicles following the marchers (7 cop cars, 2 unmarked cars, 2 vans and a paddy wagon) caused a traffic jam as the marchers rallied across from Macy's, causing angry drivers to honk at the cops. Flanked by cops, the marchers then made their way up to the Port Authority Bus Terminal ("PA"). Once there, Captain Frey tried to lure them into a "pig pen" composed of police barricades, which had been set up by

cops in advance. Instead of allowing themselves to be trapped off, the demonstrators took the sidewalk and began a walking picket. To protect the groups that had applied for the permits, the march was declared officially "over", with the announcement that civil disobedience was about to begin.

The reason for hitting the Port Authority was that on December 1, the PA began "Operation Alternative", a program of enforcing every petty rule and regulation on the PA's books, including the removal of homeless people from the facility by force or by arrest. Operating under the guise of offering "referrals" to city "services", the Port Authority has been forcing the homeless to choose between the city's dangerous shelter system or freezing on the city's streets.

As speakers spoke and Roger Manning played a song or two, a few people came up with bags of winter coats for the homeless and gave them out. Captain Frey met Captain Cafaro of the "Port Authority Police" and filled him in on the situation before taking off with most of his men. Cafaro warned Seigel that protestors would be arrested if they entered the terminal, but Seigel reminded him that anyone has the right to enter the Port Authority. Cafaro then said that if anyone sat down they would be arrested, and he asked Seigel if they were going to be violent!!

At 4:30, inside the Port Authority, tucked into a corner on the second floor, two demonstrators sat covered by blankets. Captain Cafaro, joined by a dozen cops, asked if they wanted a "referral" to a shelter, and then told his boys to "arrest them". While being filmed by local television station and newspaper cameras, the pigs dragged and carried the demonstrators away to the pig station downstairs. They were released about half an hour later with "Desk Appearance Tickets".

Meanwhile, outside in front of the Port Authority, things were heating up. For the next few hours, the demonstration became a loud sing-along, with more homeless people and musicians joining in as Port Authority cops stood by silently. As the weather gets colder, more demonstrations are being planned to turn up the heat on the city!!

DUTCH SQUATTERS ACQUITTED!!

(Special report from Autonomie Forum through NN)
By Jan Kraker

In May, 1990, violent confrontations erupted between squatters and riot police in the Dutch city of Groningen as city officials enacted martial law and authorized the use of near-lethal doses of tear gas to evict the WNC squat complex. When the squatters surrendered, well over 100 were arrested and detained for up to several weeks in isolation. All those arrested were charged with Article 140, a Dutch anti-terrorist law which makes sympathy for or membership in an illegal organization a punishable offense. But on November 26, a Dutch court ruled that the crimes committed (i.e. militant squat defense) were on-off deeds and that the "illegal organization" (i.e. the group of squatters) was not criminally active at other times, thus Article 140 could not apply. Likewise, all 115 persons charged with Article 141 (public violence) were acquitted due to lack of evidence -- everyone had been masked during the confrontations with the police! Unfortunately, eight people were given sentences ranging from 3-4 months for violating Article 141, probably because they gave self-incriminating statements to the police while in detention.



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MAY DAY 29 VICTORY!

By Lisa Novacek, Chris Flash, A. Kronstadt

"The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime"--Emma Goldman

Some things never change, and history tells us this could easily be said of police and government repression.

As SHADOW readers know, the MayDay 29 are a group of people arrested on the night of May 1, 1990, during yet another police riot which resulted when cops ordered by Inspector Michael Julian rushed the stage in Tompkins Square Park during the annual Resist to Exist/Squatter MayDay Concert to cut off the power as the last band was playing, even though concert organizers had received an extension beyond the 9:00 time limit. In spite of several other ways to cut the power without entering the bandshell, cops chose to attack the front stage area only five minutes after the deadline. They clubbed and arrested the MC and stage manager, as well as band members, while trashing their equipment. The police later claimed that dozens of cops were injured.

Twenty-eight people were arrested that evening and one was arrested two weeks later by undercover cops. Most of those arrested are well-known activists on the Lower East Side, while others swept-up by the random police action were not involved in the political scene around the park. Since the riot, some defendants have pleaded guilty to lesser charges to avoid the hassle of going to court and risk blowing trial on trumped-up charges, while most of the other cases were dismissed and disposed of after being reduced to misdemeanors. Only two misdemeanor defendants remain.

The judge in the felony trial, Richard C. Failla, New York City's first openly gay judge and former head of Homicide in District Attorney Robert Morgenthau's office, allowed some defendants to take lesser pleas in exchange for performing over 100 hours of "community service", saying he planned to save jail time for those he felt were responsible for the violence. (Failla also decided that those arrested and taken away when the cops first hit the stage were responsible for everything taking place in the ensuing riot, even though they were no longer present!!) The remaining five still facing felony charges maintained their innocence on all counts.

The MayDay 29 trial has proven to be like most other political trials, where the defendants are not allowed to introduce evidence that would both prove their innocence and put the testimony and circumstantial evidence being used by the prosecution into a political context.

MAY DAY HISTORY

To put the MayDay 29 trial into a historical perspective, it is interesting to take a look at events that took place around May 1, 1886, the first MayDay protest/celebration. Although the political surroundings are different and the issues vary, the State's method of suppressing a political movement by framing people that the police see as dangerous is very similar today.

In 1886, the movement for an eight-hour working day had been growing. On May 1, tens of thousands of workers went on strike across the nation. In Chicago, where most of the industries were paralyzed by the strike, the state militia were called out and the police were ready. The Mail, a Chicago newspaper, asked that Albert Parsons and August Spies, the anarchist organizers of the International Working People's Association, be watched. "Keep them in view," "Hold them personally responsible for any trouble," "Make an example of them if trouble occurs", read The Mail's editorial. On May 3-4, a series of events took place which were to put Parsons and Spies in exactly the position that The Mail had suggested. That day, in front of the McCormick Harvester Works, where strikers and sympathizers fought scab workers, the police fired into a crowd of strikers running from the scene, killing four. This action by the police led Spies to the print shop to make flyers asking for revenge, and calling the "workingmen" to Arms!

A meeting was called for Haymarket Square on the evening of May 4, and about 3,000 people attended. As the meeting was coming to a close, 180 policemen showed up, advanced on the speakers' platform and ordered the crowd to disperse. The speaker said the meeting was almost over. A bomb then exploded in the midst of the police, wounding 66 policemen, of whom seven later died. The police fired into the crowd, killing several people and wounding 200.

With no evidence of who threw the bomb, the police arrested eight anarchists in Chicago. The Chicago Journal wrote: "Justice should be prompt in dealing with the arrested anarchists. The law regarding accessories to crime in this state is so plain that their trials will be short." Illinois law said that anyone inciting a murder was guilty of the murder. The evidence against the eight anarchists was their ideas and their literature -- none had been at Haymarket that day except Fielden, who was speaking when the bomb exploded. A Jury found them guilty and sentenced them to death. Their appeals were denied: the Supreme Court said it had no jurisdiction.

Four of the anarchists were hanged and one blew himself up in his cell by exploding a stick of dynamite in his mouth. Three remained in prison. The executions enraged people internationally -- 25,000 marched in a funeral procession in Chicago.

Some evidence came out later that a man named Rudolph Schnaubelt, supposedly an anarchist, was actually an agent provocateur hired to throw the bomb and thus enable the arrest of hundreds, and destroy any revolutionary movement in Chicago. To this day, it has not been discovered who threw the bomb. The long-term effect was to keep alive the class anger of many and to inspire others.

The State's tactics are as old as the word oppression. Even today, over 100 years later, the political railroading of organizers is alive and well, and the courts are continuing to be used as tools to squash and intimidate political organizing.

Although no bombs went off on May 1, 1990, the district attorney and the police department tried to turn flying bottles into bombs. The movement and struggle in and around Tompkins Square Park has long been a thorn in the side of the cops and politically powerful in this city, and they think that by putting away the MayDay defendants they will put an end to the activism on the Lower East Side. (The reality is that this movement is diverse and not led by a small group of people, and therefore is not likely to disappear.)



DHORUBA BIN WAHAD FACING REIMPRISONMENT!!



By Bob Feldman

Manhattan's District Attorney, Robert Morgenthau, won't give up his campaign to reimprison former Black Panther Party Leader Dhoruba Bin Wahad. Bin Wahad was released from New York's prison system in March, 1990 -- after 19 years of imprisonment for a crime he did not, it seems, commit. But, on December 19, 1991, New York's Court of Appeals, at the request of D.A. Morgenthau, reinstated Dhoruba Bin Wahad's convictions and paved the way for his possible imprisonment.

Although Bin Wahad is still being persecuted by D.A. Morgenthau because, apparently, of his radical political beliefs and because the white U.S. corporate Establishment has never been too fond of strong, politically militant, intellectually independent African-American men, the language of yuppie legal technicalities is being utilized by the Establishment's court system to create the legal pretext for Dhoruba Bin Wahad's possible reimprisonment.

Supporters of Dhoruba Bin Wahad are being asked to circulate petitions demanding that he be allowed to remain free, and people are also being urged to write letters to Robert Morgenthau, Manhattan District Attorney, One Hogan Place, New York, New York 10007, expressing their "support for Dhoruba Bin Wahad being allowed to remain out on his own recognizance pending the outcome of the evidentiary hearings ordered by the Court of Appeals on December 19, 1991."

While imprisoned, Dhoruba married anti-apartheid activist Tanaquil Jones, who had emerged as the charismatic spokesperson for the Columbia Coalition For A Free South Africa during the Spring 1985 student blockade of Columbia University's Hamilton Hall which demanded that Columbia divest itself of stock in U.S. corporations that did business in South Africa. Jones later organized the initial December 1986 antiracist march through Howard Beach, Queens, following the white racist mob attack on Michael Griffith which led to Griffith's death. Jones also led student protests against Columbia for its failure to discipline the white students involved in a 1987 racial attack on African-American students on Columbia's campus, before she became involved in prisoner solidarity activism with the Center for Constitutional Rights.

In a December 23, 1991 letter to supporters, Jones notes that The New York Times' December 20, 1991 article reporting the Court of Appeals' reinstatement of Dhoruba's conviction "fails to mention the fact that Dhoruba was framed by the New York City Police Department and F.B.I. through its Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO)" and " maligns the Black Panther Party (of which Dhoruba was a leader) by stating it was responsible for 'a wave of bombings and disorder.'"

Since his March, 1990 release, Dhoruba Bin Wahad has spoken on TV, at political meetings, on college campuses and at rallies about the way he's been persecuted by the government and on behalf of U.S. political prisoners who remain locked up. If the U.S. Establishment is able to reimprison Dhoruba Bin Wahad in 1992, it will be a major political defeat for the cause of democratization and human rights within the United States. For more information about the latest developments in New York City's Dhoruba Bin Wahad Case, call (718) 624-0800.

THE DEFENDANTS

After all the deals and plea bargaining were done, the remaining felony defendants and their lawyers were: John, represented by Ronald Kuby; Kenny, represented by James Roth; Lori, represented by Susan Tipograph; Anthony, represented by Steve Berstein; and Tom, represented by Susan Levin.

John, also known as John Squat or John the Communist, and one of the activists best known to the cops, was the only defendant not arrested the night of the riot. He was arrested more than two weeks later on May 18, at the first Free Speech Speakout after the riot, moments after Inspector Julian was seen waving a set of handcuffs in the air in his direction as John spoke. John was tackled in the park by several plainclothes cops who kicked and beat him as they stood on his legs. Inside the Fifth Precinct, P.O. Jon Licari punched him, threatened to kill him, wrote "Free The Land" on his face and "I am an asshole" on his shirt.

On the witness stand, Licari denied everything, answering Kuby's questions with grunts. John was being charged with Riot and Criminal Possession of a Weapon (a bottle).

Suspiciously, when Kuby told the court that he might call P.O. Mulroy to the stand (partly due to Mulroy's criminal complaint report phoned in by P.O. Flynn, which did not contain John's name), an entirely new report was "discovered" a few days later, containing both John's name and his nickname!!

Kenny, who was charged with Assault, Riot and the catch-all "Obstruction of Governmental Administration" seemed to be the main course for Assistant District Attorney Dan Connolly, who tried to portray Kenny as one of the "leaders" of the riot. He claimed that Kenny waved his arms and made a speech on the microphone telling the audience: "Be prepared to break the law tonight" and "Be prepared to resist."

Roth explained that Kenny was doing neither, but was simply dancing on stage along with others to the music of Spy vs. Spy, the last band playing. This was shown several times on the video tape of the concert and riot played in court. Roth further explained

KEITH THOMPSON 1965-1992

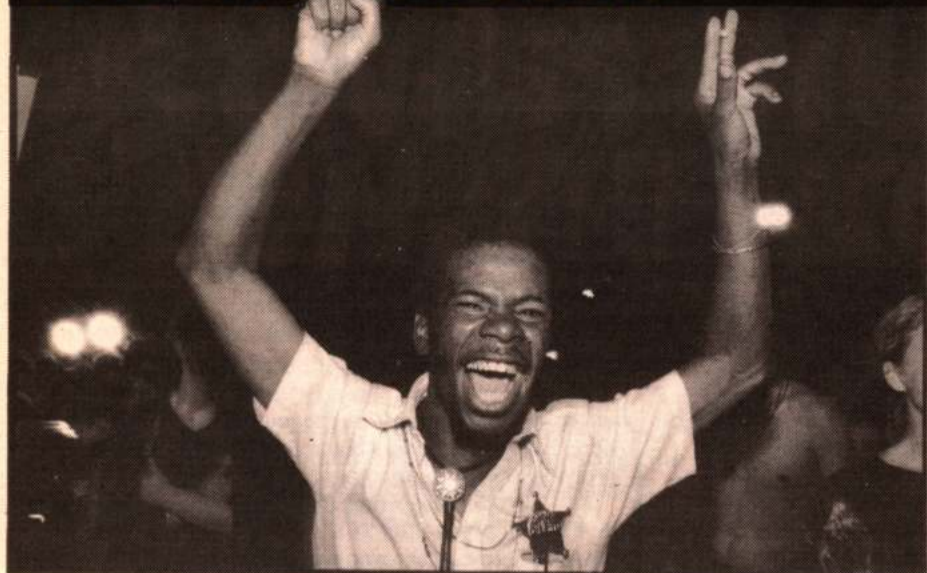


PHOTO BY Q.SAKAMAKI

On January 2, 1992, Lower East Side activist Keith Thompson died in Harlem Hospital from complications arising from AIDS and tuberculosis.

Keith came from a large family. Early in his life he had been placed in the foster care system by his parents. (He reconciled with them shortly before his death when they came to see him at the hospital.) Living in NYC's shelter system, he became an activist at the Paris Hotel on the Bowery.

In 1987, Keith was vice-president of the Homeless Clients Advisory Committee (HCAC), an organization made up of mostly homeless people fighting for the rights of people living in New York's shelter system which met at the Third St. Men's Shelter. Because of his activism, Keith was ejected from shelters because he carried a set of rules governing the shelter system, and would call out the shelter employees anytime they violated the rights of the people living there (which was continuously).

Keith joined other homeless activists in a group called Homeward Bound to squat City Hall Park in the fall and winter of 1987 to protest against the city's policies on homelessness and he continued to be a thorn in the side of Mayor Ed Koch and the city government for more than 200 days.

Keith, in co-ordination with other homeless groups and activists who lived there, formed Tompkins Square "Tent City", in the spring of 1989. When the residents of Tent City joined the Housing Now march on Washington DC in October of 1989, Keith was there.

When the march arrived in Washington DC on October 19th, only 250 of the 450 people that started to march from NYC had finished it. Keith served as a spokesperson to the media, acting as the liaison between the homeless activists who were meeting with Jack Kemp at HUD, and the hundreds of thousands of people who had marched on Washington.

When the police raided the homeless encampments in TSP several times during the summer of 1989, tearing down the tents and evicting the homeless, Keith played a major role in fighting back and defending against the pig assaults with other park activists. He was a good, loud, and articulate voice against the riot cops, often getting in their faces and making them look even more foolish than they were.

When the police came to evict the Umbrella House squat in 1989, Keith made a marathon speech for hours, out in the front, in just his tee-shirt, underwear and red cowboy boots, sounding like a preacher. As the crowd swelled, people seem spellbound by his great oratory skill, and didn't seem to notice that he wasn't wearing any pants.

Outside of the park, Keith also organized a demo to stop benches from being taken out of the 2nd Avenue subway station where homeless people slept on them. Keith also organized people to ride the A train one winter as a mobile "Food, Not Bombs" to serve meals to the homeless on the subway cars.

At the first anniversary of the August 1988 Tompkins Square Park Pig Riot in 1989, Keith dressed up as a Keystone Kop and did a parody of the NYPD and the parks pigs. Though Keith was a major player in the movement, he was scorned for his homosexuality by others who lived in the park. He wasn't considered one of the top leaders of Tent City movement by them, because he was gay. But he never let it stop him.

Keith left Tompkins Square Park shortly before they closed it in the spring of 1991. He had been living in the bandshell for a year. He went to the Greenpoint, Brooklyn, men's shelter, where his health rapidly deteriorated. He put up sheets around his bed, but they declared it a fire hazard. He was supposedly transferred, but he ended up on the street. His social security payments were cut off because the shelter informed them that he no longer lived there. He contracted tuberculosis, which he most likely got in the shelter. His philosophy was that shelters don't work. He was taken to Harlem Hospital in late November or early December, where he died on January 2, 1992.

A week or so after his death, Keith's voice was heard on WBAI radio. Bob Fass was playing an old show in which Keith called Bob to tell of his plans for more demos, in his loud and determined style. For all his energy and daring in the face of the pigs, in the end, Keith became a victim of the very things he fought against in the last years of his life.

A memorial for Keith will be held on February 10th at the Living Theater, 292 East 3rd Street, at 8:00PM.



FLASH FOTO

MAY DAY 29

Continued From Page 6

that Inspector Julian was "primed for a confrontation" and that he had decided to arrest Kenny before the bottles began flying. (On his way into the court building, SHADOW editor Chris Flash ran into Julian holding a copy of SHADOW #16 showing people on stage pushing Kenny into the advancing cops. Julian said this proved that the cops didn't start the riot, and he said that Kenny started the riot on the microphone. When Flash told him that some cops are accusing him of starting the riot, Julian said: "Yeah, I know, those assholes!!")

Inspector Julian's testimony on Kenny's gestures was one of the most hilarious moments of this trial. Julian was asked by Jim Roth to imitate the type of dancing he witnessed on stage. Although Julian tried to give some lame excuse about not being able to dance because of his injured knee, Judge Failla insisted that he get up and dance! (It is impossible to describe the motions and gyrations of Julian's flailing appendages, but one thing is certainly clear--cops ain't got no rythm!)

The focus on Kenny is not surprising, considering that besides being a long-time community activist, he also has a pending civil suit against Julian and Sgt Steve Marron due to the injuries he received at the hands of the cops.

Lori, one of the more visible activists on the Lower East side and one of those responsible for setting up the concert, was charged with Riot and Incitement to riot. In her opening arguments before the jury, Lori, initially acting in her own defense, explained that as an anarchist, she has no faith in the government, but has faith in the people. She pointed out that the cops are natural adversaries with those who were putting on the concert, and they had an interest in perpetrating the myth of Tompkins Square Park as a "cesspool" and "pit of violence". ADA Connolly objected several times throughout, with Judge Failla mostly agreeing.

Lori continued to defend herself for several weeks, and then decided to let Tipograph take over, telling the SHADOW: "I decided that I had to make a choice about whether I was going to get my case heard or go to jail".

Anthony, charged with Riot and Criminal Possession of a Weapon, was jumped by two undercover cops that night. Although the prosecution contends Anthony was throwing a bottle, there is very little evidence to support this. This was demonstrated when P.O. Bourke, asked by Connolly to identify Anthony in front of the jury, instead pointed to Connolly's brother who was sitting in the audience!

One of the more ironic aspects of the trial concerned Tom, who is not connected with any political group or protest movement. He faced the most serious charges of 2nd Degree Riot and Criminal Possession of a Weapon, accused of tossing a bottle and hitting P.O. Kelly in the head. In fact, Tom was dining in his apartment that night with his twin brother and brother's wife, who were visiting from out of town, as the police riot raged outside his window. After their visit, as he escorted them to their car, the pigs demanded they leave the sidewalk area. Tom's brother was beaten by the cops and when he came to his brother's aid, they were both beaten and he was arrested for throwing a bottle. Even though P.O. Kelly admits that he didn't see who threw the bottle, he is suing Tom for \$4.5 million.

THE "TRIAL"

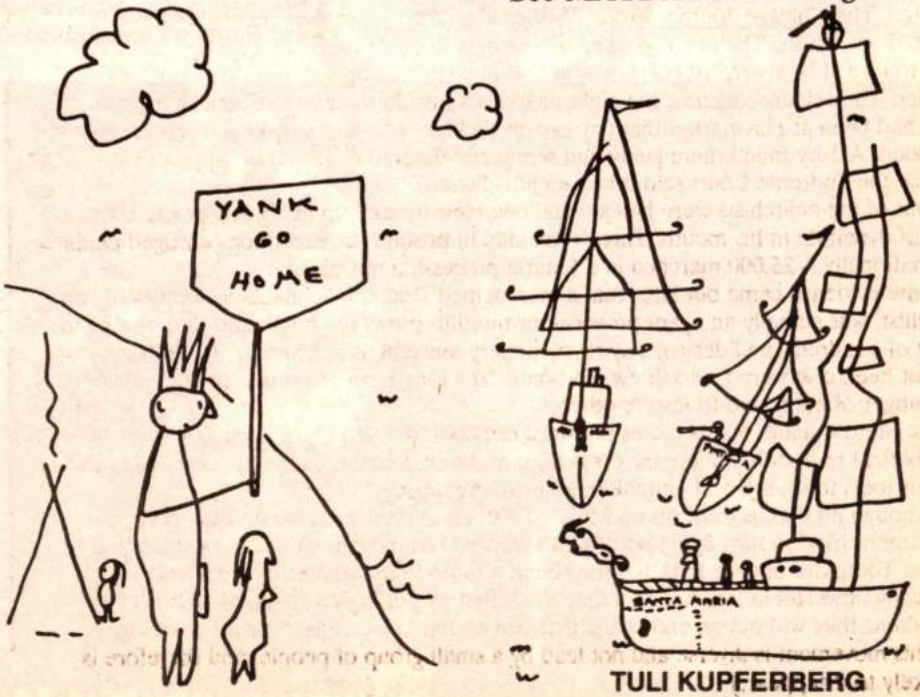
The State's case rested on the testimony of 37 cops, most of whom have demonstrated animosity toward the defendants in past confrontations around Tompkins Square. Three cops (Sgt. Steve Marron, P.O. Kevin Flynn and P.O. Harry Hernandez) are suing the city (as well as their superior officers) and one of the defendants (John) over "injuries" they allegedly sustained during the riot, seeking \$7 million. Another cop, P.O. Kelly, is suing a defendant (Tom) for \$4.5 million. (Hardly impartial witnesses, these cops have a personal and financial interest in testifying against the defendants in order to lend credibility to their lawsuits.)

Interestingly, in the criminal trial, the cops blamed the riot on the defendants, while in their lawsuits, the cops suing the city are blaming the riot on Inspector Michael Julian!! On the witness stand, Julian told the jury he was not worried about being named in the suits against the city because if he loses, the city will pay any judgement against him!!

The lengthy trial, which began on October 17th, was supposed to last only about eight weeks, but went on four weeks longer, consisting mostly of listening to the testimony of the cops, many of whom told contradicting stories in spite of being prepped in advance by the District Attorney's office. (Six civilians, all associated in one way or another with gentrifier city councilman Antonio Pagan, were originally set to testify against the defendants, but decided not to after their names were printed in SHADOW #20!!)

P.O. Flynn broke into tears on the stand and claimed that as a result of getting hit with a bottle, he can no longer have sex or watch TV. He then told the court that his life was threatened due to his name and photo being published in SHADOW #11 ("PIGS RIOT!!"). This was proven to be false after SHADOW #11 was checked out.

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TULI KUPFERBERG



By Bill Weinberg

The complex web of conspiracy surrounding the November 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy, once the domain only of obsessive researchers on the radical left and radical right, has now burst into the consciousness of mainstream America with the release of Oliver Stone's new movie *JFK*.

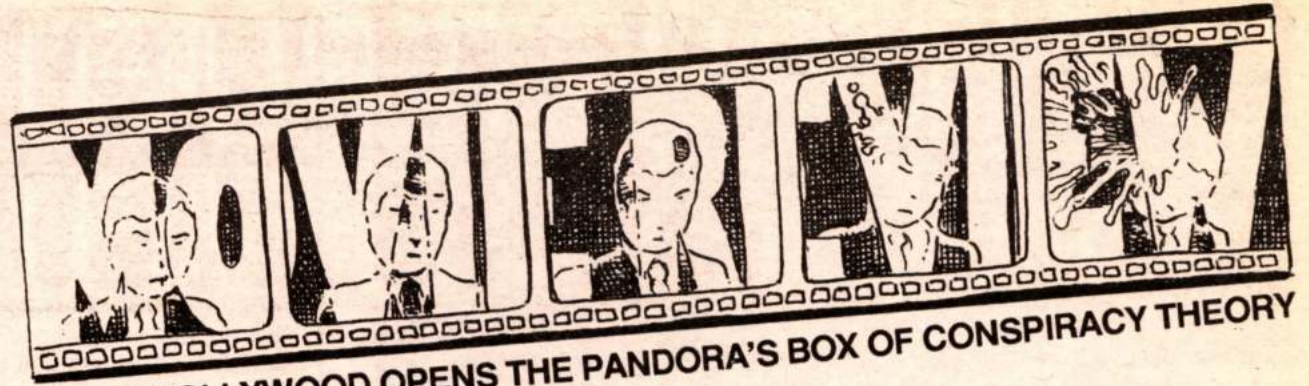
Stone is not one for subtlety. His previous films have been relentlessly blatant in propagandizing audiences with his left-wing views. He is Hollywood's resident dissident, counterbalancing the even more blatant propaganda of right-wing shoot'em-up flicks like *Rambo*, *Iron Eagles*, *Red Dawn*, *Delta Force*, and *Hamburger Hill*. Stone has taken on Vietnam in *Platoon* and *Born On The Fourth of July*, US intervention in Central America in *Salvador*, corporate greed in *Wall Street* -- and now the real proverbial can of worms, the assassination of John F. Kennedy in *JFK*.

Those researchers (and their sympathizers) who have long been accumulating evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald was merely a pawn in a far-reaching conspiracy orchestrated at the top levels of the CIA and the military-industrial complex, will now feel vindicated.

The background to the assassination is this: In 1954, the CIA, under Director Allen Dulles, arranged the coup d'etat which ousted the democratically elected and moderately leftist Jacobo Arbenz regime in Guatemala, replacing it with a right-wing military dictatorship. The operation was masterminded by Dulles' Latin America pointman E. Howard Hunt. President Eisenhower cooperated by providing for air cover -- as the CIA-trained right-wing exiles marched on Guatemala's capital from their clandestine training camps across the border in Honduras, US Air Force fighter planes on loan to the CIA bombarded the national palace. Dulles and his pals were ecstatic. In 1959, after Fidel Castro's more militant leftist revolution had come to power in Cuba, the CIA started hatching a similar "destabilization" plan. However, by the time they were ready to go into action, Dwight Eisenhower had been replaced in the White House by John F. Kennedy.

The "destabilization" effort -- the now-infamous Bay of Pigs fiasco -- fell flat on its face. The CIA had underestimated the differences between Cuba and Guatemala. Guatemala's Arbenz had been elected to power, and he left the conservative Guatemalan Army intact. When the coup came, the Army had closed ranks with the plotters and assisted in ousting Arbenz. Fidel, on the other hand, had come to power through a revolution and had dismantled the old conservative army of the former dictator, Fulgencio Batista, replacing it with a new army made up of former guerrilla fighters and loyal supporters. The CIA's invasion force was easily crushed on that Cuban beach in April 1961. But Dulles and his cohorts were unwilling to face up to their intelligence error. They blamed Kennedy for his half-hearted support. Unlike Eisenhower in 1954, Kennedy had refused to supply air cover for the invasion force.

This was the beginning of the falling out between JFK and the CIA. Kennedy had Dulles sacked. He also ran afoul of the CIA/Pentagon power structure in other ways. He started talking among his friends of actually having the CIA disbanded. More concretely, he balked at continuing the escalating US military presence in Vietnam -- and, shortly



"JFK": HOLLYWOOD OPENS THE PANDORA'S BOX OF CONSPIRACY THEORY

before his assassination, called for a return of some 1,000 US "advisors" (i.e. elite Army Special Forces troops) from the troubled Southeast Asia nation. Finally, he directed his younger brother, Robert F. Kennedy, then US Attorney General, to start prosecuting organized crime figures -- precisely as the CIA was forging an alliance with the Mob in the ongoing effort to oust Fidel Castro. Havana had been the Mafia's Caribbean base of operations until Fidel's 1959 revolution. The Mafiosi subsequently fled to Miami, along with prominent right-wing Cubans. Training camps were established throughout the South for anti-Castro terrorist groups like Omega-7 and Alpha-66. At one point, Kennedy had the camps shut down in surprise FBI raids.

After the assassination, it would be revealed that both Oswald and his own assassin, Jack Ruby, had many connections to the overlapping netherworlds of the intelligence community, organized crime and right-wing Cuban exiles. *JFK* is the story of Jim Garrison, the idealistic (some would say naive) New Orleans District Attorney who started tracing Oswald's Louisiana connections -- and found that they led straight to the FBI, Naval Intelligence, the mob, right-wing Cubans and the CIA.

Garrison started picking apart the Warren Commission Report, the final statement of the official government investigation into the assassination, which concluded that Oswald had acted alone. The Commission included none other than Allen Dulles, and Garrison concluded that its dismissal of a conspiracy had to be willful self-delusion. Even the trajectory of the "single bullet theory" was impossible.

By the time Garrison started his investigation in earnest, many of the key figures he had been tracing had already died under mysterious circumstances. Another important source, the eccentric David Ferrie, a pilot who worked closely with the Cuban exile groups, died in the midst of the investigation, allegedly a suicide. This left only one man who Garrison could reasonably indict for involvement in the JFK slaying -- a globe-trotting businessman named Clay Shaw, whose far-flung enterprises were believed to be front companies for CIA covert operations. Fearing that Shaw would be the next to be offed, Garrison quickly had him indicted -- possibly before accruing enough evidence. A media smear campaign was launched against Garrison, and a plant posing as a volunteer researcher had all of Garrison's documents copied and forked over to Shaw's defense team. Shaw was acquitted, and Garrison became a laughing stock. By then it was 1969, the nation was deep in conflict over the Vietnam nightmare, and had already seen three more assassinations -- of Black militant Malcolm X, civil rights leader Martin Luther King, and presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy, who had been campaigning on an anti-war platform.

Nearly thirty years after the fact, Stone's film is finally bringing the eye-opening facts of the case to the American public. It is, of course, being roundly trashed by mainstream media luminaries who insist, against all evidence, on clinging to the idiotic conclusion of the Warren Commission. Among those leading the charge is George Lardner Jr. of the *Washington Post*, who characterizes Stone's film as "fiction" and Garrison's investigation as "a fraud." Lardner is himself

referred to in the film -- as the journalist who interviewed Ferrie in the final hours before his "suicide", and was probably the last man to see him alive.

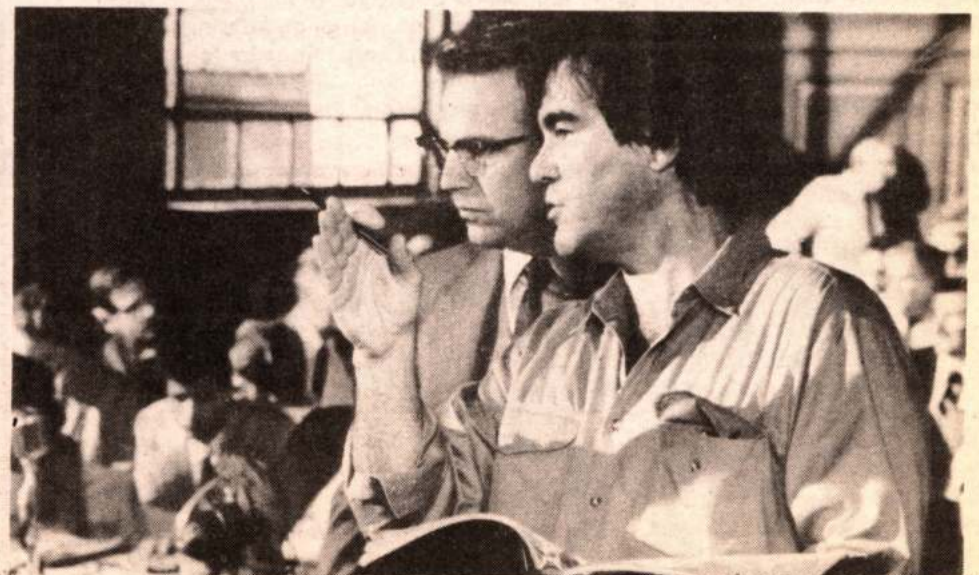
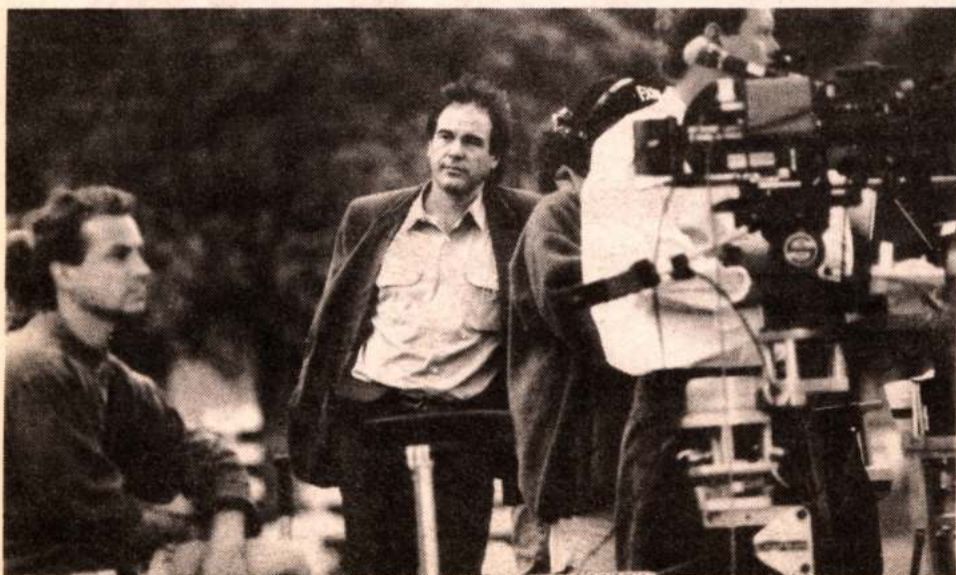
Lardner also writes that "there was no abrupt change in Vietnam policy after JFK's death." Zachary Sklar, a conspiracy researcher who worked on the *JFK* screenplay, responded to this statement in a recent interview with *High Times*: "That is one of the most preposterous things I've ever heard. Kennedy was trying to get out of Vietnam, and Johnson led us into a war in which 58,000 Americans died. Lardner's article is a travesty."

Another harsh criticism has come from *Time* magazine -- an irony considering that Time-Life had bought the famous "Zapruder film" of the JFK slaying, and then sat on it, refusing to make it available for viewing, and allowing only certain stills to be published. The film, shot by assassination witness Abraham Zapruder, was subpoenaed by Garrison and shown to the jury in the Clay Shaw trial. This was the first time the film was seen by the public. It had been viewed by the Warren Commission -- which published in its public report two frames from the film in reverse order, as FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover later admitted in a letter to a citizen who had caught the "mistake" and informed the FBI. Hoover blamed a "printer's error" for the reversal, but the supposed goof supported the Warren Commission's allegation that the bullets had come from Oswald's rifle behind Kennedy, rather than from other gunmen ahead of the president. A further irony lies in the fact that Time-Life, which assisted the cover-up by suppressing the Zapruder film, recently merged with Warner Brothers, creating Time-Warner, the company which released *JFK*.

Researcher Zachary Sklar worked with Jim Garrison on his first-hand account of the investigation, *On The Trail of the Assassins*, one of the books on which *JFK* is based. The film conforms to the facts in Garrison's book pretty closely, using the Clay Shaw trial as a vehicle for raising questions about the assassination. The book was published by the Institute for Media Analysis, the same group which publishes the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, a newsletter which runs sharp exposés on the US intelligence community. Those familiar with *Covert Action's* radical left perspective will be surprised by the studiously patriotic tone of *JFK*. Stone is playing it safe. Aware that deviation from the party line of the Warren Commission will make his film a lightning rod for criticism, he makes certain to wrap himself in the flag. This is the film's biggest failing. Understandably, Stone sees merely presenting the voluminous facts and discrediting the Warren Commission as enough of a job for one three hour movie. He fails to ask the deeper questions.

Everything is black and white in *JFK*. Kennedy and Garrison are simple heroes, courageous men who have been targeted by a nefarious and malevolent conspiracy. The film is patronizing in its treatment of Blacks -- they are portrayed as being almost worshipful in their reverence of Kennedy as the benevolent white father figure who will grant them their rights. To uncritically portray the white liberal view of civil rights from the early 1960s in the racially explosive atmosphere of 1991 is an embarrassment. For some contrast, read what Malcolm X had to say about Kennedy in his autobiography. Black radicals like Malcolm viewed Kennedy's apparent embrace of the civil rights movement as an effort to

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OLIVER STONE ON THE SET OF "JFK"; WITH KEVIN COSTNER AS JIM GARRISON

SHADOW INTERVIEW

SHADOW INTERVIEW

ZACHARY SKLAR,
CO-WRITER OF
THE MOVIE "JFK"

(Zachary Sklar is a journalist and a professor of journalism at the Columbia School of Journalism. He is also a contributor to The Lies of Our Times, a monthly journal dedicated to exposing the truth behind twisted and censored reports in the mainstream media. Recently, he collaborated with director Oliver Stone on the screenplay of the controversial movie "JFK", which has been trashed by the very same mainstream media exposed in the Lies of Our Times. This interview was conducted by SHADOW contributors Frank Morales and Paul DeRienzo on January 14, 1992):

SHADOW: How did you first become involved in assassination research, when did you first meet Jim Garrison, author of On the Trail of the Assassins, how did you meet director Oliver Stone and what possessed both of you to do this film?

SKLAR: I had not been what you call an assassination researcher -- I was fifteen when the assassination occurred, and of course it deeply affected me, as did the other assassinations that followed. I didn't take any particular research interest in it, I did become a journalist, and I edited a number of books about the CIA for Sheridan Square Press, which publishes books by former CIA agents who have become disillusioned with the agency. Sheridan Square Press approached me in 1987 with a manuscript from Jim Garrison that had been rejected by another publishing house. I worked on that book for about a year and a half with Jim Garrison, we re-structured and re-wrote it, and that book became On the Trail of the Assassins, that's how I got into the assassination.

When that book was published in 1988, on the 25th anniversary of the assassination, Ellen Ray, one of the publishers, met Oliver Stone in Havana, Cuba, at a film festival where Stone was getting an award for "Salvador", and said "here's a book you might be interested in". He read it and liked it a lot, but he was going off to the Phillipines to film "Born on The Fourth of July". Then he called three days later from the Phillipines and said he wanted to buy it, he requested someone to help with a first draft, and they suggested me because I was familiar with the material, so that's how I got into the project.

SHADOW: In the December, 1991 issue of Premier Magazine, Stone states that "history, in its original Greek sense, 'historia', means inquiry", and in that light, my film, any film, any work of art, has the right to re-explore an event." The New York Times, among other major media which has heaped criticism upon the movie, refers to the film as "an outrageous distortion of history which mixes fact and fiction". What have you to say to this criticism? Is the film in essence fiction, or revisionist history?

SKLAR: Those abstractions are difficult to deal with. I see it as a movie. I am a journalist, that's my background. If I felt that the film were untrue to history as I've researched it, I would feel very uncomfortable and I would have withdrawn. I don't feel that the film is untrue. On the other hand, there is a difference between a movie and a documentary. This is not a documentary, this is a feature film, and therefore, certain things have been done, such as creating composite characters, changing what was known in 1969 to incorporate material learned by researchers since 1969, when the Garrison inquiry was happening.

There is some speculation in the film, which is a necessity, because so many records are still sealed. The most important records are sealed not only by the House Select Committee on Assassinations and the Warren Commission, but also by the CIA and FBI, whose files are some of the basis for those two committees, but we've never seen those files. So, of necessity, since we don't know who killed the president, we have to do some speculation, try to come up with some alternative possibilities of who killed the president and why. That's what JFK attempts to do. Although some people, in the New York Times for instance, have complained that they can't tell the difference between what's real and what's not real, what's fact and what's speculation, people polled coming out of theaters didn't seem to have that problem. It seems that it's only the owners of history at the New York Times and places like that who seem to have this difficulty.

SHADOW: Representative Stokes is now seeking to re-open the files based on the flood of mail that he and other members of Congress have received regarding this movie and the desire of the public to re-open these files. The essential authenticity and facticity of this movie has reached the public and the public is responding.

SKLAR: I think that what the public has responded to is a clear demonstration visually which you can't do in print, of the implausibility of the explanation that the Warren Commission gave us -- that Lee Harvey Oswald by himself was able to shoot three bullets within 5.6 seconds with world class precision with a lousy bolt-action rifle, that the "Magic Bullet" was able to inflict all seven wounds in Kennedy and Connally and emerge pristine. These things you can read on a page and it doesn't really register, but when you see it in a film and you see a demonstration of what that means, I think it hits people with far greater impact. I think that's what people at the New York Times and places that have criticized the film are responding to, the fact that audiences are actually getting quite outraged when they see that the explanation doesn't hold up and they want to go further.

Now, let me say one word of caution about opening the files. I am personally of the belief that most files that would be crucial to our understanding of this could possibly have been shredded. We've seen this happen during the Oliver North business, with the Iran Contragate, we've seen the CIA fabricate files, E. Howard Hunt has admitted in court that he fabricated cables from the State Department implicating President Kennedy in the murder of (South Viet Nam Premier) Diem in Vietnam.

A CIA memo was disclosed in 1981, under a Freedom Of Information Act suit, which described how Robert Blakey (of the House Select Committee on Assassinations) came to the CIA, spent about a half hour looking through file cabinets. The memo states that he did not go into another part of the building where there are other files. It also states that there are 16 file drawers about

Oswald and the CIA that he did not examine, so as far as the CIA is concerned, there's a lot of stuff that the House Select Committee has never seen. I don't know whether the Warren Commission saw that stuff or not, but it is clear to me that the CIA did lie to the Warren Commission. David Atlee Phillips, who was the Western Hemisphere chief of the CIA, admitted in a public forum in Los Angeles that the CIA had fabricated the so-called evidence of Oswald being in Mexico in September-October 1963 going to the Cuban embassy and Soviet embassy, that the CIA offered to the Warren Commission--tape recordings and photographs of someone obviously not Oswald. It's a real hall of mirrors when you try to get to what the intelligence community may know about this situation.

Just opening the House Select Committees files is not going to do it, in my opinion. What we really need to do is open the CIA and FBI files. Those have been closed supposedly on the grounds of national security, it's been a long time, the Soviet Union is dissolved, it's hard to imagine any conceivable reason why releasing this information would affect our national security at this point.

SHADOW: Some critics seem to be less concerned about the allegations of a conspiracy in the assassination, and questioning why we should care about it 30 years later.

SKLAR: It's important in a government that describes itself as a democracy that people have free access to information and to the truth about what actually happened and what their government agencies were up to.

Institutions do not inherently have trust in the United States -- they have to earn that trust by being open with the people and disclosing what they've done, in an honest fashion. If you just sweep it under the carpet, clearly, it doesn't go away. Otherwise, I think this wouldn't even be an issue today. I think until we come clean and get to the bottom of this, it's difficult to move on. It lurks there like a raw wound.

I think people in Congress and people at the New York Times are frankly shocked that people have such strong feelings about this 28 years after the fact. Why should they? Well, they should because they care, because they haven't gotten the truth. The media and Congress are implicated in that and they understand that their own credibility is at stake here, and that's why I think a lot of them would like it to go away, but I don't think that means that the American people want it to go away.

See SKLAR On Page 17



J. Cunningham '92



Here is a copy of the "Civilian Complaint Report" that civilians are told to use when filing complaints against kops:

CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REPORT
 PD 313-154 (Rev. 9-89-100) Ref. P.G. 118-7

FOR POLICE DEPARTMENT USE ONLY
 Jurisdiction: Ch. of Dept. C.C.R.B. OTHER / SPECIFY
 Number: _____

DATE OF OCCURRENCE _____ TIME OF OCCURRENCE _____ LOCATION OF OCCURRENCE _____ BORO OF OCCURRENCE _____

DAY OF WEEK _____ PCT. OF OCCURRENCE _____ HOW COMPLAINT MADE: In Person Mail Phone _____ RECEIVING COMMAND _____ DATE _____ TIME _____

DATE REPORTED _____ TIME _____ C.C.R.B. (NAME) NOTIFIED _____

FOR COMPLAINANT USE ONLY
 PERSON ASSISTING, INTERPRETER, REPRESENTATIVE: _____ COMPLAINANT'S SURNAME _____ FIRST _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ SEX M F _____ RACE _____ M.O.S. Yes No _____ ATTORNEY RETAINED Yes No _____ COMPLAINANT'S ADDRESS _____

BOROUGH _____ ZIP CODE _____ APT. NO. _____ HOME PHONE _____ BUSINESS PHONE _____

Rank / Name of Police Department Member Complained of (if unknown, provide description of officer and type of duty performed e.g., foot, auto, detective, in uniform, civilian clothes — under details). If more than one officer complained of, state specific number of police officers complained of, as opposed to the number of officers that may have been on the scene in a back up role.

RANK	NAME	COMMAND	RMP #	SHIELD / TAX NO.

WITNESS / VICTIM SURNAME _____ FIRST _____ DATE OF BIRTH _____ SEX M F _____ RACE _____ M.O.S. Yes No _____ ATTORNEY RETAINED Yes No _____

ADDRESS _____ BORO _____ ZIP CODE _____ APT. NO. _____

HOME PHONE _____ BUSINESS PHONE _____

WITNESS / VICTIM SURNAME _____ FIRST _____ DATE OF BIRTH _____ SEX M F _____ RACE _____ M.O.S. Yes No _____ ATTORNEY RETAINED Yes No _____

ADDRESS _____ BORO _____ ZIP CODE _____ APT. NO. _____

HOME PHONE _____ BUSINESS PHONE _____

DETAILS (Briefly Describe The Incident). If complainant does not reside within New York City indicate community / county / state of residence: (Use rear of page if necessary)

OTHER FORMS PREPARED AND SERIAL NUMBERS:

HOW DID CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW BOARD COME TO YOUR ATTENTION: POLICE PERSONNEL COMM. GROUPS ATTORNEY 911 OPERATOR MAYOR'S OFFICE TELEPHONE CO. FAMILY/FRIEND D.A. OFFICE OTHER/SPECIFY _____

COMPLAINANT'S SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

TITLE AND SIGNATURE OF MEMBER RECEIVING COMPLAINT _____ NAME PRINTED _____ DATE _____

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLAINANT: Prepare this report in your own handwriting. You will immediately receive a typewritten copy as your receipt. The Executive Director, Civilian Complaint Review Board, or an investigating officer will communicate with you in writing in the near future relative to the investigation of your complaint and will arrange to schedule any necessary investigative interview at a time and date convenient to you. Complainant's handwritten copy to: C.C.R.B. or Investigation Review Section, Chief of Dept. Direct.

Well, here we are again!! Now that the demonstrations to reopen the park have stopped (for now, anyway), the kops, in an effort to justify their existence, have been directing their attention toward the street peddlers around the park who try to eke out an honest living by selling what they can find in the garbage. One favorite spot for kops who love hitting these easy targets is the corner of 7th Street and First Avenue, where the 2-3 peddlers there are roused every morning. One recent morning, P.O. Albano of the 9th Precinct was seen threatening a man by swinging his pig club near the man's face. When a watcher to "take a hike". The Kop-Watcher refused and stood his ground, even after being threatened with arrest for "loitering". After a little more bullying by the brave kopper, the peddler left, and only then did the Kop-Watcher leave!! As always, those brave zombies in blue are afraid of eye witnesses, neighbors willing to get involved and especially cameras!!

In case you were wondering where Captain Seta, former/current FBI agent, perjurer and Executive Officer of the 9th precinct has been lately, (were you really?), he's been "rewarded" with a promotion to the position of Commanding Officer of the 13th precinct on East 21st Street. Captain Hanley is now the "X.O." at the 9th, while Esposito remains as the "C.O." at the 9th. Maybe if Hanley files false charges against people and kisses the right asses, as Seta does, he'll get a promotion too!!

Speaking of kops going nowhere fast, P.O. Maher (Badge #2822), who also took part in the MayDay 1990 Pig Riot in Tompkins Square Park, couldn't keep his mouth shut while passing SHADOW editor Chris Flash at the corner of 7th Street and Second Avenue on November 14th. While twirling his club, Maher said: "You're gonna get your ass beat, boy." When Maher saw Flash pursuing him down Second Avenue, Maher ducked into a supermarket, and when confronted outside the store minutes later, Maher denied saying anything. Later, when Flash got a "Civilian Complaint Report" from the 9th precinct to



file against Maher, he saw Maher standing outside the precinct. Again, Maher denied saying anything, adding "Why don't you write about it in your newspaper?" We'll do better than that, as Maher will no doubt soon find out!!

Civilians wishing to file complaints against kops are told to fill out a "Civilian Complaint Report", obtainable at precinct houses. Usually, they will tell you that they've "run out", but if you insist they give you one, sometimes they will "find" one. Then you are told to return the filled out form to the precinct, and not to go to the offices of the Civilian Complaint Review Board ("CCRB", located at 295 Lafayette Street) directly, not that it makes a difference anyway. Our lawyers advise that while in all likelihood nothing will happen to the offending kop(s), your complaint will become part of their record book. When the kop finally goes too far, causing someone to file charges, etc, his/her/their records will reveal a history of these incidents and complaints against them. This is also an important step for you to take in preparing a nice chunky lawsuit against the City of New York and the New York Police Department collectively, and the kop(s) individually, not to mention filing criminal charges against the kop(s). Maybe suing them personally is what it takes to make kops behave!!

Notice that the NYPD seems more interested in your personal information and that of your witnesses, whether or not you have retained an attorney, and how you heard of the CCRB than they are in who the offending kops are and what they did. If you are filling one of these out and are concerned about your privacy and safety (remember that the CCRB is staffed by kops and kop sympathizers), you might want to give as little information about yourself as possible, using your lawyer's telephone number and address for contact.

*If your precinct tells you they are out of complaint forms, please let us know and we'll send you one. Whether you get one from us or the kops, you should make lots of copies of blank forms to pass on to anyone you know who has had a similar experience and then get them to do the same!!

Ever wonder why kop car plate numbers have different colors than civilian plates? Trying reading the thin white numbers on the light blue background as a kop car speeds away from the scene of a police beating, a drug dealer's payoff, or a beer run—it's almost impossible!! Some things the kops know how to do just right!!

Speaking of which, with the city's infrastructure crumbling all around us, transit fares going up, social programs being cut and city parks closing, don't all those shiny brand new high tech streamlined Chevy Caprice kop cars popping up in the hands of the NYPD and the Housing Kops make you forget about everything? When all else is falling apart, money is always found to prop up the police force (more trigger happy out of town rookies and expensive equipment), that will be needed to control the population as they get fed up with being ripped off by the government. It really makes a tax payer proud!!

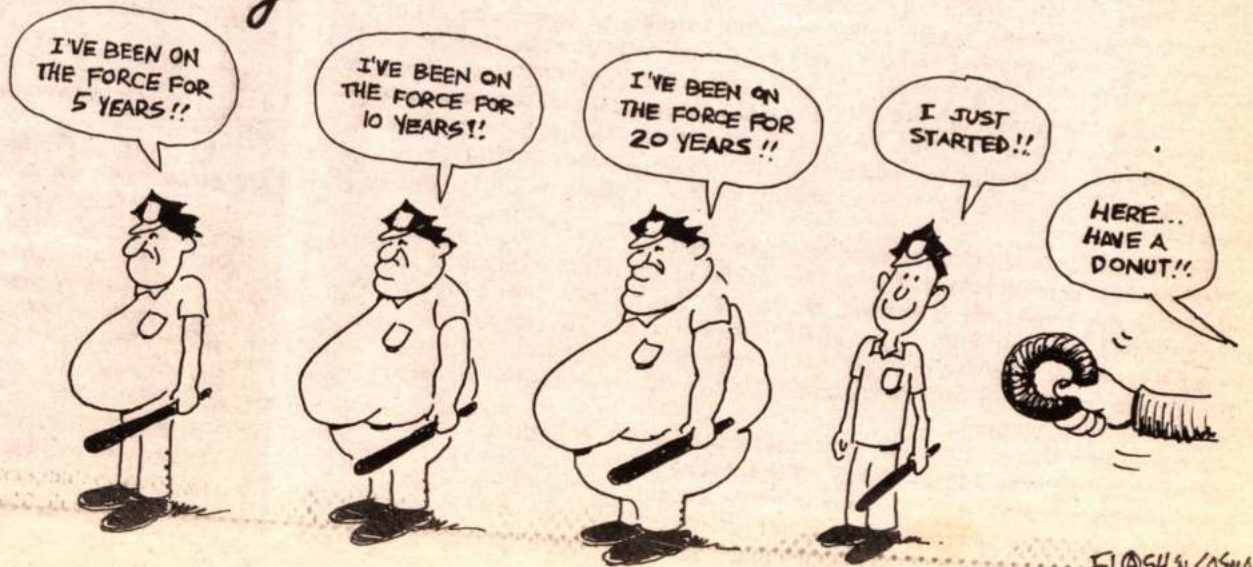
Thank again to all of our faithful Kop-Watchers out there who have been sending us info on the koppers. If you have any information, stories, photos, plate numbers, addresses, telephone numbers, and any personal details that you want to see published and added to our files, please send it all to the SHADOW, P.O.Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009

LES BEIGNES C'EST POUR LA POLICE!

JOS. LOUIS

COPS CAN'T LAUGH
 Montreal's police force was embarrassed by a Jos Louis advertising campaign that appeared throughout the bus and metro network suggesting donuts were for cops, but Jos Louis was for everybody. Strangely enough, although many pressure groups have tried to get various offensive or racist ad campaigns out of the public eye, the MUC police were the only ones who managed to wipe every ad out of sight within days.

"a donut a day..."



FLASH N COSMO

WALL ST. CORPORATE RAIDER SAUL STEINBERG'S SPANISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA POWER



LAWRENCE VAN ABBEIMA

A Look at Channel 47's Saul Steinberg Connection (A SHADOW INVESTIGATIVE REPORT By Bob Feldman)

"The fight is on to see who will be the king of Spanish-language television in the U.S., and suddenly Saul P. Steinberg, the corporate raider and chairman of Reliance Group Holdings, Inc. is a contender."

--Business Week magazine on January 19, 1989

"Reliance Capital Group, L.P. is a private investment fund established by Reliance Group Holdings (REL) whose principal investment is Telemundo Group, Inc. a Spanish-language TV network which reaches 80% of all Hispanic households in the U.S."

--Standard NYSE Stock Reports on July 24, 91

Saul Steinberg is more famous for his lucrative hostile corporate takeover and stock manipulation activity than for his interest in either electronic journalism or the welfare of Spanish-speaking people in New York City. Yet a leading Spanish-language television station in the New York metropolitan area, WNJU-TV/Channel 47, is owned by Saul Steinberg.

Steinberg and his family own 79% of the stock of Reliance Group Holdings (REL) whose Reliance Capital Group, L.P. private investment fund's principal investment is Telemundo Group, Inc. In addition to owning the WNJU-TV/Channel 47 television station that broadcasts from Linden, New Jersey, Steinberg's Telemundo Group also owns six other Spanish-language commercial television stations in California, Florida, Texas and San Juan, Puerto Rico:

1. KSTS-TV, San Jose, California;
2. KVEA-TV, Corona, California;
3. WCSV-TV, Fort Lauderdale, Florida;
4. KVDA-TV, San Antonio, Texas;
5. KTMD-TV, Galveston, Texas
6. WKAQ-TV, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Steinberg began his move to acquire Spanish-language mass media power in December, 1986, when he purchased the John Blair & Co. and its 5 television stations. In January, 1987, Steinberg sold 3 of his newly-acquired John Blair & Co. television stations, but he retained ownership of John Blair & Co.'s 2 Spanish-language television stations. At the same time, Steinberg dished out an additional \$70 million to add WNJU-TV/Channel 47 to his Reliance Group Holdings stable of Spanish-language TV stations, so that his new Telemundo network could also politically manipulate and economically exploit Spanish-speaking people in the New York City area.

At the time Steinberg's REL took control of Channel 47, Telemundo was only able to broadcast to about 36% of all Spanish-speaking households in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Today, Steinberg's REL/Telemundo media operation can reach 80% of all Spanish-speaking households as a result of REL's purchase of additional Spanish-language TV stations since 1987.

Explaining the commercial reason Steinberg's REL money-making machine and holding company decided to get into Spanish-language television, REL Senior Vice-President and Telemundo Director Henry Silverman told *Business Week* in 1986: "Spanish television is the only growth market in television right now, and we intend to be a major player." According to an article entitled "Saul Steinberg Sees Dollar Signs In Spanish TV," which appeared in *Business Week* on January 19, 1987, Steinberg's REL/Telemundo estimates that "the Hispanic TV advertising market could explode from the current \$185 million a year to \$2.5 billion by 1992." *Business Week* also observed that U.S. corporate advertisers like Procter & Gamble Co., McDonald's Corp. and Philip Morris Co. each spent more than \$6 million to fund Spanish-language commercial TV in 1986, and that Burger King and Johnson & Johnson had agreed to purchase advertising time on Steinberg's new Telemundo operation.

Spanish-language Mass Media Baron Steinberg "got his start leasing computers and, as a brash young man, attempted unsuccessfully to take over Chemical Bank" during the Vietnam War era of 1960s, according to *Louis Rukeyser's Business Almanac*. In 1968, Steinberg's corporate leasing company, Leasco, bought Reliance Insurance Company, in a business deal which was organized by *Nation* magazine and *New York Observer* newspaper publisher Arthur Carter's Carter, Berlind & Weill's Wall Street brokerage firm. For engineering Steinberg's enormously profitable takeover of Reliance Insurance Company, *Nation/New York Observer* publisher Carter's Wall Street firm was paid a finder's fee of \$750,000 by Steinberg. By 1986, the Reliance Insurance/Reliance Group (REL) company, of which Channel 47 is a division, was earning \$3.1 billion in annual revenues and \$103 million in annual profits. The value of Saul Steinberg's family holdings in the company had increased to \$650 million. Four years later, Steinberg's REL was earning \$3.7 billion in annual revenues and \$118 million in annual profits.

In 1990, REL's Telemundo Group, Inc. division was taking in over \$108 million annually in gross revenues from its television broadcasting to an Hispanic audience, yet few of the top Telemundo vice-presidents or directors had Hispanic surnames. Not only do few of Telemundo's corporate executives have Hispanic surnames, but, according to *Business Week's* August 10, 1987 issue, "only one of Telemundo's 18 directors and

officers has worked in Hispanic programming. Most have toiled at Steinberg's insurance outfit and other interests, such as motel chain Days Inn Corp..."

After taking over REL in 1968, Steinberg attempted to purchase a controlling interest in *New York Daily News* publisher Robert Maxwell's Pergamon Press in England in June, 1969. But in August 1969, "the deal fell apart when it was revealed that Pergamon's profit projections were too high" and it "came to light that foreign trustees responsible for a Maxwell family trust had secretly sold about 400,000 shares to Leasco at twice the price that Maxwell and Steinberg had previously agreed upon, violating a new takeover code stipulating that insider share dealings must be made public immediately," according to the 1988 *Current Biography Yearbook*. Channel 47 owner Steinberg then sued *New York Daily News* owner Maxwell for fraud and in 1974 an out-of-court settlement was reached when Maxwell and his investment bankers agreed to pay Steinberg \$6.25 million.

During the early 1970s, Channel 47 owner Steinberg decided to become more active in U.S. political life. According to *The New Crowd: The Changing of the Jewish Guard on Wall Street* by Judith Ramsey Ehrlich and Barry J. Rehfeld, Steinberg donated a "then secret sum of \$250,000" to Richard Nixon's 1972 presidential re-election campaign. *The New Crowd* also states that Steinberg "years later, claimed to have raised \$8 million more" for Nixon's 1972 presidential campaign during the Watergate Scandal era.

In 1988, *Louis Rukeyser's Business Almanac* noted that Channel 47 owner Steinberg also "made \$32 million in a battle for the Walt Disney Company and \$10.5 million greenmailing Quaker State Oil Refining, and he survived a messy 1983 divorce during which his wife made unsubstantiated charges that he was taking drugs, bribing New York City officials, and diverting corporate funds." *Louis Rukeyser's Business Almanac* also observed that Steinberg lives "in a 34-room triplex once owned by John D. Rockefeller, Jr." When his daughter, Laura Steinberg, married the son of NYU (New York University) Trustee and CBS Director Preston Tisch, Jonathon Tisch, in 1988, Telemundo Network owner Steinberg also spent \$2 million on his daughter's wedding.

In addition to profiting from its operation of the Telemundo Group TV network, Steinberg's REL makes its millions from selling insurance and its commercial real estate development operations. It owns \$300.2 million worth of Frank B. Hall & Co. Inc., (an insurance company) and \$113.4 million of Zenith National Insurance Corp., plus the Transamerica Title Insurance Co.--in addition to its Reliance Insurance Company and Union Pacific Life Insurance subsidiaries.

In addition to being the Chairman of the Board of Channel 47's Reliance Group Holdings parent company and of Telemundo, Steinberg is also Chairman of the Board of REL's Reliance Insurance Company and Frank B. Hall affiliates. In addition, Steinberg also directs Zenith National Insurance Corp., Symbol Technologies, The Flying Tiger Line Inc. and Tiger International Incorporated. Sitting next to Steinberg on the Tiger International Inc. corporate board is former U.S. President Gerald Ford. Another Reliance Group Holdings and Telemundo Group, Inc. Director, Lowell Freiberg, also sits on the Tiger International Inc. board of directors with Steinberg. Besides owning the Telemundo media company, Steinberg also is a large stockholder of New York Times Company stock.

A director of New Jersey's Midlantic Corp./Midlantic National Bank, William McKenna, also sits next to Channel 47 owner Steinberg on the Tiger International Inc. corporate board.

Other members of the Reliance Group Holdings/Telemundo corporate board besides Steinberg and Lowell Freiberg include the following business associates of Steinberg:

1. First Wisconsin National Bank of Madison Director Dean Case.
2. Loral Corporation Chairman of the Board Bernard Schwartz.
3. National Westminster Bank NJ Chairman of the Board, New Jersey Bell Telephone Company Director and Loral Corporation Director Thomas Stanton, Jr.
4. Robert Steinberg.
5. George Bello.
6. Herbert Wender.

Two REL/Telemundo Directors, Bernard Schwartz and Thomas Stanton, Jr., also profit from the receipt of juicy Pentagon weapons-production contracts. Both Schwartz and Stanton also sit on the Loral Corporation's corporate board. The Loral Corporation receives over \$1 billion in gross revenues annually from the sale of products which include militarized computers and microwave components for military use and equipment for airborne and shipboard electronic combat and anti-submarine warfare.

Spanish-Language Mass Media Baron Saul Steinberg's office is located at Reliance Group Holdings, Inc.'s corporate headquarters in Park Ave Plaza at 55 East 52nd Street in Manhattan. The corporate offices of its Telemundo Group/Channel 47 subsidiary is located at 1740 Broadway in Manhattan. The *SHADOW* was unable to learn whether employees at either Saul Steinberg's REL office or at his Telemundo Group office are required to speak Spanish. Nor was the *SHADOW* able to learn whether WNJU-TV/Channel 47 owner Steinberg, himself, is able to speak the language of the Hispanic audience and Latino community which he seeks to politically manipulate and economically exploit in the 1990s.

WHO OWNS EL DIARIO/LA PRENSA?

By Bob Feldman

The owner of *El Diario/La Prensa* doesn't speak Spanish. In September 1989, a former investment banker at Morgan Stanley & Company, Peter Davidson, became the president of *El Diario / La Prensa*, although he didn't speak Spanish.

Former Morgan Stanley & Company banker Davidson had joined Carlos Ramirez, the publisher of *El Diario/La Prensa* since 1984, in buying the newspaper from the Gannett media conglomerate for \$20 million. Gannett had purchased *El Diario/La Prensa* in 1981 for about \$9 million and was able to increase the newspaper's circulation from 40,000 to 55,000 between 1981 and 1989.

El Diario/La Prensa was created in 1968 following the merger of the newspaper *El Diario* with the newspaper *La Prensa*. The newspaper *La Prensa* had first started publishing before World War I to provide news to Spanish immigrants. The newspaper *El Diario* had first started publishing in 1948 to provide news to newly-arrived Puerto Ricans in New York City.

At the time *El Diario* and *La Prensa* merged, *El Diario/La Prensa's* circulation was more than 100,000. Despite its decline in circulation since the late 1960's and the growth of Spanish-language television programming in New York City, *El Diario/La Prensa* still took \$15 million a year from its Spanish-speaking readers in 1989.

Another Spanish-language newspaper in New York City, *Noticias del Mundo*, is owned by a branch of the Korean multi-millionaire Rev. Moon's Unification Church.

EVENTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

JANUARY 28--CUBA ON THE BRINK? Anarchist perspectives on Cuba by exile Gustavo Rodriguez. 7:30 PM at 369 Eighth Ave (at 29th St.) (212) 979-8353.

JANUARY 28--COMMUNITY BOARD THREE MEETING--Come see the manipulation of your neighborhood by the unelected "representatives" of the community who are not accountable to the people whose lives they affect. You have three minutes to speak in "public session" before they do what they want anyway. At 197 East Broadway, 6:30PM.

JANUARY 29--ABORTION WARS 1992--19 years after Roe vs Wade, join Radical Women's discussion of key new fronts in the war for reproductive freedom, including the "Gag Rule", "fetal rights", mandatory drug and HIV testing. Meeting 7:30PM at Loeb Student Center, 566 Laguardia Place, Room #515. (7:00PM dinner with \$6.00 donation) For info, call (212)677-7002.

JANUARY 29--BANNING NUCLEAR TESTS--Dr. Betty Lall, author of BUILDING A PEACE ECONOMY, explores prospects for nuclear test ban treaty following the demise of the USSR. 7:30PM at 20 Washington Sq. North. For info, call (212) 924-3679.

JANUARY 31--HAITI AFTER THE COUP--With representatives from Aristide's government in exile, Haitian Resistance Movement and National Coalition for Haitian Refugees. At Park Slope Methodist Church, Sixth Ave & Eighth Street in Brooklyn, \$3.00. For info, call (212) 781-5157.

JANUARY 31--LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES ON COLUMBUS--The 500 Years of Resistance Committee plans alternative responses to the Columbus celebrations. At District 65, 4th flr. For info, call (212) 402-9411.

FEBRUARY 2--RAINBOW PICNIC--Join the Rainbow Family for good food, fun, dancing and planning for the National Gathering this summer. Bring some good food to share. At the Dick Shea Studio, 100 East 16th Street, from Noon till 9:00PM.

FEBRUARY 6--TRANSPORTATION ALTERNATIVES GENERAL MEETING--Open to those interested in pollution-free transportation in New York City. Also showing videos on cycling. At 404 Lafayette Street, 2nd floor, from 6-8:00PM.

FEBRUARY 11--RAINBOW GATHERING BENEFIT SHOW--Enjoy music by several bands as well as a free vegetarian feast, while helping to raise funds for the National Gathering this summer. \$6.00 at Wetlands, 161 Hudson Street, 7:00PM. For info, call (212)966-4225.

APRIL 4--RADICAL WALKING TOUR OF CHELSEA--Conducted by radical historian Bruce Kayton. See the historical sites where radical/underground history was made. Meet at the Chelsea Hotel at 222 West 23rd Street at 1:00PM. \$6.00 fee includes free 20 page packet of articles and illustrations. For info, call (212)941-0332.

MAKE MONEY SELLING THE SHADOW!! You keep 25 cents for each copy you sell. Homeless persons keep full cover price. Write the SHADOW or call (212)971-9611.

FUCK THE DEMOCRATS!! Preparations are now being made for converging on the Democratic National Convention to be held in New York City this summer. If you are interested in joining the effort, write or call the SHADOW and we will forward your info to the planning committees involved. (Of course, we also encourage independent action groups!!)

WOMEN: HAVE YOU BEEN SEXUALLY HARRASSED BY THE POLICE?--If so, please report it to the Ad-Hoc Committee Against Sexual Harrassment By Police, at 151 First Ave, #101, New York, N.Y. 10003.

ASSASSINATION RESEARCHERS: The new Committee to Investigate Assassinations (CIA) has been formed in New York City to collect and exchange data and research, investigate, interview witnesses, and more. If you would like to get involved, trade materials, please contact the CIA through the SHADOW (until we get our own address and phone number.) For a list of available assassination-related items in our archives, please send a self-addressed stamped envelope.

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

RECYCLABLES NOW BEING COLLECTED--At the new recycling center in the lot at 211 East 7th Street, between Avenues B + C. Please separate plastics and metal.

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

WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization) meets Wednesdays at 224 West 4th St. at 6:30PM. For info, call (212)713-5966, or write P.O.Box 733, New York, N.Y. 10009.

TRANS-SPECIES UNLIMITED Animal rights group meets on the second Tuesday of each month at the Sacred Heart Church, 457 West 51st St. at 7:00PM.

ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power) meets Mondays at the Gay + Lesbian Center, 208 West 13th St. at 7:30-11:00PM.

ABC NO RIO COMMUNITY SPACE--Open to groups for performance, meetings, info center, etc. Write to at 156 Rivington St., New York, N.Y. 10002, or call (212)254-3697.

RADIO UNNAMEABLE--Activist talk radio show with host Bob Fass, dealing with issues that no one else does. On WBAI Radio, 99.5 FM, Fridays 1:30-3:30AM and Saturdays 11:00PM-1:00AM. Call (212)279-3400.

UNDERGROUND PRESS REVIEWS--On WBAI Radio (99.5FM), the first and third Monday of every month at 11:45PM, with resident Anarchist Peter Lamborn Wilson.

TOMPKINS SQUARE LEGAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE (TSLDC)--has kept track of those arrested during political demonstrations and pig riots in order to get them legal representation and out of jail. This is just some of what they do to help individuals and groups involved in the struggle for justice on the Lower East Side. They need volunteers and funds to help cover costs incurred by movement lawyers who work free of charge, and to set up a bail fund to get activists out immediately. Please write or send donations to: P.O.Box 20723, New York, N.Y. 10009, or call (212)969-0185. (Checks should be made payable to the "Eviction Watch Defense Fund", and earmarked for TSLDC.

IF YOU KNOW OF ANY EVENTS OR HAVE ANY ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO OUR READERS, PLEASE SEND ALL INFO TO THE SHADOW, P.O. BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009, OR CALL US AT: (212)971-9611. WE ARE NOW PRINTING ON A MONTHLY SCHEDULE, SO THE DEADLINE FOR MARCH 1 IS FEBRUARY 22. THE SOONER YOU LET US KNOW, THE BETTER!!

SUBVERTISEMENTS:

(20 cents per word, no minimum or maximum)

COMING CONCENTRATION CAMPS REPORT \$5.00. BRAIN IMPLANT & HOSPITAL DANGERS \$6.00. HUGE EXPOSÉ REPORT CATALOG \$1.00. BOX 2207, GARDEN VALLEY, ID 83522

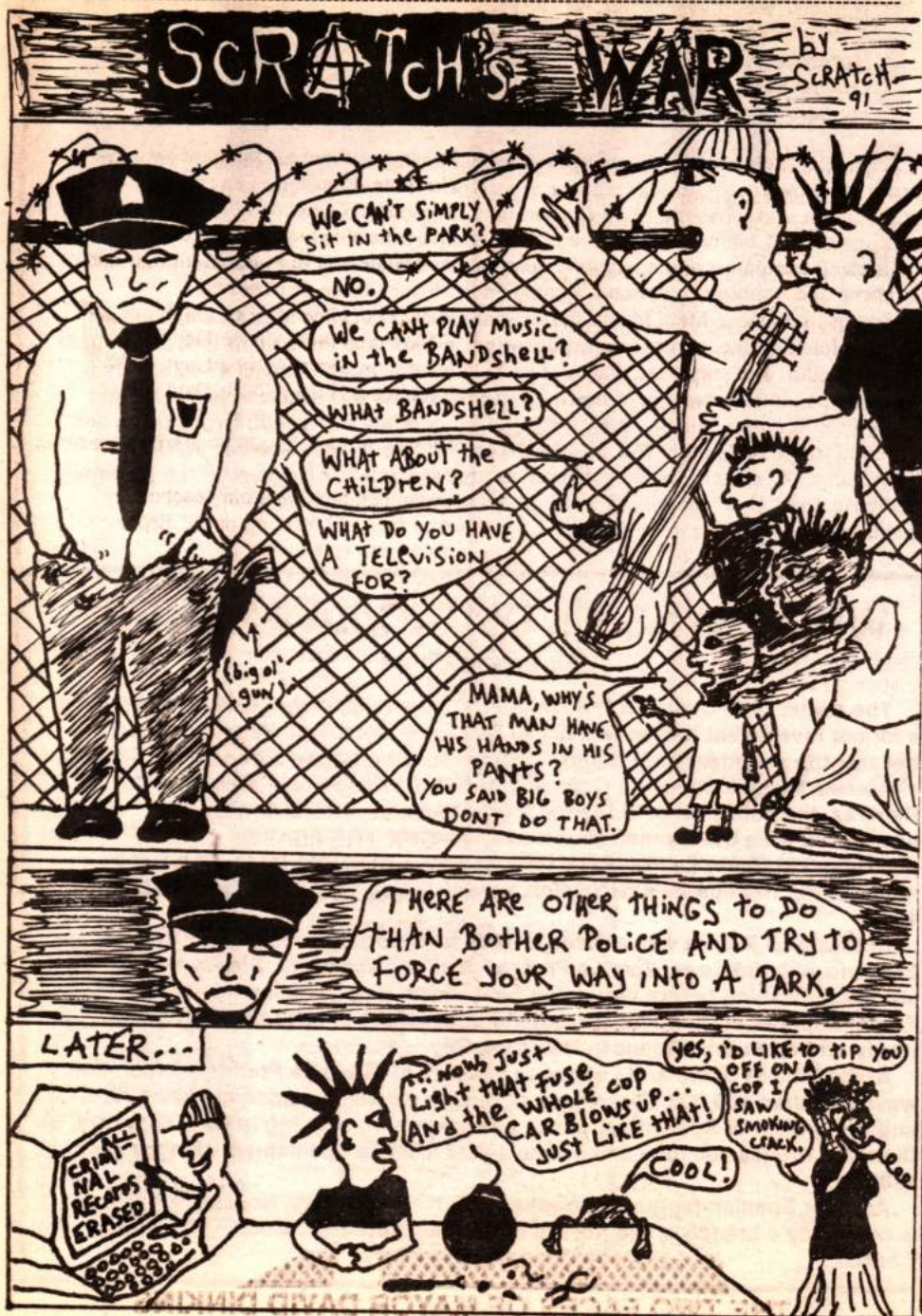
QUIET GENTLEMAN, descent Northern Irish, teetotaler, age sixty, ex-squatter with "RAGE-ON!", looking for shared living space on Lower East Side ever since 1950. Able to afford only \$164.33 monthly without extras this year. Please contact R. Redding at through the SHADOW. Thank you!

FREE! "REVENGE OF THE SQUIRRELS" STICKER! Send postage stamp to: Occupant, P.O. Box 20157, Tompkins Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10009

WANTED--Performance spaces to hold benefits for local community groups. Can give part of door money as fee. Contact Chris Flash through the SHADOW.

WANTED--Any and all information, books, videos, tapes, etc, on assassination conspiracies involving JFK, RFK, M.L.King, and those connected (witnesses, co-conspirators, etc). Please contact Chris Flash through the SHADOW.

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(Editor's Note: We've gotten a lot of feedback from people over "An Open Letter to The SHADOW" that we printed in our last issue, concerning the presence of ATLES, a tenant help group, in a squat on 13th Street, accusing them of working for right wing gentrifier Antonio Pagan. Here is a response to that letter):

Ho hum, time to address the baseless hostile rantings of a few individuals over that mixture of misleading sentences printed in the last issue's letters column. If anything in that unsigned letter presents a danger to squatters or demands action, I beg the investigative reporters of the SHADOW to find it. The force behind that letter has roots in a psychological issue too lengthy to be discussed here, related to ego, personal disputes, unwillingness to work together and substance abuse.

ATLES, (one attorney and two legal aides), was accepted into our squat during a time of crisis: The beginning of the LISC Enterprise/Antonio Pagan plan to evict the squatters. ATLES was interested in a squat because the bulk of their work is free for low-income tenants facing landlord problems and evictions. This could have grown into a positive force linking struggling tenants and squatters. In exchange, they co-operated with house rules and did legal work for the squats.

In the short time they were here (before starting to move out due to numerous thefts and lack of funding) they did many things to try to help us squatters. A letter was written to HPD demanding site control for our buildings (in opposition to Pagan's claim on them), a non-profit organization application was filed at the request of Eviction Watch meetings and copies distributed to different squats to help in material aid, they tabled at Tompkins Square Park concerts, helped attorney Stanley Cohen with the notorious Tompkins Square court cases, and explained our legal rights and protection in the face of the LISC/Enterprise plan (which may crop up again), all the while never nosing around and only coming to meetings they were invited to and usually leaving early.

As of now, one legal aide still occasionally comes to the space, due to nowhere else to store files, and dedication to the tenants/clients.

The connection of ATLES to Antonio Pagan arises from ATLES head Karen Takasch working for GOLES ("Good Ole Lower East Side", a tenants rights group--Ed.) with, among others, Susan LeeLike (Pagan crony convicted of fraud resulting from her departure from GOLES--Ed.) over a year ago. Karen and LeeLike no longer speak because Karen supports squatters.

Of course, the legal route is but one route in our collection of defenses, and no one should ever put all their faith in any legal system, but to drive away the only housing lawyer around who agreed to do free court appearances and appeals cases is detrimental to the squatters movement.

So, I wish ATLES good luck in finding a new space and hope nobody's case got screwed up in the turmoil of accusations and theft. Right now, we can only miss someone readily available to help and feel sorry for the tenants in trouble who come looking for their help and we have to say: "Sorry, they're not here anymore".

Deb Lee

Dear SHADOW;
A-CENTRAL Books is closed?!! Now what? Why? Cops? Lack of money? Are there any other Anarchist bookstores in Manhattan? Anyone interested, as I am, in keeping it alive?
Miranda, NYC

A-CENTRAL Books had to close in October due to lack of customer support. Other than parking nearby and eyeballing us every now and then, the pigs never really bothered us. We were in a bad location for retail sales, but a great location for operating an underground café and reading room. Unfortunately, that didn't pay the rent, though we got a lot of contributions. At the very least, we turned people on to alternative reading material and videos for a whole year, so we didn't do too badly. Once all of the consignors are paid, we will be back with an even better place. We can definitely use help and support from anyone interested in keeping an alternative space alive on the Lower East Side!!

(For now, the only place we know of that has Anarchist/underground books is Saint Marx Bookshop at 12 St. Marx Place.)

Thanks for caring and please stay tuned for more details!!
Chris Flash, Editor

WHO IS ATE BALL JUSTICE?
ABJ is a Kingston, Ontario-based Anarchist collective, our purpose is primarily to inform the local youth of alternative forms of organization and society, but secondarily, we are trying to develop ourselves into socially responsible human beings independent of all authority. Our beliefs lie somewhere between youth chaos and informally structured classless society based upon workers' councils.

"Rock Against Oppression" is a three day event beginning Feb.28-Mar.1,1992. If you have any pamphlets or information on the basic forms of oppression or any other pertinent junk please send it to us, if you want to come, you need a ride or you can pick people up, and if you are in a band interested in playing, please call me at: 1-613-549-7371, or write me at: Ate Ball Justice Collective, P.O. Box 461, Kingston, Ontario, K7L, 4W5, Canada.

Resist,
Dan--Ontario, Canada

HEY.
I do a zine over the ocean in Lithuania. It was a punk/hardcore zine, but it is simply open-minded. I would like to ask you to write an article on squatting worldwide, history and all, for my zine. I want to inform people all about squatting: there is no such thing here.

Keep in touch,
Jonas Oskiniš, Balninku 4, 3005 Kaunas,
Lithuania

PRISONER MAIL:

Dear SHADOW,
A few weeks ago, a prisoner discovered a mail bag full of incoming mail laying in the trash can by the prison incinerator and ever since he turned it over to the staff they have denied it ever happened. I don't receive much mail any more even though I send out 20 letters a week to many editors of the small independent press. There is good reason to think that much of my mail is just going into the trash without my knowledge. This is not the first time prisoners have seen bags of mail burned illegally. Hundreds of complaints are filed with the U.S. District Court and they are always denied for every reason except the reason for which they are filed. The Sixth Court of Appeals has protected the illegal activities of the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections for the past two generations and that is why prisoners can not get their grievances aired with the public. Staff personnel are so bold as to tell you to your face that they are doing things illegally and if you don't like it to "sue me"! When issues are raised with the local Ohio news media, the editors don't want to air them in their papers because of the anti-crime attitude of the readers. I returned to my cage one evening and when I went thru my many legal envelopes looking for pieces of literature and letters I couldn't find what I was searching for. I had put a string of hair in various places before I left the cell to see if it had been moved when I was out. The hair was gone. The staff always denies that they have been in my cage and taking property belonging to me and I know there is little or nothing that I can do to stop this as long as the ability to voice this is denied to me.

Some staff members have even created what they call their "Most Dangerous Inmate" list and they have put my name on their list.

They interfere with my political work as much as they can without leaving evidence of their handy work.

Your Friend,
Robert "Doc" Creager
P.O. Box 45699-209-007
Lucasville, OH 45699

addict and alcoholic and a homeless man formerly a drug dealer who had spent 15 years in prison.

During the question and answer session, I said "Papers like the NY Post actively promote the false image that homeless persons are either drug addicts, alcoholics, or ex-convicts. But one can also become homeless through illegal eviction, through having a building declared "structurally unsound" by the Fire Department because the landlord deliberately let it deteriorate or through being unable to afford lawyers' fees of \$100-150 an hour, whereas most landlords are legally represented. Why have you failed to invite this type of homeless person?"

If the Mayor's Office is travelling from campus to campus with the same homeless speakers presented at Columbia, then they are actively and deliberately presenting university students with the same false image of homeless persons as the NY Post.

Discovery,
Sidney Simon, NYC

Dear SHADOW,
The vast majority of New York City's (easily 100,000) homeless citizens have been wasted and, more recently, demonized by the heinous career criminals who control the politics, the real estate, and -- increasingly ominously -- the very minds of those in our even more wasted city.

The Jews of Eastern Europe were also falsely accused of perpetrating societal woes. They were also demonized. And their nearly total extermination in Eastern Europe was preceded by their forced evictions. Sound familiar?

Evict the street people? First, let's evict the contempt-worthy political and journalistic slime, from Washington to New York, that scapegoats these people instead of cleaning up its own act.

Evict the street people? First, let's break down the walls of all remaining abandoned buildings and invite the "street people" in.

Evict the street people? First, let's make it a federal offense to harm one square inch of a homeless person's tent, one single brick of a squatters' squat.

Evict the street people? Never!
In Solidarity, Mme Défarge

Sisters and Brothers,
Guess what? The year 1992 marks the 300th anniversary of the Salem Witch Trials. 300 years ago, the political bosses got together with the church bosses in order to hang some women, some radical men, and a few others. The historians said that it would "never happen again", but the historians were wrong.

In today's america, the church bosses and political bosses are still doing favors for each other. The church bosses lead the charge against gay rights, birth control, abortion rights, public libraries, and more, while screaming about "blasphemy" and "heresy".

The political bosses play along with the big churches in order to collect votes and continued support.

Let the church bosses say what they want to say in their own palaces and cathedrals, but let them know that, if they want to mess around in politics, they're going to have to pay some taxes.

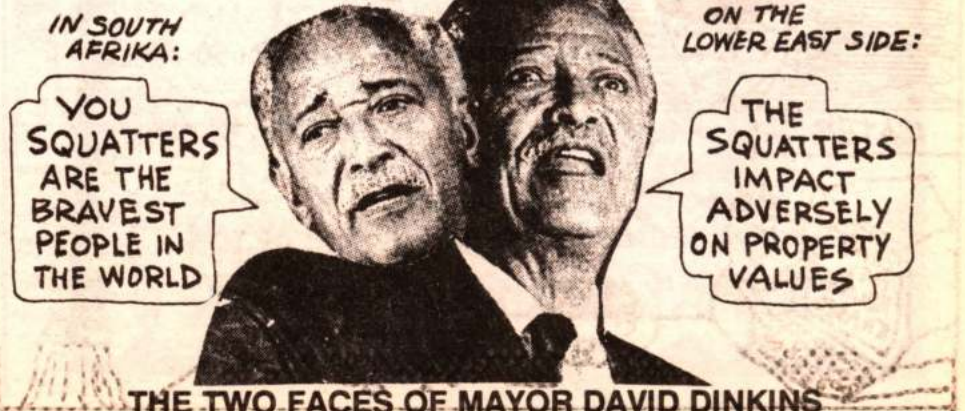
Remember Salem! Keep church and state powers apart. No more witch hunts!

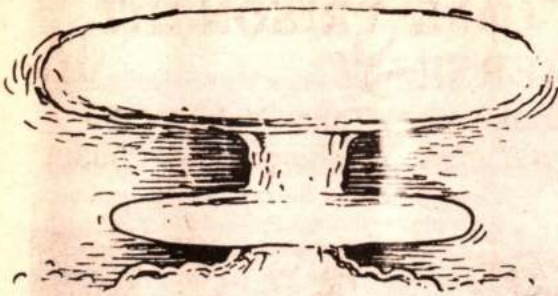
Blessed be,
Bridget--Danvers, Massachusetts

Dear SHADOW,
Attended a Columbia University meeting sponsored by the Mayor's Office on Homelessness where the guest speakers were: a homeless woman formerly a drug

TOMPKINS SQUARE BLUES #99:
Walk the pigs once around the park,
They're looking for a fight.
Don't give it to them!
Don't give them anything they want.
No more donuts, no more pizza.
Pigs out of Odessa!
Get your blue ass off the green grass
And while you're at it, eat all that horseshit
(Chorus)
Fuck You, Have A Nice Day!
Fuck You, Have A Nice Day!
Fuck You, Have A Nice Day!
Fuck You, Have A Nice Day!

While you're at it, quit your stupid wasteful job
So we can hire back our teachers
And feed old folks up in the Bronx
And keep recycling
And keep the pools open
All that stuff that's being thrown away
So we can pay you to sit on your
Fat stupid fascist blue butt in the park
Rehearsing for bigger riots to come
In which you'll get your ass kicked severely.
(Chorus)
Fuck You, Have A Nice Day!
Fuck You, Have A Nice Day!
Fuck You, Have A Nice Day!
FUCK THE PBA!!
(Copyright 1991 By Joe Folk)





\$OVIET NUKE\$ ON THE LOOSE!

By Paul DeRienzo

An arrest by Italian officials in October at the border city of Como has spurred concern among arms control experts over the fate of some of the 27,000 nuclear weapons that belonged to the former Soviet Union. According to the Milan daily, *Corriere Della Sera*, the arrest netted a sample of plutonium in the northern Italian city of Como near the Swiss border. In October, Swiss officials had seized 66 pounds of uranium in Zurich that experts believe came from a Soviet nuclear reactor. According to the Italian deputy prosecutor in Como, Romano Dolce, the arrests in both countries are linked to an alarming increase in the smuggling of nuclear materials since the August coup in the former Soviet Union.

Dolce, in an interview for Italian television, said that documents seized with the 0.1 milligram sample of Plutonium in Italy provided evidence of the sale of nuclear artillery shells originating from a major military base near Irkutsk, in eastern Siberia.

The same documents reportedly name former agents of the now dissolved KGB and GRU, the Soviet secret police and intelligence agency, and the military intelligence agency of the former Soviet army, as involved in the smuggling of nuclear weapons as well as uranium and plutonium, the fuel used to manufacture nuclear weapons. *Corriere Della Sera* reports that the Soviet battlefield nuclear weapons, with a range of between 30 and 60 kilometers, were being sold for \$20 million apiece.

Speaking to Italian journalists, former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Schevchnadze said last month that he fears Soviet nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of "paramilitary groups," a fear echoed by David Shapiro, Media Director of the Washington based group, Business Executives for National Security, which advocates for more efficient spending of the U.S. defense budget.

Shapiro told the SHADOW that while the sale of the relatively short-ranged Soviet nukes are not a direct threat to the continental United States, they might become a threat "in Europe if a separatist community of one kind or another, or in a country that's breaking up like Yugoslavia, if one faction or another were to get that (tactical nuclear weapons), that would be a problem."

However, Shapiro adds that the view of United States government officials is that "the sale of the equipment itself, the nuclear weapons themselves -- is less of a problem only in that it's easier to track them. Much more difficult to track are the people who have the skills either to construct weapons or to separate plutonium" in order to make bomb fuel. Shapiro points out that the elimination of price controls in the former Soviet Union, now the Commonwealth of Independent States, is expected to cause a sharp decline in the living standards of Soviet scientists. Some nations and paramilitary groups may start a bidding war for some of the estimated 5,000 Soviet trained nuclear experts. Shapiro says the Soviet nuclear scientists are "ripe for the plucking by regimes that are very interested in developing these kind of weapons of mass destruction."

According to Vyacheslav Rozanov, a spokesperson for Moscow's Kurachatov Institute of Atomic Energy in *USA Today*, agents of the Libyan government have approached Soviet nuclear scientists with job offers to work on non-weapons related projects. The spokesperson said the job offer was turned down, but Rozanov added that "it's possible they would agree to a higher paying job."

Shapiro says that besides Libya the government of Iraq is among the countries most often mentioned as recipients of Soviet nuclear technology. In the case of Iraq, he adds, the problem with developing nuclear weapons is not in the physics but the engineering, a problem that could be solved by Soviet expertise. Such experts also could have solved the technical problems that may have prevented Iraqi SCUD missiles from being armed with chemical warheads.

Shapiro's organization is offering a plan to deal with nuclear proliferation in the post Soviet Union era. At the heart of the plan would be the setting up of an international fund to offer nuclear experts of the former Soviet Union what Shapiro calls a "right of first refusal." The fund would offer matching grants to pursue peaceful nuclear research to scientists who receive offers from would-be nuclear powers.

But Shapiro also says that whatever programs are used to slow the spread of nuclear weapons, "what we see is that the proliferation problem is going to become much, much more acute." Shapiro adds that the proliferation of Soviet nuclear technology and weapons is "stepping up front and center as probably the major security concern of people worried about the spread of weapons."

The 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which banned the international transfer of nuclear weapons or technology, attempted to limit the number nations in the nuclear club to the United States, USSR, England, France and China. However, in 1974, India took advantage in a treaty loophole which allowed the development of nuclear explosives for so-called peaceful purposes and exploded its own nuclear weapon. Most experts believe that both Israel and South Africa have nuclear weapons and that several countries including Pakistan and Brazil could soon develop such weapons. The breakup of the USSR has also added newly independent Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus as nuclear powers, although strategic weapons capable of reaching the U.S. on their territories are under Russian control.

More than 130 nations have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which has been criticized by some non-nuclear countries as unfairly limiting weapons of mass destruction to a few countries who themselves refuse to disarm.

The potential of so-called nuclear terrorism, the use of nuclear weapons by paramilitary groups, has been the subject of many studies and books. In the 1984 fiction bestseller, *The Fourth Protocol*, by Frederick Forsyth, the author imagines a plot by renegade Soviet agents to smuggle a miniature nuclear bomb into England to cause anti-American panic by destroying a U.S. military base.

According to German nuclear proliferation expert Harold Muller of the Frankfurt Peace Research Institute, the proliferation of nuclear weapons creates a danger less of willfully sponsored nuclear terrorism than of the creation of "shadowy areas of international transactions," that Muller says would cause a "shift to the urgent task of preventing nuclear war rather than stopping further proliferation."

According to *Corriere Della Sera*, the Italian government was so unprepared for an increase in the smuggling of nuclear materials that two Italians arrested in Como as part of a uranium smuggling ring were released because there were no laws to hold them. The papers say the ring was connected to former Soviet intelligence agencies and a former Soviet diplomat from Honduras. According to the report, the gang was bringing samples of nuclear material to representatives of the potential buyers when the arrests were made.



LANGER, Humor Magazine
Buenos Aires, Argentina

THE SHADOW IS GOING MONTHLY!!

STARTING WITH THIS ISSUE, THE SHADOW WILL AGAIN BE PUBLISHED ON A MONTHLY BASIS. WE WILL NOW KEEP EVEN MORE CURRENT ON LOCAL NEWS AND EXPAND OUR NEWS COVERAGE.

STORIES IN THE NEXT SHADOW INCLUDE:

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- **TERRY WAITE, OLIVER NORTH AND THE OCTOBER SURPRISE
- **WHO KILLED ROBERT F. KENNEDY?

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STATIC GENERATED BY THE CROSSING OF
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NETWORK: THE CROSSING OF DISTINCT CURRENTS;
THE INTERSECTION OF DIRECTION

DISRUPT: PUT AN END TO THE PREDICTABLE

INTERFERE: COLLIDE WITH AN OTHER SO AS
TO CREATE CHANGE

NOISE: THE VIBRATIONS TRANSMITTED BY THE
COSMOS AND RECEIVED BY THE EAR;
UNSELECTED SOUND; REVELRY;
A PRIMAL SOURCE OF POWER; A SIGN OF LIFE

DISRUPTIVE INTERFERENCE NETWORK



THE QUAYLE COUNCIL:

INDUSTRY'S SECRET WEAPON

By Paul DeRienzo

The Bush administration in November backed off from a proposal that would have shrunk by 30 percent the total acreage of federally-protected wetlands. The wetlands proposal had been the result of bitter infighting between the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the White House. At the heart of the controversy is the little-known and secretive White House Council on Competitiveness, chaired by Vice President Dan Quayle. The so-called Quayle Council attempted to gut the findings published in a 1989 EPA manual on wetlands.

Wetlands act as natural filters that remove pollutants and they provide habitats for wildlife and plants. Many real estate interests and farm groups, however, hope to develop and build on protected wetlands.

The White House proposal would have eliminated from protection substantial parts of the Great Dismal Swamp of Virginia, the Florida Everglades and the wetlands on the eastern shore of Maryland and Delaware as well as the entire New Jersey Pine Barrens and all the wetland in the state of New York.

A FRIEND TO INDUSTRY

The attempt to weaken the wetlands guidelines was only one of numerous attempts spearheaded by the Council on Competitiveness to eliminate federal regulations covering the environment and occupational safety. As Quayle explained in a 1989 speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, regulations that "impose needless costs" on industry are responsible for the decline of U.S. economic power.

A recent report prepared by Nancy Watzman and Christine Triano of Public Citizen, a Washington-based consumer and environmental advocacy group, documents more than a dozen cases in which the council has interfered in the regulatory functions of government agencies.

Regulations have the force of law. They are implemented by federal agencies, which are supposed to fill in the details of laws sketched out by Congress, such as the Clean Air Act. Rule making agencies such as the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) are, in turn, governed by a legal structure that requires their deliberations to be public and their decisions to be based on scientific and technical merit. There is not one scientist on the Quayle Council.

Working outside the process set up for such agencies, the Quayle Council has severely weakened parts of Clean Air Act rules, making it easier for electric utilities to evade pollution controls and killing an EPA incinerator rule that required operators to recycle 25 percent of reusable items before burning garbage. The council has also blocked rules protecting workers from formaldehyde and halted the implementation of an EPA ban on incinerating lead batteries, despite conclusive evidence linking the practice to brain damage in children.

THE RIGHT TO POLLUTE

The Quayle group doesn't limit itself to blocking regulations. The Council is also lobbying Congress to pass legislation that would greatly extend the 5th Amendment clause prohibiting the seizure of private property without compensation. The legislation would extend the 5th Amendment to prohibit the "taking" of property, such as a government order to clean up a toxic waste dump. This would effectively eliminate the government's power to control the uses of private property even if those uses were to be harmful to the environment and community.

The "takings" amendment, sponsored by Sen. Steve Symms (R-ID), would put teeth in Reagan-era Executive Order 12630. According to former Solicitor General Charles Fried, the intention of former Attorney General Ed Meese in drafting the Executive Order was to "use the takings clause of the 5th Amendment as a severe brake upon federal regulation of business and private property."

According to Public Citizen's Watzman, the major problem with the Quayle Council is that "they're able to do everything in secret. They're not subject to the same kind of accountability laws that agencies are."

Requests for information to the Quayle Council are routinely denied by the Vice President's counsel, John L. Howard. Howard claims that because the Council on Competitiveness is part of Quayle's staff, it is shielded by "executive privilege."

A confrontation over the claim to executive privilege is shaping up in Congress. Last year, the council ordered the withholding of FDA documents subpoenaed by Michigan Democratic Rep. John Conyers' House Government Operations subcommittee on human resources. Sen. John Glenn (D-OH), the chair of the Government Affairs Committee, has also begun hearings into whether the Quayle Council is illegally interfering with the rule-making process. Another inquiry by Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA), who heads the committee on Health and the Environment, is investigating the council's influence on EPA.

At the center of the dispute is Allan B. Hubbard, the executive director of the Council on Competitiveness. Hubbard has been accused of conflicts of interest by Democrats. He is part owner of World Wide Chemicals, an Indianapolis-based company that makes auto wax, and has extensive investments in more than a dozen other companies.

Hubbard also owns stock in PSI Resources Inc., an Indiana-based utility that describes itself as "one of the utilities most affected by the Clean Air Act amendments of 1990," according to a report released in December by Public Citizen and OMB Watch, a group that monitors the executive branch. The report notes that it was under Hubbard's supervision that the council mounted a behind-the-scenes campaign to weaken EPA rules.

Nonetheless, Quayle granted Hubbard an unusual blanket waiver of conflict-of-interest rules, authorizing him to consider regulatory issues that might affect his business. Conyers recently sent a letter to Hubbard noting that it's a felony for a federal official to become involved "personally and substantially" in any matter in which the official has a financial interest.

DRUG WAR BOOT CAMP PRISON HIT BY GREEN PANTHERS!!

(Special Report from the Revolutionary Toker, Voice of the Green Panthers, 1718 M St. NW #322, Washington, DC 20036)



On November 10th, the Green Panthers, a direct-action protest group within the hemp/drug reform movement, kicked off a national offensive targeting drug war boot camp prisons. Members of DC Metro NORML (National Organization for the Repeal of Marijuana Laws) and other activists joined with the Green Panthers and descended upon the Herman L. Toulson Boot Camp correctional facility in Jessup, Maryland, bringing activity inside the prison to a standstill for over an hour.

A banner reading: "THIS DRUG WAR PRISON CAMP CLOSED BY THE GREEN PANTHERS!" was stretched across the road leading to the camp as demonstrators chanted "boot camps are prison camps", and "this camp is closed." National Co-ordinator Terry Mitchell used a bullhorn to address the prisoners and guards inside the camp.

After demanding to see the "obersturmannfuhrer", or warden of the camp, demonstrators were met by a row of guards who threatened to call the police if the demonstrators did not leave immediately. Instead, they read aloud a 1989 Justice Department press release which described how a man was being deported from the U.S. for having guarded a nazi concentration camp in WWII, and pointed out that his job was similar to those working in the camp.

A woman and her two children emerged from the camp and remained to hear what was being said. Though she didn't speak, the expression on her face told us that she was in agreement with what was being said; that the camp has nothing to do with fighting addiction or controlling drugs, but instead was a place to brainwash men into the white-bread robots acceptable in the New World Order.

Five Maryland State Police cruisers arrived on the scene. The trooper in command told the demonstrators to move or face bogus charges of "inciting to riot". At that point, the demonstrators decided to break off their civil disobedience, but they promised to return again and again until the prison camp is closed permanently.

NO POT, NO PEACE!!



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FIRST GET SOME ELMER'S GLUE. THEN, USING YOUR FINGER, SPREAD A FINE COAT OVER THE FACE OF THE STAMPS YOU ARE GOING TO USE FOR MAILING LETTERS, ETC. AFTER AWHILE, THE WHITE STUFF (GLUE) WILL BECOME INVISIBLE.



WHEN YOU OR FRIENDS RECEIVE MAIL WITH THE GLUE COATED STAMPS, THE POSTAL CANCELLATION MARKS CAN BE REMOVED WITH RUBBING ALCOHOL OR OTHER SUCH INK REMOVING CLEANSER...



AFTER CUTTING THE STAMPS OFF THE ENVELOPE (OR SOAKING THE ENVELOPE IN WATER TO SEPARATE THE STAMPS), YOU CAN APPLY THEM TO YOUR NEXT...



...MAILING (USE MORE ELMER'S GLUE IF NEEDED). * OF COURSE, ALL OF THIS IS COMPLETELY ILLEGAL AND WE DO NOT RECOMMEND THAT YOU RIP OFF YOUR POSTAL SERVICE!!

MAY DAY 29

Continued From Page 7

Flynn told an even stranger tale off the record: that he and his wife had received threatening phone calls warning him not to testify, that they were traced to a phone booth across from Tompkins Square Park, that he was jumped near his house by three men who tried to stab him, and that he ran home to get his gun and fired two shots at them as they escaped in a waiting car. He failed, however, to report his gun being fired, and now faces interdepartmental charges. Not surprisingly, none of this insane story was allowed to be heard by the jury. Under cross examination, it came out that Flynn had been previously threatened by someone involved with a drug case that Flynn was involved with.

Other humorous testimony came from Sgt. Marron, who also accused Kenny and Lori of jumping on his back (crimes they were not charged with). Referring to the MayDay concertgoers as "swarming rats", Marron contradicted himself several times. After a lunchbreak, he returned to the stand and told the court "I thought about it over lunch...I want to change my testimony."

P.O. Hernandez, who said he lost his police memo book twice, told the court that his memory was better now than it was on May 1, 1990. Even so, he repeated Sgt. Marron's contradictions, indicating a rehearsal by the DA's office.

P.O. Quinn, best known for his lawsuit against the City of New York to get Tompkins Square Park closed, alleging acts of bestiality, among other hallucinations, admitted under cross-examination that he had never seen such acts, and that he was only repeating a story he heard from P.O. Esposito.

The defense witnesses served mainly to tell the story of the defendants. The contradictions in the police testimony, combined with the sleazy motivations of many of the key cops, particularly Hernandez and Marron, prompted some of the defense attorneys to suggest calling no witnesses of their own. The cops, they said, had shot themselves in the foot already and it wasn't necessary to put defense witnesses on the stand. Several defendants, however, insisted that other voices beside those of the cops needed to be heard.

John, the sound technician for the **Resist to Exist/Squatter Mayday** concert, testified about the arrangements for the concert. He said that he could have turned the sound off at his sound board if the police had asked him to. This was in direct contradiction to the testimony of Julian, who said that there was no sound board. John said he had thousands of dollars worth of equipment on the stage and he would not have risked losing it if he thought there was going to be a riot.

Baby Monroe, the lead singer of *Spy vs Spy*, testified and said that he was cut off in the middle of his last song a few minutes after 9:00. Baby, the only black defense witness, was the only witness to be asked by DA Connolly whether he had used any drugs on May 1, 1990.

Father George Kuhn testified for the defense that he had been arrested for bringing food to homeless people in abandoned buildings, that he spoke at the **Resist to Exist/Squatter Mayday** concert, and that he didn't think it was a bad event. Connolly later complained to the judge that it was a sleazy move on the part of the defendants to bring a priest in to testify and that it was intended to prejudice the jury. Actually, Father Kuhn sabotaged Connolly's effort to prejudice the jury into believing that the concert was all about violent punk rockers. (Kuhn also refused to swear on the Bible, insisting instead on affirming. He later told one of the defendants that he thought it would be blasphemous to swear on that particular Bible because so many people had put their hand on it and lied.)

Defense summations were presented on Thursday and Friday, January 23rd and 24th. Susan Tipograph led off, tearing apart the cop testimony against Lori. She pointed out the widely divergent accounts of the first seconds of the riot, asking why it was that of all the cops who had testified about how the riot began, only one had heard Lori "inciting" anything. Sgt. Marron, Tipograph noted, is being sued by three of the other officers who are testifying against Lori for negligently ordering them into a dangerous situation, and is in turn suing Inspector Julian and the NYPD for the same. She reminded the jury of the videotaped evidence that Lori was clubbed by Officer Quinn while she was being arrested in a corner, far from where Quinn had testified that he pulled Lori off Marron's back. Lori had no interest in starting a riot, said Tipograph, if only because she was standing where she was just as likely to be hit by a bottle as any of the cops.

Jim Roth took the jury through the videotape of the early moments of the riot, showing that everything was peaceful until the cops got there. Roth ran the tape in real-time and slow motion, showing that immediately before 9:00, Kenny was peacefully dancing on the stage, and people were walking around with babies and pushing bicycles around, oblivious to any impending riot. Even as Sgt. Marron approached the bandshell and walked through the crowd, people kept dancing and nobody bothered him. Marron went up on the stage and talked to Kenny and Lori, neither of whom appeared to react in any sort of excited way. Roth showed still photographs depicting Lori and Kenny in conversation with Marron on a stage which was so crowded that nobody had a place to put their hands, yet neither appeared to be pushing or threatening Marron. Roth closed his summation by quoting Abraham Lincoln to the effect that "on a jury, one is a majority", just as the strains of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" came wafting through the window, a fortuitous gift from a bunch of evangelists who were holding forth in the park across the street.

Juliet Levin pointed out numerous contradictions in the stories told by the two scooter cops who accused her client of throwing the bottle which knocked out P.O. Kelly. The two cops had a lot of trouble accounting for the time immediately before they went to bust Tom. Levin's summation was followed by that of Steve Berstein, who showed the problems the cops were having identifying Anthony, who was a seventeen year old punk rocker at the time of the Mayday riot.

Ron Kuby finished the summation, asking why the cops, all of whom know John, allowed him to hang around in the crowd for the next four hours carrying his familiar banners and making speeches after allegedly seeing him throw bottles at cops. Kuby ended by saying that John was arrested because he had been a familiar sight at demonstrations on the Lower East Side for years and the Ninth Precinct has been itching to put him away.

Finally, ADA Connolly delivered his five hour long rap, sweating in his ever-present gray suit. Connolly, who is 27 years old but looks 45, had been told the day before by his mother, a frequent visitor to the court, that the defense lawyers had made some good points and that she was starting to like the defendants. With this indignity fresh in his mind, he proceeded to repeat the same lies which he had spewed forth in his opening statement. Connolly took pains to pile all 6000 pages of transcripts from the three and one-half month trial on his table, and kept hammering home his arguments by pointing at the mountain of paper and saying "it's all there." He was obviously crossing his fingers hoping that the jury would not check the testimony and call him out. "Police are professionals, they don't have an axe to grind", was the theme of his summation. This was a predictable statement on the part of a prosecutor who had to rely completely on cop

testimony to make his case. Fortunately for Connolly, he had been successful in excluding any testimony about cops grinding their axes during the August 1988 riot. The videotape evidence presented by the defense, said Connolly, was a "magical" tape which only showed what the defense wanted to show. He pointed to "gaps" which he said concealed all of the illegal activities which the defendants committed when the camera was not pointed at them. He failed to mention that the prosecution's videotape did not show any of the defendants doing anything illegal either. A defense witness is seen on the videotape giving cops the finger -- "an obscene gesture, ladies and gentlemen of the jury". All he could do was plead with the jury to believe the police -- "our protectors, ladies and gentlemen." He called the missing memo books, the contradictions, the ever changing police testimony, the lawsuits, and everything else "distractions", and "smokescreens". "This case is about a riot", he repeated from his opening statement, "and nothing else". Connolly ended his summation by saying "the rioters that night were yelling-it's our fucking park. Lets show them whose park it is!"

Jury deliberations began on January 27th. According to the Manhattan DA's office, the ten day deliberations tied as the longest in Manhattan Supreme Court history. It was clear from the jury's request to have testimony read back to them that they were examining the evidence in minute detail.

The jury rejected most of 12 felony and misdemeanor counts against 4 of the 5 defendants at noon on February 5, 1992. Lori and John were acquitted of felony riot and incitement. Kenny was acquitted of felony riot but convicted of misdemeanor incitement. Anthony was the only defendant convicted on the riot charges. As of this writing, deliberations continue for the fifth defendant, Tom. The jury is reportedly at an impasse, but Judge Failla is ordering them to continue.

EVER HEAR OF THE "FULLY INFORMED JURY AMENDMENT"?

WHEN YOU ARE ASKED TO SIT ON A JURY, YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO VOTE ACCORDING TO YOUR CONSCIENCE!!

TRUE...BUT it's very unlikely the judge will tell you this, because he doesn't have to. Instead, the judge is likely to say that you may consider "only the facts" of the case, and may not let your opinion of the law or the motives of the defendant affect your decision.

This is a serious problem. How can anyone expect to get a truly fair trial if the jurors aren't told of their right to judge the law as well as the facts of the case?

A lot of people don't get fair trials. Too often, jurors end up apologizing to people they've voted to convict, just because they thought they "had to" vote for a guilty verdict based upon the facts alone.

"BUT IF ALL THIS IS TRUE", YOU ASK, "WHY DOESN'T THE JUDGE SIMPLY TELL THE JURY ABOUT IT?"

Obviously, an uninformed jury is something which should never occur in a country whose state and federal constitutions all guarantee every accused person the right to a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

But it's a sad fact of life that judges generally don't want ordinary citizens making decisions about the law, even if it is their country. So they deliberately don't tell jurors their full range of rights and powers.

This lack of information undermines the whole idea of judgement by a jury of one's own peers, whereby a cross section of ordinary people from the community is supposed to consider both the law and its own standards of right and wrong in order to reach a just verdict.

Most Americans are aware of their right to trial by jury, but few know that the jury always has the power to judge according to conscience, regardless of the law and the facts of the case. Why don't we know this? Because we were never told--in school, in movies or television shows about trials, or even in most law schools!

The FULLY INFORMED JURY AMENDMENT (FIJA) is a way to tell EVERYBODY about jurors' rights, where it counts--in the courtroom.

From colonial times until just less than a hundred years ago, it was routine for the judge to inform jurors of their full range of rights. But during the late 1800s, special-interest pressure inspired a series of judicial decisions which sought to limit the jurors' right to judge the law, by refusing to allow discussion of the issue in the courtroom.

While no court has dared deny that jurors have the power to acquit despite evidence or the law, judges still regularly contend that jurors must be kept in the dark, and may not be told they have this power. Defense attorneys who know about it still occasionally manage to have it included in the instructions given the jury, but risk being cited for contempt of court if they bring it up without the judge's approval.

Still, this power of the jury continues to be recognized, as in 1972, when the D.C. District Court of Appeals held that the jury has an "unreviewable and irreversible power...to acquit in disregard of the instruction on the law given by the trial judge...the pages of history shine on instances of the jury's exercise of its prerogative to disregard instructions of the judge; for example, acquittals under the fugitive slave law." Other federal courts have recently affirmed the right of jury veto power.

"IN OTHER WORDS, JURORS STILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO REFUSE TO CONVICT A DEFENDANT OF BREAKING WHAT THEY FEEL IS A BAD LAW, BUT THEY'RE NO LONGER TOLD ABOUT IT."

FIJA--THE "FULLY INFORMED JURY AMENDMENT" is both a political and an educational campaign to inform American citizens about their rights as jurors.

Many states permit passage of laws or amendments to their constitutions by direct votes of the people (the initiative process). In these states, FIJA will be a ballot-issue campaign to require judges to inform every juror that he may base his verdict upon the facts of the case, the merits of the law, and his own sense of right and wrong.

As an organization, FIJA will sponsor educational media campaigns, encourage lobbying efforts aimed at persuading state lawmakers to reform court procedures, and assist grass roots efforts to inform jurors of their rights.

WE WANT EVERY POTENTIAL JUROR IN AMERICA TO KNOW THE TRUTH!

YOU CAN HELP! Just contact FIJA's National Headquarters, Box 59, Helmville, Montana 59843. Phone: (406)793-5550. Or contact Don Meinshausen, c/o R.B. Wilk, P.O. Box 5366, Meadowview Station, North Bergen, N.J. 07047.

SHADOW INTERVIEW

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SHADOW: The movie presents Garrison as a hero. Is this an accurate portrayal? Was it in the best interest of the truth to have him presented this way?

SKLAR: Jim Garrison is not portrayed in documentary fashion. Jim Garrison is used as a vehicle. The story is a story of the transformation of one man's consciousness from believing totally in the Warren Report, which Garrison did. He was a District Attorney, he had been in the military for 23 years, he was an FBI agent, he was not a flaming radical in any way. And he, like most people who believed in the government at the time, trusted the Warren Commission when it came out with its findings. The film traces the development of his consciousness as he discovers various things that contradict the Warren Commission Report in his jurisdiction.

His investigation took place from 1967 to 1969. A lot has been learned since then, and Oliver made the decision that he wanted that information to be incorporated into this film, rather than sticking with a pure documentary approach to the Jim Garrison investigation of the 1960s. I also think that Oliver made a choice about how he would portray Garrison. I think he portrays him with certain flaws in the film. He is shown as rather arrogant, he makes comments about Ramsey Clark, the Attorney General at the time, saying he couldn't earn a place on his staff. He is shown as someone who is stubborn, who goes against the advice of some of his closest staff people. He is shown as a man who is willing to bring a case that he knows is not as strong as he would like it to be, and he is shown losing the case. All those things are true. On the other hand, he is shown as someone who genuinely cares to find the truth, who has the guts to stand up and fight the federal government on this and endures numerous obstacles, including a total trashing of him in the press, the FBI bugging his offices, tapping his phones, following him everywhere he goes, infiltration of his staff, the CIA helping Clay Shaw in the trial -- all that stuff is also true. And it's part of the reason that Garrison had such a weak case. I don't think that Oliver has been untrue to the essence of Garrison in that sense. He's shown some of his warts; he's also shown the essential heroism of the man which is that he, alone, of any elected prosecutor in the United States, had the courage to stand up and take this on.

SHADOW: The movie utilizes a "Mr. X", who is played by Donald Sutherland, to explain the overriding motive for the assassination. Could you explain to us who "Mr. X" represents and what is being portrayed there in terms of Kennedy's Viet Nam policy and what the assassination represented vis-a-vis that policy?

SKLAR: "Mr. X" is based on a real-life person named Fletcher Prouty, who was a colonel in the United States Air Force and worked in covert operations -- so-called "black" operations in Southeast Asia, that is, assassinating foreign leaders, rigging elections, propaganda, and overthrowing governments. Fletcher Prouty worked in that area for nine years of his life and was quite high up in the Pentagon. Garrison did not actually know Prouty at the time. This is one of the situations where we've taken information that was only learned later and inserted it into the film. But, after Garrison's book On The Trail Of The Assassins was published in 1988, Fletcher Prouty wrote a letter to Jim Garrison saying, "You were aware of what was happening on the local end. Let me tell you what was happening in Washington, in the Pentagon, where I was." And what Garrison had stumbled across was "Operation Mongoose" -- the local training camp in Lake Ponchartrain, near New Orleans, where the Cuban anti-Castro exiles were being trained by the CIA to try to create another invasion of Cuba after the Bay of Pigs.



DONALD SUTHERLAND
PLAYS "MR. X"



JIM GARRISON PLAYS
EARL WARREN

"Operation Mongoose" was running out of Washington and the head of operations for it was a man named General Edward Lansdale, who had also run "black" operations in Southeast Asia for a number of years. Fletcher Prouty knew Lansdale very well, worked with him, and Prouty pretty much lays out in the film exactly what his own first-hand experience was, which was that he was sent to the South Pole two weeks before the assassination on a mysterious trip, the only reason for which could have been to get him out of the office. Prouty had known the Kennedys and had grown up in Massachusetts -- it was an old family thing -- and he didn't agree with Kennedy's policies, but he certainly never would have gone along with any kind of plot to kill the President, had he known about it. Prouty had also worked on writing the October 2nd memo from (General) Maxwell Taylor and (Secretary of Defense) Robert McNamara recommending that 1,000 U.S. advisors be withdrawn from Viet Nam by the end of 1963, and all the rest, another 15,000, to be removed by the end of 1965. That memo was adopted by Kennedy on October 11, 1963 -- he signed National Security Action Memorandum 263 which actually ordered that the advisors be removed by the end of 1963.

Now, there are a lot of people on the left, and on the right, who all say that Kennedy was a Cold Warrior, Kennedy had sent advisors in in the first place and, therefore, he could have been expected to do just what Johnson did later, that is, send massive numbers of combat troops to Viet Nam. That is a valid viewpoint to an extent. It ignores crucial evidence. The crucial evidence it ignores I would recommend that people read in a book called JFK and Viet Nam by John Newman, which is coming out soon, I think probably in February. That book lays

out in great detail the whole series of events leading up to 1963, to the assassination, the whole history of Kennedy's involvement with Southeast Asia, and his own ambivalence about it. One thing is clear, unequivocal, from that history, and that is that Kennedy was repeatedly asked to send U.S. combat troops to Southeast Asia -- both to Laos and to Viet Nam, and that he repeatedly refused to do that. He did send advisors. He also -- the last thing that he did -- signed and sent 263 in order to withdraw some of those advisors.

Now, the film speculates -- we, of course, do not have smoking gun proof of this -- that the withdrawal order from Viet Nam was the last straw in a series of moves that Kennedy had created to alienate the right wing. Regardless of what the left wing thought of Kennedy as a Cold Warrior and regardless of some of his public statements which confirmed that he wanted to stay involved in Southeast Asia, there was a whole series of moves that he made that infuriated the right wing, and this film is not about the left wing response, it's about how the right wing viewed Kennedy, that is, the military and intelligence establishments. That history goes back to the Bay of Pigs in which Kennedy refused to provide air cover for that invasion -- it was a disaster -- and those who were involved in it. People like (CIA agent) E. Howard Hunt, Cuban exiles who were stranded there, had a tremendous hatred for Kennedy, not to mention Allen Dulles, Charles Cabell and Richard Bissell -- the three top people in the CIA -- all of whom were fired by Kennedy as a result of that disastrous situation.

Kennedy also, in 1962, during the Cuban missile crisis, cut a secret deal with (Soviet Premier Nikita) Khrushchev in exchange for the Soviets withdrawing the missiles. The U.S. agreed not to invade Cuba. Now, Alexander Coburn is one person who says that Kennedy threatened to blow up the entire world, that he was the closest the President has ever come to creating nuclear war. Well, I have to agree with Alexander about that. What he is not understanding is how the right wing viewed this. The Joint Chiefs of Staff had urged Kennedy to invade Cuba. Their viewpoint was to let the nuclear war happen. When Kennedy refused to invade Cuba, the Joint Chiefs of Staff were very upset and so were those under them. That was another step along the way.

The next step we can see is in the summer of 1963, when Kennedy signs a nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. Once again, this is over the objections of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He is opening up relations with the Soviet Union that are essentially thawing the Cold War -- something these people have been committed to for a decade or more. Their careers have been spent on this.

The next thing that happens is that Kennedy orders that "Operation Mongoose" -- the very thing that Garrison stumbled across in New Orleans and Lansdale was heading in Washington -- training camps for Cuban exiles and mercenaries be shut down. And they were, in fact, raided and shut down. All their weapons and ammunition were taken. That is the end of the second so-called invasion of Cuba that they were planning. Those people were absolutely enraged at Kennedy for that. On top of that came a back door channel that Kennedy had opened to try to normalize relations with Castro's Cuba.

What the film tries to portray is that it was not just the withdrawal from Viet Nam, it was a whole series of events, and these people were outraged at Kennedy. They felt he was an appeaser of Communism. Whether we agree with that or not is really not relevant. This film is about who might have seen him that way.

SHADOW: Today's New York Post headline says the mafia did it. Who really carried out the assassination on the ground? Is this a mafia job as a junior partner to the CIA and military intelligence? What are your feelings about the whole question of mafia vs CIA vs military intelligence?

SKLAR: Sometimes poets get to the truth better than journalists and researchers. I remember Allen Ginsberg wrote a poem "Gotta be playing on the jukebox", and the first line I think was "CIA and mafia together, gotta be playin on the jukebox". I think what he meant by that was that the CIA and mafia have worked together on a number of covert operations, including numerous attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro, the mafia got rid of the communists on the docks of Marseilles in 1947 and in exchange the CIA helped the mafia run drugs into the United States -- this is documented well in The Politics of Heroin by Alfred McCoy.

If there were a mafia-CIA collaboration, it's clear who's running the operation. The mafia does not run joint operations with the CIA, the CIA runs them. It may employ certain people from the mafia to carry out its orders, but the planning and financing are done by the CIA.

Jack Ruby, I think it's absolutely clear, was associated with the mafia, was associated with the conspiracy to kill Kennedy, and was running guns to Cuba for the CIA. There is an intertwining here that is very difficult to sort through, but the question is who was running the show.

SHADOW: There is some criticism for sparing the image of Richard Nixon. The roles of Nixon, E. Howard Hunt and George Bush and their role with the anti-Castro Cubans is all known.

SKLAR: Richard Nixon was in Dallas the day before the assassination. I don't think there's any substantial evidence that links Nixon to the assassination. We didn't want to include things that had weak documentation. I think the Nixon link, at least to my mind, has weak documentation.

E. Howard Hunt is another story. He has actually been in court on this issue. (Attorney) Mark Lane's book Plausible Denial tells the story of E. Howard Hunt bringing a suit against the Liberty Lobby which printed a story by (former CIA agent) Victor Marchetti saying that Hunt had been in Dallas and was involved in the assassination and would be sacrificed by the CIA. That's what the article said. In the course of that trial, in which Mark Lane defended Liberty Lobby, the jury ruled that Liberty Lobby had established to their satisfaction that E. Howard Hunt and the CIA had been involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. Mark Lane and Oliver Stone negotiated about use of that material and research

See SKLAR On Page 19

IN RESPONSE TO THE RESURGENCE OF INTEREST IN THE JFK, RFK, AND MLK ASSASSINATIONS, AND HUNDREDS OF DEAD WITNESSES, THE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ASSASSINATIONS (CIA) HAS BEEN FORMED IN NEW YORK CITY TO COLLECT DATA, RESEARCH, INVESTIGATE, INTERVIEW WITNESSES, AND MORE. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO GET INVOLVED, PLEASE CONTACT CIA THROUGH THE SHADOW. For a complete list of all assassination-related materials available from our archives, please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

GILM REVIEW

Continued From Page 8



co-opt it and turn it into something which would not be threatening to America's power structure. As is frequently the case, real history is a lot more messy and complicated than the sanitized version which makes its way onto the silver screen.

Similarly, some researchers maintain that Garrison himself was being unwittingly manipulated by the conspirators, being fed false information, in order to turn the trial into a circus and thereby discredit the very idea of a conspiracy -- and thereby vindicate the Warren Commission. Certainly, many serious researchers have seen Garrison as more of a farcical figure than the heroic one portrayed by Stone.

Perhaps Stone, in plunging head on into the JFK assassination mess, is as naive as Garrison himself had been thirty years earlier. The milieu of conspiracy theorists and researchers is itself a shadowy and complicated world -- and is rapidly becoming more so. Stone chooses to work with people from the Institute for Media Analysis, one of the more rational and politically sharp groups in this milieu. But, especially since the Persian Gulf War, there has been a growing cooperation between conspiracy theorists of the radical left and those of the radical right. Given that many of the radical right theorists have their own connections to racist hate groups and to the intelligence community, it becomes unclear where the conspirators end and the conspiracy theorists begin.

Once again, it is obvious why Stone is taking the easy way out by avoiding this whole mess. Ultra-right groups and publications, such as the Liberty Lobby and its mouthpiece The Spotlight, have become important sources of information in the conspiracy theory network. Progressive journalists (for instance, at Pacifica Radio) who rely on these sources have frequently been slow to repudiate or denounce their racist ideology. The radical right is getting slicker. Only a few years ago, The Spotlight was a laughable neo-Nazi scandal rag, screaming about how the international Jewish conspiracy is controlling the world. Today it does much legitimate investigative reporting on issues which the mainstream media won't touch -- such as the JFK assassination. Col. Fletcher Prouty, formerly an Air Force intelligence specialist, is today a close associate of the Liberty Lobby, and his 1973 book The Secret Team was recently reissued by the Institute for Historical Review, the Liberty Lobby-linked publishing house which promotes the theory that the Nazi holocaust is a "Jewish hoax". The character of Prouty actually makes a brief appearance in JFK, going by the cryptic pseudonym of "X" and meeting with Garrison in Washington to leak secret information which implicates top-level Pentagon forces in the assassination plot.

Attorney Mark Lane, whose 1966 bestseller Rush To Judgment was the first book to forcefully discredit the Warren Commission Report, has also been on the Liberty Lobby bandwagon of late. His new book is entitled Plausible Denial: Was the CIA Involved in the Assassination of JFK? and is based on new evidence which emerged from a case in which he represented the Liberty Lobby against libel charges brought by E. Howard Hunt. A Spotlight article written by ex-CIA agent Victor Marchetti (author of the best-selling exposé The CIA & The Cult of Intelligence, which the agency attempted to censor) had claimed that Hunt was in Dallas on the day of the assassination. Liberty Lobby won the case on appeal, and much of Lane's new book consists of testimony transcript. But in the 390-page book, only once does Lane attempt to distance himself from the Liberty Lobby's

reactionary views -- and then only with the tame and ambiguous statement that Liberty Lobby "had, over the years, espoused political positions vastly different from my own..." The introduction to Plausible Denial is written by Col. Fletcher Prouty.

A Liberty Lobby offshoot called the Populist Party, apparently dedicated to bringing the left into an electoral alliance with the radical right, is currently fronting a charismatic presidential candidate named "Bo" Gritz, formerly a US Army Special Forces "Green Beret" stationed in Vietnam. His much-publicized trips back to Vietnam to "rescue" POWs were a source of inspiration for the makers of the Rambo movies. But his claims to inside information on CIA dope smuggling operations in Southeast Asia have won Gritz much attention on the left -- attention which has been entirely too uncritical, considering that Gritz' 1988 Populist Party running mate was none other than former Klansman and current Republican candidate David Duke.

The far-right Lyndon LaRouche organization made a serious effort to infiltrate the peace movement during the Persian Gulf War. Like much of the radical right, the LaRouchians were against the war for the wrong reason -- the anti-Semitic oversimplification that the US was fighting "Israel's war". The Coalition to Stop US Intervention in the Middle East, one of major anti-war groups to emerge in response to Operation Desert Storm, was fronted by former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark -- who had defended the LaRouchians against credit card fraud charges in federal court. While even right-wing scum like the LaRouchians are entitled to a fair trial, Clark has refused to denounce the group's reactionary views. This is certainly an irony, considering that the Coalition prided itself on being more radically left-wing than the rival moderate-left Campaign for Peace in the Middle East. The Coalition even refused to denounce Saddam Hussein. (Meanwhile, much of the ultra-right was calling for closing ranks with the Iraqi dictator in the name of "anti-Zionist solidarity".) Incidentally, as Attorney General in 1968, Clark assisted the JFK assassination cover-up by refusing to release autopsy photos and other evidence in possession of the Warren Commission which Garrison had subpoenaed, and publicly attacked Garrison.

The fact that the racist radical right sees certain sectors of the left no longer as enemies but as potential recruits should make us stop and think. There is a danger for progressives getting too wrapped up in conspiracy theorizing -- the danger of abandoning a political analysis based on an understanding of power relations in a society sharply divided by class, race and gender, in favor of an oversimplified view of the world as manipulated by an evil cabal. The populist right falls for mere scapegoating of secretive elite forces for society's ills, rather than developing a real critique of society. The challenge for progressives is to understand the real role which is played by those secretive elites in the context of a larger political analysis. Some of those secretive elites (the CIA, the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations) really exist. Others (the Zionist Occupation Government, the International Jewish Conspiracy, the Illuminati) do not. The success of Mussolini and other European fascists in buying the support of leftists during their rise to power -- and wasting no time in crushing them once power had been secured -- speaks to the perils of failing to make this distinction.

Another danger -- and this is where JFK really hits home -- lies in getting too absorbed in dissecting past conspiracies at the expense of activism in the here and now. History does not stop while the historians sit back and analyze. If the JFK assassination was a coup d'etat, we have seen at least two more coups d'etat in this country since then. The first one was Nixon's attempt to consolidate power with the help of former CIA agents in the Watergate break-in. This coup was, apparently, aborted when the break-in was discovered and hit the headlines -- probably due to a falling out between Nixon and his co-conspirators, most prominently E. Howard Hunt. The second coup was Reagan's successful manipulation of the 1980 presidential election through deals with the Iranian militants then holding 50 US embassy personnel captive in Tehran. These deals, which ensured that the hostages would be released only after Reagan was safely in the White House, were masterminded by Reagan's campaign manager, longtime CIA man and Allen Dulles' business partner, Bill Casey -- who mysteriously died of a sudden brain tumor mere days before he was scheduled to testify before the Congressional committee investigating the Iran-contra scandal. It took 30 years for Hollywood to expose the JFK killing. Are we going to have to wait until 2010 for an octogenarian Oliver Stone to make a movie entitled October Surprise?

Knowing history is essential; living in it is something else. Exposure of government conspiracy is useful only if it serves as an indictment of the political system and spurs people to action. Let's hope that, the arrogance of media pundits notwithstanding, JFK sparks some long-overdue public debate about the cataclysmic events of November 1963. But let's also not lose sight of the fact that it is our enormously centralized political system, with intense concentrations of power contrasting popular powerlessness and disenfranchisement, which inherently and inevitably gives rise to scandal, corruption and conspiracy. If the movie does succeed in sparking widespread debate, it will be up to politically sharp activists and the alternative media to move that debate in a useful and progressive direction.



TULI KUPFERBERG

DERANGED GRAPHICS: LOWER EAST SIDE BAND FLYER ART

By Suzie Miles

Where were you in 1980? Do you remember A7? Hardcore matinees at CBGBs? The Limbo Lounge? The Sin Club? Danceteria? If you do, or even just love punk music and the whole scene, you must check out "Deranged Graphics: Lower East Side Band Flyer Art From 1978-Present" at Downtown Beirut. LES artist and musician Jason Deranged will open his exhibit of rare flyer art of Lower East Side punk bands Friday, February 28th, at 9:00PM, and run for two weeks.

Bands use flyers to advertise their gigs and are handed out and wheat-pasted all over walls, telephone poles and everywhere. It is a cheap and effective way to get the word out. Band flyers have become a colorful part of the Lower East Side's "information network." In recent years, flyer art has become a popular collectible commodity, and prices for rare pieces are soaring on the pop art market.

Deranged initially began doing flyers in the late 70s to promote his own band. Since they had very little money, but artistic talent at their disposal, it was a natural move. He soon found that doing flyers was an exciting sideline from his everyday work as a graphic artist.

"I was working at a Madison Avenue ad agency. Everything I did was dictated by fascist corporate executives. I was selling my soul for their shit. Doing band flyers was a way to express myself artistically outside of the restrictive corporate work environment. A

lot of the imagery in the flyers is angry, because I was angry, and punk music was angry," says Deranged. "I was able to explore a lot of things on my own through flyer art, which were taboo and dangerous in the corporate art world. Now of course, ad agencies are seeking that "downtown" kick, which comes off as phony because the real thing was happening ten years ago."

Some of the bands Deranged did work for included "The Attack", "Krieg Kopf", and "Glamourpuss," an all-woman band which is currently gigging at downtown venues. Most of Deranged's flyers are shocking and manipulative. He mixes media creations into political and sexual collages using illustration, original art, type and photos. Some of the flyers on display are extremely rare, and are the only known copy in existence. Copies of Deranged's flyers will be available for sale at the exhibit.

Downtown Beirut is located on First Avenue between 9th and 10th Streets.



SHADOW INTERVIEW

Continued From Page 17

for the film, and Mark Lane wanted to reserve the right not to have his material changed in any way for dramatic purposes, and so they decided not to work together on this.

There was an article in The Nation, by Joseph McBride, that dug up a CIA memo shortly after the assassination from Miami, which says that George Bush of the CIA was reporting to the FBI about the reaction of Cuban exiles in Miami to the assassination. President George Bush denied that it was he the memo referred to. The CIA also denied it, which they never do -- they never confirm or deny employment by anyone -- but in this case they made an exception. They said there was another George Bush. The Nation then found this other George Bush, who said he had worked for the CIA at the time, but he was a low-level clerk who was never in the field. We do know Bush was working with Felix Rodriguez, a Cuban exile who surfaces in Iran-Contra. Bush was working at the time to recruit Cuban exiles for "Operation Mongoose". I don't think we had enough direct evidence linking Bush to include in the film.

SHADOW: Can you mention some of the things you'd like to have gotten included in the film?

SKLAR: It can't have all the information. There have been 600 books on the subject. I am personally satisfied with what is there. It may be even a bit too much information for people to take, although audiences seem to be quite enthusiastic and able to handle that much information. It's rare for a film to actually challenge an audience and I think people are rising to that challenge. I think people are happy to sink their teeth into something that has substance to it.

I feel that Jim Garrison as a person is far more interesting than as portrayed in the film. The choice was that this film should be about the JFK assassination and its implications for us as a country. Those who want to know more about Garrison should read his book On The Trail of The Assassins.

As far as evidence, the one character missing who I think is important is Dallas Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig. He was an earnest, sincere and credible witness. He came forward and said the rifle found was a 7.65 Mauser, not a Manlicher-Carcano, and he told of seeing a getaway car with Oswald and two other men in it after the assassination. Captain Fritz of the Dallas Police claimed that Craig had never told this story. Later, Chief (of Police) Jesse Curry published his own book, and in it was a photograph of Roger Craig and Will Fritz at Oswald's Interrogation, which disproved what Fritz said. It's too bad that didn't get into the movie, but you can't cover everything in a movie.

SHADOW: There's been some controversy over allegations that rightists in the U.S. political scene are infiltrating the left through their support of conspiracy theories that people on the left also agree with. How are we to prevent that from happening in this situation?

SKLAR: I think a lot of people on the right who have been skeptical about government from the very beginning find the idea that the government was involved in the conspiracy to kill Kennedy quite credible. They have every right to believe that as well. There is a place where right and left do meet.

SHADOW: Could we be led down the path by people like Fletcher Prouty and others?

SKLAR: Fletcher Prouty is in the Liberty Lobby, I don't happen to agree with his political views. The question is not whether I agree with him politically, but whether what he said checks out. In this case, it does. John Newman, author of JFK and Viet Nam, confirms virtually everything Fletcher Prouty said from his own first hand experience. I don't think you can discount Prouty simply because of his associations.

SHADOW: How might public reaction to this film be structured for meaningful results and change?

SKLAR: A lot of people have become outraged enough to write Congress and ask that the files of the House Select Committee on Assassinations and the Warren Commission be opened. That is a first good step, but I think we have to go beyond those files and try to get to the "national security" protected files of the CIA and FBI. I don't see the function of secret files in this country. I think there is an outrage at secret government and the ongoing shadow government that we've seen surfacing from time to time.

(Senator) Arlen Specter is up for re-election in Pennsylvania. Many audiences laugh, clap and hoot when Kevin Costner in his summation in the film mentions Specter as being the designer of "one of the grossest lies in American history", the "Magic Bullet" theory. By coincidence, it was Specter who was handling the (Supreme Court nominee) Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings, and we saw how he could manipulate people and how nasty he was. Another thing that didn't get into the film was Arlen Specter's interrogation for the Warren Commission of Jean Hill, who was the person closest to the president when he was killed. He told her there were three shots, she said she heard four to six shots. He said she heard echos and firecrackers, she said she carried a gun and went to target practice every week and knew the difference between a gunshot and a firecracker and an echo. Specter said "We could make you sound crazy, as crazy as Oswald's mother. We could put you in a mental institution." The transcriber was told by Specter not to put this on the record. I got a call from the Philadelphia Enquirer and they said that Arlen Specter's re-election is threatened by his role in this movie, among other things.

I think that textbooks students read in schools are in great need of revision. For such an important event in American history, clearly the history books have to go into greater detail. I'm not such an activist on this to know what could be done at this point, but those are a few ideas.

In the final analysis, people have to go see the film themselves and decide what they think. The people are the ultimate judge of history. It's not somebody at the New York Times, or Oliver Stone, it's people who have to take a number of sources into account. Don't just see the movie, read books and read the Warren Commission Report and the House Select Committee on Assassination's report. Read whatever you can get your hands on, the people will decide for themselves.

RECOMMENDED READING:

On The Trail Of The Assassins--Jim Garrison
Crossfire: The Plot To Kill Kennedy--Jim Marrs
High Treason--Robert J. Groden and Harold Livingstone
Plausible Denial--Mark Lane
Reasonable Doubt--Henry Hurt

SHADOW REVIEWS

(These are just some of the many zines we've been getting lately that we review every now and then. If you have a zine or book that you would like us to review, please send it to the SHADOW, attention: "Reviews.")

DRUNKEN BOAT (P.O.Box 718, New York, N.Y. 10009--\$6.00 each, \$30/year):

Basically oriented towards the surrealist/situationist artsy-academic wing of Anarchism, this first issue displays a refreshing eclecticism, featuring an analysis of that Mother of All Urban Insurrections, the Paris Commune, by Paul Z. Simons, a philosophical paean to Chaos by WBAI Radio's resident Anarchist Peter Lamborn Wilson, an exploration of the role of political street theater in the Paris uprising of 1968, and an interview with Allen Ginsberg in which he reminisces on Lower East Side Anarchist activity from the Yippies to the Tompkins Square struggle, and even (what a breath of fresh air!) advocates the use of certain illegal mind-altering substances ("I would still recommend, just as I did in '68, almost universal experimentation with psychedelics"). The zine apparently takes its name from some obscure French poet or something, but editor Max Blechman explains what he means in the "Drunken Boat Manifesto": "Drunken Boat is the sinking Titanic, the luxurious ruling class panicking and shell-shocked, conscious that the last minutes of their lives are leaving them. It is the decay of Western Civilization..." Sounds good to us. (P. Nip)

A GATHERING OF THE TRIBES (P.O.Box 20693, Tompkins Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10009--\$15/year): A forum for Lower East Side radical artists, this first issue includes an interview with David Hammons comparing the Loisa and Harlem scenes to those in Europe, song lyrics from Homer Erotic, contributions from Jennifer Blowdryer and numerous lower Manhattan poets. Frequently funny and entertaining. (P. Nip)

GREEN LETTER/IN SEARCH OF GREENER TIMES (P.O.Box 1414, San Francisco, CA 94114--\$20/year): For local activists who believe (gasp!) that there is a world beyond the Lower East Side and want to tune in to what is happening with similar struggles in communities across the nation and the world, this is a good place to turn. The Fall 1991 ish includes coverage of the Tompkins Square struggle by Lower East Side journalist Bill Weinberg, with photos by fellow SHADOW contributor David Sorcher. Also reports on our sister struggle from Berkeley's People's Park, ACT-UP, anti-nuke protests at the Nevada Test Site, more. The next ish will be reporting on needle exchange programs in various cities around the country. (P. Nip)

TURNING THE TIDE (P.A.R.T., P.O.Box 1990, Burbank, CA 91507--Fifty cents each, \$5.00/year): Published by People Against Racial Terror, this zerox zine chronicles and keeps abreast of racial/hate crimes, activities of Nazis, white supremacists and other racist/hate groups, especially racist pigs, exposing connections between KKK/Nazis and the pigs, and exposés on right-wing front groups like the Populist Party. (Flash)

SLINGSHOT (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720--No price, contributions needed): This paper is like the SHADOW of Berkeley, covering the battle of People's Park, homelessness, pig violence and related issues, from a similar perspective as the SHADOW in New York City. The December issue covers demos trashing the volleyball courts built in People's Park, an update on the situation there, anti-Columbus history and demo planning, a gay rights riot, and more. Unfortunately, the staff always seems in transition and short on funding, which means sporadic publishing of issues and poor response to letters, but otherwise, this is a great paper. (Flash)

THE INFINITE ONION (P.O.Box 263, Colorado Springs, CO 80901--\$1.00 each): A cool as shit zeroxed zine features news on war resistance, marijuana rights, interviews, wage slavery, political prisoners, feminist activism, reviews, and more. Their latest issue includes a page entitled "Annoying the Establishment" with subversive ideas and diagrams too. Recommended reading!! (Flash)

SHADOW BOOK REVIEW:

GREEN PANTHERS! ACTION MANUAL: Subtitled Official Handbook of the Green Panthers! and Techniques for Creative Interference, the GREEN PANTHERS! ACTION MANUAL is the latest addition to the list of quasi-underground how-to books and pamphlets on fucking the system which began with Abbie Hoffman's Steal This Book and William Powell's The Anarchist Cookbook. GP!AM comes across as a quickie effort, but it is bursting with enthusiasm and contains much worthwhile information. Although it is primarily addressed to activists defending their right to grow and smoke the sacred herb in this age of militaristic intolerance, it draws heavily from ACT-UP, the Tompkins Square Park struggle, the Black Panthers (of course), and Earth First! In fact, GP!AM repeatedly refers to the Earth First! action manual Eco-Defense by Dave Foreman, calling it "required reading." (Eco-Defense is by far the most useful recent book in this category, explaining in intimate detail how to carry out sabotage raids on power lines, bulldozers and the like.) With a self-proclaimed "eclectic" analysis, the Green Panthers see impending environmental collapse as well as an impending police state. Don't let the cover graphic of the cute green kitty-cat smoking a joint with a middle finger in the air fool you -- these guys are deadly serious.

Quasi-apocalyptic, the Green Panthers see American society poised at the edge of an open police state -- at which point the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) will launch mass round-ups of activists, similar to those which have been carried out by the security forces in South Africa. They believe in continuing education and legal organizing as long as possible, but preparing for physical resistance. Their code of ethics rules out actions which could cause death or injury to humans or other living things, but not property. The police are called "the enemy," and one chapter details the weapons, vehicles and other equipment used by modern US police forces. There are photos of some of the NYPD vehicles which made their appearance during the siege of Tompkins Square in the summer of 1991 -- including the command bus and the "illumination weapon" (truck mounted with blinding flood lights). There is a diagram showing the visibility and fire range from a tank or personnel carrier. There are reprints of interrogation, search and raid techniques from Drug Enforcement Agency and police department training manuals.

Also included are intelligent strategies for dealing with police infiltration, creative techniques for defacing billboards with paintball guns, and actual methods used for resisting and demoralizing an occupying military force. The secretive Green Panthers say little about who they really are, but photos and captions indicate that they have held the first demos protesting boot-camp style prisons for drug offenders and police auctions of property seized from drug offenders. They are clearly hoping that similar groups will pop up around the country upon reading the 88-page pamphlet. They encourage a new breed of radical marijuana activists to emerge in response to the War On Drugs, much as ACT UP emerged in response to the AIDS crisis and Earth First! emerged in response to rape of the wilderness. But the Green Panthers! Action Manual contains material which will be of use to anarchists of every stripe. It can be ordered from 1718 M Street, N.W. #322, Washington, D.C. 20036. No price is listed, but a few bucks and a SASE would probably be appreciated.



The interactive magazine of metaphysics, philosophy, & reality (and other conspiracies), \$3.00 for a sample copy, \$10.00 for a one year (4 issues) subscription to: Dharma Combat, P.O. Box 20293, Sun Valley, NY 89433

WEST COAST ANARCHIST GATHERING
 A.Y.F., Stefan Wray, and Acts of Resistance Video Production Group are proposing to organize a gathering of Anarchists from California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, to take place sometime in the spring of 1992. Ideas, suggestions, workshop proposals, \$\$\$, are more than welcome.
 For a copy of the proposal send A SASE to one of the contact addresses below.

Stefan Wray
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