

b2 [REDACTED] NOTE: FBIHQ REQUEST THE NEW YORK OFFICE AND CHICAGO OFFICE TO EXPEDITIOUSLY COVER LEADS RE CAPTIONED GROUP WHICH IS THE SUBJECT [REDACTED] RECEIVING OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO HOLD ABEYANCE COVERAGE OF LEADS SET FORTH IN REFERENCED PHOENIX TEL UNTIL RESULTS OF NEW YORK OFFICE AND CHICAGO LEADS ARE REPORTED TO FBIHQ AND RECEIVING OFFICES.

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TEXT:

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FM DENVER (100A-12692) (P)

TO DIRECTOR IMMEDIATE

PHOENIX IMMEDIATE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-25-90 BY SP6 [redacted]

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UNCLAS

NEW ALLIANCE PARTY; DOMESTIC SECURITY/TERRORISM; OO: PHOENIX

MEMBERS OF THE NEW ALLIANCE PARTY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED
AND DANGEROUS.

REBUTEL TO ALBANY, FEBRUARY 1, 1988.

FOR INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU AND RECEIVING OFFICES,

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INVESTIGATION IN NEW YORK CONTINUING.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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MEMBERS OF THE NEW ALLIANCE PARTY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED
AND DANGEROUS.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DIVISION

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FM LOS ANGELES (100A-87533)(CT-2)(P)

TO DIRECTOR ROUTINE

FBI, PHOENIX (100A-8767) ROUTINE

BT

UNCLAS

DATE 9-25-90 BY SP6 [redacted]

ATTN: SSA [redacted] CID-COUNTERTERRORISM

NEW ALLIANCE PARTY; DS/T; OO: PHOENIX.

[redacted] b2

MEMBERS OF THE NEW ALLIANCE PARTY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS AS THEY ARE KNOWN TO POSSESS WEAPONS.

RE PHOENIX TELETYPE, 1/29/88; BUREAU TELETYPE 2/1/88; BUREAU TELETYPE 2/9/88; AND PHOENIX TELETYPE 3/2/88

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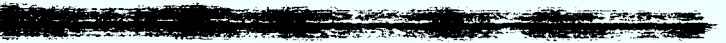
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MEMBERS OF THE NEW ALLIANCE PARTY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS AS THEY ARE KNOWN TO POSSESS WEAPONS.

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MARCH 18, 1988

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ROUTINE

FM DIRECTOR, FBI
TO FBI INDIANAPOLIS (100A-28370) ROUTINE
FBI CHICAGO (100A-57076) ROUTINE
ATTENTION: SQUAD 5A

FBI NEW YORK (100A-183032) ROUTINE

FBI PHOENIX (100A-8767) ROUTINE

BT

UNCLAS

NEW ALLIANCE PARTY (NAP); DOMESTIC SECURITY/TERRORISM (DS/T);

OO: PHOENIX

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9-25-90 BY SP6 [redacted]
C.N. 298, 520

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RE INDIANAPOLIS TELETYPE TO FBIHQ, DATED MARCH 11, 1988.

RE TELETYPE REQUESTED FBIHQ TO CONDUCT INDICES CHECKS AND

FILE REVIEWS FOR ANY INFORMATION IDENTIFIABLE WITH [redacted]

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1 - [redacted]
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SEE NOTE PAGE 4

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

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A BUREAU INDICES CHECK CONDUCTED ON MENTIONED NAME IN REFERENCED
INDIANAPOLIS TELETYPE.

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SEPTEMBER 9, 1991

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PRIORITY

SECRET

FM DIRECTOR FBI
TO FBI INDIANAPOLIS/PRIORITY/
FBI NEW YORK/PRIORITY/
INFO FBI MIAMI/PRIORITY/
INFO FBI PHOENIX/PRIORITY/

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
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BT

3-25-92

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Classified by 9803 [redacted] b7c
Declassify on: OADR

CITE: //0653//

C.N. 298,520

SENT (M-19); [redacted] (S); b1

NEW ALLIANCE PARTY (NAP); DOMESTIC SECURITY/TERRORISM (DS/T);
OO: PHOENIX (100A-8767).

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET" WHERE NOTED;
OTHERWISE IT IS UNCLASSIFIED. [redacted] (S) b1

RE INDIANAPOLIS AIRTEL DATED JULY 24, 1991, CAPTIONED "M-19;

b1 (S) [redacted] OO: BUREAU." (PHOENIX AND MIAMI NOT IN RECEIPT)

REFERENCED AIRTEL ENCLOSED ONE COPY OF "THE NATIONAL

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SEE NOTE PAGE 7

COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

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SEP 10 1991

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ALLIANCE" NEWSPAPER DATED JULY 4, 1991, AND A REPORT ENTITLED
"THE NEW ALLIANCE PARTY: A STUDY IN DECEPTION" PUBLISHED IN
1990 BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) OF NEW YORK.

FOR THE INFORMATION OF MIAMI AND PHOENIX, THE INDIANAPOLIS
OFFICES WAS CONTACTED ON JULY 15, 1991, BY [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] A REVIEW

OF THIS NEWSPAPER REPORTS THAT THE NAP HAS ESTABLISHED
AN ALLIANCE WITH THE M-19 COLOMBIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION.

[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED] THEREAFTER, FBI INDIANAPOLIS REQUESTED
FBIHQ TO CONDUCT AN ANALYSIS OF THE APPARENT LINK BETWEEN THE
NAP AND THE M-19. ~~(S)~~(U)

ACCORDING TO "THE BOSTON PHOENIX" PUBLICATION DATED
FEBRUARY 28, 1988, THE NAP IS AN ORGANIZATION WITH
APPROXIMATELY 30,000 MEMBERS AND TWENTY-TWO CHAPTERS
THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. THE NAP WAS FORMED IN THE
EARLY 1970S UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF DR. FRED NEWMAN, A DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY WHO EARNED HIS PH.D DEGREE AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY.
ACCORDING TO NEWMAN'S OWN ACCOUNT, DURING THIS TIME HE WAS
ASSOCIATED CLOSELY WITH "LYN MARCUS" WHO THEN IDENTIFIED HIMSELF
AS A LEFTIST, AND WHO IS NOW THE NEO-FACIST LYNDON LAROCHE.
THE NAP IDENTIFIES ITSELF AS A "BLACK-LED, MULTIRACIAL POLITICAL
PARTY" WHOSE GOALS ARE "FULL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR LESBIANS AND GAYS,
THE SCAREGOATS OF THE RAPIDLY GROWING RIGHT WING," AND "JOBS AT
LIVABLE WAGES FOR ALL." THIS GROUP HAS A HISTORY OF SUPPORTING
AND PLACING SELECT NAP MEMBERS ON INDEPENDENT TICKETS FOR
VARIOUS U.S. ELECTED GOVERNMENT POSITIONS.

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FBI PHOENIX INITIATED A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE NAP IN JANUARY, 1988, WHEN A SOURCE OF UNKNOWN RELIABILITY ALLEGED THAT THIS GROUP WAS INVOLVED IN ACTIVITIES THAT ADVOCATE THE OVERTHROW OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BY ANY MEANS POSSIBLE, TO INCLUDE FORCE OR VIOLENCE. MEMBERS OF THE NAP SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS AS THEY ARE KNOWN TO POSSESS WEAPONS. THIS INQUIRY WAS PROMPTLY CLOSED ON APRIL 7, 1988, DUE TO THE FACT THAT NO AND/OR INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION WAS DEVELOPED PERTAINING TO THE NAP OR ITS MEMBERS TO SUBSTANTIATE THE SOURCE'S ALLEGATIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE JUSTIFIED CONTINUING THE INVESTIGATION UNDER THE ATTORNEY GENERAL GUIDELINES.

ON JANUARY 17, 1974, THE M-19 EMERGED IN COLOMBIA, SOUTH AMERICA, WHEN ITS MEMBERS STOLE THE SWORD OF SIMON BOLIVAR FROM A BOGOTA MUSEUM. THE M-19 TOOK ITS NAME FROM THE DATE OF THE ELECTION DEFEAT IN 1970 OF FORMER DICTATOR/PRESIDENT GENERAL JUSTAVO ROJAS PINALLA. THE M-19 HAS DEFINED ITS GOALS AS "TOTAL LIBERATION FROM OLIGARCHIC AND IMPERIALIST BOND" AND THE BUILDING OF A NONALIGNED SOCIALIST STATE. SINCE ITS INCEPTION THE M-19 HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS ABILITY TO CONDUCT DARING AND SPECTACULAR INCIDENTS AS EVIDENCED BY THE 1978 RAID

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ON A COLOMBIAN ARMY ARMS DEPOT AND MAKING OFF WITH MORE THAN 500 WEAPONS; AND THE FEBRUARY, 1980, ATTACK ON THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC EMBASSY IN BOGOTA, COLOMBIA, DURING A DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION WHERE 80 HOSTAGES WERE TAKEN, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR. THIS SEIGE LASTED FOR MORE THAN TWO MONTHS. THE M-19 OBTAINED MOST OF ITS FUNDS FROM BANK ROBBERIES, KIDNAPINGS, AND DRUG TRAFFICKING.

HOWEVER, IN MARCH, 1990, THE M-19 SIGNED A PEACE AGREEMENT WITH THE COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT. THIS GROUP HAS DISCONTINUED TERRORIST ACTIVITIES TO PURSUE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN CIVILIAN POLITICAL LIFE. NAVARRO WOLFF, THE FORMER LEADER OF THE M-19 IS ONE OF THREE PRESIDENTS OF THE COLOMBIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

THEREFORE, BASED ON THE ABOVE INFORMATION IT APPEARS THAT THE NAP AND THE M-19 SHARE THE SAME IDEOLOGICAL PHILOSOPHY DUE TO THE FACT THAT THEY ARE BOTH SOCIALIST IN NATURE AND SEEK TO OVERTHROW THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS WITH THE REPLACEMENT OF COMMUNISM.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] INDIANAPOLIS IS REQUESTED TO REMAIN IN CONTACT WITH

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NOTE: THIS COMMUNICATION PROVIDES TRACES ON THE NAP AND THE M-19 AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE ALIGNMENT OF THESE TWO GROUPS.

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SUBJECT: NEW ALLIANCE PARTY

INDIANAPOLIS FILE

52

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

- Teletype
- Facsimile
- AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

- Immediate
- Priority
- Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- TOP SECRET
- SECRET
- CONFIDENTIAL
- UNCLAS E F T O
- UNCLAS

SECRET

Date 7/24/91

1 TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] (S) b1
 2 (ATTN: [REDACTED]) b1
 3 GLOBAL UNIT, ROOM 5226
 4 FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS [REDACTED] (S) b1
 5 (P) b1
 6 SUBJECT : M-19; [REDACTED] (S) b1
 7 OO: BUREAU

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 OTHERWISE.

This entire communication is classified "Secret."

8 (g) Re telcall of SA [REDACTED] IP, to [REDACTED] b7c
 9 [REDACTED] Analyst, FBIHQ, 7/15/91.

10 REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

11 The Bureau is requested to provide an analysis of
 12 the significance of the apparent link between NAP and
 13 captioned organization. Specifically, Indianapolis requests
 14 any insight regarding the likelihood that NAP may resort to
 15 acts of violence and move in the direction of domestic
 16 terrorism.

17 Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of "The
 18 National Alliance" newspaper dated 7/4/91, and a report
 19 entitled, "The New Alliance Party: A Study in Deception" dated

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CLASSIFIED BY: 6507
 DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

- 20 3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) ENCLOSURE (S) b1
 21 2 - New York [REDACTED] (Enc. 1)
 22 2 - Indianapolis [REDACTED] b7c

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1990, published by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. A copy of the ADL report is also enclosed for New York. No copy of the newspaper is being provided New York, however, inasmuch as no additional copies were available.

[REDACTED]

b7C
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[REDACTED]

As is indicated in the front pages of the enclosed newspaper, NAP has apparently established an alliance with captioned organization.

[REDACTED]

The New York Office is requested to provide Indianapolis with any pertinent information available regarding the NAP, particularly information pertaining to acts of violence or terrorism. Additionally, New York is requested to provide any current information regarding the alliance between NAP and M-19.

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AIDL RESEARCH REPORT

The New Alliance Party: A Study in Deception

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823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017
Burton S. Levinson, National Chairman
Abraham H. Foxman, National Director
Ronald B. Sobel, Chairman, National Executive Committee
Justin J. Finger, Associate National Director
Donald R. Mintz, Chairman, Civil Rights Committee
Jeffrey P. Sinensky, Director, Civil Rights Division
Edward Weiss, Chairman, Fact Finding and Research Committee

ADL
RESEARCH
REPORT

is a publication of the Civil Rights Division. This issue was prepared by David Evanier, Research Analyst, Research and Evaluation Department. Edited by Alan M. Schwartz, Director, Research and Evaluation Department.

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The New Alliance Party: A Study in Deception

Introduction

One of the most visible and vocal groups to emerge on the far left in recent years is the New Alliance Party. Part Marxist sect, part therapy cult, part entertainment enterprise (producer of "talent shows" and "Musicruises" in New York City featuring big name performers), the party is active across the country, running candidates in both national and local elections, and promoting its unique brand of radicalism. New Alliance Party politics is an amalgam of eccentric "therapy" theories, revolutionary rhetoric, black nationalism, and sexual references. It is tainted with anti-Semitism and an intense anti-Israel bias.

Although the party claims to be led by blacks and other minorities and by women, in fact its leadership is centered in one man: Fred Newman.

Like the extremist politics of Lyndon LaRouche (with whom the party was once affiliated), the New Alliance Party has the trappings of a cult: a one-man leadership and authority figure in Fred Newman; a small, devoted following; a wide variety of "front groups" that spread its message; an ability to raise money successfully; and a private agenda not readily evident from the party's public positions.

This report will examine the history and background of the party, its mode of operation, its recurrent themes and doctrines, and the manipulative methods it uses to advance its goals.

Early History

The New Alliance Party (NAP) is in large measure the handiwork of Fred Newman, a one-time college teacher whose therapeutic theory and practice have inspired the formulation of several small, cult-like organizations over the past decade. Newman was a philosophy instructor in the City College of New York when he first came to notice in the radical political community. In 1968 he formed a collective called "If-Then" which boasted that its pamphlets and brochures were the most obscene in New York. "If-Then" evolved into the Centers for Change, a commune that ran sensitivity groups; there, Newman also began a therapy clinic.

In 1974 Newman and his small band of followers joined Lyndon LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), a bizarre sect making a transition from the far left to the far right. The NCLC at that time had just completed a campaign of violence and intimidation against other left-wing groups and was concentrating on charges that the Rockefeller interests and the CIA were engaged in a massive brainwashing effort. After a brief stay in the NCLC, Newman and his followers resigned to form the International Workers Party (IWP).

The IWP, formed in 1974, called for the formulation of united fronts with working class organizations and movement groups to lead to "international socialist revolution." It claimed to have disbanded in 1976, and its activists formed the New York City Unemployed and Welfare Council, whose president, Joyce Dattner, was a Newman follower. A host of other Party fronts soon appeared, including the Coalition of Grass Roots Women, New York City Union of Lesbians and Gay Men, Federation of Independent Unions, New Black Alliance and Women's Independent Democratic Organization. Finally, in 1979, the Newmanites organized the New Alliance Party.

Extending the NAP's Reach

While there are probably not many more than a hundred hard-core members of the New Alliance Party, several thousand people may be involved in its front groups. The NAP claims to have thirteen thousand dues-payers and a hundred thousand readers of its weekly newspaper, the *National Alliance*. However, the *National Alliance* had a paid circulation of only 6,167 in 1989. On occasion NAP candidates for public office have received a substantial vote. Dennis Serrette and Nancy Ross, the NAP's presidential ticket in 1984, were on the ballot in thirty-three states; the ticket received 47,209 votes. (Serrette broke with the party shortly afterwards. Testifying in a deposition dated May 29, 1987, Serrette described the group as a therapy cult that used Newman's brand of therapy as a means of controlling its members. See Appendix B.)

1988 Presidential Ticket

In 1988 the New Alliance Party presidential ticket headed by Dr. Lenora Fulani was on the ballot in all fifty states. Fulani, the party's most visible and effective representative, is a psychologist and "director of social therapy" for the organization's medical centers. She was certified by the Federal Election Commission to receive federal matching funds of \$205,565.18. She received a national vote of 201,430 or less than one-quarter of one percent of the total vote cast.

New York City: Politics and Primary

The party's center of activity seems to be on the Upper West Side of New York, where it has tried to be active in community politics. It has focused its attacks on Democratic reformers and occasionally supported some traditional Democrats. For several years its co-chair was New York City Councilman Gilberto Gerena Valentin of the Bronx. The NAP's goal is to build an independent party to counter "fascism." The NAP ran candidates in New York City's primary election in September, 1989. The NAP's candidate for City Council President, Rafael Mendez, received 193,842 votes, about 25 percent of the total vote cast. The party's candidate for Manhattan Borough President, Barbara R. Taylor, received 31,966 votes, about 16 percent of the total vote. While these results might be construed by some observers as representing a "protest vote" the party's performance in the primary was an impressive one, and its most significant garnering of votes thus far.

Role of the "Therapy Centers"

Fred Newman's psychological theory, implemented by what he calls "social therapy," holds that each individual is governed by a "bourgeois ego" that prevents unity with others and encourages self-gratification. The role of the radical therapist is to lead the individual to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeois ego and to liberate the proletarian ego by means of a personal revolution. Newman directs a group of eight so-called "medical and therapeutic" centers in the New York area, as well as individual centers in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington DC, Denver, and Jackson, Mississippi. The party, which claims to have regional offices in 26 states, attempts to be politically active in areas where these therapy centers are located. The New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research, set up in 1978, became the headquarters for Newman's therapy practice; its profits appear to be the major source of funding for

the New Alliance Party. Party members and supporters have been recruited from patients undergoing therapy at the Institute.

An article in the *Village Voice* of June 1, 1982 observed:

The most disturbing aspect of NAP. . . has remained consistent from the beginning: the total integration, under Fred Newman's guidance, of psychotherapy and political recruitment. . . . With about 300 patients, at least half of whom are NAP members and many of whom pay around \$40 an hour for group sessions, the Institute's annual cash flow may be above \$500,000 a year. A substantial part of that sum finds its way into NAP and its satellites, but there is no way of knowing how much.

Four years later, an article in *Newsday* revealed:

But perhaps the most controversial aspect of the party is its network of six therapy clinics, grouped together under the Institute for Social Therapy and Research. The Institute, which sometimes works with Medicaid and Medicare patients, treats 1,500 patients a month, Newman said. Therapists connected with the party follow a "drug-free" program of treatment, stressing the social origins of emotional illnesses, he said.

Also in 1986, the black newspaper, *New York Voice* (Nov. 1, 1986) wrote of the NAP's Harlem center of the Institute for Social Therapy and Research:

The three-year-old Harlem center. . . offers group, individual, family, and couples therapy as well as workshops, seminars and medical testing and referral. . . .

It is a radical idea, being a woman or being gay is not neutral to emotional health but must be considered. . . . I'm Fulani, who says she was radicalized in the sixties when she realized that the model for excellence was the white upper-class male. . . . Therefore, for her and the other staff and clients at the center, the emotional and medical issues they address are well organized.

Fulani. . . has been a vocal critic of the counseling the people who come to the center. In response to these charges, she says "To some significant extent emotional problems are social and there is a relationship between psychology and politics. We're just more open about it."

The *Village Voice* article noted earlier (entitled "Psychopolitics") provided further insight into the cult aspects of the NAP. The article noted that Newman "has determined [the party activists'] political direction at every turn" and has "treated most of the NAP leaders" with his "social therapy." The article went on:

Understanding "social therapy" from reading works of Fred Newman and his various collaborators isn't a simple undertaking. . . . Yet half a dozen booklets and pamphlets Newman has self-published over the past 10 years do offer some clues about what he calls the "practice of method"—which he regards as the best way to teach Marxism. . . . the end result, when a cure is achieved, is that "the patient is organized. . . [a cure] must result in the patient performing revolutionary acts. . . acting in ways which reject. . . the mode of understanding, explaining and meaning authoritarily identified with bourgeois ideology. . ." This may sound like a formula for indoctrinating patients into NAP, and vice versa—especially because the Institute funnels money into NAP organizations, seeks members at NAP events, and teaches and trains current and prospective members of NAP and its affiliates. . . .

Former NAP activist Dennis Serrette has described the group as "basically a therapy cult centered around the person of Dr. Fred Newman." Serrette characterized NAP as "an organiza-

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tion that portrays itself as a Marxist-Leninist organization when, in effect, they were nothing more than a power play by an individual to just exercise control over a large number of people." He described the overall atmosphere of party meetings as follows: "I certainly felt that the folks that were in there were basically under some assumption or intimidation that they shouldn't oppose anything that came from the front. I felt that way, I felt intimidated." (See Appendix B.)

NAP Anti-Semitism: The Jewish "Deal with the Devil"

For years the New Alliance Party has been plagued by charges of anti-Semitism—for good reason. In the *National Alliance* of October 25, 1985, Fred Newman referred to Jews as "the storm-troopers of decadent capitalism," and complained that they had "sold their souls to the devil—international capitalism."

Fred Newman's further remarks in this vein about Jews were contained in this *National Alliance* article (a transcript of his speech to the NAP's 1985 regional convention in Harlem), entitled "Breaking a Deal with the Devil":

... I'm saying all this because I want you to know what happened, what the Jewish people as a people did in response to almost being destroyed. I want to share this with you honestly and openly because it's very painful to say aloud. As a people, we responded to that genocide by selling our souls to the devil.

And the contract with the devil has been clear-cut. It becomes clearer every day and we have to hear it in New York and have to hear it in Johannesburg, and we have to hear it in the Middle East, we have to hear it throughout the world. The contract with the Jewish people, with the Jewish leadership, has been: "We're going to let you live. We're going to let you survive. We're going to make sure it never happens to you again as long as you function as the stormtroopers of decadent capitalism against people of color the world over! That's the goddamned deal with the devil. . . .

You make sure that you Jews will be in the forefront in the war against the empowerment of Black people, of Puerto Rican people, in this country. We need you to play that role. We have the right to use you to play that role. We will degrade your struggle and your degradation by waving the flag of your Holocaust in the name of putting down and oppressing other sisters and brothers. . . .

A special issue of *Stono*, a new NAP publication, entitled "WHAT OF THE JEW?" appeared in August, 1989. In an editorial, *Stono*—speaking "as Marxist thinkers and activists"—stated:

The DEAL WITH THE DEVIL, [i.e., Jews serving capitalism] forged in the wake of the Holocaust, was quite explicitly made; the survivors had the Scylla-and-Charybdis choice of doing the bidding of capital or dying. . . .

Elsewhere, *Stono* asserted: "Our anti-zionism needs little explanation: We oppose the Jewish colonization of Palestine."

NAP is a fervent supporter of anti-Semitic Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan. It has claimed that "it was the racist white media which inaccurately portrayed Farrakhan as anti-Semitic." In a statement supportive of Farrakhan at the party's Harlem convention in 1985, Newman again proclaimed his "devil" theory, this time attacking Zionism:

The history of Zionism, the manipulation that is Zionism, is nothing more than the making of a deal with the devil. . . . To be saved. . . . means to follow and build the leadership, the great struggle of people of color all over the world, and in the United States of America, to follow the leadership of the Afro-American people. . . . as Jews, as Puerto Ricans, as gays,

as straights—because that's the progressive leadership that will end these sick, vulgar, inhuman deals with devils. So as with Minister Farrakhan, our party is about "doing in the devil." And we'll do in the devil in the way that we can. Whatever Minister Farrakhan can do by way of helping us in doing in the devil—we don't turn anybody away!

In 1986 Practice Press, the party's publishing arm, published a pamphlet titled "The Hon. Louis Farrakhan: A Minister for Progress." It is advertised weekly in the *National Alliance*. The introduction to the pamphlet states that Farrakhan and the New Alliance Party "are the leading targets of Zionist terror," and calls Farrakhan "the most progressive religious leader on the American political landscape."

More Hostility Toward Israel and Jews

Regarding Israel, Jews and Zionism, Newman has further stated:

As a well-paid client state, Israel's function was always to defend Washington's politics and American capital in the Middle East. The dirty role for the American Zionist Jew, and the new Jew, was to support Washington's advance and survival and to use Israel as a bargaining chip in the ongoing political poker game that was post-war, cold war politics. . . . the Judeo-Christian God, long controlled by finance capital, authorized the murder and dislocation of the Palestinian people. Israel's right to exist is actually capitalism's might-makes-right to create whatever the hell it needs. . . . The so-called Jewish lobby which, myth has it, spends and works feverishly to maintain U.S. support for Israel, is an insult to Jewish intelligence, and, especially, Jewish entrepreneurial skills. . . . From the West Bank to the West Side of Manhattan international Jewry was being forced to face its written-in-blood deal with the capitalist devil. . . . The Jew, the dirty Jew, once the ultimate victim of capitalism's soul, fascism, would become a victimizer on behalf of capitalism; a self-righteous dehumanizer and murderer of people of color, a racist bigot who in the language of Zionism changed the meaning of 'Never Again' from 'Never Again for anyone' to 'Never Again for us—and let the devil take everyone else'. . . . there was no room for Zion, no less community, no less communism, in Zionism. And international Jewry, which bravely survived German fascism, succumbed to American capitalism. Zionism was the hit-man. . . .

The *National Alliance* has stridently attacked the Anti-Defamation League. On November 21, 1986, the newspaper described ADL as "A multi-million dollar slander machine against progressive, and Black and Latino leaders, and Arab and pro-Arab organizations, purposely setting these groups up for attack by an increasingly sophisticated Jewish fascist underground modeled on Israel terrorist groups." The paper's lead article in the February 2, 1989 issue was entitled, "The ADL: Jews Without Principles."

In another article attacking the ADL entitled, "ADL May Pay Heavy Price for Attacks on Fulani," the *National Alliance* (December 26, 1986) stated:

Says Fred Newman, a Jew who was viciously attacked by the ADL, "The Anti-Defamation League. . . and many other so-called Jewish leadership groupings are dangerous to be sure. On the other hand they are really a pack of bullies who thrive on scaring progressive-minded Jewish people the world over. If Jews and non-Jews stand up in solidarity to these police agents, these disgraces to Judaism, these liars, the likes of the ADL will be destroyed."

Targeting the Black Community

The NAP is actively involved in courting the black community on many fronts. In addition to its support for Louis Farrakhan, it has attempted to forge an alliance with New York radical activist Rev. Al Sharpton, and its newspaper runs a weekly ad for an "Al Sharpton Defense Fund." The *National Alliance* contains effusive praise both for Farrakhan and Sharpton on a regular basis. Moreover, in general, a great many of the articles in *National Alliance* feature subjects of particular interest to the black community, regarding political, social and cultural events.

Dr. Lenora Fulani has also been a strong supporter of Tawana Brawley, whose 1988 claims of having been raped by a white police officer were later discredited. Fulani marched in Poughkeepsie along with other backers of the New Alliance Party in March 1988, in support of Brawley's "struggle against white male supremacists." Fulani stated of Brawley: "Her struggle is our struggle. Her fight is our fight." (*New York Daily News*, March 8, 1988.)

The group's deceptively named front group, the "Rainbow Lobby," (a name very similar to that of Rev. Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition"), actively solicits money in black and liberal communities around the country. The organization's entertainment enterprise, "All Stars Talent Show," sponsors talent competitions in black communities throughout the New York area under the sponsorship of another front group, "The Community Literacy Research Project." NAP's most prominent black figure, Dr. Fulani, frequently writes for such black newspapers as *Big Red News* and the *Black American*, and party press releases about Fulani are published in many of the major black newspapers in the New York area. And, as noted, the Institute for Social Therapy and Research has a major facility in Harlem.

Indoctrinating Students

The American Psychological Association's newspaper, the *APA Monitor*, described the party's Barbara Taylor School in its April, 1988 issue. (Barbara Taylor is a leading member of the party.) The school comprises a day care center and elementary school at two sites in Harlem, and purportedly has one hundred students, ages 3-13. The *Monitor* reported that the school curriculum is "scientifically based" on the theories of Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky and, among others, party leaders Lenora Fulani, Fred Newman, and Lois Holzman. Key social issues are explored by "visiting courts and government offices, creating mock trials and role plays, and the use of the media." The school states that contributions to it are tax-deductible.

In a profile of the school, *New York Newsday* (October 6, 1988) reported that students were sent to Poughkeepsie to march in a demonstration in support of Tawana Brawley, and to a demonstration in Washington "memorializing those who suffered in the bombing of Libya." The article reported that the school had "social therapy groups" for its children, and that "numerous leaflets posted on the door promote New Alliance Party activities. . ." *Newsday* wrote:

The Barbara Taylor School seems suffused not just with an unusual educational approach but with a specific political agenda. . .

While the curriculum for social studies is "adapted" from a traditional seventh-and-eighth grade syllabus established by the Board of Education, there is a noticeable twist. "The basic foundation of the curriculum is the perspective of historical materialism," the introduction begins. "It is not the history of great men; it is the history of the organization of production. It is a working class history of the U.S."

Recent NAP Activities

The past year has seen an intensification of NAP activities on many fronts. NAP activities, enterprises and front groups have multiplied.

—The party has recently produced two more publications: *Probe*, “the intelligence magazine of the working left,” and *Stono*, “an international journal of culture and politics.” Both publications are lavishly produced. *Stono* states it is “anti-Zionist and pro-Jewish. . . we oppose the Jewish colonization of Palestine. . . a brutal settler regime supported by US arms and money.” *Stono* runs an advertisement for itself in *Probe* which features a picture of a young black girl holding a large rifle.

—A *National Alliance* article referred to some of the other NAP enterprises: “New Alliance Productions, which produces one of the country’s largest amateur talent events, the All-Stars Talent Show Network. . . Musicruise, a summer festival of ‘music under the stars’ on the Hudson River dayline featuring artists like Dizzy Gillespie, Hugh Maskela. . . The International People’s Law Institution, which now takes on most contentious human and civil rights cases from Haiti to Harlem. . . .”

—According to the Boston newspaper, *The Tab*, the NAP’s Rainbow Lobby collected money from more than 1,000 people when it knocked on doors in Brookline and Newton in the summer of 1989. *The Tab* reported NAP activist Nancy Ross’s assertion that the Rainbow Lobby “ranks as the 11th largest grassroots lobby in the country with about 150,000 members nationwide.”

A New “Cultural Center”

The most significant recent development the party has reported is the construction of a new 9,000 square foot complex, the Castillo Cultural Center, in Manhattan’s Greenwich Village. A two column banner headline in the *National Alliance* announced: “U.S. Left Opens \$2.7 Million Psychology and Cultural Center.”

The newspaper reported that the center would house the group’s East Side “Center for Short Term Psychotherapy,” which “grosses nearly \$45,000 a month, \$35,000 of which is income directly from the practice of Social Therapy.” The Castillo Cultural Center, “a multi-disciplinary collective of radical artists,” would occupy about 6,000 square feet. According to the article, the price tag for the space came to “nearly \$1 million.” The center will house an “art factory” [sic], a dark-room, a workshop and a publishing house. The article also stated that the Castillo Center “grosses in the neighborhood of \$55,000 a month, or nearly three quarters of a million dollars annually.” It announced a series of plays under the title, “A Festival of Revolution,” including one by Fred Newman, “No Room for Zion.”

An article in the *Village Voice* (October 17, 1989) referred to several artists and other cultural figures who have lent their names to the Castillo Center, and noted:

One side of Castillo’s \$2.7 million (!) loft serves as offices of the Institutes for Social Therapy and Research, run by Fred Newman, also head of the Castillo Center and the mastermind of NAP. . . .

How are they paying for it all? Lenora Fulani. . . told me this is a ‘white liberal question’. . . Signs on the wall record the total for last month’s efforts—\$33,293. At that (unbelievable) rate, the center would have eaten up nearly seven years’ fundraising.

If this is an "art factory," where is the theater, the painting studio, the dance space? If this is about building a "multi-racial, multi-ethnic, working people's cultural movement," why haven't community-based art groups been invited to participate?

The Money Trail

The *National Alliance* has explained how the New Alliance Party raises money:

"[Fred] Newman turned to the Social Therapy Centers. . . Therapy was the one activity of the political network of which he was the architect that generated a financial surplus. . . He assembled a team of grassroots organizers—he called them Community Social Workers—who began going door to door with a portfolio of community-based service organizations, soliciting members and contributors. The experiment was oriented towards creating a mass production organizing model that could turn the practice of political organizing into a money making activity which could in turn fund the expansion of the mass organizing. . .

The article went on to describe NAP's outreach efforts in middle income communities following the formation of the Rainbow Lobby in 1985. "The results," the article noted, "were startling."

Within weeks the canvassers were raising between \$50 and \$100 in one evening shift. . . Canvassers collected consistently large amounts of money. . . Nearly 35,000 people have joined the Lobby in the last four years and an additional 90,000 have contributed to its cause. By 1988, the Lobby had dozens of canvassers in the field, was running a telemarketing operation to reach contributors for follow-up donations and grossed \$548,000. In 1989 the Lobby has put 60 canvassers in the field and projects that it will gross \$1.2 million.

. . . The scientifically proven responsiveness of broad cross sections of the population to a door-to-door appeal for more democracy gave Newman the data he needed to design the ground-breaking matching funds drive for. . . Dr. Lenora Fulani. . . In 1988 Fulani became the first African American woman in history to qualify for federal primary matching funds. Over 66,000 people contributed to the drive. Her campaign raised a total of \$2,757,548—\$938,798 of which was the matching grant from the federal government. (According to the *New York Times* of August 27, 1989, the Fulani campaign had adjusted receipts of \$2.15 million and expenditures of \$2.13 million.)

Foreign Policy Positions: The Libyan Connection

The New Alliance Party has maintained sympathetic support for the Libyan regime of Col. Muamar Quaddafi. Dr. Lenora Fulani headed a New Alliance Party delegation at an "international Peace gathering" in Tripoli on April 14, 1987 to "commemorate. . . the genocidal U.S. bombing of the Gulf of Sidra and the Libyan coast." The *National Alliance* reported on April 24, 1987 that Dr. Fulani stated: "It was so extraordinarily moving, so powerful to be a part of an entire nation's demonstration against U.S. militarism and racism." Highlights of the conference included an appearance by Muammar el Qaddafi.

A simultaneous demonstration was held in Lafayette Park in Washington, D.C. at which the New Alliance Party participated along with the Nation of Islam, the General Conference of Libyan Students in the USA, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (a radical group headed by Kwame Toure, the former Stokely Carmichael) and several other groups.

In November, 1987, a tribute to Nation of Islam Minister Amr Muhammad, Fulani again took the opportunity to express her solidarity with the Libyan people and rail against the "terror of the U.S. government on people of color around the world."

After the shooting down of two Libyan MIG planes by the U.S. in January, 1989, the *National Alliance* ran a full page article condemning the act. The article stated: "Outside the U.S., few take seriously the American charges that Qaddafi is a . . . terrorist," and "the specter of Libyan chemical weapons [is not] causing the rest of the world to tremble." The article continued, "no country has used chemical weapons against a civilian population on so huge a scale as the U.S." (*National Alliance*, January 19, 1989).

For the third year in a row, two rallies were held in 1989, in New York and Washington, marking the U.S. bombing of Libya. In New York, a reception was held at the Castillo Cultural Center. Speakers included Dr. Lenora Fulani, Fred Newman, and Dr. El Moakkif, representing the Libyan regime. The speeches condemned "these Democratic and Republican murderers" (*National Alliance*, April 27, 1989). The article stated: "It is now generally acknowledged that the bombing of Tripoli was an assassination attempt against Qaddafi in retaliation for his—and his people's—support for liberation struggles around the world."

Fred Newman stated: "Some so-called progressives do not give unconditional support to the Libyans, the Congolese people, the Palestinians and others. They will not stand up to American imperialism regardless of the political price. That is a criminal act . . ."

Other Foreign Concerns

In April, 1988, the *National Alliance* mourned the death of Palestinian terrorist Abu Jihad (also known as Khalil al-Wazir), former second-in-command of the PLO. (Abu Jihad was known for his involvement in Black September, the PLO underground terrorist cell of the early 1970's responsible for the 1972 Munich Olympic massacre of eleven Israeli athletes.) The newspaper published an "In Memoriam" article with a picture of Abu Jihad and Yasir Arafat, and stated that "the international progressive community" was mourning "the loss of one of its greatest political-military tacticians." The newspapers credited Abu Jihad with leading "the first Palestinian guerilla attack against Israel" in January 1965, and lamented his "assassination by a Zionist murder squad."

The new party magazine, *Stono*, wrote in August, 1989: [W]e recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate political representative of the Palestinian people . . . While the majority of Jews continue to support the repression against the Palestinian nationalist movement, increasing numbers have become disillusioned with Jewish national utopianism."

The other major foreign policy area of concern for the New Alliance Party is the African country of Zaire. The party, its Rainbow Lobby and U.S.-Congo Friendship Committee, are actively involved in a "Dump Mobutu" (the leader of Zaire) movement. The Rainbow Lobby sponsored a forum in November, 1989, at the annual conference of the African Studies Association (ASA) in Atlanta on the subject: "Are Mobutu's Days Numbered?"

Sex and the NAP

The New Alliance Party's "therapy" places an emphasis on overt sexuality and its projects and publications reflect that tone.

On November 16, 1989, "Comrade Eugene" wrote to the *National Alliance* complaining about "x-rated graphics and other pornographic illustrations" in the newspaper. Dan Friedman, manag-

ing editor, replied that "[I]t is our duty as revolutionaries to destroy the vile and oppressive organization of sex under capitalism. In order to do this work, we can not confine sex to the bedroom, to the toilet stall or to the closet. We must participate in public displays of sexuality. . . ."

Several leaders and members have testified to their "love" for Fred Newman. Dr. Lenora Fulani wrote in the *National Alliance* (November 16, 1989), "Yes, Fred Newman and I do have a very intimate, close, sensuous, powerful and passionate relationship."

Until late in 1989, the *National Alliance* ran a weekly column entitled "Sexually Speakin' and Otherwise" by therapist and NAP activist Freda Rosen that dealt with a wide range of sexual issues.

Finally, in an article in *Practice* (Winter, 1990), entitled "The Women I Live With," Fred Newman wrote that he considers himself "an American Marxist/Leninist revolutionary" but also "a controversial revolutionary," noting, "I don't like the institution of the family in any of its forms." After quoting an unnamed critic of the NAP who had asserted that Newman had three wives, Newman observed: "I do not 'have' three wives. In fact I have none. . . . But I am terribly, terribly in love and empowered by all the women I live with." Newman's article went on to describe the personalities of, and his relationships with, seven women who have all taken active part in various NAP activities.

To Sum Up

Given its ability to attract money, votes, attention and acceptance, its tactics of deception and manipulation—as well as its radical brand of anti-Semitism—the New Alliance Party is of concern to the democratic community. It is an organization on the fringe of American politics whose history and propaganda suggest a strong affinity with other anti-democratic and anti-Semitic forces in our society.

Appendix A

New Alliance Party front groups and enterprises include the following entities:

The Rainbow Lobby (Washington, D.C.)

U.S. Congo Friendship Committee

Musicruise (Boat cruises in Manhattan that feature famous musicians)

All Stars Talent Show Network

Harlem Institute for Social Therapy and Research

Bronx Institute for Social Therapy and Research

East Side Center for Short Term Psychotherapy

New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research

Stewart Polk Health Center

Free legal clinics (one in Harlem, three in the Bronx)

People's Independent Democratic Club (Bronx)

Association of Progressive Helping Professionals

The Barbara Taylor School (Harlem)

Castillo Cultural Center (Greenwich Village)

Coalition for a Progressive New York

International People's Law Institution

Abul-Hakem Coalition to Save Our Youth

New Alliance Enterprises

The group also publishes the periodical the National Alliance Practice (a journal of therapy and research) in New York City.

The N.A.A. also maintains therapy centers in Boston, Chicago, Denver, Jackson, Mississippi, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC.

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Appendix B

An Insider's View

Dennis Serrette, former NAP presidential candidate, provided an inside view of the party when he was a witness on May 29, 1987 in the lawsuit of plaintiff Emily Carter of the New Alliance Party against the Jackson (MS) *Advocate*. The Mississippi newspaper had run articles critical of the NAP. Questioned by New Alliance Party lawyer Harry Kresky, Serrette said that the only person wielding absolute power in the party was its leader, Fred Newman. Serrette stated: "The inner circle to me was only Fred and those who Fred may have had to share his thinking, who carried out his bidding. . . his wives. . . I think Hazel Daren, Gail Elberg. . . and Debra Greene. Those were the people who live with him. . ."

Serrette stated that another organization, the International Workers Party, was in effect the "underground" apparatus of the party. He testified: "Well, the New Alliance Party was basically an organization put together by. . . Fred and some of those who may have served him, to possibly hide the existence of IWP. . . it was considered secret. . ."

The group's focus on "therapy" was particularly disturbing to him, Serrette asserted. "They seemed more preoccupied to me around therapy than they did [with regard to] the political." Serrette found many similarities between the behavior of Lyndon LaRouche's groups and the Party, including its use of character assassination: ". . . their attempts to uncover and to defame me by getting up people to talk about my sexual life. . . I felt that that was sort of like a tactical thing to get up about people might be using. . . there was no other organization I could ever think of. . . and the only people that was the New Alliance Party. . . with therapy, had controlled the people and the National Caucus of Labor Committees [a Lyndon LaRouche group] in my opinion. . . seemed to have absolute control of their people in basically the same way. So those are some of the similarities that had me thinking that, well, I really have my doubts about what I was a part of."

"Tactical" Effort Toward Black Community

Instead of being a "black-led group" as it pretended to be, Serrette said, "the party exploited this imagery, but it was a lie, it was clearly a tactical means of using blacks, and a racist scheme of using black and Latino and Asian people to do the bidding of one man, namely Fred Newman. . ." Serrette went on to state the treatment of blacks within the New Alliance Party was "unequal" and "very abusive." He found this similar to the treatment of blacks by LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees.

Serrette stated that he began to be suspicious about who was running things when he noticed that "there was a lot of people who weren't advertised as operatives or officers in the New Alliance Party, which tended to have very high. . . amount of respect within the New Alliance Party and seemed to be giving orders, you know running things..it just seemed far too organized, it seems like the people in charge are not always the people who are making the decisions around here. . ." It was at this point, he said, that he learned of the existence of a "secret organization, and that they were asking me to be a member of that organization, and the nature of it was that it was Marxist-Leninist. . . I said absolutely, you know, this is great, you know, but what is it?" Serrette stated that this "secret" organization was the International Workers Party, and "They made it clear to me that this was a secret organization."

A Secret Agenda

Serrette was queried: "Why was it secret?" He answered: "Well, the reason that I was given was that they didn't feel that an above-ground organization would be able to carry out, you know, changing this country in an effective way, meaning the changing of the social order. . . The New Alliance Party was a basically. . . above-ground for the IWP." He went on to state: "It basically served as an electoral function to attract people there and to organize them into organizations and eventually take them in as members of, I imagine the IWP."

Therapy As Manipulation

Asked about the function that "therapy" played in the group, he said "Fred Newman was the chief therapist. It was my experience that he was, he and whoever he may have appointed for those who trained therapists and generally, it was those he placed in control and in power. Lenora Fulani is the chief therapist, that's the way she was in there. . . ."

Serrette defined the therapy as "a way of controlling every aspect of their lives."

Asked about how the party financed itself, Serrette said that the bulk of finances came from the therapy centers. He was asked: "How much money are we talking about?" He answered: "A lot of money, a lot of money. As a matter of fact, it was stated in one meeting. . . that the organization. . . had made a million dollars that year."

Serrette was asked: "Do you know or do you have an opinion whether members of this organization would kill if they were so instructed by Mr. Newman?" He responded: "I wouldn't be surprised of anything that this organization might do upon instruction from Fred Newman. I certainly believe that given the therapy and the way that people have taken directly to him, that they would do anything, just about, that he would ask them to do."

Referring to the group as a "cult," Serrette summed up his opinion of the NAP by characterizing it as "an organization that portrays itself as a Marxist-Leninist organization when, in effect, they were nothing more than a power play by an individual to just exercise control over a large number of people." He described the overall atmosphere of party meetings as follows: "I certainly felt that the folks that were in there were basically under some assumption or intimidation that they shouldn't oppose anything that came from the front. I felt that way, I felt intimidated."

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Justice denied

REV. AL SHARPTON

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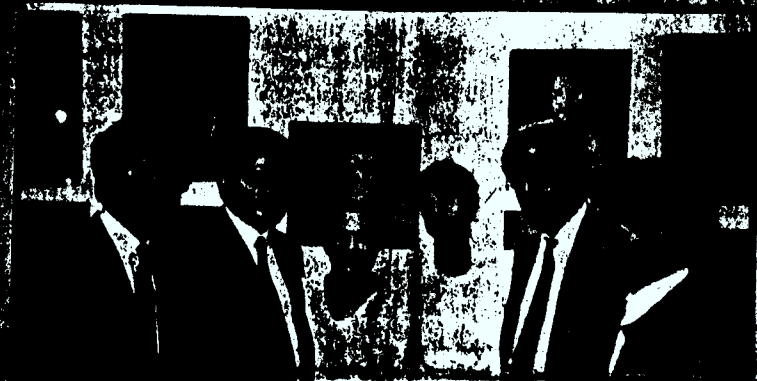
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A NEW ALLIANCE WITH COLOMBIA

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July, was charged with
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replace the one from
1836; the new constitu-
tion contains human
rights guarantees, abol-
ishes official corruption.

calls them terrorists) who spent years — in some cases decades — leading the armed struggle to liberate their country from the rule of a corrupt oligarchy which wears the respectable public face of a two-party democracy and looks the other way while hordes of right wing death squads do its dirty work of terrorizing, torturing, “disappearing” and murdering anyone who might dare to challenge the status quo.

Over the last year and a half the leadership of the guerrilla organizations that the freedom fighters represent — Movimiento 19, the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the People's Revolutionary Army (now Esperanza,



za, Paz y Libertad (“Hope, Peace and Liberty”), and the Indian-based Quintin Lamé made the decision to lay down their arms and negotiate the terms of a ceasefire with the government in Bogotá. They have since joined forces and entered into the mainstream of Colombian political life: in March of 1990 the M-19/Democratic Alliance coalition took part in elections for the first time, winning three offices and getting 8% of the vote for mayor of Bogotá. Two months later the coalition's presidential candidate (who

M-19 Democratic Alliance delegation (l to r): Alvaro Mejias, the coalition's representative in the US; Sergio Sierra of the Revolutionary Workers Party; Anibal Palacio of Hope, Peace and Liberty; and Gerardo Teñorio of Quintin Lamé (not pictured is the M-19's Vera Grabe). With them are Deborah Green, political director of the Rainbow Lobby (third from right) and her assistant, Ivonne Vazquez.

rights guarantees, abolishes official corruption, gives women the right to



stepped into the breach after the original candidate was assassinated) got 800,000 votes (12.7% of the total) and was subsequently appointed minister of health in the new president's Cabinet; he resigned to head the slate of coalition candidates for the Constituent Assembly, elected last December. The Assembly, which was convened in February of this

an abortion, and forbids the extradition of Colombians to foreign jurisdictions for purposes of prosecution (this provision was approved in the face of Washington's insistence that drug traffickers be prosecuted on American soil, a flagrant violation of national sovereignty). On the horizon are the October 27 congress-

A NEW ALLIANCE WITH COLOMBIA

Continued from p. 1

sional elections, in which the M-19/Democratic Alliance expects to win 30% of the seats (42 in the House of Representatives and 20 in the Senate) and the 1994 presidential election.

Last week — escorted by the Rainbow Lobby, the citizens' lobby which advocates for democracy in this country and abroad — the former commandantes were in Washington to meet with members of Congress, US State Department officials, and representatives of human rights organizations, seeking to convey a new image of Colombia. Perhaps even more importantly, they were building a new alliance with the democracy movement here — a movement that the anti-fascist political tendency which created the Lobby and the independent New Alliance Party has been bringing into being over the last 20 years.

At the request of the M-19/Democratic Alliance the tour, which had been months in the planning, was originally supposed to have been a joint undertaking by the Washington Office on Latin America and the Rainbow Lobby. But as the Lobby's Ivonne Vazquez puts it, WOLA and the DC-

based Colombian Committee on Human Rights "tried to get them to dump us." That's odd, you might think: you don't their supporters want the democratic forces in Colombia to have all the help they can get in bringing their cause to the power brokers on the Hill? And take a look at the Lobby's track record — even its bitterest enemies acknowledge the crucial role it played in persuading Congress (after a generation of subsidizing Africa's homegrown fascist, Mobutu Sese Seko) to discontinue military aid to the dictatorship in Zaire.

It is odd — until you remember the collaborationist politics of the anti-imperialist (revisionist Communist Party USA-influenced) American left, which keeps it in bed with and subservient to the Democratic Party. Over the last ten years the erstwhile "party of the people" has been galloping rightward in a frantic effort to catch up with the reactionaries who have captured the White House, abandoning as it runs its traditional base — labor, the poor, the African American community, women, lesbians and gays — and whatever organizational commitment to liberal principles of social and economic justice it may once have had. These days,

it would be hard to find as false a friend to the struggles of people in the Third World as the Democratic Party. The job of the revisionists is to protect the Democrats' dirty secret, so that the other party of capital can continue to mediate the relationship between the broad masses of people in this country (and the world) and the class that rules America (and the world). Which is why the Lobby, a product of the neo-revisionist left tendency that through the New Alliance Party is shaping a broad-based, independent political movement here which is part of the international democracy movement, is not liked by the likes of WOLA.

To its credit, the M-19/Democratic Alliance refused to be bullied into breaking with the Lobby. WOLA gashed its organizational teeth in frustration — until last minute delays in getting visas for the Colombian visitors provided the phony anti-imperialists with the opportunity to cancel their participation in the tour. The Lobby willingly took over the show — including a visit to New York City — and earned the deep appreciation (expressed publicly as well as privately) of the delegation.

"They were able to see more than

any Senators and Representatives on Capitol Hill," says Vazquez. "They also met with Amnesty International and the National Endowment for Democracy. They did what they wanted to do." The tactic of the lobbying effort is to persuade American legislators to divert the massive flow of US tax dollars that currently goes to Colombia into economic rather than military channels — a tactic that the Lobby will continue to pursue in the upcoming months.

The Rainbow Lobby itself is a tactic. It is able to bring considerable pressure to bear on members of Congress — not because it represents wealthy Political Action Committees (a euphemism for corporate shakedown artists), but because it is connected to a democracy movement that represents tens of thousands of Americans, and through that movement to the millions and millions of people all over the world who are forcing democracy onto the political agenda in their countries. Even the professional politicians of the two major parties are not invulnerable to mass movement. They have to be responsive to it, if only for reasons of political expedience. The point is that the incumbents on Capitol Hill (like their counterparts in the state legislatures and city halls) can't be depended upon to bring about fundamental changes in social policy, domestic or foreign. Only a radical restructuring of American politics — the democratization of the political process — can accomplish that. Which is what the Lobby continually seeks to convey to the leaders of democratic struggles who increasingly come knocking on its doors.

"The political reality of Colombia offered no other possibilities," Sergio Sierra of the Revolutionary Workers Party said in an interview with the Alliance this afternoon, explaining the guerrillas' decision to give up armed struggle. His comrades nodded. "There is a new international situation — the crisis in Eastern Europe, and the new movements for democracy there. The changes in the Soviet Union, which has been a model for a lot of liberation struggles in Latin America. Throughout Latin America many democratic move-

ments are growing up. There is a new political face in Colombia. The level of violence is very high. We are trying to play a new political role. Armed struggle and violence are not practical tactics now. That doesn't mean giving up the struggle, or our political principles. The decision to lay down arms was not a renunciation of armed struggle — it represents a change in tactics. In that context we called, successfully, for a Constituent Assembly. With the most takeover of Congress, one of our most important political institutions, we will build a new way to participate. We don't feel that we have failed. There have been a lot of errors, a lot of mistakes. We were able to reorganize, to change our tactics, so as to confront imperialism."

Last week's tour of Capitol Hill, and the subsequent visit to New York City, were part of the new tactics. The purpose of the tour, Quintin Lamé's Gerardo Tenorio explained in the interview, was to "break the isolation we were subjected to by Washington and Colombia's ruling class... We want to meet with everybody."

Speaking for the other members of the Democratic Alliance who were at the interview, Tenorio told the Alliance that the tour had fulfilled its purpose. "We were able to present the democracy movement in Colombia, and to break with the stereotypes that have made the country synonymous with violence and drug trafficking (stereotypes which are rooted in material realities paid for courtesy of Uncle Sam: "aid" to the Colombian military finds its way into the pockets of the wilding right wingers responsible for the thousands of maimings and murders that take place every year; the US-conducted "narcoterrorist" war against the drug traffickers, which gives the American press some of its most lurid headlines).

Changed perceptions on the part of Washington's policy makers, Tenorio argued, would "force changes in how this government relates to our country — instead of military aid, they will give us humanitarian aid."

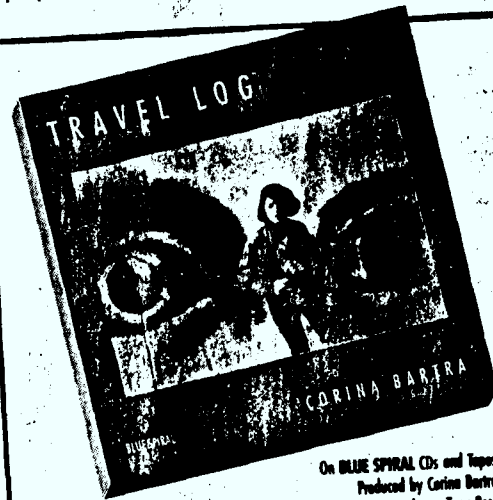
This evening the Lobby hosted a reception for the Colombian delegation at the United Nations. Among the

guests was NAP chairperson Dr. Lenora Fulani, America's pre-eminent Black independent, once again a candidate for President of the United States. Fulani briefed her Colombian comrades on the history of the 12 year old "people-instead-of-profits" party and its place in the international movement for democracy.

"I laid out what we are doing," Fulani told the Alliance. "I said who we are relative to the Democratic and Republican parties — I talked about the fact that the Democratic Party is not a friend to poor and working people internationally, just as it isn't here, although it pretends to be — and that we have been concerned about how to win over international struggles to supporting our work here. I talked about Zaire, and the role that we play in supporting the democracy movement there — without the pressure from the democracy movement in this country, Congress would do nothing."

The members of the Colombian democracy delegation expressed their eagerness to have Fulani come into the Colombian community here — with hundreds of thousands of Colombians in the metropolitan area. New York is considered their country's "fourth largest city" — and organize support for independent politics (the new constitution written by the Constituent Assembly allows Colombians who have US citizenship to vote at home as well as here). "They are trying to bring their people with them into electoral politics," Fulani explained. "What we are doing here is in sync with that."

"The people that we have the strongest relationship to internationally don't just come up to Harlem as 'sight-seers' to get a tour," the NAP leader continued. "They care about the struggles of African Americans and other oppressed people in this country. They have stood up with us, because we are leading and giving shape to those struggles. They have connected themselves to us. That takes principles. It takes guts. And it's smart. Because when they do that, they at least have a shot at succeeding in what they are trying to do at home. If not — if what they're doing is running after the Democratic Party — they've messed it up."



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British Psychologists Visit Social Therapy Center

Jan Parker and Erika Berman are radical psychologists from Manchester, England who recently visited the East Side Center for Social Therapy while in the United States to attend a conference. Parker and Berman were introduced to the Social Therapy movement by their colleague Valerie Walkerdine, an internationally prominent Marxist feminist psychologist. Walkerdine, an editor with Routledge Press, has invited Dr. Fred Newman, the founder of Social Therapy, and Dr. Lois Holzman, his principal scholarly collaborator, to write a book on Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky, whose discoveries have played an important role in the development of the theory and practice of the radically humanistic approach to clinical psychology known as Social Therapy. The book, called Lev Vygotsky: Revolutionary Scientist, is due out later this year. What follows is an interview with Alliance senior editor and practicing Social Therapist Mary Fridley.

National Alliance: *Could you talk about your own relationship to politics and psychology?*

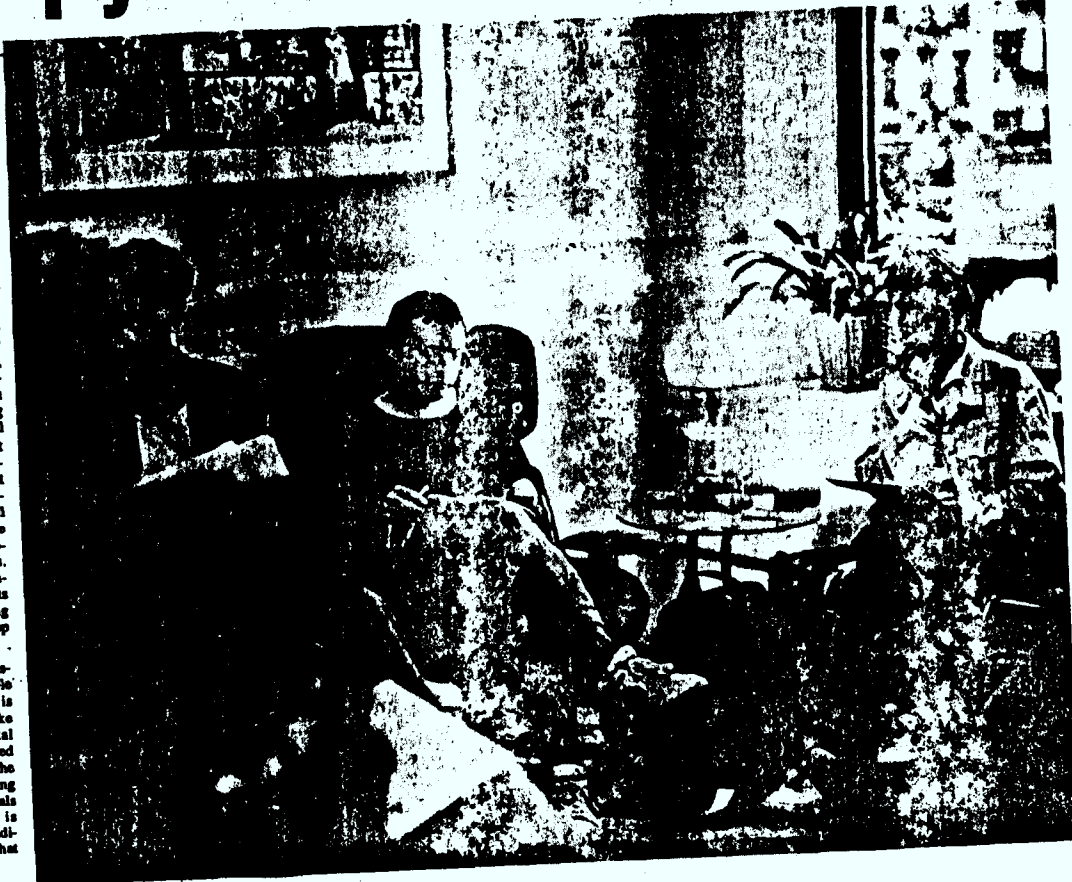
Jan Parker: I was a Marxist before I was a psychologist. I was told by my comrades in the International Marxist Group, which I was a member of in the 1970s, not to do psychology. They said it was a reactionary discipline because it was concerned with the individual — psychology ends up, one way or another, reducing things to the level of the individual and forgetting about the structures of repression: class structures, patriarchal structures, structures of counter-abundance. So I went into psychology not wanting to be a psychologist but wanting to know what it was about psychology that made it tick, why psychologists did it and what the power of psychology was. I've learned something about all that, and I suppose I still have a hostility to the whole project of psychology. Even though I'm a lecturer in social and abnormal psychology in a department of psychology and speech pathology —

Alliance: How do you see the practice of psychology in Great Britain being affected by the country's continuing move to the right politically?

Berman: The context in Britain is that mental hospitals are being closed and nothing else is being put in their place. These cutbacks are being accompanied by the rhetoric of celebrating the family and community. As services are being dramatically cut and reduced, the national health system is being sold off to privatized hospitals and local health centers. Things are getting so bad — and this is also happening in education — that it is becoming increasingly necessary for those who have money to buy private health care. It's very frightening. For clinical psychologists, there is a push toward professionalization, or chartering, as we call it in Great Britain. With this chartering business, clinical as well as educational psychologists are also under the threat of being privatized. As a result, hospitals and local authorities may just decide they don't need to employ psychologists. Needless to say, this is all very conservatizing. In the late 70s we were looking at educational psychologists as change agents, as activists. Now there are all kinds of books coming out about educational psychologists that are refocusing attention on gaining professional credibility so you can keep your job.

Parker: One of the effects of the closing of the mental hospitals and people being checked out into the streets is that the radical demand of bodies like the National Association for Mental Health that mental hospitals be closed and alternative provisions made in the form of mental health centers is being discredited, because these professionals see that people are suffering. It is becoming very, very difficult for radical mental health workers to argue that mental hospitals are a bad thing.

Berman: In fact, in some cases it is precisely those radical mental health activists who were at one time calling for the closing of the mental health



Jan Parker and Erika Berman.

FREDA ROSEN

...we go in talking with you... built and transposing this to England, where... independent

of psychology and speech pathology — I love that combination of names — I just say I teach it.

Ertha Berman: I can't say I went into psychology committed to saving the world. But I was a feminist. I had looked at what developmental and educational psychology does to women, to Black people, to lesbians, in terms of the ways it invidiously creeps into everyday consciousness — like the provision of child care, decisions about what's considered normal for children, decisions about whether people should be sent off to another institution, the evaluation of parents and family. I realized that I couldn't teach developmental psychology and just persuade that. I have to try to draw my students' attention to the way psychology has been used and the general role of psychological knowledge within contemporary society.

Alliance: How did you meet each other?

Parker: We teach in the same department at Manchester Polytechnic University.

Berman: We're also part of a network, a very small network of critical postgraduate students who are getting into post-structuralist ideas as a way of commenting on psychological processes.

Alliance: What do you mean by post-structuralist ideas?

Berman: Post-structuralist ideas are ideas that are currently being used outside of psychology as a way of locating secular ideas, bodies of knowledge that pass as scientific and are therefore seen as value-free, and showing them to be ideological and full of biases.

activists who were at the time calling for the closing of the mental health institutions opposing their closure because there is nothing to replace them...

Parker: ...And defend services that have been oppressive to those patients who were locked up in these hospitals for years. There are some alternative projects. One is a group in North Manchester that has been inspired by a group of psychiatrists from Trieste, in northern Italy, where in an entirely different political context a decision was made to close the mental hospital and to put something more radical in its place. As in Trieste, some of the mental health workers in North Manchester have been struggling to involve people in their own services — to get consumers of the services involved in the running of short term housing and other community mental health centers that have been set up.

Alliance: Have you visited Trieste?

Parker: We have both been there. The Trieste experiment was developed in the 1970s, at a time when the Communist Party was quite influential, people were optimistic and there was local government funding. So they could close the local mental hospital and try radical experiments. There isn't anything like that climate in Britain.

Berman: That was a particular moment in Italy. Mental health issues were very explicitly on the political agenda in a way they aren't in England.

Alliance: It seems like the situation has been exacerbated by the failure of the left in England to deal with the connection between politics and psychology.

total politics interested in non-racial issues. And it's very difficult to get left groups interested in mental health issues because it's not "proper" politics. The nearest we've got to a connection between individual stress and pain and political issues is the debate over the personal and the political that came out of the feminist movement in the 1970s. There was quite a crisis in the left at that time because of some very useful feminist critiques of male ways of organizing. One of the effects, however, of making that link between the personal and the political has been that many on the left drew the conclusion that they should just go into the personal. So there has been a flight from politics. This is manifest in an emphasis on personal development — "learning how not to be a violent person" kind of stuff — and spirituality. What's interesting about what you're doing here is that the connection is being made between the personal and the political and you've realized that the personal isn't political enough — it's the politics that must take charge.

Alliance: Can you tell us more about how you learned of the Social Therapy movement?

Parker: I was putting together a collection of writings on the link between psychology and Marxism for a book I'm doing with Russell Spours in Amsterdam. We put together a fairly exhaustive questionnaire/study to see where Marxists or were interested in Marxism. One of the people Valerie Walkerdine suggested we speak to was

Alliance: What have you done while you've been here?

Parker: We've seen the play *Our Young Black Men Are Dying and Nobody Seems to Care*. We went up to Harlem for a New Alliance Party meeting with Dr. Fulani. We've talked to Social Therapists, to Lois Holzman, to Fred Newman.

Alliance: What are your impressions of the political community we've built?

Berman: I feel it's quite difficult to digest all the impressions and put together everything we've seen. It seems clear to me that what you've got here is an accomplishment that has involved a great deal of work. It is very, very interesting that you've done it. I want to try and find out something about how you've been able to do this and place it in the context of what's happening in this country.

Parker: Castillo is a fantastic achievement and is making a significant contribution on all kinds of issues. The play was fantastic and clearly spoke to the people in the theatre. And the room was packed. It is a wonderful building and good atmosphere. I thought that the New Alliance Party would be like the Marxist parties in England, but it seems clear that NAP isn't like that. It is a much broader alliance, with people from a wide variety of political views. What also surprised me is the way Dr. Fulani presents herself as a serious Presidential candidate. I was very impressed by the way Dr. Fulani addressed an audience of Black youth and told them to come along to the Gay Pride March next Sunday. She was also quite open about Social Therapy being founded by a Jewish man. But there is a contradiction that worries us. We are wondering how far you can co-opt someone like Minister Farrakhan, who

isn't as taking with you're bent and transposing this to England, where there isn't a private and independent system of mental health care?

Berman: You've obviously taken advantage of a particular situation here in the United States. One of the things we felt quite strongly about what happened in Trieste was that it had everything to do with the particular circumstances in that city and country and had a particular relationship to the history and structure. What does all this mean for what's happening where we are? We need to think about where mental health services are at and where radical psychology is going. I've got to do that work in order to understand what you're doing here.

Alliance: It seems like your concern is based on the premise that the New Alliance Party and Dr. Fulani are "courting" Minister Farrakhan in order to organize the Black community and Black youth. In reality, the New Alliance Party has been organizing in the Black community for the better part of two decades. Dr. Fulani works with Minister Farrakhan because he is a distinguished leader who is followed by millions of African Americans. As Dr. Fulani has said numerous times, the white community cannot tell the Black community who its leaders are, nor will this tendency pander to the racism of the white media in order to gain legitimacy in their eyes. Moreover, Dr. Fulani, who leads a Black-led, militantly pro-gay party, many of whose founding members and principal organizers are Jewish, has a crucial role to play in providing leadership to other Black leaders on controversial issues like the relationship between Blacks and gays and Blacks and Jews. We're a living example of what progressive relationships between and among those communities can be.

Parker: I don't mean to be negative. The rhetoric of NAP, of Castillo, of the East Side Center, is very good. It's very important that whatever consistency is being addressed, there is no compromise. I haven't seen or heard anything to make me worry about that. I think the Center for Social Therapy is the most interesting of the lot. I would like to see more about how the Social Therapy groups work. I would like to know more about how people become empowered by those groups and come to think of themselves as changers — or revolutionaries, as it was put in one of our discussions with Social Therapists — rather than objects or consumers.

Berman: One of the key things that struck me is your focus on building contexts and environments. I've begun messed up and don't trust psychologists. They are empowering themselves in a more effective way so it seems to me that the job of radical psychologists in Britain is to listen and support them in doing what they are doing. The only way they can get out of the mess is to work on their own strengths. That means women as women, Blacks as Blacks. Social Therapy seems to share the notion that therapy groups should be mixed groups — if people are to be cured, they need to learn how to work together — women with men, Blacks with whites. It is impressive that you have taken on different types of oppressions and are part of a network of struggles in America. That's extremely important and challenging to us as well.

Parker: We want to see what can be done in Britain. This approach has come out of years and years of radical psychologists working together to build something which is connecting the personal and the political. The worst thing that could happen is for people from our country to rush over and do a quick course in Social Therapy and then try to set something up in Great Britain.

Alliance: What do you mean?

Parker: That is the way so many brands of therapy have arrived. Professionals have come to America and trained and then came back to Britain and set up institutes. Most of them are quacks, dangerous quacks.

Berman: One of the Social Therapists we spoke to talked about building the ship as you go across the ocean. It seems to me that when you are building something, the thing you are building is determined by who is building it and what you are building it with. My concern with exporting Social Therapy to England is that it would be done in such a way as to batter down the structure of what is already there — the community mental health centers and radical mental health groups.

Parker: One of the things that we learned from our work in Manchester is that it is difficult to get mental health consumers to talk to radical psychologists because they never want to talk to psychologists again. They've been messed up and don't trust psychologists. They are empowering themselves in a more effective way so it seems to me that the job of radical psychologists in Britain is to listen and support them in doing what they are doing. The only way they can get out of the mess is to work on their own strengths. That means women as women, Blacks as Blacks. Social Therapy seems to share the notion that therapy groups should be mixed groups — if people are to be cured, they need to learn how to work together — women with men, Blacks with whites. It is impressive that you have taken on different types of oppressions and are part of a network of struggles in America. That's extremely important and challenging to us as well.

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Hillside Massacre protesters gather at governor's mansion

by Dan Kaplan

PRINCETON, NJ, June 23 — One hundred and fifty National Action Network and New Alliance Party activists from New York City and Newark gathered in front of Governor Jim Florio's mansion today, continuing the public protest over the murder by police of two unarmed black youths in the town of Hillside on June 8. The demonstration followed a rally in Newark on June 15 to demand justice for Lamont Russell Jones and Tasha Mayse, who was five months pregnant when police — without warning — fired 43 bullets into the van in which they and five other young people were riding. Four of them were wounded in the shooting spree. The offending officers have not even been suspended.

The Reverend Al Sharpton was joined by NAP chair Dr. Lenora Fulani, New York City attorney Alton Maddox, United Youth Council president Salaam Ishmail and Sharon Mayse, the mother of Tasha, who held aloft a large picture of her daughter in leading the rally outside the steel gates of the governor's residence. "We come today to the Florio plantation to tell him we will not continue to let him govern a state that murders our children," Sharpton declared. "Your savage, inhumane police chose to use our children for target practice."

Today's rally began with a progression of Black women and children who told harrowing stories of relatives and friends murdered by the police. Monica Johnson defiantly told the crowd, "Tasha was my friend. We don't have policemen anymore, we have paid, trained assassins." Thelma Pannell, the mother of 15 year old Phillip Pannell, who was shot in the back by police in Teaneck on April 10 of last year, told the crowd, "Over a year, and

we are waiting for the case to come up... I am here to support the Mayses because I know how it hurts." The Reverend Sarah Torres of the Bronx described how her son Edwin was brutally beaten and drowned by New York City police on April 19, 1988. "I feel your sorrow and hurt, and we will be here to support you," Ertha Elliot, the sister of Mary Mitchell, who was gunned down by New York City police in her own home last November, told the Mayse family.

"One of the reasons why there are not more people protesting the genocide of our youth is because people are being set up," Fulani told the crowd. "In Texas last week I was asked if the van was stolen... I don't care if the van belonged to the President of the US!"

"A van was stolen, but you stole a whole damned country," Sharpton charged the white powers that be. "You wiped out the Indians and enslaved the Africans."

Black elected officials like Mayor Sharpe James of Newark, Mayor David DiIulio of New York City and Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles were harshly criticized for their collaboration in racial violence. (Sharpton noted the foresight of Bradley's mother in naming him Tom.)

"It is time for all responsible leaders to warn our youth of the severe consequences of auto theft," says a memo issued from Sharpe James' office on June 20. "It is time for the judicial branch of government to rethink auto theft as a misdemeanor. It is time for the automobile industry to manufacture a car with an anti-theft device that cannot be stolen by a ten year old in less than one minute. If we can fly to the moon, walk in space and win the war in the Persian Gulf with smart missiles, why not smart cars?" The memo concluded that the mayor would make no further com-



Reverend Al Sharpton leads demonstration outside the residence of New Jersey Governor James Florio. Dr. Lenora Fulani is at left.

ments until the investigation was over.

"James said the important thing is a car was stolen — this man must be from Mars!" said an incredulous Shahid Watson. Ishmail expressed disbelief that "a mayor of a city is so insensitive." And Tasha's aunt, Denise Mayse somberly noted, "A van can be replaced, but my niece cannot be replaced."

James refused to meet with community leaders on June 20. He insisted that he would only meet with Sharpton and immediate family members, but the family's legal advisors, including Maddox and Ishmail, could not attend. Adrian Oates, James' assistant press secretary, told the *Alliance*: "The meeting was not for those people." But Sharpton responded that this was not "a sympathy meeting," it was a meeting of community representatives demanding justice.

"We can call Florio, James, and DiIulio all kinds of names, but Democrat is the worst name," Fulani insisted. "Democrats dare to get elected on our vote, yet they are not here... If James dares to run for office, we'll go after him with a vengeance. This coun-

try is killing you." At the rally the protesters were encouraged to keep the furor alive. Maddox urged them "not [to] get amnesia as we leave here. Renew the fire in your belly, rebuild the fire of Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey..."

"I ain't going to rest until we get some justice," cried Laticque Mayse, brother of Tasha. "Don't get tired," Torres warned. "We will have victory."

Ishmail announced that his United Youth Council was spearheading the drive to force Florio to take action against the police officers, and he renewed his demand from the previous week in Newark that the FBI division for civil rights violations get actively involved in the case. He called for Florio to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate, since the Black community did not trust the investigations undertaken by Union or Essex counties. He also announced a march next week in Hillside, including stops at Mayor James' residence and the newly named Hillside Massacre Bridge, the site of the murders.



THE PEOPLE'S PREACHER

REV. AL SHARPTON

Justice denied

Additional innovations in police cover-up and judicial misconduct came to light this week in New York in the murder indictments of five policemen in the case of Federico Pereira. Five police had been indicted for murder by Queens District Attorney John Sanibacci after a coroner revealed that his inquiry and autopsy firmly established that Mr. Pereira was in fact choked to death by police and did not die as a result of substance abuse, as was being fraudulently purported by the police department.

By some twist of corruption, and predictable minority fate, a new Queens district attorney came in, and very abruptly announced that he was going to sabotage the indictments emanating from his own office. Mr. Richard Brown, the new Queens district attorney, took the unprecedented step of trying and reaching a verdict on the officers in the privacy of his own office, when clearly all other citizens and criminals are tried in a public courtroom by a jury of their "peers" and a trial judge, monitored by the public and the media.

Mr. Brown very quickly and facetiously sidestepped all of that by saying that a pathologist had told him the coroner's report could not stand up and therefore he would do the unheard of and unprecedented thing of personally requesting that four of the five indictments be dropped. Usually a prosecutor goes to trial before he knows whether or not his evidence can stand up at all. A grand jury is not required to find a defendant guilty; a grand jury is only required to find that there is enough evidence there to make one go to trial, and it is up to the trial jury to decide the guilt or innocence of the defendant. So why would Mr. Brown rob the trial jury and the public, and the victim and the victim's family, of this procedure unless he is really trying to protect the defendants rather than protect the people that he has been charged with representing in court.

An examination of Mr. Brown's

head-hunter in the Tawana Brawley case. In fact Mr. Ryan was the one who handled the cover-up of the Brawley rape and sodomy situation and was the arms and legs to Attorney General Robert Abrams. It seems very strange that Cuomo's and Abrams' top honcho would relinquish his higher position and come down to a reduced position in Queens and that the first result two weeks later is that four murderous police are flying through the revolving doors of Queens courthouses with dismissed indictments. I think that coincidence is too appalling to even use in this situation.

It is clear that there is a trend now in this country that is ringing from the halls of Queens County, New York to the halls of Miami, Dade County, Florida to Hillside, New Jersey — they are trying to put it within the legal apparatus of this nation that a policeman has the right to kill citizens. Any time in one week we can see these situations emanate from these three culturally, economically and geographically diverse counties, it sends a frightening signal to minorities that if you dial 911 you had better have your insurance agent and your mortician on the other line. It is in fact worse now to seek redress from the police than it was 20 years ago. It was unheard of after fighting and standing and marching and finally forcing the system to prosecute police that DAs would drop those prosecutions just months later or that courts of appeal would overturn hard-won convictions a year later, as happened in the Dade County case.

Well, remedy: we must intensify the street heat. We must remember that it was not a gift of the judicial system that prosecuted these police in the first place, it was the result of marches, civil disobedience, agitation and major confrontation. Therefore, it seems that as soon as our picket signs are ripped up, as soon as our banners are put in the corner and as soon as our marching shoes are in the...

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Barbara Taylor School celebrates 6th graduation



The youngest students at Harlem's Barbara Taylor School — the laboratory school of the East Side Center for Short Term Psychotherapy — performing the "Stop Abusive Behavior" song at the June 21 graduation (the progressive school's sixth) of Akidisa Jones, Le Var Tyson and Philip Williams. The celebration took place at the Castillo Cultural Center. ■

background raises one's eyebrows; one understands that it is more natural than not that Mr. Brown would have this peculiar opening act in his debut as the new Queens district attorney. Mr. Brown was an appellate court judge, appointed by his good friend Governor Mario Cuomo. One must understand that an appellate court judge in New York comes in probably every other day, sits a couple of hours on the bench, and receives an exorbitant salary. For one to retire from a lucrative salary where you were required to work at most six to eight hours a week while your law clerk did most of your work to go to a job that would require you to work 18 hours a day for less money means that you are there on a contract assignment rather than to fulfill your career ambition.

Then Mr. Brown very awkwardly hired Mr. Jack Ryan. Yes, you've heard his name before — he was the head

shoes are in their resting places within our closets around the world, justice becomes dormant, redress is dismissed, and that the actual forced payment for deeds, especially those committed by blue-clothed Gestapo murderers, becomes unheard of. We must increase, intensify and prolong the pressure. We must prove that we will not be turned around, that we will not be deterred.

Yes, we forced America to look at itself; now we must force America to change from that look. And the only way that it will change is if we change. And that is we must stop these three week fits, we must build year and two and three year movements that will follow these police criminals from the beat to the jail cells to make sure that no prosecutors and no court of appeal judges can turn on their exit signs and their detour signs to help killer officers avoid what both history and juries have destined they do, and that is time in jail like any other murderers. ■

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Michigan and Minnesota go independent for youth

by Dan Belmont

In late May Eric McGuinness, a 16-year old Black youth who had been a champion swimmer, was found drowned with his clothes on in the river that separates St. Josephs and Benton Harbor, two small towns in southwest Michigan. A resident of Benton Harbor, McGuinness was last seen at a St. Josephs teen club where the staff and clientele are predominantly white. "There has been massive retaliation in the Black community," says Ezra Rogers, a 23 year old African American man who is running as an independent for the Benton Harbor city council. "Black youths have formed an organization called the Black Revolutionary Guard; this group is going around and beating white youths. I don't condone this type of activity, but I'm not entirely against it either. Given the indifference of the local administration and the do-nothing posture of the local NAACP and Operation PUSH chapters, people are striking back in one of the few ways they can. It's infuriating that McGuinness was killed over three weeks ago and there hasn't yet been a serious investigation of his death."

"The McGuinness case is just one of many examples of racist violence here," explains Antoine Echols, an 18 year old Black youth who, along with Rogers and Eric Hockett, make up the People's Power Movement slate for city council. "There is a conspiracy against Black people here; just last year Morris Mabeni, a Black youth, was murdered by a white cop, and the judge ruled it a justifiable homicide. I'm running for city council because the current local government has no interest in the people and I think that if you get inside a virus you can do something about it. I'm running on the People's Power slate because I'm disgusted with the two party system."

"We're going door to door to build our campaigns," says Rogers. "Because we want to stir up the sleeping giant of this city. It's been a long time since people have seen concerned candidates at their door. Folks are angry that they are not represented in the city government, and they often express that anger to us at first. People are very hungry to express their desires, and as they warm up to us they have a lot to say. We also reach out to people by flyers at police arrests in drug areas; our platform will be based on what the people want to see

closer to a can of gasoline. They don't understand that this is not like Tiananmen Square, where you could round up protesters who were in one small area. Benton Harbor is the Detroit of southwest Michigan. The city is 95% African American, police brutality against poor Blacks is rampant, and there are no jobs and no recreational facilities for our youth. The city power structure has plans to gentrify the city and supplant the residents of color. It's clear that there are many in this town who need people in city hall who have anti-crime, anti-police brutality and pro-social reform positions. We expect our support to come from all kinds of people left out of the system: the youth, gay people, addicts, dealers and concerned parents."

As he grew up, Rogers says he was fascinated by Malcolm X, and that interest has transferred to Minister Louis Farrakhan. "I am drawn to the Nation of Islam's brand of political fire building," Rogers explains. "I am also aware that Farrakhan endorsed Fulani in her 1988 Presidential bid." Rogers first heard of Dr. Lenora Fulani the chairperson of the New Alliance Party, who is running for President again in 1992, during a 1988 radio interview. "I respect Fulani's awareness of society's conspiracy to make Black men look like hoods," says the 23 year old activist. "The Police Sell Drugs" video gave us hope, since these things are happening all over the country. Benton Harbor is no different."

Rogers has been working for several months to build a NAP chapter. "As we build a stronger relationship with the community, I plan to incorporate NAP more into our campaigns," he says. "People in Benton Harbor have no interest in new organizations until they know what they're about; I think as things progress, this area will prove to be fertile ground for the growth of NAP and Fulani's '92 campaign."

Minnesota

"There is a war against people of color in Minneapolis," charges Sandra Coleman, a NAP activist who is running on the independent party's line for Minneapolis school board. "There's a lot of drugs and a high unemployment rate in our communities, and hate crimes by skinheads are on the rise. I'm going to use my campaign for school board to focus on the educational abuse of Black youth."

"There is no real investment to educate Black kids here," Coleman continues. "To see these local board figures



Sandra Coleman

law. There is not enough African American and Latino history being taught. An African American teacher was recently called big lip and dumb by the school administration, and Black kids are frequently labeled learning disabled or kicked out of school as a way of keeping them down. This has got to change."

Coleman expects a strong showing in the school board race. "I'll probably win," predicts the outspoken activist. "People have seen me for three years, and I get lots of media. I expect support from the African American community, progressive white folks, and the gay community. There is a lot of disgust with the two party system, so I think more people will vote independent. I'll kick ass this year and next year Lenora [Fulani] will come in and kick ass."

Coleman is no stranger to the campaign trail; after running for city council in 1989, she ran for Hennepin County Commissioner in 1990 and — operating on only a shoestring budget and with a campaign staff that was tiny in more than one sense (two of her five volunteers were under the age of six) — garnered an impressive 16,059 votes. "I talk about NAP and the independent political movement straight up, and that's why my campaigns are so successful," Coleman explained. "I talk about who Fred [Dr. Fred Newman, the Jewish Marxist who sits on NAP's national committee] and Lenora are, the alliance with Sharpston, and the tie to Farrakhan. More and more people are responding to me. The campaign provides a vehicle to build NAP with."

Coleman, a 48 year old Black working class lesbian from Chicago, has a rich political history. In the 50s she participated in civil rights marches in Chicago; ten years later she was a paid staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "I thought of joining the Muslims back then," she recalls. "But I did not want to go back in the closet, so I didn't join. NAP is the first place where I have ever fit in; I was

Former MCI employees win first round in multi-million dollar bias suit

In a case that has the potential to develop into a major test of civil rights enforcement under Bush's "new world order," four Black former telecommunications employees of MCI, Inc. won the right last week to a jury trial to recover full damages for the effects of systematic discrimination by the company.

Most of the plaintiffs had been hired by MCI in its first years of business to develop and put in place its operating systems. Having accomplished that, they were then asked to train new, white, mostly male, employees with no technical experience who were — it turns out — being tracked for middle level management positions. The plaintiffs, who had New York Telephone and other established phone companies to their credit, were passed over for promotions and summarily fired in December 1986. In addition to back pay, the workers are asking to be compensated for the pain and suffering caused by the company's racist treatment.

MCI has been seeking for four



years to block the suit, but United States District Judge John Sprizzo ruled on June 20 that four of the nine original plaintiffs were entitled — based on the 1966 Civil Rights Statute which prohibits discrimination in contracts — to bring their case before a jury. The other five plaintiffs remain entitled to damages for lost wages and a non-

jury trial.

"For the past four years MCI has fought this case tooth and nail," noted the workers' attorney, Harry Kresky. "If management had exhibited any sense of fairness and decency it would have been settled long ago. The case is now an important test of the legality of racist corporate tracking systems."

NAP demonstrators call for accountability in brutality cases

Dr. Rafael Mendez of the New Alliance Party led a demonstration at Borough Hall on Friday, June 21, as District Attorney Charles Hynes gave the keynote address for a Brooklyn borough-sponsored annual bias workshop. Dr. Mendez was joined by Justinia Cruz (the

wife of Jose Cruz, the Dominican restaurateur shot eight times by the police in December while defending his restaurant) and by Louisa Gonzalez, mother of Andrew Gonzalez, who was shot 29 times by

police last summer during a suicide attempt. The demonstrators are demanding accountability from Hynes. "Why are these cases still under investigation?" challenged Mendez. "What is Hynes doing to make sure that justice is done in these brutal cases?"

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ELYSSA RUNDLE

Pereira family protests police murder charge dismissal

Charging that New York City police "have free reign to murder Latino and African American people in New York City and get away with it," the mother of 21 year old police murder victim Federico Pereira denounced Tuesday's announcement by newly appointed Queens District Attorney Richard A. Brown that he intends to dismiss murder charges against four of the five police officers involved.

Laura Nieves met with the Reverend Al Sharpton immediately after Brown's announcement to plan actions to pressure the state to appoint a special prosecutor in the case, which drew national attention at a time when the videotaped police beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles put police brutality in the spotlight.

Pereira was killed early in the morning of February 3 after police officers found him sleeping in a car they said was stolen. Police claimed that the youth died from a crack overdose and from struggling with them in the course of the arrest, but a medical examiner's report ruled the case a homicide, and a grand jury empaneled by outgoing DA John Santucci subsequently handed down the murder indictments.

Nieves charged that Brown ignored repeated requests by her family and their lawyer, Thomas Stickel, to meet before taking any action. "What a cowardly act for Richard Brown to not discuss his intentions on this case with the family or the attorney representing the family, after two letters and a telegram were sent requesting a meeting," she said, noting that no requests have been made for evidence gathered by attorney Stickel's



investigators to be turned over either.

"That's why we need a special prosecutor — I knew all along that this system was corrupt," Nieves said. "Once again racism wins. It has been proven that this system does not work for non-whites. The justice system is sending a message

to Latino and African American youths that their lives are worthless."

Nieves and her family accused the incoming DA of caving in to the "white racist mentality of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association," and charged that a deal has been in the offing for weeks.

"Richard Brown has proven that no matter who is in a position of power, the system is still institutionally and inherently racist," said Nieves. Brown is an African American.

Pictured above are Rev. Al Sharpton, Nieves, Gloria Roman, Lucille Laton and Roy Barnes.

Grand opening for Downtown Records' new store



Downtown Records, one of the hippest audio outlets in the Big Apple, opened a spacious new outlet at 164 West 25th Street last week. The gala grand opening was done in style, with an open house at the new location that stayed packed all night.

On hand for the celebrations was Castillo International recording artist Cantor Cohen Debo'rah Yahvah (above on the mike), who

rocked the house with her hit single "Reggae Down Babylon," and vocalist Annette Taylor.

Partying above are Downtown's founder and owner Frankie Ramos (behind sword), Debo'rah, Castillo International national spokesperson Moses Stewart, Donna Kaseta of C's New York City office and Rabbi Yahuda.

Congratulations Downtown!



First of summer's All Stars winners





FIGHT TO SAVE AN ENDANGERED SPECIES:

THE AMERICAN VOTER

The nosedive in voter participation to less than half the eligible electorate voting in national elections is usually blamed on the "apathetic" American voter. But closer examination reveals another explanation: the concentration of political power in the hands of an elite few, and their fear that too much democracy might endanger their positions of wealth and power.

Mass social protest in the 1960's was followed by a wave of electoral repression that saw over a quarter of the states impose prohibitive ballot access restrictions on independent candidates. A 1975 Rockefeller-funded Trilateral Commission report set the tone for US social policy by insisting that the only road to economic (read corporate) recovery was paved with tradeoffs in democracy. And since then the media, the so-called watchdogs of our democratic rights, have become the lap dogs of US corporate interests, with growing corporate ownership and the deterioration of the Fairness Doctrine.

All of which has conspired to put the American voter on the endangered species list.

The Rainbow Lobby has become a leading conservationist of our democratic rights. Through its legislative initiatives on Capitol Hill and its national grassroots organizing network, the Lobby is fighting to ensure that our democratic rights do not go the way of the passenger pigeon.

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MA 11239

Congratulations to the winners of New York's first All Stars Talent Show of the summer season, which was held on Saturday, June 22 at Manhattan's High School for the Humanities. First in the rap category was Brothers of a Young Nation from Brooklyn. Tops in the vocal field was Essence, out of the Bronx. And number one in the dance category were the Little Obsessions (right) from Manhattan's Upper West Side. A second citywide show is set for June 29 at the same location. For upcoming shows and conferences being organized by the All Stars this summer, contact producer Pam Lewis at (212) 941-5800. ■



DARY BADDIEL

Jon Lucien's seductive sounds under the stars

The Budweiser Musiccruise — the summer long series of concerts aboard the Circle Line's world famous Dayliner — continues on Friday, July 5 with international performing and recording artist, musician, composer and arranger Jon Lucien.

Lucien's performance combines the smoothness of jazz with the energy of rhythm and blues; his warm lyrics and flowing melodies reflect the essence of his native St. Thomas; his tenor-baritone vocals put the quiet in the storm. He has twice been nominated for Grammys for his compositions "Lady Love" and "Rushida." Lucien's distinctive voice has been featured in over a dozen television and radio commercial endorsements, including Air Jamaica, Burger King and the US Virgin Islands. His new album *Listen Lady* contains the sensual, romantic songs he's famous for, and so will this cruise.

Musiccruise sails twice nightly. The Sunset Cruise boards at 7:30 pm and the Moonlight Cruise at 10:00 pm. Audiences are urged to

arrive early and enjoy the *Carnival of Possibilities* on Pier 81 (41st Street and 12th Avenue) where the floating concert sets sail. People can shop at the Musiccruise Crafts Corner, have cool drink, a hot dog or pop corn at the Pier 81 Cafe, or simply wander around among the fire jugglers, jimes, unicyclists, slackrope walkers, fancy roller skaters, still walkers, and musicians. This week's carnival on the pier will also feature Castillo International recording artist Cantor Cohen Deborah singing her hit single "I've Got Down Babylon."

Upcoming Musiccruise performances included Gil Scott-Heron, Ruth Brown and Anela Boffill. The Budweiser Musiccruise is sponsored by Anheuser-Busch and produced by New Audiences and Fred Newman Productions. Tickets are \$25 and are available at Ticket Master locations, or charge by phone by calling: (212) 307-7171 or (201) 507-8900. For group rates and other information call (212) 941-1234. ■



Willie Kennedy moves to change San Francisco Charter

San Francisco, June 24 — In the wake of increasing national awareness of police brutality, Willie Kennedy, a ten-year veteran of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, introduced legislation today to place an amendment to the city charter which would set up a civilian police review board elected by the people on the ballot in November.

Kennedy's legislative move comes as the Peace and Freedom Party and the New Alliance Party are finishing up a petitioning drive to place an initiative on the ballot, asking the Board of Supervisors to

consider just such an amendment. They have gathered 10,000 signatures — somewhat over the required 9,800 — to place the "declaration of policy" initiative on the ballot in November. Kennedy introduced the legislation after a meeting last month with Roslyn Allen, the northern California chair of the Peace and Freedom Party, and James Mangia, San Francisco County Chair of the PFP and a National Committee member of the New Alliance Party. If passed, Kennedy's legislation would eliminate the need for the in-

itiative and speed the process of voting on the civilian review board by over a year.

The City Attorney's office is currently drawing up the language for the legislation, which will be ready to go to committee within two weeks. The Board must approve the legislation by August 5. It needs the support of six of the eleven supervisors to pass. The support of four is enough to place the equivalent of PFP's recommendation on the ballot. PFP intends to complete its petitioning drive as backup to Kennedy's efforts at the government level. ■



Quilts and Quilts

A timely editorial in last week's *Amsterdam News* on the racist outrage known as the St. John's rape trial now taking place in New York City:

Their names are hardly pronounceable, coming as they do from an immigrant stock long since accorded the status of "white middle class" — thus 100 percent American by definition. . . . They attend a Catholic university, and that religious body did everything in its power to keep this trial from ever coming to court. These white young men — described so with increasing politeness by the white press corps of this city without exception as "athletes," "boy," "young men," "students" and of "good family" — now stand trial. . . . accused of sexually abusing and sodomizing a young Black woman from Jamaica. . . . [They] have yet to be described as "mutants," "savages," "throwbacks," "retards," "whores," "liars" and "freaks" — as were the children, not yet of legal age, who were accused in the Central Park Jogger Trial. . . . One cannot but ask the question as to what has happened to her psychologically, believing, as she did, that she should not come forward to accuse these alleged criminals because they were white and she was Black and that no one would believe her. Whether or not she will be believed now remains to be seen. Yet we are left with a comparison in Black and white. No one had to come forward in the Central Park Jogger Trial.

Even when the jogger was put on the stand by Elizabeth Lottner of the District Attorney's office in Manhattan, the prosecutor in the case, she could offer no testimony about a rape, sodomy, or assault. Nor could anyone else. . . . There was no evidence, forensic or microscopic, that could tie the defendants to the scene of the crime, and most especially not to the crime of rape. . . . The St. John's rape, sodomy and sexual abuse victim knows what happened to her, and she knows who did it. She is being backedgird by a defense team of lawyers who are arguably the best that money can buy. By comparison, the jogger was hardly cross-examined. . . .

And when Caribbean American attorney Colin Moore tried, the media, feminist groups and "victim rights" organizations had a field day, hysterically accusing Moore of "sexist harassment" (and worse). Needless to say, no such outrage is being expressed by these white middle class types in support of this Haitian sister

"God is a man" controversy look sane.

This excerpt from an editorial on the police murder of Nathaniel Lackland that appeared in a recent issue of the *Bay State Banner*, Boston's conservative Black newspaper, makes it even more obvious why the leadership of independents like Jill Klownden is desperately needed in that Northeastern city:

Crime is the scourge of the community. The policies and strategies of the community leaders should always be assessed from the perspective of their effect on the crime rate. They should do nothing to aid or abet the reputations of those who are committed to a life of crime. . . . From his police records it is clear that Nathaniel Lackland was not an upstanding citizen. Only 25 years old, he had managed to accumulate a criminal record of arraignments on 34 separate charges since August 1982. . . . All of his convictions were on appeal and Lackland had never spent much time in jail. This was no choir boy. . . . Perhaps his family and friends will mourn his loss, but there is no similar sentiment from the law-abiding residents of Roxbury and Jamaica Plain who were his potential victims. One wonders about the absence of an outcry when the targets of Lackland's criminal actions cried out for justice. . . . It is inappropriate for respected black leaders to be identified with the incident. It is time to serve notice that a life of crime does not entitle one to special recognition and concern in death.

Unfortunately, I don't think they have to worry. Boston's "respected" Black leaders haven't spoken out about anything of concern to the community in decades.

As everyone knows by now, Philadelphia Representative William Gray, one of the highest-ranking Blacks on Capitol Hill, is giving up his Congressional seat to head up the United Negro College Fund. Possible successors are already lining up as *Newsday* reports: "Guess who's planning to run for Rep. William H. Gray's seat in Philly now that he's leaving to become head of the United Negro College Fund? If you guessed a once-feared and powerful former Black Panther who appeared as a yuppie in a terrible movie a couple of years ago — why you'd be right. We hear that you'll be hearing tomorrow that Bobby Seale, who's a Phil-

*adelphia resident, has accepted the offer of Jerry Nachman, previously announced in his office last March. "Look around, and you'll see. We've finally decided to take you guys seriously. . . . Times have changed, and Nachman wasn't the only one to notice. In the past year, The New York Times, which still hasn't wholly embraced the word "gay," somehow stumbled on the word "queer." Time fondly (and openly) eulogized a gay correspondent who died of AIDS. *Newsday* discovered "queers in suburbia," and Dan Rather focused on gays in the military. . . . What we are seeing, according to nearly three dozen mainstream reporters, editors and TV news producers interviewed in the three months since the parade, is a turning point in the media's perception of the gay and lesbian community. It's an emerging queer consciousness that's been apparent for some time now, it culminates a criminal record of arraignments on 34 separate charges since August 1982. . . . All of his convictions were on appeal and Lackland had never spent much time in jail. This was no choir boy. . . . Perhaps his family and friends will mourn his loss, but there is no similar sentiment from the law-abiding residents of Roxbury and Jamaica Plain who were his potential victims. One wonders about the absence of an outcry when the targets of Lackland's criminal actions cried out for justice. . . . It is inappropriate for respected black leaders to be identified with the incident. It is time to serve notice that a life of crime does not entitle one to special recognition and concern in death. Unfortunately, I don't think they have to worry. Boston's "respected" Black leaders haven't spoken out about anything of concern to the community in decades. As everyone knows by now, Philadelphia Representative William Gray, one of the highest-ranking Blacks on Capitol Hill, is giving up his Congressional seat to head up the United Negro College Fund. Possible successors are already lining up as *Newsday* reports: "Guess who's planning to run for Rep. William H. Gray's seat in Philly now that he's leaving to become head of the United Negro College Fund? If you guessed a once-feared and powerful former Black Panther who appeared as a yuppie in a terrible movie a couple of years ago — why you'd be right. We hear that you'll be hearing tomorrow that Bobby Seale, who's a Phil-*

COMMUNITY HOT LINES

by Dan Friedman

On June 14 the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled in a split decision that Dr. Lenora Fulani, chair of the *New Alliance Party* and its 1988 Presidential candidate, did not have the legal "standing" to challenge the tax exempt status of the Commission on Presidential Debates.

The CPD was founded in 1987 by the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee to replace the League of Women Voters as the sponsor of the nationally televised Presidential debates. Although Fulani was on the ballot in all 50 states and the District of Columbia and had qualified for and received federal primary matching funds in the debates with then Vice President George Bush and Governor Michael Dukakis on the grounds that she did not have a "realistic chance of being elected to the Presidency," Fulani's attorneys argued that the CPD had forfeited its right to tax exemption under the IRS code because it organized bipartisan, rather than non-partisan debates and that she had the legal right to file such a suit because her exclusion from the debates injured her by depriving her of media coverage and political legitimacy.

Two of the three judges hearing the case ruled that Fulani couldn't prove her case: she was injured by her exclusion. In his dissenting opinion, Chief Judge Almar Mikva argued that not only Fulani, but the democratic process itself, was injured by the court's decision; that she lacked standing. "The majority's decision precluded judicial inquiry into allegations that the field has been tilted in favor of the major political parties, and seems to rationalize its result by dismissing Dr. Fulani's candidacy," Mikva concluded. "Government certainly must not abandon its posture of nonpartisanship. The government of the values of our Constitution's First Amendment, must avoid tilting the electoral playing field, lest the democracy itself become tarnished."

In a similar case brought by Fulani against the League of Women Voters, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, in another split decision, ruled that Fulani does have standing to challenge the League's tax exempt status.

"We now have two diametrically opposed decisions on the identical issue, from two of the most prestigious appeals courts in the country," says Arthur Block of the *International Peoples' Law Institution*, one of Fulani's attorneys in the case. "This sets the stage for the US Supreme Court."

The House's New Alliance Party is working to make Initiative #38, which calls

for important endorsement meetings: I just don't know when we can get together," she told a NAP representative. "I'm one of the people, I'm not a politician. I'm against the anti-littering law. Let's talk about it in August, after the important endorsements are made."

NAP leader Patrick Haggerty has declared for Position #3; he will be going up against Jim Street, one of the two council people who voted against the law, but who now refuses to take a position on the Initiative.

On Thursday, June 20 the Durham [North Carolina] Housing Authority held a public forum on its controversial policy of calling city police into Housing Authority developments to arrest people for trespassing. The victims of this harassment have all been young Black men, most of whom grew up in the developments, visiting parents or girlfriends. The Housing Authority agreed to hold the forum after activists from the *Fayetteville Street Housing Development* and the *New Alliance Party* crashed the last meeting of the Authority's board of directors on May 23.

While many who have been arrested were reluctant to come forward for fear that their relatives and friends might be evicted, a number of victims — including Kenneth Veagha, who has been arrested three times for visiting his girlfriend in the Fayetteville Street Houses — gave written testimony that was submitted to the Authority. On hand were Dorothy and Charles Morry, the parents of Johnny McWell, whose arrest on April 23 while standing on his girlfriend's porch prompted the current fight.

The Morrys demanded that charges be dropped against their 23 year old son, who has painted a mural in the development, provides free haircuts for the development's kids and is organizing a softball team. James Tabron, the Authority's executive director, refused to drop the charges, saying that the Authority had "decided to let it go to court."

At one point a Board member objected to a witness referring to the Authority's buildings as "projects," insisting the proper name was "developments." This prompted NAP activist Curtis Randall Abdul Al-Jabbar to respond, "I grew up in the projects and these are not 'developments.' The conditions are like the shantytowns of South Africa. The big difference is that while they're dismantling apartheid in South Africa, you're implementing it in Durham."

In addition to witnesses from various Housing Authority projects, the forum was attended by Christina Davis-McCoy from *North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence*, who said her organization was monitoring the situation; Ray Swartzhart, an organizer with the *American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees*; and

types in support of this. Furthermore, for numerous other women of color who have been brutalized by white men over the years) — which, in my eyes, makes them little better than the lynch mobs that committed unpeakable atrocities against Black men in the name of "protecting" white women.

As most of you know, Zachary Taylor, the 12th President of the United States, was recently "brought back" to us, compliments of the Jefferson County (Kentucky) coroner's office. According to the *New York Times*:

... Samples from the remains are being examined by the coroner's office to determine whether Taylor was assassinated, which would make him the first American President to be slain... the crisis of 1850, in which secessionist fervor was reaching a breaking point, created circumstances for pro-slavery factions that desperately wanted to silence Taylor, a Southerner who opposed the extension of slavery and who wanted to bring California and New Mexico into the Union as free states. Had he lived, Taylor would have vetoed the Fugitive Slave Act and the Compromise of 1850, two measures that ultimately stirred passions between the North and the South... [This] man may have, if not prevented it, delayed or some how solved the problems that caused the Civil War...

So what happens if they're right — we declare the Civil War null and void and go back to pre-capitalist days? Big deal — another white male President is already taking care of that. Enough already — Put Zach Back!

Have you noticed that reading the establishment media these days is a lot like being in the middle of the Twilight Zone? A lot of the stories which make it into print (or onto the airwaves) are just absurd. Witness the much-publicized "great debate" over which country has the most virile men. Again, the *New York Times* tells us:

The first shot was fired by Edith Cresson, the first woman to become Prime Minister of France, who was quoted on Sunday as having said that 25 percent of Englishmen — as well as Americans and Germans — are homosexual and that, in contrast to Frenchmen, "Anglo-Saxon men are not interested in women."

I wish that were true... we could all breathe a little easier. But that's not the point. Ever wonder why these stupid and insane stories (and I include the recent spate of "animal rights" stories in this category) are called "human interest" stories? Talk about new world order style manipulation! As fascism descends, the powers that be have a big interest in ordinary folks believing that our humanness can only be measured by our capacity to shed a tear over the murder of a dog, but to feel nothing over the murder of 100,000 Iraqis — it makes it a hell of a lot easier for them to get away with murdering Iraqis. So don't be surprised when we see a lot more stories that make the

Philadelphia, will be running for the cant seat... Makes you wonder what the feds (who have been investigating him for years now) had on Gray to make him give it all up — 'cause you know these elected officials never think of "the good of family and community" unless they are in deep trouble.

From the June 26 issue of *Ourweek*, an article on gays and the media called "front-page news," with a kicker that reads: "The 90s have become the media age for queers. Not since Anita Bryant waxed homophobic more than a decade ago have lesbians and gays graced so many televisions and newspapers nationwide. But in looking at the media's 'gay glamor,' some ask the question: Where do we go from here?" Reporter Maer Roshan writes: "Times have changed." (*New York Post*)

raise new marches in the U.P. I think we're at a crossroads," she says. "We need coverage more than ever, but the only way to get it is to become more and more outrageous or start working more in the establishment. It's something we've got to think about."

In other words, we can either be fools or fascists. And the media will cover both. As a Black gay man said to me at one of the New Alliance Party meetings I lead in lower Manhattan: "On one hand, Phil Donahue and Oprah Winfrey have a lot more gay people and transvestites appearing on their shows, but it seems to me like the people they have on are willing to play the fool." I couldn't have said it better. A friendly warning to my brothers and sisters in ACT UP: those who live by (and for) the media will most surely die by the media. ■



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NAP around New York

A weekly roundup of New Alliance Party meetings and events in New York City. For more information call 212-996-4700.

Tuesday, July 2 • Brooklyn

New York City is Dying of Corruption. Adding 16 more hacks to the 35 now on the City Council, whose job is to bail out the rich at the expense of poor and working people of color, is not the cure! Come out and hear about the radical new talent running in the Bronx! 59 Avenue Avenue (bet. Cortland & Adelphi)

Wednesday, July 3 • Bronx

New York City is Dying of Corruption. Adding 16 more hacks to the 35 now on the City Council, whose job is to bail out the rich at the expense of the poor and working people of color, is not the cure! Come out and hear about the radical new talent running in the Bronx! Wesley Community College • 475 Grand Concourse • Room 102

Friday, July 12 • Lower Manhattan

You can't be pro-gay and vote for the two anti-gay parties. Join Special Guest Dr. Lenora Fulani and Mary Priddy, leader of the New Alliance Party and writer/producer of the National Alliance.

50 7th St, 17th Street (bet. 6th and 9th Ave.)

All events start at 7:30 pm.

Tracking Lotterting Law, the cutting edge issue in this year's city council races. The law allows the police to arrest people simply for standing on the street in areas that they designate "drug zones." It has been used primarily against young people of color and the homeless; in effect, the law suspends the constitutional right to public assembly.

NAP chapters in the Seattle area have been leading a petitioning drive to put the Initiative on the ballot; 14,000 of the 17,539 signatures required by July 29 have already been gathered. In the course of the drive 1,200 new voters have been registered.

"We will be attending all of the candidates' forums to force every one of the candidates to take a stand on Initiative #28," declared Harriet Hoffman, NAP's Northwest Regional organizer. NAP will also run candidates for city council.

For Position #4 — currently held by Sam Smith, the city's only African American council member, where there are already three candidates, none of whom will back the Initiative — NAP is running activist Leah Johnson. The incumbent Sam Smith voted for the Anti-Lotterting Law. Candidate Sherry Harris, the darling of the city's old left, has told NAP that while she "is opposed to the law the way it is written," she will not consider supporting Initiative #38. She added, "I don't know why you're making such a big deal out of it anyway. It's got a sunset clause and will expire in two years."

Also running against Smith is James Kelly, chair of the Governor's Commission on African American Affairs. Last week he approached Hoffman to propose a meeting to see "who should run for what." Asked where he stood on the Anti-Lotterting ordinance, he replied, "I used to be against it, but then I found that the African American community supports it." Hoffman pointed out that over half the signatures for the initiative came from the Black community. Needless to say, no meeting has been held.

Betty Fats, a Samoan American running for the council's Position #2, had set up a meeting to talk with Hoffman and other NAP leaders about the Initiative last week, but cancelled it. "I have so many im-

Need, attending my own... society, who was not officially representing that organization, and Becky Hady of the North Carolina Civil Liberties Union, who said that "some very serious concerns" had been raised by the information that had been presented at the forum. The Civil Liberties Union asked NAP for the names of victims to help them in possibly putting together a case.

At the forum, NAP's North Carolina field organizer Caroline Donnola declared, "We don't need more police in the community, we need more community leaders like Dorothy and Charles Horry who are willing to stand up and lead side by side with the New Alliance Party."

NAP chair Lenora Fulani brought controversy with her when she was invited to address the graduation ceremonies at P.S. 196 in Flatbush, Brooklyn. Flatbush is the area where NAP and the African Peoples Political Association, led by Ernie Foster, have been leading the struggle for increased African American and African Caribbean representation on Community Board #14. Her invitation to address the students brought charges of "partisan ship" from some quarters despite the fact that Democratic Assemblywoman Rhoda Jacobs and City Councilwoman Susan Alter addressed the graduating class last year. The school's principal, Naomi Smart, stood her ground despite pressure from local Democratic pols, and refused to disinvite the controversial independent. Fulani used the occasion to point out that charges of partisanship were only heard when working class folks began to articulate their own political views. She received a standing ovation from students and parents.

On June 21 Fulani addressed the final assembly at P.S. 156 in St. Albans, Queens (the school where she won the mock election for governor of New York State last November). On July 31, Fulani will address the annual awards dinner of the Upward Bound program at Fordham University in the Bronx. Upward Bound is a tutorial program for low income high school students. Last year the dinner was addressed by Bronx borough president Fernando Ferrer. ■

To Our Readers:

The next issue of the National Alliance will come out on July 11. We wish you an independent Fourth.

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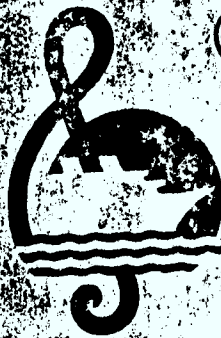


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 2 (ATTN: [REDACTED] GLOBAL UNIT,
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3 FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS [REDACTED] (RUC) (S) b1

4 SUBJECT : M-19 (S) b1
 5 [REDACTED]
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7 Re IP airtel 7/24/91 captioned as above and Butel
 8 to IP 9/9/91 captioned 19th OF APRIL MOVEMENT (M-19); [REDACTED] b1
 9 (S); NEW ALLIANCE PARTY (NAP); DOMESTIC
 SECURITY/TERRORISM (DS/T); OO: PX (100A-8767).

10 For information of the Bureau and receiving
 11 offices, [REDACTED] and sources b7D
 12 of the Indianapolis Office have reported no references to a
 link between M-19 and the NAP since it was initially described
 in the NAP newspaper which was distributed on 7/12/91.

13 NAP candidate MARY CATHERINE BARTON made a token
 14 showing in Indianapolis mayoral election in 11/91, and NAP
 activities have been relatively quiet since that time.

- 15 ③ - Bureau
- 16 2 - New York [REDACTED] (S) b1
- 17 1 - Miami (Info.) [REDACTED] (S) b1
- 18 1 - Phoenix (Info.)
- 19 1 - Milwaukee (Info.)
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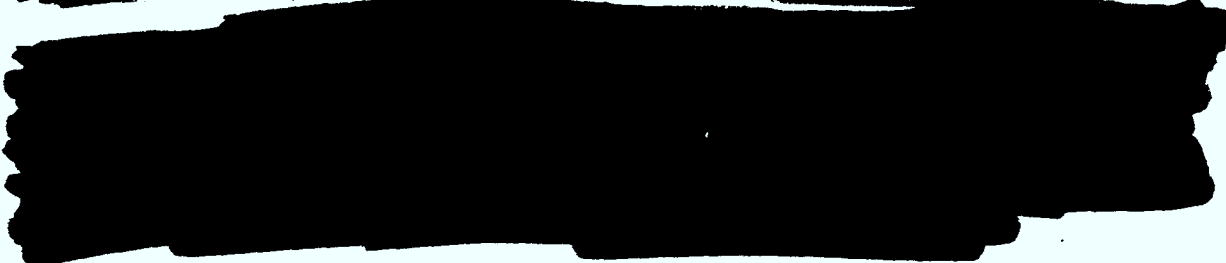
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Inasmuch as there has been no further indication of ties between M-19 and the NAP, Indianapolis is conducting no further investigation in this matter.

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19th of April Movement (M-19)

Date Formed 19 April 1970 (formation generated by 1970 electoral defeat of the National Popular Alliance political party). First operation claimed in 1974.

Estimated Membership 1,000.

Headquarters Cali, Colombia.

Area of Operations M-19 has two main rural fronts in Colombia: a Southern Front in Putumayo Department (Province) and a Western Front in Caldas, Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Quindio, and Tolima Departments. M-19 also operates in Antioquia. An urban infrastructure exists in the capital, Bogota.

Leadership Carlos Pizarro Leon-Gomez, Antonio Navarro, Otty Patino.

Other Names *Movimiento 19 de Abril* (original language).

Sponsors Cuba, Nicaragua, and, to a lesser degree, Libya.

Political Objectives/Target Audiences

- Claiming a populist orientation, emphasize a struggle by the people against the Colombian "bourgeoisie" and American "imperialism."
- Extort funds from narcotics producers and on occasion cooperate with narcotics dealers in areas or ventures of mutual interest.

Background

The M-19 announced its existence on 17 January 1974 by stealing the sword of Simon Bolivar from a Bogota museum, though the group surfaced as early as 1973, when a group of revolutionaries began raiding banks to finance their attacks on Colombian society. The group took its name from the date of the election defeat in 1970 of former President General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla and adopted 19 April 1970 as its founding date.

The M-19 rapidly expanded in 1977 and 1978 and increased in size, capability, and scope of activities as a result of training received from Argentine Montoneros and Uruguayan Tupamaros as well as in Cuba and possibly Libya.

Although the group primarily recruited middle-class intellectuals and students in its early years, by 1985 the M-19 also was recruiting some peasants. Also that year the M-19 announced that it was transforming itself from a guerrilla group into an "army," together with the Popular Liberation Army (EPL) and the Workers' Self-Defense Movement (ADO). After suffering serious losses in clashes with Government forces, the terrorists seized Bogota's Palace of Justice on 6 November 1985.

M-19 activities include occupations of and attacks on towns as well as attacks on army garrisons and high-level military and police officials. The group also engages in fund-raising kidnappings of wealthy businessmen or employees of foreign companies. It has hijacked two commercial jetliners, a cargo plane, and a civilian helicopter.

The M-19 has conducted anti-US terrorist actions, including killing US citizen Chester Bitterman, kidnaping a US mining engineer, and making threats against the US Ambassador.

In addition to kidnaping for ransom, the M-19 obtains some funds through drug-related activities. In 1980, Cuba apparently arranged an arms shipment to the M-19 through Jaime Guillot Lara, a Colombian drug smuggler, although no further operations of this type are known to have occurred. Since 1984, there have been several reports of the group extorting money from narcotics growers. Revenues from drug-related activities complement the M-19's fund-raising through kidnappings,

robberies, and external supporters, although there are indications that the group continues to suffer financial shortages.

The M-19 reportedly has ties with many active and dormant Latin American terrorist organizations, including the Uruguayan Tupamaros and the Ecuadorean AVC, as well as groups in El Salvador, Costa Rica, Peru, Guatemala, and Venezuela. M-19 guerrillas also are loosely allied with other Colombian groups such as the Popular Liberation Army (EPL), the National Liberation Army (ELN), the Patria Libre, and the Workers' Revolutionary Party (PRT) under the National Guerrilla Coordinator (CNG), which excludes the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). The M-19 also joined in the Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinator, a FARC-led loose alliance formed in 1987. In April 1984, the M-19 announced an alliance with Spain's Basque Fatherland and Liberty separatists for training and mutual assistance.

Many guerrillas probably receive basic training at camps in Colombia and reportedly from Cuba, Nicaragua, and Libya as well. Documents captured in May 1981 indicated that 300 M-19 guerrillas were trained in Cuba in 1980. Cuba also provided the M-19 with weapons during its formative years. Some guns used in the Palace of Justice seizure indicate Nicaragua also may supply some materiel. Currently, many of the M-19's weapons probably are acquired through purchase abroad.

Part of an M-19 arms cache uncovered by Colombian police in Bogota in November 1985.



Two M-19 guerrillas with Czechoslovak Model 25 submachinegun (left) and Israeli Uzi (right).



The M-19 has suffered a series of setbacks since the November 1985 Palace of Justice attack, including the loss of several top leaders. However, the M-19's urban unit in Bogota became active again in late 1987 to early 1988.

Selected Incident Chronology

February 1980 — Seized the Dominican Republic Embassy in Bogota, taking 80 hostages, including the ambassadors from the US and 13 Latin American, European, and Middle Eastern countries. After 61 days, the terrorists flew to Cuba on a Cubana Airlines jet with 11 hostages. Their demands for a \$10 million ransom and the release of 28 "political prisoners" were not met.



Colombian M-19 guerrillas held 32 hostages at the Embassy of the Dominican Republic in February 1980.

January-March 1981 — Kidnaped US citizen Chester Allen Bitterman in Bogota and demanded the withdrawal from Colombia of the US Summer Institute of Linguistics, Bitterman's employer. The terrorists executed Bitterman on 7 March 1981 after their demands were not met.

January 1982 — Hijacked a Colombian Aerotal 727 commercial jetliner on a flight between Bogota and Medellin. The hijackers demanded and received a plane to fly to Havana.

April 1983 — Exploded a high-powered bomb in the building housing the Honduran Embassy in Bogota, seriously wounding the Honduran Consul.

March 1984 — Staged three simultaneous attacks on military and police installations and banks in the town of Florencia.

August 1985 — Participated in the kidnaping of Ecuadorean banker Nahim Isaias from his home near Guayaquil, Ecuador. He and his Ecuadorean AVC and Colombian M-19 captors were killed in the Ecuadorean police rescue attempt.

October 1985 — Intercepted the automobile of Army Commander General Rafael Samudio Molina in Bogota, but fled after a firefight with the general's escorts.

November 1985 — Seized Bogota's Palace of Justice and took almost 500 hostages, including many members of the Supreme Court and the Council of State. Security forces counterattacked, freeing 300-400 of the hostages and killing 15-18 of the terrorists. By the end of the incident, 50 hostages, including 11 Supreme Court justices, were killed, as well as 11 members of the security forces and all of the remaining terrorists.



Two female members of the M-19 before the fatal assault on the Palace of Justice building in November 1985.

December 1985 — Attempted to ambush the National Police Subdirector, General Guillermo Medino Sanchez, in his car.

March 1986 — Occupied San Bernardino Seminary for 24 hours and attempted to attack a police post in the resort town of Juanchito.

June 1986 — Attempted to assassinate Minister of Government Jaime Castro as he drove to work.

July 1986 — Stole 1.6 million pesos from a bank in Bogota, wounding two civilians in the attack.

September 1986 — Attempted kidnaping of a businessman in Bucaramanga. The Army rescued the victim and captured all the guerrillas.

October 1986 — Stole \$690,000 in jewelery from a store in Medellin (the owner of the store was kidnaped and killed in February 1986).

November 1986 — Attacked the Cordova Museum in Santuario and stole several items. Police pursued the attackers, recovered the items, and killed one guerrilla while capturing two.

September 1987 — Took over the Bogota newspaper *Diario 5 p.m.* and published a propaganda piece.

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Section 552

Section 552a

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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Miami, Florida
March 2, 1988

1-13-93

Classified by 1048
Declassify on: OADR
351838

b7c

RE: April 19th MOVEMENT,
also known as
Movimiento 19 de Abril,
M-19;

[REDACTED]

b1
(S)

This communication is classified "~~Secret~~" in its entirety.

Office of Origin: Miami

Date Investigative Summary Prepared: February 22, 1988.

Basis for Investigation:

[REDACTED]

b1

Investigation to Date (Background):

[REDACTED]

b7D

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THE INDIANAPOLIS

STAR

-THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR-

SUNDAY, JULY 7, 1991

Mary Barton is set to be third mayoral candidate

By **ROB SCHNEIDER**
STAR STAFF WRITER

Mary Catherine Barton, a 51-year-old lawyer, stands ready to begin her campaign as the third candidate vying to become Indianapolis' next mayor.

Barton believes she has obtained enough signatures to let her run as the New Alliance Party candidate on the November ballot.

She expects to receive the official word from Marion County Election Board officials Monday.

Barton, who grew up in Indianapolis, said she hopes to offer a choice to voters who are dissatisfied with Louis Mahern, the Democratic candidate, and Stephen Goldsmith, the Republican candidate for mayor.

Barton, who also is state chairwoman of the New Alliance Party, said the party is dedicated to fighting for the rights of working class people of all races.

In the past, others with the party have described it as a coalition of disenfranchised people, including blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, women, lesbians, gays and disabled people.

Among the issues Barton says she will speak out on is the need for greater public accountability by the police.

Barton said if she were mayor, she would replace Indianapolis Police Chief Paul A. Annee, as well as Joseph Shelton, director of the department of public safety.

Other themes she intends to pursue mirror her campaign slogan: "People instead of profits."

Schools should do more to meet the social service needs of students, and the creation of jobs should be the main thrust behind economic development efforts, Barton said.



STAR STAFF PHOTO / KELLY WILKINSON

Mary Barton says she's running for mayor to give the working class a voice.

She also hopes to address neighborhood concerns, such as people having to live next door to abandoned and run-down properties.

Barton resigned from her job as an administrative law judge for the Indiana Department of Employment and Training Services in May. She'd held that post since 1974.

A graduate of Secena Memorial High School, she graduated from Indiana University School of Law at Bloomington in 1968.

1-12-93

Classified by 1048

Declassify on: OADR

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AUGUST 3, a SATURDAY, Indiana New Alliance Party meeting, at 11:00 a.m. & 8:00 p.m.

at

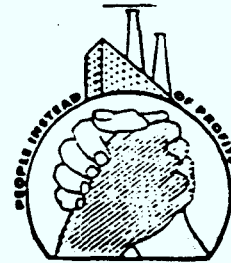
30 E. GEORGIA ST., #605.

Attend to talk about the issues that should most concern the 1991 New Alliance Party candidate for mayor of Indianapolis, Mary Catherine Barton.

Support our campaign for youth and democracy!

Call 638-2126 for more information.

NEW ALLIANCE PARTY



status ready to begin her campaign as the third candidate vying to become Indianapolis' next mayor.

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STAR STAFF PHOTO / KELLY WILKINSON

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