

A WITCHHUNT FOILED: The FBI vs. NAMBLA

Introduction by David Thorstad

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North American Man/Boy Love Association

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One of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn is how to see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself. Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself. If you form the habit of going by what you hear others say about someone, or going by what others think about someone, instead of searching that thing out for yourself and seeing for yourself, you will be walking west when you think you're going east, and you will be walking east when you think you're going west. This generation, especially of our people, has a burden, more so than any other time in history. The most important thing that we can learn to do today is think for ourselves.

It's good to keep wide-open ears and listen to what everybody else has to say, but when you come to make a decision, you have to weigh all of what you've heard on its own, and place it where it belongs, and come to a decision for yourself; you'll never regret it. But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you'll find that other people will have you hating your friends and loving your enemies. This is one of the things that our people are beginning to learn today—that it is very important to think out a situation for yourself. If you don't do it, you'll always be maneuvered into a situation where you are never fighting your actual enemies, where you will find yourself fighting your own self.

—Malcolm X (from *Malcolm X Speaks*, Grove Press, 1966)

Introduction

On May 25, 1979, 6-year-old Etan Patz disappeared on his way to school. He was last seen heading toward the bus stop two blocks from his home in the SoHo section of Lower Manhattan. His disappearance and the anguish of his parents moved millions of people. Neighbors and concerned citizens mobilized to circulate his photograph throughout the city. Three hundred detectives were assigned to the case. The media kept the disappearance before the public. The case differed from the hundreds of thousands of other missing young people only in the intense activity and public awareness that it generated. Unfortunately, none of this was able to solve the riddle of the young boy's disappearance.

No one imagined then that three and a half years later the case would surface as a key ingredient in an effort by law-enforcement agencies to launch a witchhunt against the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA).

Almost from the day NAMBLA was founded in December 1978, its members wondered when the authorities would try to destroy the group. NAMBLA has never been involved in illegal activity, and so had no cause to worry on that account. It just seemed predictable that sooner or later the state would decide to go after it.

Exactly four years after its founding, the state launched an all-out attack on the group. The unsolved disappearance of Etan Patz was the pretext it used.

The U.S. authorities are not tolerant toward sexual minorities, and certainly could not be counted upon to take NAMBLA at its word that it was a civil-rights group, not an international sex ring. The criminal minds of the police saw conspiracies, perversions, racketeering, kidnapping, prostitution, pornography, violations of the Mann Act, and so on—even where none of these were relevant to NAMBLA.* They also saw the potential for grabbing newspaper headlines, and possibly for obtaining fatter budgets to fight "vice," a reward for their highly publicized busts at a time when budgets everywhere were being cut back. The police knew they could say just about anything they wanted to about "child molesters," and few would object.

At the end of the seventies, the Moral Majority, having taken over from Anita Bryant as the Christian right wing's antigay standard-bearer, was feeling

*The Mann Act outlawed the interstate transportation of girls for commercial sexual purposes ("white slave trade"). It was amended in February 1978 to include boys under the age of 18.

its oats; the Federal Bureau of Investigation's cloak-and-dagger boys were enjoying the latitude offered by longer leashes; since 1977, backlash against homosexuality and gay liberation was in the air; and reascent right-wing Bible-thumpers were busy mobilizing the legions of decency and moral purity. The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 promised years of continued erosion of civil liberties. It was only a matter of time until the backlash hit NAMBLA directly.

NAMBLA has a membership of a few hundred. How could such a small group pose a threat to American society? Certainly, its weight in the body politic has been limited. But the authorities could be counted on to try to "get" NAMBLA. They do not want to see sexual taboos challenged. Irrational hostility and fear of man/boy love, and of homosexuality in general, are useful to them as a tool of social control.

As the gay movement has made inroads and achieved a certain amount of tolerance, the police and the "helping professions" of psychiatry, psychology, and social work have turned more and more toward finding other scapegoats—and pretexts to obtain grant money. If their "queer" target in the McCarthyite fifties was the homosexual (or the communist—practically a synonym then), today it is the boy-lover. The very existence of a group that openly challenged the taboo on intergenerational sex, particularly between older and younger males, stuck in the craw of the upholders of traditional morality.

The authorities have never explained why boy-lovers would organize publicly and openly, as NAMBLA has done, if they were a criminal conspiracy, and not merely exercising their rights of free speech and association. The unquestioned assumption has been that they are worse than murderers; they corrupt otherwise healthy youth, turn them queer, put perverted ideas about sexual pleasure into their innocent heads, ideas that would never otherwise occur to them. Until NAMBLA, no one thought that boy-lovers had constitutional rights, or that they would organize publicly to promote their views.

It all came to a head in late 1982. Prior to that, police interest in the man/boy love movement had taken the form of arrests of men for consensual friendships with underage males (mostly teenagers), harassment of boys and their families, and "investigations." In Fall 1982, police measures reached a new pitch and multiplied: increased surveillance, tailing of some NAMBLA members in the street, and so on.

On December 3, three former NAMBLA Steering Committee members were arrested at a beach cottage in Wareham, Massachusetts, followed by police allegations about the production and distribution of kiddie porn. The charges were designed to capture media attention, but reflected neither the activities at the cottage nor what NAMBLA stood for.

This was followed by stepped-up harassment by the FBI, whose agents visited more than a dozen apartments in New York, raiding two, on the pretext of seeking "information" about missing boys. Then, shortly before Christmas, a rash of yellow journalism about NAMBLA hit the front pages—orchestrated by the FBI and the New York City police—designed to portray NAMBLA as a group of child kidnappers, pornographers, and pimps. The FBI, it seems,

decided that NAMBLA could be used as the whipping boy for the agency's failure to solve the disappearance of Etan Patz. The police gave the media a photograph they said was found during the raid on the Wareham cottage, and said that it appeared to be a photo of Patz, implying that NAMBLA had kidnapped him.

The press had a field day, and brought their profession to new lows of journalistic irresponsibility. They repeated what the police told them, and made no effort to get NAMBLA's side. The public was whipped up into a state of near hysteria in an orgy of newspaper selling. The salacious lies of the FBI about a "child molester" group made more exciting reading than the usual Christmas joy features.

The long-awaited showdown had come. The ball was now in NAMBLA's court. How the group responded would decide whether or not it survived. Would it fight back? Would its members desert it? Would public hysteria mount to the point where it was impossible to organize? How long would it be before the gutter press incited mobs to throw bricks through boy-lovers' windows and assault them in the streets, as it had done in England in a vendetta against the now-defunct Paedophile Information Exchange (PIE)? I for one had visions of an American *Kristallnacht* in the making.

NAMBLA stood up to Goliath and won this round with the secret police. It held simultaneous news conferences in New York City and Boston on December 28, 1982, which exposed the police-FBI fabrications and blew their frame-up to bits. In the process, its name became a household word. It had been catapulted into the public eye, had acquitted itself well, and was ready to continue with its efforts for sexual freedom.

This booklet tells the story of this attempted witchhunt. It is the first time that the witchhunt has been described in detail. It is important to anyone who cares about civil liberties. It shows the cynicism with which the police exploited the grief and hopes of Etan Patz's parents. It graphically illustrates the FBI-police-media nexus, and how they collaborated to manipulate and distort public opinion, rather than to get at the truth. If the public ultimately did get the truth, it was thanks to NAMBLA, not to the media or the authorities.

Witchhunts do not just happen; they are orchestrated. This one was no exception. This is the story of how one small, misunderstood group fought back and exposed the authorities' Big Lie. That is the encouraging part. The troubling fact, however, is that the secret police forces have been unleashed in full force again, now that the Establishment has put Watergate behind it and is waving the flags of patriotism and moral purity. The FBI has not abandoned the discredited tactics of its Cointelpro disruption campaign of the 1960's. Rather, it has extended them from its usual targets—the left, antiwar activists, Blacks and other national minorities—to sexual minorities.

Hostility to sex permeates society's approach to man/boy love. Arrogance and stupidity characterized the behavior of the police and much of the media in the attempt to smear NAMBLA in 1982. Men and boys who love each other will never be safe so long as it is standard practice to scapegoat homosexuality.

It is not easy to struggle for social change and challenge a taboo, as this booklet shows. But a commitment to truth, and the power of love, are

weapons that even Goliath must take into account. NAMBLA has shown that it has that commitment and faith in the power of love.

David Thorstad
New York, June 1985



NAMBLA marching in June 12, 1982, antinuclear demonstration in New York City.

BACKGROUND

NAMBLA was founded at a conference on Man/Boy Love and the Age of Consent in Boston's Community Church on December 2, 1978. Its goals were, and remain, to be a support group for men and boys involved in consensual sexual and other relationships, and to raise public consciousness about such relationships.

NAMBLA was formed in response to stepped-up repression of man/boy love that resulted from the crusade of Anita Bryant against homosexuality and the mounting hysteria about kiddie porn in 1977. These crusades had led to two highly publicized police busts in December of that year. The first was the indictment of 24 men accused of running a "sex ring" in Revere, a suburb of Boston.* Three weeks later, the Toronto Morality Squad and the Ontario Provincial Police raided the offices of the *Body Politic*, a Toronto gay liberation newspaper, and confiscated twelve boxes of documents and records. The raid was a fishing expedition, prompted by the newspaper's publication of an article entitled "Men Loving Boys Loving Men." Both cases pushed man/boy love onto the front pages, and presented the gay movement with a direct challenge to its right to publish material relevant to its cause, and to its professed goal of liberating sexuality, including aspects that some might consider not quite "respectable."

The raids also demonstrated the necessity for boy-lovers and youth to come out of their closet within a closet. If they did not stand up for themselves, how could they expect others to do so?

That was the historical context in which NAMBLA was born.

NAMBLA opted for a public profile, although it never sought publicity for its own sake. It organized its own demonstrations (for example, outside the Bridgewater Treatment Center in Massachusetts—the first time in history that boy-lovers and their supporters had demonstrated at a prison where men were incarcerated for their consensual relationships—and at a victimization conference of "child protectors" in Boston). It also participated in Gay Pride marches and other gay demonstrations, as well as in a march on the Pentagon in May 1981 to protest U.S. involvement in El Salvador, and in the big nuclear disarmament march in New York City on June 12, 1982. It held public forums, and produced a growing list of publications.

*The Revere case is discussed in *The Boston Sex Scandal* by Mitzel (Boston: Glad Day Books, 1980).

NAMBLA's statement of purpose describes it as "an organization founded in response to the extreme oppression of men and boys involved in consensual sexual and emotional relationships with each other." It is "strongly opposed to age-of-consent laws and other restrictions which deny adults and youth the full enjoyment of their bodies and control over their lives." Its main goal is to "end the long-standing oppression of men and boys involved in any mutually consensual relationship." Its membership is open to anyone, regardless of age, sex, or sexual orientation, who is "sympathetic to man/boy love in particular and sexual freedom in general."

NAMBLA has never been a "sex club," has never facilitated sexual rendezvous between men and boys, has never been involved in either the production or distribution of pornography, or in prostitution. It has never violated any law. Shortly after it was formed, the U.S. Postal Service investigated the group, apparently to determine if it had violated laws regulating the mails. The investigation was dropped when the authorities found no violation of these laws. But this did not stop the FBI and ambitious district attorneys from continuing their surveillance, "investigation," and harassment of the group. Having destroyed groups like the Black Panthers, and with targets like the radical antiwar underground gone, they were on the lookout for new targets. To them, NAMBLA looked like a good prospect.

The first wave of repression hit the evening of July 11, 1981, with a police raid on the home of Martin Swithinbank in Baldwin Harbor, Long Island. They arrested Swithinbank and Dr. Jerry Fox, both NAMBLA Steering Committee members, and took two 13-year-old boys into custody after roughing them up. The boys were questioned until 3 A.M., without their parents being informed or a lawyer being present.

The same day, police raided the home of Karl Ahlers in upstate New York while two families there were playing cards. Ahlers was not a member of NAMBLA, but he was a friend of Swithinbank. He was charged with 32 counts of consensual sexual activity with minors.

These raids were given considerable publicity by the local media, which reported (falsely) that Swithinbank's home was the headquarters of NAMBLA and that it was the center of a child prostitution and pornography ring. Police ransacked both homes. Harold Baker, a 15-year-old boy who was a friend of Ahlers, subsequently joined NAMBLA, as did Ahlers. Baker, a "victim" in this case, was to be arrested and described by police as a "chicken hawk" a year and a half later, in the events that are the subject of this booklet.*

Following the July raids, more than a half dozen other NAMBLA members were arrested on sex charges, mostly for fellatio or touching the cocks of teenage boys. (The latter is called "sexual abuse," even if the boy wants and enjoys it, but is under the legal age of consent, which in New York is

*In 1981, the hunt for "sex rings" was in the air. During the Spring, pressure was mounting on the authorities to solve the grisly murders of children and young men in Atlanta, and initially they investigated the possibility of pinning the murders on a homosexual "sex ring" involving men and boys. They abandoned this theory in June, however, with the arrest of Wayne Williams, who was subsequently convicted for the deaths of two of the adult victims on the police list of so-called "child murders."



Karl Ahlers and Harold Baker at NAMBLA convention in New York City in June 1980.

17.) Several other men were subpoenaed across the United States to submit to being photographed and fingerprinted, allegedly as part of an investigation into kiddie porn. But no commercial pornography charges were ever brought, in these or any subsequent cases involving NAMBLA members. The state never claimed that any nonconsensual sexual activity ever occurred, and no boy and no parent of any boy involved ever brought a complaint against any of the men. These were cases created by the police as part of their vendetta against man/boy love. Swithinbank was sentenced to up to 15 years in prison. Ahlers received 16 to 48 years. Fox got 4 months.

Also indicted in the Ahlers case was Myrtle Mathena, 47, charged with seven counts of "endangering the welfare of a child" by "encouraging [them] to engage in group nudity." The charges represented harassment by Ulster County District Attorney Don Williams, in an attempt to get Mathena to testify against Ahlers. NAMBLA loaned her \$500 for bail. Charges against her were dropped in June 1982.

The July 1981 repression was code-named "Operation Hawk" by the police. NAMBLA revealed that a key role in setting up one of the men in the Swithinbank case, Jon Sherman, was played by Jeff Lassman, a California boy-lover who was providing information on his "friends" to the police, particularly notorious anti-boylove crusader Lloyd Martin, founder of the Los Angeles Police Department's Sexually Exploited Child Unit. Martin intervened to persuade Nassau County, Long Island, authorities not to prosecute Lassman.

Shortly before the July 11 raids, NAMBLA had won its first victory: the early release of David Groat from the Berkshire County House of Correction in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Groat had served eight months of a two-year sentence which he had received for giving a 14-year-old boy a blow job at the boy's request. Groat immediately became a NAMBLA activist, until he got caught up in the 1982 witchhunt.*

The 1981 events generated considerable coverage in the gay media, which was generally able to recognize police repression when it saw it. Some straight media noted the case, but for the most part regurgitated sensationalistic police disinformation.

NAMBLA launched a campaign, which included petitions and television and radio appearances, to inform the public about the issues and the police abuse of power. (Two Long Island cops were later indicted for stealing a 50-channel cable TV box from Swithinbank's home; other property, including a boat, was also stolen.) It also gave modest financial support to the victims of the police repression, and tried, without much success, to interest the American Civil Liberties Union in defending the rights of the boys and their families in the face of forced grand-jury testimony and police harassment.

NAMBLA filed suit under the Freedom of Information Act for its FBI files, in an attempt to discover a part, however small, of the spy agency's attempts to infiltrate and disrupt the group. It also filed suit against New York radio station WINS for its slanderous "reporting" of the Swithinbank bust and its libelling of NAMBLA. The WINS suit has languished, and the courts have upheld the FBI's refusal to release a single page of its files—even those that came from public sources—on the grounds that NAMBLA was still under "investigation." NAMBLA's appeal of the FBI stonewalling was rejected by the Second Circuit in February 1983, and it was forced to pay \$410.72 for the printing cost of twenty copies of the government's brief (twice as many copies as required by the court).

NAMBLA also took steps to inform its members of typical FBI techniques to get people to reveal information that might fuel its "investigations," and of their right not to say anything if the FBI should show up at their door. It urged noncompliance with the secret police.

*At the end of August 1981, NAMBLA won a second victory when a Massachusetts Superior Court judge ruled that Richard Peluso, a NAMBLA member imprisoned in the Bridgewater Treatment Center, was not a "sexually dangerous person" (SDP). As an SDP, he could have been held in jail for life because of consensual sex with boys. Peluso had been arrested prior to the 1977 "Revere case," but his home was said by police to have been the center of the non-existent "sex ring" in which 24 other men were arrested. Only one, Mark Davis, ever went to jail. He was released on parole in January 1985.

1982—THE PLOTS THICKEN

Much of NAMBLA's energy in 1982 was spent on spin-offs and ramifications of the July 11 busts—dealing with grand-jury fishing expeditions in Long Island and Ulster County, helping families of "victims" who came to NAMBLA for legal advice (which irritated the state because it wasn't in its script that parents would consider NAMBLA their friend and the authorities their enemy), depositions in the WINS suit, NAMBLA's Freedom of Information suit, and so on.

The FBI continued to show up at the door of NAMBLA members in various parts of the country, ostensibly seeking information on fugitives, seeking to exploit the kinds of interpersonal tensions that arise in any organization, or just to harass.

The next serious attack on NAMBLA came on June 18, 1982, with the arrest of Steering Committee member Jim Cooper, of Paramus, New Jersey. Cooper, who handled publication orders for literature distributed by NAMBLA, was initially charged with 50 counts of "aggravated sexual assault" for his consensual relationship with his boyfriend, David Carlson, who was then 16.* Sixteen is the legal age of consent in New Jersey. Two other New Jersey men were also arrested as part of the same bust. The press, as usual, made much of pornography being involved, even though it was not, and no such charges were ever brought.

Cooper's home was raided and his personal computer seized, in the hopes that it contained NAMBLA membership lists—which were specifically mentioned in the search warrant. In addition to the computer, hundreds of copies of NAMBLA newsletters and other books and publications were taken—none of them even remotely pornographic. Even a small printing press was seized.

"The arrest and search of Jim's home is another obvious attack by the police and the state on NAMBLA," said NAMBLA Co-spokesperson David Groat at the time. "It is clear, in this raid on Cooper's privacy, that sex was not the issue. The police were after information about NAMBLA to use in disrupting our efforts for social change. In no way are the activities of

*The 50 counts were exaggerated by twisting the boy's answer to a police question, and the police investigator admitted, under oath during the trial, that he had knowingly exaggerated the charges to "aggravated," when they should have been simple "sexual assault."

NAMBLA or its Steering Committee illegal, nor do they warrant such treatment." (NAMBLA *Bulletin*, June 1982)

On February 3, 1984, Cooper was convicted of having sex with his boyfriend less than six weeks before his sixteenth birthday. He was sentenced to five years in jail. The verdict is on appeal.

The boy considered Cooper his best friend, and had told him that if it were not for Cooper's friendship, he might not be alive. Cooper is a gentle man who was kind and generous with his friend, and who was appreciated and liked by the boy's family. Police invaded the boy's home while he was naked in the bathtub—his father had already left for work. Their invasion so angered the boy that he took a swipe at one of the cops. He was taken into custody, without his father knowing what had happened to him. Cooper was later arrested at his place of work.

By the time Cooper's trial was scheduled to begin, the boy had slashed his wrists in a suicide attempt, presumably so as not to have to testify against his friend. The trial was postponed. It began three months later, and resulted in Cooper's being acquitted on two counts and the jury unable to reach a verdict on the other four. The judge declared a mistrial. A second trial resulted in a guilty verdict.

'The big problem is getting under-age boys to testify against their male lovers. The interrogation can be intense. We've got to crack the boy and it's not an easy thing to do.'

—Lt. William G. Thorne,
Sex Crimes Unit,
Bergen County (N.J.)
Prosecutor's Office

Commenting on the case at a meeting of Parents Without Partners, a Bergen County (N.J.) group, Lt. William G. Thorne of the Sex Crimes Unit of the Bergen County Prosecutor's Office revealed the browbeating methods the police usually resort to in trying to compel testimony from a boy against his adult friend: "The big problem is getting under-age boys to testify against their male lovers. The interrogation can be intense. We've got to crack the boy and it's not an easy thing to do."

Standard police operating procedure to get boys to testify and sign statements against their friends includes abusive techniques like: threatening to tell the boys' schoolmates that they are queer; physically roughing them up; offering them beer to lower their resistance; kidnapping them—from home, school, or the street—and holding them incommunicado, without their parents' knowledge, in some cases for many hours at a stretch and into the wee hours of the morning; use of social workers to intimidate parents and

threaten to get them thrown off welfare; showing up unannounced at their homes for "questioning"; lying by telling them that their friend has already "admitted everything," so why should the boy hold out?; calling them names, like "faggot" and "queer"; threatening to put them in a juvenile detention center, where the police predict they will be raped. (All of these techniques were used in the cases so far cited in this booklet.) One boy in another case was held in a psychiatric center for several days before his mother could find out where he was. Another, in the Revere case, described his treatment at the hands of the police as "mental rape." The media have never considered this mistreatment of boys to be newsworthy, even though it surely constitutes "child abuse."

The men themselves are subjected to inhuman, sometimes violent, abuses reminiscent of those occurring in right-wing military dictatorships, such as having cigarettes put out on their back, being brutally beaten while in police "protective" custody, and being threatened with death.

All this in the name of "protecting" young people from a joyful human experience—the sharing of sexual pleasure!

Around this time, a former producer of a substantial amount of commercial boy-love pornography, David Houstle, was released early from jail under bizarre circumstances. Houstle had no connection to NAMBLA, but abruptly showed up first in New York, and then in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and attempted to establish links to NAMBLA members.

In New York, he requested that NAMBLA give him \$500 to purchase his trial transcript. He was told NAMBLA had no interest in it. In an approach to a Los Angeles NAMBLA member, Houstle identified himself as "Roger Sloane." "Sloane" asked the man about his love life and sought information about the San Diego-based Childhood Sensuality Circle (CSC), a children's liberation group, and its director, Valida Davila.*

Houstle had been indicted in 1978 on pornography charges, but was living in Guatemala under an assumed name. He was picked up by Interpol in September 1981 and flown back to the United States by the U.S. Embassy. He pleaded guilty to three counts—conspiracy, distribution of pornographic material, and illegal use of the mails—and was sentenced to nine years in jail. After serving only six months, Houstle was released from federal prison by U.S. District Court Judge Frank A. Kaufman, who agreed with his lawyer that he was needed in Guatemala by a fundamentalist missionary who had fallen ill. Kaufman ruled that "little could be gained from further incarceration and that it would be best for the taxpayers of the United States to have the defendant doing something useful in Guatemala," reported the *Washington Post* (March 22, 1982). Houstle claimed he had built a new life reading the Bible, and wished to return to his wife and newborn son. "The big hand didn't come out of the sky," he told the *Post*. "I didn't get the big glow. I'm not a churchgoer, but I read the Bible every day, and I believe in the principles it teaches. I'd always been looking over my shoulder, always looking for what was in things for me. Altruism can be fun."

*The CSC went out of existence in 1984 following a police raid on the ailing 84-year-old Valida Davila's home.

Since the authorities have repeatedly tried without success to link NAMBLA to kiddie porn, and since the circumstances of Houstle's early release were so strange, his approaches to NAMBLA members appeared suspect. NAMBLA's Steering Committee decided to warn its members against having any contact with him, and on June 26 adopted the following statement:

After carefully reviewing:

- 1) the unclear circumstances surrounding the recent release of David Houstle from prison, because of his possible connection with the current Guatemalan military regime or U.S. support for it, his subsequent re-surfacing in California, and his efforts to establish links with members of NAMBLA in New York and San Francisco;
 - 2) the continuing state repression against NAMBLA, boy-lovers, and boys, including attempts to falsely portray NAMBLA as a "sex ring" and a distribution network for "child pornography";
- the Steering Committee hereby calls on its members and chapters to rebuff any overtures from, and avoid contact with, David Houstle. The Steering Committee believes that this approach is necessary in order to help protect our organization against potentially troublesome ambiguities and possible disruption by the state.

In July 1982, a "scandal" erupted in which U.S. Congressmen were accused by former pages of having had sex with pages on Capitol Hill. Rep. Gerry Studds, a liberal Democrat, was said to have had sex with a 17-year-old male page in 1973, and Rep. Daniel Crane, a right-wing Republican, with a 17-year-old female page in 1980. A panicky House of Representatives Ethics Committee launched an investigation that was clearly a wild goose chase. A year later, both congressmen were censured by the House. (Criminal charges were not brought because the age of consent in the District of Columbia is 16.) Crane wept before his colleagues, but Studds came out with dignity as a homosexual (though not explicitly as a boy-lover). He was reelected by his constituents in 1984. Coincidentally, Studds' generally conservative district includes Wareham, Massachusetts, where the next stage of the state's crusade against NAMBLA was to have its origins.

By Summer 1982, hints of coming difficulties for NAMBLA were being felt. In August, an individual going by the name of John David Bommarito (aka David Berens—and, it was learned several months later, aka John Burns, David John Burns, and David Behrins) showed up in New York and attempted, successfully, to worm his way into the personal lives of a few NAMBLA members. Bommarito had become known to both David Groat and NAMBLA activist Wayne Sunday prior to his arrival in New York City by corresponding with them as part of NAMBLA's Prisoner Support Committee, which maintained contact with prisoners. This correspondence occurred when Bommarito was incarcerated in Buena Vista, Colorado, for consensual sex with two boys (aged 12 and 14). His sudden arrival in New York City raised questions in some people's minds.

From the beginning, Bommarito asked if he could see the NAMBLA mailing list (he couldn't), asked leading questions based on false premises, and asked if NAMBLA members might provide him with access to boys and pornography. NAMBLA has never provided such a service, and several

people, including then NAMBLA Coordinator Groat, smelled a rat. Bommarito, nevertheless, was befriended by some men, both inside and outside of NAMBLA, although he never attended a NAMBLA function, never joined the group, and had no association with it. He attempted to use his personal acquaintances to stir up interpersonal tensions—a favorite technique of undercover agents. He became an associate/friend of Hugh Hammill, a friend of Karl Ahlers who knew some NAMBLA members. Hammill was not a NAMBLA member, and had never attended any of its functions. It turns out he was also a fugitive from a charge of printing fake auto insurance cards. Both men, who were in their early twenties, were to play a central role in the witchhunt that was about to unfold. But in the summer of 1982, no one yet had any inkling of the forms the repression was to take, or of the role Bommarito and Hammill were to play in it.

After Bommarito's arrival in New York, he moved in with Wayne Sunday. A few weeks later, with the help of Hammill, he went through personal belongings that Groat was storing at Sunday's apartment, while Sunday was away on vacation, and stole various things, including an 8mm film and negatives that Groat had retrieved from storage following Swithinbank's arrest a year earlier and a notebook of unedited writings which Groat planned to



DAVID THORSTAD

Wayne Sunday

use in a future publication. (Groat had been living with Sunday and had conducted NAMBLA business out of Sunday's apartment for about a year. He had recently moved to Chelsea, into the same building in which NAMBLA activist Bob Rhodes lived.) Bommarito also later stole a large part of Sunday's record-album collection of operas, with an estimated retail value of \$600, while Sunday was away over Thanksgiving. Shortly after the theft, Bommarito left New York for Massachusetts, where he became a player in an increasingly complex web of intrigue against NAMBLA.

In part at least, Hammill's motivations appear to be based on personal hostility and jealousy toward Groat over a New Jersey teenager, 16-year-old Brian Wilkins, who had run from an aunt he hated with Hammill. When the youth's relationship with Hammill cooled, Groat befriended him, which angered Hammill. Bommarito's motivations seem less clear, but subsequent events suggest that he might have been cooperating with the police. At the time, Bommarito claimed he'd gone through Groat's papers at Hammill's suggestion, who he said hoped to find evidence to set Groat up for arrest.

Late in August, it became known that a 16-year-old youth who had been living with Groat for about a year (with his mother's permission) had stolen \$1,030 from NAMBLA. The money had been withdrawn, unbeknownst to Groat, in repeated small amounts via use of NAMBLA's automatic teller bank card. The youth, Ishmael Rodriguez—who went by the alias "Robert Velazquez"—had discovered the entry code for the NAMBLA cash card. (Groat told NAMBLA activist David Thorstad that Rodriguez might have picked up the code by looking over his shoulder as he punched it into the bank machine. According to Wayne Sunday, Groat had given the code to Rodriguez and to Sunday, in case of an emergency. NAMBLA had not authorized release of the code.) Rodriguez and two accomplices—street youths befriended by other NAMBLA members—decided to rip NAMBLA off and spend the easy money on themselves and their girlfriends. When the theft was discovered, NAMBLA immediately reorganized its financial arrangements, and contemplated taking legal action against Rodriguez, a measure that got pushed aside by more urgent problems. Groat accepted responsibility for the theft, and promised to make restitution when possible. The two accomplices also agreed to pay back their share of the stolen funds; however, they have yet to do so. Groat resigned as NAMBLA Coordinator, treasurer, Steering Committee member, and member of NAMBLA—the Steering Committee did not accept the last two resignations.

As the police harassment of NAMBLA mounted, and personal entanglements by a few of its members became more complicated, some NAMBLA members began to consider whether it would be better for the group to reorganize its structure, to decentralize its tasks, and to return to being a completely volunteer organization, with no full-time coordinator.

On October 11, Groat was confronted by an FBI agent in a Times Square video arcade, and told: "We can get you anytime we want to. Would you like to cooperate?" Groat and Steering Committee member Brett Portman, together with Rodriguez and Wilkins, left the maelstrom of New York City for a change of scene, which they found at a beach cottage in Wareham, Massachusetts, owned by Portman's parents.

NAMBLA'S PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE

The sixth national conference of NAMBLA was held in the Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Community Center over Columbus Day weekend, October 9-11, 1982. It was the first such gathering that met with open opposition on the part of a few lesbians and gay men. In September, a coalition of a half dozen people organized a campaign to prevent NAMBLA from renting space for its conference at the Center. The coalition consisted of people from Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers, Women Against Rape, Sisterspace, Voyage House, and one gay man. They got a petition signed by about a hundred people asking the Center to reconsider its decision to rent space to NAMBLA. On October 3, after being assured that NAMBLA would not allow sexual solicitation to go on at its conference, the Center reaffirmed its decision to allow NAMBLA to meet there.

By then, the coalition had gone to the straight media, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in particular, in an effort to stir up public hostility to NAMBLA's presence.* NAMBLA activist Tom Reeves spent several days meeting with community leaders and reporters to counter the anti-NAMBLA lobbying. So NAMBLA's 1982 conference had higher visibility than most previous ones.

At the same time, it took place in the context of increasing turmoil, self-criticism, and reassessment within NAMBLA. Everyone sensed that the group was at a crossroads, and faced both internal and external challenges.

Threatened pickets by the anti-NAMBLA coalition never materialized. However, the police were unusually conspicuous at the conference. One man who slipped into the opening session had to be asked to stop tape-recording the proceedings—he then left. And it was soon discovered that five police types up the street were carrying on surveillance of everyone entering and leaving the Community Center. NAMBLA described the incident as follows:

At about noon, Tom Reeves reported that police agents, possibly from the FBI, were monitoring the Conference from a block away using sophisticated electronic equipment to record the proceedings, and a

*A year and a half later, the same tactics were used by censors within the lesbian community in Philadelphia when they went on a crusade to rid the lesbian and gay bookstore, Giovanni's Room, of the pamphlet "How to Have Sex with Kids," published by David Sonnenschein, as well as pedophile literature and NAMBLA publications. For coverage of this case, see "Germany, 1934; 1984, Philadelphia?" in the *NAMBLA Bulletin*, September 1984.



DAVID THORSTAD

NAMBLA activist Bill Andriette

camera, well endowed with a zoom lens, to photograph people entering and leaving the Center. A group of about seven uninhibited and photogenic NAMBLAns and Philadelphia Gay Youth members sallied forth armed with cameras of their own to photograph the agents and get photographed. The meeting was strained but polite, and mostly silent, dominated as it was by the clicking of cameras. Shortly after the curbside encounter, the agents packed themselves into their black Mercedes with Delaware plates, and sped off for points unknown. (*Bulletin*, October 1982)

The car's license plate number was 109109.

Another cop was seen making the rounds that evening at an open house for the conference at Giovanni's Room, eavesdropping on conversations.

The rest of the conference went smoothly, considering the level of tension that had developed over the preceding few months. The conference decided, among other things, to reaffirm NAMBLA's opposition to a legal age of sexual consent, and to abolish the post of coordinator and go back to being a completely volunteer organization. At the same time, it decided to continue with the structure it had evolved—local chapters, a regularly meeting Steering Committee, national membership conferences, a public profile and an activist approach—and to keep New York as the center of operations.

On October 10, NAMBLA sponsored a public forum on sexual freedom at the Ethical Society on Rittenhouse Square. Speakers included Tom Reeves and Bill Andriette of NAMBLA, lesbian poet Pat Kuras, George Lakey of the Movement for a New Society, Philadelphia gay activist Scott Tucker, Charley Shively of *Fag Rag*, Robin of Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Youth, Ken Freemont-Smith of Philadelphia's Gentle Strength Men's Collective, Michael J. Lavery of Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, and Chris Bearchall of the *Body Politic*, who also moderated the meeting.

THE WAREHAM BUST

At 8:30 A.M. December 3, local Massachusetts police, aided by officers from the Jersey City, N.J., Police Department's Special Investigation Unit (popularly known as the "pedo squad"), and accompanied by newspaper photographers, raided the beach cottage at Wareham and arrested David Groat, 28, Brett Portman, 26, and Harold Baker, 17, as well as Ishmael Rodriguez and Brian Wilkins, both 16. Sixteen is the legal age of consent in Massachusetts. Police claimed they were looking for Wilkins as a runaway.

Portman described the raid in an interview in the boy-love magazine *Pan* (March 1983):

They [the police] went upstairs to get Brian out of bed. They read him a letter from his aunt about how much she missed him and how glad she was that he was going to be coming home, and he got really mad: he wouldn't tell them his name. He started packing to try to leave, at which point they put him in hand-cuffs and threatened to throw him down the stairs if he didn't go with them. So they led him out and then took Harold and Robert [Ishmael Rodriguez] away fairly soon. They put David in hand-cuffs and arrested him. He asked what the charge was and they said "an immoral act." This was before they'd even talked to anyone; we didn't know what was going on at all.

The officer who drove Portman to the police station told him: "Well, if it was up to me I'd throw you in the middle of a pond." At the police station, television cameras were waiting.

Groat, Portman, and Baker were initially charged with "keeping a disorderly house." Following statements made by Rodriguez to police, the three were arraigned on two counts each of "indecent assault and battery" naming Rodriguez and Charles Dyson, 13, as "victims." In addition, Groat and Portman were charged with one count each of "possession with intent to disseminate pornography visually depicting children." After being held in jail for three nights, Wilkins was returned to his aunt in New Jersey (both parents were deceased). Rodriguez was held in a Department of Youth Services facility as a "child in need of supervision."

At the arraignment, bail was set at \$50,000 for Groat and Portman, and \$25,000 for Baker. They were held in the Plymouth County House of Correction in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Portman made bail the next day, but Groat and Baker remained in custody. Groat's bail was subsequently raised to \$100,000.



Brett Portman

Ishmael Rodriguez

David Groat

The day after the arrests, it was learned that the pretext for the bust involved a complaint from New Jersey regarding Charles Dyson, who had reportedly been brought to the cottage by Hugh Hammill—neither was there at the time of the bust. Boston gay activist John Mitzel received a phone call that day from a man who would not identify himself, but whom he believed to be Hammill, requesting money for him and another person, also unnamed, to get back to New Jersey. Mitzel terminated the conversation. NAMBLA learned that New Jersey police had said they would not press charges involving Dyson because the boy had left home voluntarily. However, they did not reveal this to the media, and in fact Dyson's name did not then figure in any of the press accounts. This was not the end of the Dyson connection, as we shall see.

Media reports of the incident—based only on police information—raised the usual sensationalistic charges of a “sex ring.” The summer cottage was labeled a “safehouse,” a “sex den,” a “headquarters” and a “chapter” of NAMBLA (it was not), and boxes of child pornography were reportedly seized. NAMBLA was described as a “highly organized international organization,” virtually a competitor to the Mafia! The straight press made no attempt to contact NAMBLA, even though the NAMBLA phone number appears frequently in Boston's weekly *Gay Community News*.

NAMBLA's Steering Committee promptly issued a news release—which the straight press ignored. It also decided that the group would not raise money for bail as an organization (this was to be done by individuals). It selected Brian Quinby of Boston to serve as liaison between NAMBLA and the men arrested.

When Groat, Portman, and Baker were brought into jail, the police officer

who escorted them announced to jail personnel: “Here's three for a little TLC.” Almost immediately, the prisoners knew what the three were charged with. Anyway, they saw the sensationalistic reports on the evening television news. Portman described for *Pan* the scene inside the prison:

The big news story was that the NAMBLA pornography ring's world headquarters had just been busted. We were everything you could think of—sex club, prostitution ring, you name it. Well, I knew, of course, that the sex ring business was a lie, but I'd always had this sneaking suspicion, whenever I heard these charges, that maybe the other NAMBLA people were at least having a lot more fun than I was! Now all of a sudden I was learning that I and my friends, you know, the people I was living with, were a major sex ring! And everyone in the house was over the age of consent. There was nothing illegal going on even. Well, the press just went mad with it.

So after that the other prisoners knew what I was in for and they decided that I was a major pornographer. I was convinced that if I couldn't raise bail I might not be alive by Monday morning. One of the guys on the tier was trying to sell me protection. One of them was trying to extort my boots from me. Another started going through this long jerk-off fantasy about what was supposed to be going on in my porno films: little boys with big smiles on their faces, asses waving high in the air while they were getting raped. And I slowly had the horrifying realization that all of these people were sitting there trying to decide whether to assault me, whether to kill me, whether just to beat me up, or, I don't [know] what other possibilities there were.

‘If anything happens to me, give them shit.’

—David Groat, from jail, after
being beaten twice in police
“protective” custody

On December 6, three days later, while Groat was in police “protective” custody in a holding cell at the Plymouth County Superior Court, where a bail review was to take place, he was brutally beaten by other prisoners. Upon his return to the county jail, he was taken by guards to the protective custody tier, where other prisoners (many of them jailed for sex offenses) were out of their cells. Instead of escorting Groat to a cell, the guards locked the door to the tier after he walked in. Groat received a second beating, and the guards returned only after he had been beaten unconscious. Two front teeth were knocked out in the assaults.

At 6:30 P.M., David Thorstad received a desperate call from Groat in which he expressed concern that he was being set up to be murdered, and that Baker might be the next to be assaulted. “If I go back in there, I'm dead,” he said. “If anything happens to me, give them shit.” He also said that the Boston *Globe* had called his mother and claimed that he had been running

a prostitution ring, which was a lie. Jail officials did allow Groat to see a nurse, who gave him some Tylenol. The nurse's report did not indicate the loss of his two teeth!

Thorstad and Bob Rhodes immediately contacted Portman's lawyer, Richard Iandoli, who agreed to call the jail to let the authorities know that the outside world was aware of their inhuman mistreatment of Groat. Groat's father also called them. Iandoli informed NAMBLA that the arrest warrant had named Brian Wilkins and Eddie Johnson (a Jersey City teenager who had figured in the Swithinbank and Ahlers cases), but that the charges against Groat, Portman, and Baker were brought in the name of Charles Dyson, who was not even at the cottage.

Pedophiles 'have a genuine interest in children and will pay more attention to a child than any normal parent. If everybody gave their spouses the same attention that a pedophile shows a child, the divorce rate would drop 99 percent.'

—Detective Lloyd Martin, founder
of the Sexually Exploited Child
Unit of the Los Angeles Police
Department

All three arrested men pleaded innocent to the charges, which appeared to be based upon statements made by Rodriguez. A pre-trial conference was held on December 7, at which time one count of the "assault and battery" charges was amended to reflect Rodriguez's correct age (16). Previously, it had referred to him as "a child under the age of 14." District Attorney Kenneth McPhee reminded the court that since the age of consent in Massachusetts is 16, and Rodriguez was 16, the only issue was that of consent. The judge granted a defense request that Groat not be returned to the jail where he had been beaten, and placed him at Bridgewater State Hospital for twenty days of "psychiatric observation." Jersey City Detective Denis Aponte, who was in Wareham to "assist" the local police, told the press that "the men enticed the boys by treating them better than their parents."* Detective John Rogers of Wareham claimed he had a photograph of Groat giving a youth a blow job, but that he could not find it.

*Detective Lloyd Martin, founder of the Sexually Exploited Child Unit of the Los Angeles Police Department, has observed that pedophiles "have a genuine interest in children and will pay more attention to a child than any normal parent. If everybody gave their spouses the same attention that a pedophile shows a child, the divorce rate would drop 99 percent." (*New York Post*, November 6, 1979)

After all the hoopla, Groat and Portman were charged only with touching the penis of Rodriguez, through his clothing, without his consent! No one familiar with Groat's relationship with Rodriguez found this credible—during the year that Rodriguez had been living with Groat there had never been a hint of anything non-consensual about Groat's behavior toward the youth. It was beginning to look like much ado about nothing. But the police had other plans. They reportedly gave Dr. Jane Shaw of Boston's *Herald American* a list of NAMBLA members in New England, supposedly around 100 names, and asked her to publish it. However, no such list was ever published.

Sex charges against Baker were subsequently dropped after he reportedly agreed to cooperate with prosecutors. He still faced a kidnapping charge related to transportation of one of the "victims."

By December 7, several apartments in New York City were being staked out by police—presumably on the lookout for Dyson, Hammill, and Bommarito, though the police never made clear what they were looking for or what their intentions were. They never contacted NAMBLA in search of any information of any kind—which suggests that they were not seriously looking for information, but rather seeking to harass, and possibly to locate someone who might cooperate with them in the witchhunt they were soon to unleash.

The evidence in the Wareham case was so flimsy, confused, and contradictory that it soon became apparent that the bust was in reality a pretext for further harassment of NAMBLA.

At this point in the unfolding witchhunt, neither Hammill nor Bommarito had been named in any of the press accounts—although the police were to reveal a month later that Hammill was wanted on a kidnapping charge, and Bommarito for attempted kidnapping (a statutory charge), stemming from late November. For now, the police were withholding information about the two, as well as any role they may have played in triggering the police bust in Wareham. The entire case was being used primarily to turn NAMBLA into a public whipping boy.

THE DECEMBER 19 RAIDS

On Sunday, December 19, 1982, police and FBI harassment intensified. A dozen members and former members of NAMBLA in New York were visited by police and FBI agents, allegedly looking for missing boys and men. In addition, the FBI raided two apartments (a third, where Groat had been living before going to Wareham, was listed on the search warrant but apparently was not visited, although the press reported that three apartments had been raided). The apartments belonged to Wayne Sunday and Bob Rhodes. Neither was at home at the time the FBI broke in.

That afternoon, about 3 P.M., Sunday returned home from his grandfather's funeral to find his apartment ransacked and a copy of the search warrant and an inventory of seized items taped to his kitchen wall. The warrant specifically authorized a search for "latent fingerprints, palm prints and other similar impressions which constitute evidence of the commission of violations of Title 18 United States Code, Sections 2251, 2252, 2423, 1201, 1952 and 1465." The statutes cited include the "Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977," along with sections concerning kidnapping, interstate transportation of minors for purposes of sexual activity or prostitution, and the transportation of obscene matter for sale or distribution.

The inventory sheet left with the search warrant indicated removal of the following items: "Miscellaneous documentation, including personal letters and bills, two reels of tape, one metal file box containing index cards 3 x 5, telephone address book [and] numerous negatives and photographs of male juveniles." Sunday told *Gay Community News* (January 1, 1983) that he was unsure what "documentation" was, but that the reels of tape were recorded music, the file cards were financial records of pledges made to the NAMBLA Emergency Defense Fund, and the address book was an old, unimportant personal list.

He complained that the FBI agents had also raided his refrigerator and eaten a box of chocolate-covered cherries, several of which they ground into the carpet.

The search warrant for Rhodes' apartment, where the NAMBLA telephone was located, was similarly broad, but also listed NAMBLA financial records (which were not there). After breaking in, the FBI confiscated dozens of files, leaflets, and correspondence with prisoners, Freedom of Information Act materials, Steering Committee minutes, NAMBLA stationery, and large quantities of NAMBLA publications—hundreds of copies of its newspaper and pamphlets, where only one would have sufficed for any subsequent legal



Wayne Sunday's bedroom following December 19 FBI raid.

proceedings. The FBI did not state what materials it had confiscated, but a year later, in response to a request by NAMBLA's attorney, Michael J. Lavery, for a return of seized property, U.S. Attorney Rudolph W. Giuliani released a 27-page inventory. In addition to the items just mentioned, the list showed that the FBI agents had taken, among other things, eyeglass holders, a shoe cleaning brush, Kleenex, a folder on science fiction, a media list, a map of Greenwich Village businesses rebuilding St. Luke's Episcopal Church (which had suffered a fire), Rhodes' passport and tax statement, his Blue Cross and Blue Shield card, a shopping bag of science-fiction pamphlets and maps, the New York-New Jersey *Gayellow Pages*, a Toshiba calculator, gay periodicals, the membership list of the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee



DAVID THORSTAD

Bob Rhodes

(which organizes the annual New York City Gay Pride March*), an American Civil Liberties Union reading list, and three pieces of "scrap" paper. As of this writing, the FBI has not returned a single piece of property it stole from NAMBLA, Rhodes, and Sunday.

The police-FBI steamroller was gathering momentum. They withheld from the media news of their December 19 raids, and only fragmentary accounts later appeared, when they all became one small part of a complex frame-up. The reason for the delay appears to be that the agents had come up empty-handed, but wanted nevertheless to go ahead with a witchhunt against NAMBLA. Their aim was to leave the impression with the public that NAMBLA was somehow connected to illegal activity, even though they knew it was not. They had no evidence, and knew they would not come up with any. Several media reports based on police disinformation stated that NAMBLA was the main source of teenage pornography in the United States. This was a pure fabrication; NAMBLA has never been involved in the production or distribution of pornography. Yet the very fact that the authorities were visiting NAMBLA members' homes (which the media described as "porn shops") could be pointed to to suggest possible wrongdoing: "Where there's smoke, there's fire." In this case, the smoke was in the media's eyes.

So far, the name of Etan Patz had not been mentioned, but that was about to change. The next day, the police announced the Etan Patz link. Four days after the New York raids, on December 23, they claimed that the purpose of the raids had been to look for photographs of Etan Patz or a copy of the photo they had found in the Wareham bust, which they described as a Patz "lookalike." Alice T. McGillion, deputy police commissioner for public information in New York, admitted December 23 that the raids had failed to turn up any such photographs. But this was a minor hitch for the authorities, who were hell-bent on having their witchhunt.

*In 1985, the committee changed its name to Heritage of Pride, Inc.

THE POLICE AND THE MEDIA RUN AMOK

December 20 began more than a week of sensationalism and hysteria, whipped up by the police and the news media. It began with a cover story in the Boston *Herald American*, in its last day of publication as a Hearst newspaper. Its full-page article was introduced by a two-inch front-page headline that screamed "DID SEX CLUB TRAP THIS BOY?" The accompanying photograph was of Etan Patz. Its caption quoted Wareham Detective Jack Russell's assertion that there was a "remarkable resemblance" between a photograph confiscated in the Wareham beach cottage bust and Etan Patz; but there was no way of comparing the two because Russell did not release the Wareham photo. Russell had taken part in the raid on the beach cottage. Carried off into flights of fancy by his broomstick, he described the alleged "resemblance" as follows: "The eyes are similar. He has the same front teeth, the same hair color and style and the same cleft in his chin." (*Herald American*, December 20, 1982)

The *Herald American* ran the story even while it quoted Patz's parents as saying they were unable to confirm that photographs seized in Wareham were of their son. The story was picked up by the Associated Press and the *New York Post*, a sensationalistic tabloid owned by Australian newspaper magnate Rupert Murdoch.

On December 21—its first day of publication as a Murdoch paper—the *Herald American* ran a much smaller story in which Patz's parents denied that the photograph could be of their son. The same day, the *New York Post* reported that the Patzes had told the police that the photograph was not of Etan: "The boy in the photograph had a cleft chin. The eyes weren't Etan's. Neither were the teeth." Cleft chins do not run in the Patz family. None of this deterred the police. They went so far as to suggest that NAMBLA might have airbrushed a cleft chin into the photograph in order to make the boy more "appealing" to its members!

Detective Russell's assertions did not sit well with Stanley and Julie Patz. Larry Goldsmith of *Gay Community News* (January 1, 1983) asked Mr. Patz if he thought the police were handling his son's case well. "In New York, yes. In Massachusetts, no," he replied. "I think that man Jack Russell has his mouth open too wide and I think his superiors are going to come down with all the boots they can find on his head. . . . He's clearly out of line. It's not what cops are supposed to do. They're not supposed to be a public relations organization. It's an open police case. They should be keeping their mouths shut." Things must have been slow on wintery Cape Cod because Russell

apparently found irresistible the prospect of exploiting the Etan Patz case for publicity.

Nevertheless, the agony and false hopes which the police and the FBI were arousing in Etan's parents were of secondary concern to them. Their primary aim was to stir up public concern about NAMBLA. They knew, and NAMBLA knew, that any Etan Patz-NAMBLA connection was a fraud—but the public did not. By announcing that the FBI in Washington, D.C., was "studying" the photograph in question, and by doling out information day by day and openly encouraging the gutter press to keep the story on page 1, they succeeded in extending the life of their frame-up.

The *New York Post* ran one of its huge front-page headlines on December 21: "BIZARRE CLUE IN HUNT FOR SOHO BOY" with the subhead "Sex club link to missing Etan Patz?" Inside, buried on page 43, near the back of the paper and separated by nearly 40 pages from its main story, it ran the denial by Patz's parents that the photo was of their son. The same day, the *New York Times* ran a small story in which it reported Lt. Earl J. Campazzi, head of New York City's Missing Persons Squad, as saying that the Patzes "had been unable to say for sure that the child in the photograph was their son." The FBI and the police were trying to make the public believe that the Patzes were undecided, possibly too upset to be exercising correct judgment.

'Sign a statement saying that NAMBLA kidnapped Etan Patz, and you will walk free.'

—FBI offer to David Groat, in jail

The next day, December 22—two days after the police floated their Patz angle—the story gained momentum with two new twists. The first was the release to the media of the Etan "lookalike" photo by the police. Until now, they had withheld this photo; all the headlines had been accompanied by Etan's photo alone. The *Post* featured this new "amazing photo" along with one of Etan on its front page, under another 2-inch headline: "Is this Etan Patz?" Its caption quoted James Sullivan, Chief of New York Police Department Detectives, singing the same fanciful tune as Wareham Detective Jack Russell: "The similarity of the picture and the Etan Patz lad is marked." The *Post* offered "sensational details" inside. But anyone of even rudimentary intelligence could see that the photos were of two entirely different individuals.

The photograph of the alleged "lookalike" was being used by the FBI and the police to incite hysteria against NAMBLA, and to lend credibility to its efforts to destroy the group. No other explanation seems plausible. The FBI and the police did not contact NAMBLA in an effort to identify the boy in the "lookalike" photograph—if they had wanted to identify him, they could have contacted NAMBLA weeks earlier. In the years since Etan Patz disappeared, they never contacted NAMBLA or sought its help in efforts to

TODAY
Partly cloudy, mid 30s

TOMORROW
Cloudy, mid 40s

Sketch, Page 2

TV listings: P. 79

NEW YORK POST

FINAL
LATEST PRICES

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1982 30 CENTS AMERICA'S FASTEST-GROWING NEWSPAPER

ARC AVERAGE SALES EXCEEDED 960,000

Police release amazing photo and ask . . . **Is this Etan Patz?**



Police this afternoon released the above photo of a young boy who bears a striking resemblance to Etan Patz, the little boy kidnaped in SoHo 2½ years ago. The picture was released to a police raid on a homosexual sex club in Massachusetts. "The similarity of the picture and the Etan Patz lad [shown in a 1979 photo at left] is marked," said Chief of NYPD Detectives James Sullivan. Sensational details on Page 3.

New York Post, December 22, 1982, p. 1.

locate the boy. There was never any suggestion that a boy-lover, let alone a member of NAMBLA, had anything to do with his disappearance.

It was impossible for NAMBLA to get through to David Groat on the telephone at this point, though as Groat later indicated, he could have effortlessly identified the photograph. The police did not question him about the identity of the boy in the photograph. And none of the media, it would appear, made any effort to speak to him about it. NAMBLA tried, unsuccessfully. Later, Groat explained why: He was being visited daily by the FBI, in jail, and offered the following "deal": "Sign a statement saying that NAMBLA kidnapped Etan Patz, and you will walk free." To NAMBLA, this preposterous offer meant that the authorities knew that their story was too false to float. It suggested how desperate they were, and that they were determined to keep the true identity of the boy in the photograph from the public.



Photo found in Massachusetts and released by cops.

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CITY OF NEW YORK

LOST CHILD

ETAN PATZ
113 PRINCE STREET

Missing Since Friday May 25th, 1978. Last seen 8 a.m., at Prince St. & West B'way.

Is this boy Etan?

Police Department flyer (above) of Etan Patz and photo (left), found in Massachusetts homosexual hangout, of boy police say "may be Etan Patz." Ex-cabby Chester Jones, who told the Daily News Tuesday that he picked up boy he believes was Etan with a man in SoHo the day the boy disappeared, yesterday passed a lie detector test, cops said.

Page 2

Daily News, December 23, 1982, p. 1.

Meanwhile, the guards at the state hospital in Bridgewater were threatening Groat that they would place stories from the *Herald American* on the bulletin board so inmates would be incited to further violence against him. An attempt was being made to coerce him into lying in order to link NAMBLA to the Patz case, under threat of death. This might put a foundation under the FBI's house of cards, which so obviously needed one.

The press behavior in all this was shameful. It reported nothing about the assaults on Groat, made no effort to speak with him, and did not report the FBI's fantastic—not to mention unethical—"deal."

Groat was frightened by these offers—he thought they might kill him if he refused (he, of course, did refuse), and they might kill him to keep him from talking even if he were to sign the phony statement. But despite the cruel and unusual punishment to which the authorities had already subjected him, and despite being held for days without being able to communicate with his friends, family, and supporters, Groat stood his ground.

Despite the fact that an interesting story—and probable police cover-up—was lying here, waiting for some reporter to dig into it, the press demonstrated a singular lack of investigative will. Apparently, it did not even occur to news editors to assign anyone to look into the matter of the identity of the boy in the photograph and why the police were handling the case so unprofessionally. The press simply regurgitated police misinformation: NAMBLA was a "sex ring," a "shadowy" group, a "porn ring," etc., etc., ad nauseam.

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INSIDE:

SMEAR QUEEN JANE SHAW TELLS:



*"Why I Love To Lie
About The Gays"*

**Details
on Page Three**

One of a series of posters by The Pink Ladies, a small group of gay men, who took their message and humor to the walls of Boston streets in a spoof of the Murdoch smear style.

CHESTER JONES "GETS INVOLVED"

The second new twist to surface on December 22 involved a retired New York City cabdriver. Chester Jones, 69, walked into the *Daily News* the previous day with a story that gave a new boost to the police attempt to frame up NAMBLA. Chief of Detectives Sullivan called Jones the "most important" witness to date in the Patz case. "Thank God he came forward," Sullivan said. The public's hopes were raised that maybe the story of what happened to Patz would finally become known. All the news stories continued to link NAMBLA to the case.

Jones told the *Daily News*, "I believe I'm the cabdriver who picked up that

Quiz ex-cabby in Etan Patz case



'Believe I picked up Etan and man'

Retired cabby Chester Jones, 69, (left) told the *Daily News* yesterday he believes he picked up Etan Patz (above) and a man on the day the boy disappeared in SoHo three years ago. Asked why he hadn't reported it then, he replied: "I didn't want to get involved." Page 3

Daily News, December 22, 1982, p. 1.

boy in SoHo the morning he disappeared. I have very little doubt in my mind that he was the boy I picked up." Why did Jones go to the *Daily News* newsroom instead of to the police? The media didn't say. Why did he wait more than three and a half years to tell his story? He "didn't want to get involved." When the *Daily News* informed the police of Jones' story, the police, it reported, "disclosed for the first time that they had received information shortly after Etan's disappearance that a man had taken the boy away in a cab." Some of the 300 detectives put on the case at the time allegedly "canvassed" cab garages, "but the public was never informed that a cabdriver was being sought," and Chester Jones, it seems, got the word three and a half years late. If this is true, why did the police not inform all cabdrivers in New York City in 1979 that they were looking for a cabdriver? Just one front-page headline in the *New York Post* or the *Daily News* should have done the trick.

These unanswered questions are only the beginning in the strange revelations of Chester Jones, which ultimately went nowhere, but which served the witchhunt's purposes well.

Etan Patz disappeared on the morning of May 25, 1979, on his way to a school bus stop two blocks from his home. Jones said he had taken a fare to SoHo that morning. He couldn't recall what street, however, and as an independent cabdriver presumably did not keep records. After dropping off his fare, he said that he was approached by "a man in his 20s or 30s." "He was not very tall. He had dark hair, with reddish or blondish tones. He was dressed well but casually. He had his arm around the shoulder of a small boy who was carrying a kind of knapsack schoolbag." The *Post* reported the same day that Jones described the man as being 5-foot-2, and that he had reddish or yellowish hair. So, four different descriptions of the man's hair color were reported: dark, reddish, blondish, and yellowish, or some combination of them. Jones claimed he left the pair "near the corner of Houston St.," just a few blocks from the spot where they got in. The "corner" was not identified. Jones' memory improved, however, and two days later the *Daily News* said he had picked up the pair "in the vicinity of Prince St." But Prince runs parallel to Houston, so the corner of Houston on which he said he let the pair out remained a mystery.

Jones' fuzzy memory on important details might normally be understandable. After all, more than three years had passed, and cabbies pick up a lot of fares. Yet the fuzziness seems odd in view of Jones' assertion that at the time of Patz's disappearance he studied pictures of the boy in the newspapers and on television, and was "pretty sure" that it was the boy he picked up. The boy's disappearance received widespread publicity at the time; his picture could be seen just about everywhere. And Jones was not merely trying to recall over a three-and-a-half-year stretch, but had dwelt on the incident at the time it happened. Nevertheless, despite his fuzzy memory about size, hair color, and where he picked up the man and boy, he was able to report their conversation in some detail. Here is the account from the *New York Post* (December 22):

"The man had his arm around the boy and was leaning over, speaking quietly to him," said Jones.

"You could tell the kid knew nothing about him and he knew nothing about the kid."

The man "was leaning over trying to persuade the kid," Jones said. "The kid said, 'My mother doesn't want me to go with strangers' and the man said 'It's okay.'"

"The man said to him, 'I've been watching you go to school every day from across the street.'"

"He said, 'It's cruel for a mother to leave a kid standing by himself every morning.'"

"The boy said, 'I don't mind waiting for my bus.' "

Then, Jones said, the boy saw a bus turning a corner and called out, "There's my bus now."

When the stranger tried to reassure him again, Jones recalled, the youngster said, "No, I want to get out. This isn't the way I'm supposed to go."

As the cab approached Houston Street, Jones said, "The man said, 'Okay, we'll get out here.' "

Jones claimed that the man "was so concerned about not letting the kid get out of his reach, he didn't even offer to pay me."

Jones was labled a "credible witness" by the police. They put him under hypnosis, and had him pore over volumes of photos of "known sex offenders." According to the *Daily News* (January 1, 1983), he had picked out photos of "several look-alike" suspects—all blond men in their twenties. He was said to be helping a police artist prepare a composite sketch of what the *Post* called the "mystery stranger." The police promised to release the sketch shortly. However, as this booklet is published—more than two years after the incident—the police have still not released any composite sketch based on descriptions from this "credible witness" who got them such timely headlines for a few days. Within a week or so, Jones disappeared from the public eye, and the media forgot about him. The media have yet to explain the missing police composite sketch. There has been little follow-up attention to the unsolved Etan Patz case.

WHO WAS THE "MYSTERY BOY"?

NAMBLA decided that things had gone far enough. The police seemed to be letting out all stops, and were not paying attention to detail. They were painting their smear with a big brush indeed. Since the media and the police were doing nothing to find the true identity of the boy in the "mystery photograph" from the Wareham cottage, NAMBLA's only course was to seek to do so itself. As already noted, it was prevented by the authorities at the Bridgewater State Hospital from speaking with David Groat in the days since the police had released the photo. Therefore, NAMBLA put out the word that it was looking for the identity of the model in the photograph. It spent a lot of time on the telephone, calling people all over the country who might be able to help, and for a time it seemed like the telephone company was becoming the main beneficiary of the FBI's witchhunt.

Within a day or so, NAMBLA discovered a "remarkable resemblance" between the photo in question and that of an older boy in a magazine of male nudes from the late sixties, entitled *The Best of DOM*. The two were almost certainly the same boy. His name was "Peter Koch." (In the film *Genesis Children*, he was identified as "Peter Glawson.") However, the photos were taken several years apart, and furthermore the older boy was naked. It would not be appropriate to display it at a news conference; the media would not publish a photo of a nude boy, however photogenic. More convincing proof would be to find the "lookalike" photograph in some context that would establish its date or the identity of the model.

The day before Christmas, that piece of the puzzle was found. The "mystery photograph" had appeared on the January leaf of *The BOYHOOD Calendar* for the year 1968. This meant that the boy in the photograph would have now been in his mid-twenties, at least. The date, 1968, was on the same page as the photograph, which meant that the evidence was unimpeachable, and NAMBLA could not be accused of having airbrushed the date onto its evidence. Furthermore, the calendar was non-pornographic. The whole thing was made in heaven. NAMBLA now had the police and the FBI over a barrel, and was ready to take its case to the public.

NAMBLA STRIKES BACK

On Sunday, December 26, the New York *Daily News* carried an interview with NAMBLA activist and author Wallace Hamilton in which he responded to the mounting hysteria about man/boy love. Hamilton subsequently received two death threats.

That day, NAMBLA's Steering Committee held an emergency meeting in New York to decide on a course of action. The atmosphere was electric. Finally, NAMBLA would be able to expose the police frame-up, and since the media had built up the issue so much, it would not be able to ignore NAMBLA's defense. There was relief in NAMBLA that finally it had a club with which to beat the cops—and it was poetic justice that the cops had put the club into its hands.

The BOYHOOD Calendar had been published by Book Explorers, Inc., a firm headed by Martin Swithinbank that had been defunct for more than a decade. In view of the many raids on boy-lovers' homes by police, and especially on Martin Swithinbank's, NAMBLA knew that the police had to have a copy of the calendar in their possession. Instead of raiding NAMBLA members' homes in search of the model's identity, they should have searched their own files. Their incompetence was matched only by their arrogance. They were about to get their comeuppance.

The meeting voted unanimously to call simultaneous news conferences in New York City and Boston in two days. NAMBLA's representatives at the conferences were selected, and a division of labor was worked out whereby everyone would pitch in to ensure success: a room had to be rented, the wire services had to be notified, *The BOYHOOD Calendar* had to be photocopied and press packets compiled, the media had to be called (twice), NAMBLA's official statements had to be drafted and agreed upon, and dozens of details had to be taken care of. NAMBLA's first news conference in its four years of existence was about to happen. The eyes of the world would be on it. It had to be done right.

The day before the news conference, the story went out over the wire services that NAMBLA was going to reveal the identity of the model in the famous photograph. This announcement itself became news, and was picked up by the radio, television, and newspapers.

That evening, NAMBLA gathered together the press packets it had assembled and kept them in a safe place—just in case the FBI or the police decided to bust the participants in order to frustrate the now inevitable expose of their incompetence. No last-minute raids occurred.



JANUARY

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

1968 BOYHOOD CALENDAR

The Boston news conference was held in the Glad Day Bookshop, a gay bookstore. Representing NAMBLA were Bill Andriette, Brian Quinby, and Mitzel. In New York, the conference was held in the Marco Polo Room of the Coliseum Holiday Inn on West 57th Street. NAMBLA was represented by David Ingalls (who was fired from his job shortly afterward as a result of his participation), David Thorstad, and attorney Michael J. Lavery. Identical statements were read at both conferences; in Boston, Andriette also made his own statement as a youth member of the Steering Committee.

The press turnout was, not surprisingly, substantial. Some 60 media representatives, including veteran reporters Gabe Pressman and Murray Kempton, jammed the New York conference, which seemed as crowded as a Presidential conference, though rowdier and more interesting. It lasted for nearly two hours. In Boston, some 20 journalists representing all the media showed up and stayed for half an hour.

Press packets were distributed, containing copies of the statements to be read by NAMBLA representatives, a full-color copy of the cover and of the January leaf of *The BOYHOOD Calendar*, NAMBLA news releases, and copies of NAMBLA publications and leaflets, including an informational brochure summarizing the history and goals of the group. The brochure, which had been distributed by the thousands, listed the names of NAMBLA's Steering Committee members—hardly something a “shadowy” group would do.

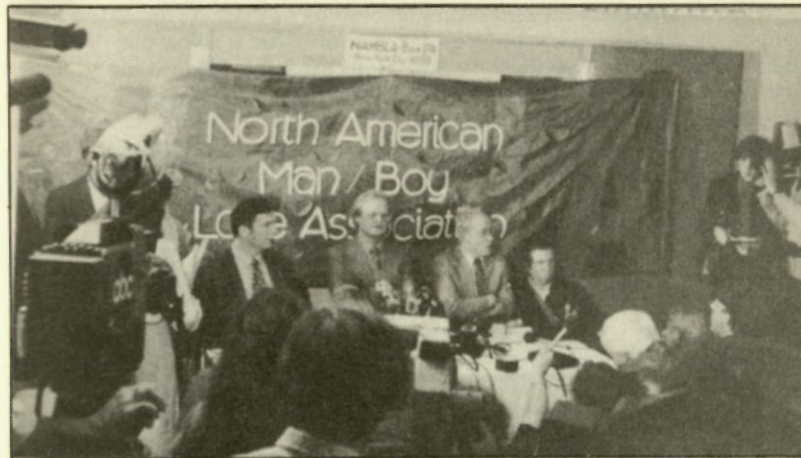
NAMBLA opened the news conferences with statements explaining its goals and its response to the recent events.

“During the past week,” it asserted, “a cruel and cynical hoax has been perpetrated upon the public by the FBI, various police forces, and the media. This hoax has involved the release to the media of a photograph seized in a raid on a beach cottage in Wareham, Massachusetts, on December 3.” Assertions that NAMBLA might have airbrushed a cleft chin into the photo were dismissed as a “ridiculous fantasy”: “If anyone has the technological capacity and the motive to airbrush photographs and doctor evidence, it is surely the FBI itself.”

The FBI and the police, NAMBLA charged, were on “a vast fishing expedition designed to intimidate and destroy a legal group.” It condemned “the gestapo tactics of the authorities, which remind us of the Cointelpro operations of the 1960’s,” and demanded an end to the harassment.

Regarding the famous photograph, NAMBLA said that the media, by emblazoning this “absurd police concoction” across the front pages, had “abdicated all reportorial responsibility to question the police motives, to investigate further the nature and source of the photograph in question, and even to contact NAMBLA for its reaction to the obvious frame-up of our organization which the FBI and the police have begun. In the process, the authorities and the media have cruelly exploited the agony of Etan Patz’s parents and contributed to the police harassment of NAMBLA. The selling of newspapers has been placed ahead of the truth. . . . The media have functioned as an adjunct of the police, rather than as an independent news-gathering and investigative institution.”

David Thorstad demolished police attempts to suggest that NAMBLA had any connection to the disappearance of Etan Patz: “Let me state categorically:



PETER MBLZER



MITZEL

NAMBLA news conferences, December 28, 1982. (Top) New York, with David Ingalls, David Thorstad, and Michael J. Lavery. (Bottom) Boston, with Bill Andriette and Brian Quinby.

If NAMBLA had ever known anything about the disappearance of Etan Patz, we would have been the first to inform the authorities. We express our profound sympathy with the extreme distress to which Etan’s parents have been subjected, not only by the disappearance of their son, but also by the sensationalism of the past week. The police know that there is no connection between Etan Patz’s disappearance and NAMBLA. NAMBLA has never been involved in the abduction of anyone, as the police also know. Reports to the contrary are lies.”

The focal point of the news conferences was NAMBLA's revelation of the source and identity of the photograph. Not only did it reveal that the photo had appeared in a 1968 calendar, but it accused the FBI and the police of having the calendar in their possession: "This information may be a revelation to some of the media. But we believe it is not news to the FBI and the police. We believe that the authorities have known the identity and source of this photograph all along. We accuse them of deliberately and cynically covering up this information in order to grab headlines and vilify NAMBLA. . . . It is their hope that by smearing an unpopular group they can win public support for any witchhunt they may wish to unleash. As for this particular smear, they now stand exposed!"

Employees of Odyssey House, an operation run by anti-kiddie porn crusader Judianne Densen-Gerber, picketed the New York news conference, after trying unsuccessfully to infiltrate it. Their spokeswoman told the press, incongruously, that NAMBLA wanted to have sex with her 6-month-old daughter! The picket appeared to have been staged in league with a reporter from Lyndon LaRouche's extreme right-wing *New Solidarity*, who indicated as much during the question period. Several officers from the New York Police Department were also on hand, although they did not identify themselves as police until after the news conference was over.

december 1982
nambla
VOLUME 2, No. 10

BULLETIN

VOICE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MAN / BOY LOVE ASSOCIATION

NAMBLA HERE TO STAY!

NAMBLA HELDS PRESS CONFERENCE • ATTRACTS WIDEWIDE ATTENTION

NAMBLA's first-ever news conference, held within an hour of each other in New York and Boston, propelled our four-year-old organization into the newspapers and on to the airwaves across America. By revealing the source of the picture alleged to be that of missing Ethan Patz, NAMBLA quashed reports that members David Groat and Brett Fortman, whose Wareham, MA house was raided on December 3rd, were in any way connected with the disappearance of Patz. The existence of the picture was confirmed by Boston

County Police the next day, clearing NAMBLA of any involvement in the kidnapping; the conference served also to refute the sensationalized press coverage that declared NAMBLA to be a pornography and sex ring that accepts major credit cards and delivers hapless lads via Learjet.

The Boston news conference began at 9:15 on Tuesday, December 28th. Held at the Glad Day Bookery, the thirty-minute conference attracted

PHOTOGRAPH BY [unreadable]

Photo the FBI and the local police allegedly found in a calendar in Wareham, Mass., where members David Groat, Brett Fortman, and Harold Shaver, III were arrested. Coincidentally captured as a photo of Ethan Patz, a 5-year-old boy missing from Ohio since 1979, it was passed along and used in the uninformative, gutter-usage style of the sensationalist press to vilify NAMBLA. "A license was filed," with good-allegations and insistence of having kidnapped Ethan Patz. The effort to destroy the legitimacy of the Organization failed.

...When, thanks to the efforts of NAMBLA, the source of the photo and the identity of the model were revealed in the press conference held simultaneously in Boston and New York.

Published in the *Harvard Calendar* dated 1968, it is the photo of a model who now shall be in his late twenties. The FBI has decided my comment to the press, except for an occasional "it was thought, at the time..." NAMBLA maintains the FBI stole all along of the Fairchild of the narrative it was looking to the press.

THE POLICE RESPOND

That afternoon, Tuesday, December 28, the New York City police called their own news conference. They tried to put the best face on an embarrassing turn of events. The media helped, despite the obvious fact that the police had been caught in a lie, by treating the police with deference—in stark contrast to their arrogant and hostile questioning of the NAMBLA spokespeople earlier in the day.

The police admitted that their "promising lead" had grown quickly cold, and that the photo on which they had pinned their hopes for a witchhunt was not of Ethan Patz—an admission that was by now obvious, and that came more than one week after they cooked up their story, and then only after NAMBLA had taken the trouble to expose the police "ineptitude." The next day, Nassau County (Long Island) authorities "found" a copy of *The BOYHOOD Calendar* among their collection of boy-love literature, much of which they had confiscated from Martin Swithinbank.

The FBI generally kept its mouth closed, but claimed that it would never have pursued the photo lead if it had known it was a dead end. "If the FBI had any idea the photo was as old as they [NAMBLA] say it is, we would not have placed our resources at the disposal of the police," said FBI spokesman Joseph Valiquette. This explanation stretches credibility, and if true, would seem at least to warrant an investigation by Congress into Judge William Webster's FBI.

NAMBLA had made its case, and had been proven to be correct on all counts. It had demolished the police-FBI house of cards with one hard-hitting shock of light and truth. Needless to say, the media did not splash the expose of police shenanigans across the front pages.

The police also revealed that on December 27, the day before the NAMBLA news conferences, they had assigned eight new detectives to the Patz case. This story appeared the morning of the news conferences. The police also spread the story—uncritically reported by the press—that they had tried to question David Groat about the identity of the model in the photograph, but that he had "refused to cooperate." Actually, Groat later said, it was the FBI, not the police, who tried to get him to talk. The "cooperation" they wanted was for him to sign a false statement to the effect that NAMBLA had kidnapped Ethan Patz, in exchange for his release from jail.

This alleged attempt to question Groat—after weeks of terrorizing him, preventing NAMBLA from contacting him about the photograph in question,

and then sensationalizing the screwball theory that it was a picture of Etan Patz—was just further proof of the cynicism of the authorities. How could Groat “cooperate” with them in finding Etan Patz when neither he nor NAMBLA knew anything at all about Patz’s disappearance?

Such considerations did not deter *New York Times* liberal columnist Sydney Schanberg, who fell for the police story hook, line, and sinker. “Since Mr. Groat refused to help find Etan,” he wrote December 28, “perhaps someone should lose the key to his cell forever.”

Groat could be of no help because he knew nothing. Furthermore, if he had so much as agreed to talk to the detectives from the FBI about the weather, or even to deny that the boy in the photo was Patz, they could have turned this against him. He knew that. The police were bent on pursuing their frame-up, not on solving a riddle, and might well have then spread the word that Groat was cooperating with them in other areas of the “investigation,” that he was finking on his former comrades (who were, with his family, his only reservoir of support), or whatever else they liked. The fantasies they had cooked up thus far showed that they were capable of anything.

The FBI’s psychological profile of Groat must have been quite defective, despite its years of sleuthing and cloak-and-dagger “investigating.” Groat is committed to sexual liberation and made an unlikely prospect for the FBI’s amateurish “deal.”

One lesson that NAMBLA members had learned from years of FBI and police harassment is: Never talk to the FBI. Anything you say to them, no matter how innocent, will be used against you or someone else.

NAMBLA’s expose of the FBI and the police was the lead story on the evening television news, and was given prominent coverage in all the media. The supposedly “shadowy” organization had been thrust into prominence, especially on the East Coast. The two main topics of conversation at gay cocktail parties in New York during the holidays were AIDS and NAMBLA.

NAMBLA’s image had been sullied by the police lies and innuendoes, but its credibility with the media had soared. The police knew that any future effort to smear the organization would have to take into account the fact that it could not be intimidated easily, and that it would take its case to the public.

But despite the body blow NAMBLA had dealt to the frame-up, the authorities were not about to throw in the towel.*

*In Los Angeles, there was no mention in the news media of NAMBLA’s expose. Not even KFWB, Westinghouse Broadcasting’s 24-hour news radio station, mentioned it, despite the fact that just days earlier it had trumpeted the FBI’s accusations three times an hour for one full day. On January 7, 1983, the Los Angeles *Daily News* carried a syndicated column by Pete Hamill on “the NAMBLA gang” which told of the “look-alike” photo, but made no mention of the fact that it came from a 1968 calendar or that NAMBLA had revealed its identity. “I think this crowd of degenerates should be horse-whipped,” Hamill advised.

THE CHARLES DYSON CONNECTION

As NAMBLA spokespersons picked up the daily newspapers on their way to the December 28 news conference, the New York papers were announcing yet a further twist to the case. “Another missing boy at sex den?” asked the *Daily News*. The *New York Post* plastered another mammoth headline across its front page: “New turn in Etan Patz mystery. . . COPS HUNT 2D KIDNAP BOY.” The more staid *New York Times* did not report this story as quickly as the other dailies.

The day before, the *New York Post* had broken the story that the police were looking for a boy identified as “Charlie D.” The story appeared under the byline of Philip Messing and Leo Standora, with the headline “Etan Patz ‘lookalike’ is kidnaped in N.J.” It was beginning to look as though the Murdoch *Post*—a standing joke among “serious” journalists in New York, because of its race to nudge ahead of the *National Enquirer* in the journalistic gutter—was being fed items hot off the FBI’s griddle.

The *Post*’s Messing-Standora story was the most egregious of all the police lies. Their story was printed without any photograph of Dyson, and did not identify him—did the police withhold the photo, or did the *Post* withhold it at the police request? Dyson was not identified in the press until four days later, but by then the *Post* had stopped describing him as an Etan Patz “lookalike.” No wonder—the two boys did not look even vaguely alike, and Dyson was around four years older than Etan would then have been. The police knew this too, since Dyson’s father had reported the boy missing nearly one month earlier. But they also knew that their frame-up would not be plausible unless they released their “information” to the public in bits and drabs, always withholding key elements, and always putting a slant on it that the public and the press could be expected to swallow. The amazing thing is that none of the supposedly sophisticated New York journalists seemed to notice this, or even to care once they knew the full story.

The *Post* also reported that “Charlie D.” had been “abducted Nov. 29 somewhere between his home and the Henry Hudson School in the Monmouth County community of Highlands.” Police coyly said “there is evidence” he had been at the Wareham beach cottage prior to the arrest of Groat, Portman, and Baker, suggesting that they had just come across this “evidence”—in reality, they had sat on it for one month. They said that Baker had been extradited to Monmouth County to face possible charges that he had sexually abused the boy—but later indicated they had no evidence of “sexual abuse.” Police described the 17-year-old Baker as a “chicken hawk,”

a term they defined as a "procurer of young boys for older men"—a novel definition, to say the least, of a pre-gay liberation slang term for a gay man who seeks sex with teenage males. A year earlier, Baker had been a "victim" of Karl Ahlers, yet the police would have had people believe that during the previous year he had undergone a transformation on the order of Jekyll and Hyde. At this point, the police had yet to publicly mention the two men—Bommarito and Hammill—with whom "Charlie D." had supposedly left, even though they allegedly had been looking for the men for a month. They said they hoped the trail to "Charlie D." "might bring them closer to finding Etan," said the *Post*.

What was going on? Why did the police wait until the day before the NAMBLA news conferences to reveal their new twist, as though it were a new piece they had just found for their jigsaw puzzle? They had been holding this information for a month, as subsequent news stories revealed.

The truth is that the police scenario included a day-by-day release of "new" information designed to further expose NAMBLA as a dangerous international sex ring. The NAMBLA news conferences threw a monkey-wrench into their plans, and put the police on the defensive.

'If the FBI had any idea the photo was as old as NAMBLA says it is, we would not have placed our resources at the disposal of the police.'

—FBI Spokesman
Joseph Valiquette

At first the police withheld the identity of the new boy and the men they claimed to be looking for. (Was that to have been the next day's headline?) So, NAMBLA revealed this information itself. The NAMBLA *Bulletin* included in the official press packet (November 1982) carried a "Hot Flash" on its front page.

The Steering Committee has been informed of an interest on the part of Federal and local authorities in learning the whereabouts of Charles Dyson, Hugh Hammill, and John David Bomarito (aka David Behrins). On December 19th, FBI agents visited the homes of at least eight people in New York City, including three Steering Committee members, stating that they were conducting a "block-to-block" search for Dyson, Hammill, and Bomarito. It should be pointed out that none of these three individuals is a member of NAMBLA and that members should consider themselves WARNED that contact with any of them could have serious consequences. The next issue of the *Bulletin* will be out soon with further details.

In the question period of the New York news conference, David Thorstad asked why it was that the police did not reveal the name of the boy or the identity of the men whom they were allegedly looking for. Why had the police

hidden the boy's disappearance and his alleged presence at the Wareham beach cottage until now? Why did the boy leave home? Thorstad said that NAMBLA had information to the effect that the boy may have been forced into sex by his stepfather, and suggested that the reporters look into the matter. Was the boy trying to escape from sexual abuse? If the police had been looking for Hammill for more than one year, in connection with the July 11, 1981, raids (as the Ulster County district attorney had told David Groat), why had they not found him? He had not hidden his presence in New York City and other places. "He's done everything except stand under the nearest lamppost and say 'Here I am,'" Thorstad stated. Why, he asked, have men who befriended Hammill been arrested, but Hammill himself cannot seem to be found? He suggested that either Bommarito, or Hammill, or both, were being left unfound by the police, that the police knew where they were, and that they were being used as part of a police attempt to set up NAMBLA.

Press accounts portrayed Dyson's disappearance as a kidnapping, and implied that NAMBLA was somehow involved. They identified Bommarito and Hammill as members or "associates" of NAMBLA, even though they were not. The press also suggested that all this had something to do with Etan Patz's disappearance, which was ridiculous. It led the public to perceive Dyson as an innocent little lamb who had been kidnapped by a dirty old member of NAMBLA, removed against his will from the tender loving care of his family. But this was not true.

First, the boy had not been kidnapped. He had left home voluntarily. Second, neither Bommarito nor Hammill were members or "associates" of NAMBLA. Neither had ever attended a single function of NAMBLA. Third, the only connection with Patz had come from the delirium of police speculation.*

What kind of way was this to run an investigation?

The press never reported that it was NAMBLA, and not the police, who first revealed the identities of Dyson and the men the police claimed to be seeking in connection with his decision to run away from home. It did nothing to explore the reasons why young Dyson had left home. It ignored everything NAMBLA had to say about the matter—which was not much, but which was more accurate than what was being reported from police sources. Even after NAMBLA had exposed the police frame-up, the press continued to report uncritically every new police fantasy.

If NAMBLA had not made its expose of the police on December 28, the police juggernaut would have inexorably crushed the group. During the previous month, the police had been testing to see how far they could carry their tale. Every day they were feeding some new tidbit to the media in an

*Efforts by NAMBLA to correct the persistent description of Bommarito and Hammill as members or "associates" were to no avail. On January 7, 1983, for example, responding to a complaint from David Thorstad, *Daily News* City Editor Bob Herbert refused to stop describing them as such. He said the police "believed" them to be "associates," and indicated that that was good enough for him. Thorstad reminded him that the police also make up lies, and had been caught in one with their NAMBLA-Etan Patz link.

attempt to further implicate NAMBLA in illicit activities. Rather than deal with the issues NAMBLA was raising, the authorities and the media preferred to focus on salacious fabrications. This served both of their interests more than finding out the truth.

On the one hand, the police and the FBI wanted to build a case for destroying NAMBLA. On the other hand, they sought to give the impression that they were doing their job, despite their failure to solve the disappearance of Etan Patz. They were looking for a quick fix, and had plunged into an elaborate public-relations campaign in which the public was being conditioned into accepting a police fairy tale.

Here is what really happened in the Dyson matter.

Around the end of November, Bommarito tried to persuade Jimmy Johnson, an 11-year-old Jersey City boy, to leave home with him and Hammill, but the boy chose not to go along. Bommarito had recently been fired from his job at New York's Paragon sporting goods store, allegedly for shoplifting from his employer. Jimmy's two older brothers, Eddie, 15, and Freddie, 18, had been friends of Martin Swithinbank, and had figured in that case a year earlier. On November 29, Hammill, Harold Baker, Eddie Johnson, and Charles Dyson drove to Boston, and then turned up at the Wareham beach cottage. Bommarito, who made his way to Boston separately, on November 30, also asked to stay at the cottage, but Groat refused, so he stayed in a motel.

'I went skiing up there. I had fun.'

—Charles Dyson, describing his month away from home

On December 3, the police raided the cottage and arrested Groat, Portman, Baker, Rodriguez, and Wilkins. Hammill, Dyson, and Eddie Johnson were not there at the time; Eddie Johnson shortly returned home. Hammill and Bommarito began contacting people in the gay community in Boston, seeking help. They soon left with Dyson for Vermont, where they holed up in a house in the rural town of Greensboro Bend. There they remained for the next few weeks, while the police turned their attention to smearing NAMBLA.*

Then, on December 30, Dyson showed up in New York's Port Authority Bus Terminal, clutching a paper bag filled with cookies, sandwiches, and a soft drink. He also had \$70 and a new wristwatch, and was wearing a football jacket, presumably shoplifted by Bommarito from Paragon. Dyson told police he had been treated well during his month away from home. "I went skiing up there. I had fun," he said.

*About a year later, the man they stayed with, Erik Haggblad, was murdered by a drifter who was staying with him. The local newspaper used part of its account to explain that the murderer was not a member of NAMBLA.

TODAY
Fully clothed, 48

TOMORROW
FBI, 28-30

TOMORROW
FBI, 28-30

Details, Page 2

NEW YORK POST

METRO
SPORTS FINAL

TV listings: P. 55
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1982
30 CENTS
1982 News Group Publications Inc. Vol. 102, No. 37
AMERICA'S FASTEST-GROWING NEWSPAPER
ABC AVERAGE SALES EXCEED 960,000

KIDNAPED BOY BACK FROM HELL

**Pols:
Carey
off the
wall**



PAGE THREE

**Safe in
arms of
family**

Crushed by his nightmare experience, tearful Charles Dyson, 12, who was abducted to a homosexual club in Massachusetts in November and freed yesterday, is led from the Port Authority bus terminal by Officer Joe Filiguet. Full story Page 5.



The *New York Post* story on his return (December 31) carried the front-page banner headline "KIDNAPED BOY BACK FROM HELL." The story inside ran under the headline "GAY NIGHTMARE ENDS AS N.J. BOY GOES HOME." The police said there was no evidence that the boy had been sexually abused. They did not say whether they knew where Hammill and Bommarito were located.

Twelve hours later, both men were arrested. News reports identified Bommarito variously as John Burns, David Berens, and John Bommarito. None of the photographs accompanying press accounts ever showed a picture of Bommarito. They were all of Hammill. To this day, Bommarito's photograph has appeared in none of the media.

Hammill was charged with kidnapping Dyson, and was held on \$100,000 bail. On January 3, 1983, he was arraigned in Freehold, N.J., and held on \$250,000 bail. Baker, also charged with kidnapping Dyson, was being held in Freehold as well. Subsequently, Hammill pleaded guilty to sexual assault

(that is, touching Dyson's crotch), and was sentenced to seven years in jail. He is currently being held in the Avenel Adult Diagnostic Center near Rahway, N.J. Following his plea-bargain, he reportedly gave a 40-page deposition to the FBI, the contents of which have not been revealed.

Baker was sentenced to probation and sent to live with his sister. He is now reportedly living with his wife and child in Pennsylvania.

Bommarito's treatment differed substantially from that of the others. His photograph never appeared in the media. He was initially charged with attempted kidnapping, for having asked Jimmy Johnson to leave home with him on November 29. Police expressed solicitous concern for his safety, and held him in the Bayonne City, N.J., jail because they said he would be safer there than in the Jersey City jail. The authorities claimed that Bommarito was being held while he awaited extradition from Texas, where they said he was wanted on charges of having had sex with boys. When Texas did not proceed within a couple of months, charges against him were dropped and he walked.

Two and a half months after his December 3 arrest, Brett Portman was arrested a second time, as he left the Bridgewater Treatment Center after visiting David Groat. Portman was charged with being a fugitive from a warrant in New Jersey. The charge behind that was "interference with a custodial relationship." Underlying this was a request by Portman's lawyer, Richard Iandoli of Boston, that Brian Wilkins come to Boston from New Jersey in order to discuss possible testimony as a defense witness. Thereupon, Portman bought Wilkins a round-trip airplane ticket so he could meet with Iandoli. Coincidentally, the Jersey City police had picked up Wilkins for fare-beating. Detective Denis Aponete found the airline ticket, and brought the charge against Portman!

Portman's bail was initially set at \$250,000. The next day it was reduced to \$100,000, and Portman's parents got him out of jail on \$10,000 cash bail.

About a week later, Portman went to Jersey City, turned himself in on the "interference with a custodial relationship" charge, and bail was set at \$500. The police refused to come to the courthouse to process him, so the court had the county sheriff take his fingerprints; he was released later the same day. The ridiculous charge was dismissed several months later.

On April 19, 1984, Portman accepted a plea-bargain to two counts of "indecent assault" on Ishmael Rodriguez in exchange for a five-year suspended sentence with probation. But Portman emphatically maintained his innocence, and said that given the nature of the charges he could not obtain a fair trial. "The accusation is all it takes," he told *Gay Community News* (May 19, 1984). "The facts of the case are almost irrelevant." Portman's lawyer, Richard Iandoli, noted that Plymouth County Superior Court Judge Francis Keating expressed concern that men imprisoned for "sex crimes" are often beaten by fellow prisoners and prison guards. He said Judge Keating also noted that "it was his first offense and that despite all the talk about pornography, there was no pornography, and despite all the talk about a ring, there was no ring. And he mentioned all the national publicity and that nothing had come of that."

Groat, who had made bail in February 1983, failed to appear for his trial on April 24, 1984. The court ordered that his \$10,000 cash bail be forfeited.

Another missing boy at sex den? He's held in boynap attempt
Sickos want child abuse made legal Results on 'Etan' photo are negative
 Sickened by Man-Boy Love Ann. sex perverts

Parents reject sex club photo as that of their missing son
Kidnaped kids: Tales of hope and horror

GAY NIGHTMARE ENDS AS N.J. BOY GOES HOME
 Photo in Patz Case Released by Police
 8-man police unit solely on Patz trail
Little boy missing, little boy found...

Let's say a prayer for Etan
 NAMBLA: Patz cabby faces more questions
 Kiddie Sex Ring In N.Y. Politics
 Etan Patz case bares sicko group
 Police Confirm Seized Photo Was Not of Etan

LOOKALIKE IS NOT ETAN, SAYS BOSS OF SEX CLUB
 Cabby picks Patz, suspects several states launch probes
 Etan Patz Case Puts New Focus On a Sexual Disorder, Pedophilia

COPS HUNT 2D KIDNAP BOY
 New turn in Etan Patz mystery...
 'Man-Boy' group is dangerous, say cops
 Etan Patz 'lookalike' is kidnaped in N.J.
 Etan not the boy in calendar photo seized in roundup
 Photos key clue in abductions

PORN PHOTO CLUE IN HUNT FOR ETAN PATZ
 He Was Lost, But Now He's Found!
 Teen Recounts Bus Trip Home With \$70, Sandwiches
 Evidence of child exploitation

Are sex-raid pix of Etan Patz? 'Think I picked up Etan...'

Patz cabby retraces SoHo route
 Held in 250G boy-kidnap bail
 Man, sex club link to SoHo boy is probed

FOLKS DOUBT ETAN IS BOY IN SEX PIC

Group Asserts Picture Is of Model, Not of Etan
Men & boys together
 Sex probers outraged by 'love' organization
 Man-Boy network preys on kids - L.I. prosecutor

Collage of newspaper heads. For the most part, the press aided the witchhunt and abdicated its independent investigative role.

THE AFTERMATH

The NAMBLA news conferences on December 28 received coverage all over the United States. Following them, there was a flurry of activity by program directors and news editors, anxious to capitalize on the new interest in NAMBLA. Dudley Clendinen of the *New York Times* was granted lengthy interviews by NAMBLA spokespeople, and wrote a fair-minded piece about the group. David Thorstad appeared on ABC Television's late-night talk show, "The Last Word," on December 29, together with Jill Haddad, an associate of former Los Angeles detective Lloyd Martin and his Foundation for America's Sexually Exploited Children. Telegrams from the "Phil Donahue Show" went unacknowledged because it was felt that Donahue's glib style and the format of his show were inappropriate for discussing complicated issues.

The Victorian *New York Times* also jumped in with a feature by Bryce Nelson in its January 4, 1983, "Science Times" section entitled "Etan Patz Case Puts New Focus On a Sexual Disorder, Pedophilia." While delicately noting that "one piece of evidence" in the hunt for Etan Patz—the "lookalike" photograph—had "ultimately lost credibility," the *Times* sought to explain why it felt obliged to turn its attention to such a far-out topic: "The statements of the North American Man-Boy Love Association focused the attention of an incredulous public on the fact that there are not only people who have sexual relations with children but who publicly assert that it has benevolent effects. At a news conference last week in New York, a spokesman for the association would not say at what age his group thought that a boy was too young to give informed consent to having sexual relations with an adult."

The *Times* said nothing about these "benevolent effects," however, and did not interview anyone from NAMBLA or cite any sexologists or scientific studies as having anything good to say about man/boy love. Instead, it praised the alleged merits of Depo Provera, a chemical-castration drug injected in hopes of "curing" sex offenders. It did not voice any concern over the fact that Depo Provera is a dangerous cancer-causing chemical, banned by the Food and Drug Administration for use as a contraceptive in women. It quoted extensively from Dr. Nicholas Groth, director of the sex offender program at the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers, and considered by the man/boy love movement to be an egregious quack. "Many of the pedophiles have a tenuous sense of their own masculinity, a low sense of self-esteem, lead lonely lives and are distrustful of adults," the *Times* reassured its readers.

"Fearful of measuring themselves by adult demands and standards, they seek out the nonthreatening affection of a friendly child. They are often 'very childish people,' Dr. Groth said." Yet, despite the previous weeks' hoopla smearing NAMBLA as a kidnap outfit, the *Times* said that Groth told it that "abduction of a child by a pedophile was very rare." It admitted in passing that "there may be some debate over whether sexual relations between adults and adolescents are always harmful," but labeled all sexual relations with preadolescents "destructive." It overlooked the fact that NAMBLA's "connection" to the Etan Patz case was a sheer fabrication, and that all the boys involved were adolescents.

On January 17, 1983, *Time* magazine attacked NAMBLA as a group involved in "the systematic exploitation of the weak and immature by the powerful and disturbed." *Time's* slander prompted poet Allen Ginsberg to respond: "This struck me on first reading as a precise characterization of *Time's* own assault on the American mind and body politic. The obsessive self-righteousness of this slick news magazine's judgment glares most sinister in the light of *Time's* own tendency to manipulate readers' minds through

'Attacks on NAMBLA stink of politics, witchhunting for profit, humorlessness, vanity, anger and ignorance, obvious pack journalism. New York Times and Time magazine on the subject have been obnoxiously hypocritical. I'm a member of NAMBLA because I love boys too—everybody does, who has a little humanity.'

—Allen Ginsberg

disturbed reporting—such as its story on NAMBLA—not to speak of *Time's* peddling of local drugs (cigarettes and alcohol) for advertising revenue. Attacks on NAMBLA stink of politics, witchhunting for profit, humorlessness, vanity, anger and ignorance, obvious pack journalism. *New York Times* and *Time* magazine on the subject have been obnoxiously hypocritical. I'm a member of NAMBLA because I love boys too—everybody does, who has a little humanity."

The gay press had covered NAMBLA from the beginning, but now newspapers like the pro-establishment *Advocate*, which had previously tried to ignore NAMBLA, ran lengthy articles, in which some homosexuals in search of "respectability" sought to distance themselves from the group, but which also presented some of NAMBLA's views. The *New York Native* ran a long interview with Thorstad, and carried regular coverage of the case and of man/boy love. *Gay Community News* ran an editorial (January 8, 1983) in which it stated its intention to continue to give coverage to NAMBLA and issues that some in the lesbian and gay community might prefer to ignore:



Police escort Charles Dyson, 13, from a New York City bus terminal

The systematic exploitation of the weak and immature by the powerful and disturbed.

Time magazine, January 17, 1983. Who was exploiting whom?

Local police and the FBI continue to believe in the existence of an "international sex ring" lurking within the NAMBLA organization and they appear to have every intention of finding it whether it exists or not. The raids and arrests of the past few weeks demonstrate that the police will not stop short of tearing apart the lives and homes of NAMBLA members in their search. Unfounded allegations of a connection between NAMBLA and the disappearance of a New York City schoolboy, quietly withdrawn by police after NAMBLA members did the checking police should have done, show that the cops are not loath to make serious charges before examining the evidence. And as address books and mailing lists are seized, the scope of the search will surely widen. . . . NAMBLA has received extensive attention in GCN in part because the group has received extensive attention from the police and little but scare headlines from the straight media. And where an atmosphere of fear can prevent even the discussion of sexuality—be that sexuality among people of different ages, among youth, among s/m people, lesbians, gay men or any other sexual minority—we stand to lose the important gains we have all made together.

Two small left-wing groups deserve mention for their coverage. The Spartacist League published a defense of NAMBLA in its biweekly, *Workers Vanguard* (January 14, 1983). It denounced the "Moral Majority Witchhunt Against Gay Activists." "As is often the case," it wrote, "the reactionaries have launched this dangerous and vicious COINTELPRO-type operation under

the banner of protecting children." It noted that "The casualty figures for this witchhunt are already coming in. Not only is the existence of NAMBLA, the livelihoods and perhaps the lives of its members threatened, but democratic rights for all the oppressed, particularly homosexuals, must be an early casualty in the crusade. The defense of embattled NAMBLA is an urgent duty for all those who defend democratic rights. Drop the charges against NAMBLA members!"

The Revolutionary Socialist League ran a two-page defense of NAMBLA and consensual sexuality by Ian Daniels entitled "NAMBLA, Age of Consent, and Human Sexuality" (*Torch*, January 15–February 14, 1983). "Whether or not one agrees with the specific views of NAMBLA," Daniels wrote, "we believe it is essential to defend the organization against criminal prosecutions and against the campaign of vilification and slander being carried out by the press. On the most basic level, such defense is called for because NAMBLA is innocent of the charges being raised against it."

'If you people only have the FBI to worry about, you have nothing to worry about.'

—Jersey City Detective
Denis Aponte

"NAMBLA is not an organization which *advocates* sexual relationships between men and boys. It is an organization that fights for the rights of those men and boys who are involved in or who would like to be involved in such relationships, and works to educate society that these relationships do not in the main conform to the stereotype in which 'dirty old men' rape innocent young children. . . . Most importantly, for all the weeks of hype by the media, the raids by police and the FBI and the lurid stories about NAMBLA's alleged activities, one fact remains clear: No one was able to come up with a shred of evidence linking NAMBLA to child kidnappings, 'kiddie porn' rings or anything of the sort. Yet NAMBLA remains the target of reactionary, puritanical outrage on the part of the gutter press, and presumably will continue to face the threat of harassment by various government forces. The police, the FBI and the bourgeois media have united in a campaign against NAMBLA not because NAMBLA is involved in 'crime,' but because of its views. NAMBLA must be supported in its fight against victimization by the capitalist state and the three men arrested in Wareham defended against legal persecution."

On March 27, 1983, the *Daily News* revealed that the FBI and five other federal and local law-enforcement agencies had "quietly" formed a special task force whose purpose was to investigate the kidnapping and selling of children and their use in porn films, the murder of children and adolescents by kidnapers, and the movement of kidnapped children across state lines "for sexual exploitation." The new task force was to be composed of agents

from the U.S. Customs Service, postal inspectors (who have a long history of concocting scams designed to entrap boy-lovers), and detectives from the New York City Police Department and from Nassau and Suffolk counties on Long Island, as well as the FBI. It reportedly "began operations" on March 1 under the command of James F. Murphy, assistant special agent in charge of the FBI's Queens office. NAMBLA was the only organization specifically named as being "studied" by the unit. According to the *Daily News*, Murphy said the FBI "is trying to determine how many missing youngsters end up in the control of pederasts."* Other sensational reports asserted that NAMBLA had its own Lear-jet, which it allegedly used to fly boys around the world, and that it delivered them to the doorsteps of clients, that it accepted all major credit cards for payment, and that many of these boys "wound up in shallow graves." The bigger the lie, the easier it is to believe.

Despite having been K.O'd on the Etan Patz hoax, the authorities were determined to maintain the appearance of a link between NAMBLA and crimes they knew it was not involved in.

Little has been heard about the task force in the wake of the *Daily News'* puff piece.

Attempts in New York and Connecticut to introduce legislation banning NAMBLA from existence got nowhere. They were too transparently unconstitutional, and were no doubt staged by publicity-hungry legislators trying to cash in on NAMBLA's notoriety.

Since the December 1982 events, NAMBLA has continued to refine its political positions, to expand the scope and improve the quality of its publications, and to participate in the struggle for sexual freedom and against oppression of all kinds. In December 1983, it held a conference in the Arlington Street Church in Boston, where it adopted a program for children's liberation. In October 1984, it held its first conference on the West Coast, in San Francisco's Pride Center.

NAMBLA weathered this assault on its constitutional rights of free association and free speech. Its members gained experience in defending themselves against state repression. The group has reaffirmed its commitment to the goals of liberation for which it was founded.

*An indication of the low esteem in which the FBI is sometimes held by law-enforcement agencies—and probably of interagency rivalries among police and the FBI—came from Jersey City Detective Denis Aponte. In February 1983, he told Bob Rhodes at a cable TV station in Avenel, N.J.: "If you people [NAMBLA] only have the FBI to worry about, you have nothing to worry about."

ASH MARKS BURNT BEFORE

By Charley Shively

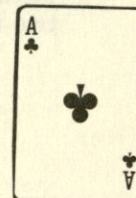
I

What waits
wilts will
not show
how one rose touches
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many levels

I understand it
but it still hurts
change flip
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supersensitive
coin groin loin
which means that
he has run away

from here to there
is fear
uncertainty
broken wings
oiled parachutes
open in their own path



II



his mom and dad
 died when he was
 young and his ex
 lover really messed
 up his head spins
 between betrayals
 funerals
 funnels
 future

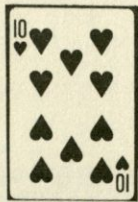


stuck together
 clues glue to
 picture sets on
 two mantel sides
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 caught
 with one
 frame wink
 shutter
 shudder
 stutter

His biggest fear
 was that he was
 going to lose again

III

ten heart cups
 lessons when I
 met him both
 he and I didn't
 want love per
 se procedure
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 appropriate
 but as it happens
 we both fell in love



IV

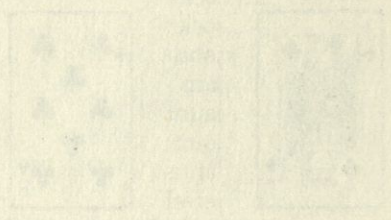


my jack
 jock
 john
 jam
 jaunty
 joint
 janus
 jewel



I had always promised
 him that I would keep
 him safe and I blew it

3/16/83



Faint text captioning the diagrams above.

Page 1

APPENDIX

STATEMENT BY MR. DANIEL ALAN

The first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the past year. It is divided into two main sections, the first of which deals with the general principles of the work and the second with the results of the work. The first section is divided into three parts, the first of which deals with the general principles of the work and the second with the results of the work. The second section is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the results of the work and the second with the conclusions drawn from the work.

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OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AT NAMBLA NEWS CONFERENCES, DECEMBER 28, 1982

STATEMENT BY MR. DAVID INGALLS

The FBI and the police have launched a vicious and unjustified attack on a legal civil-rights organization, the North American Man/Boy Love Association. In a transparent desire to sell newspapers and grab viewers, much of the media has avidly joined in this assault by whipping up hysteria against an unpopular and misunderstood group and by spreading not facts, but sensationalistic rumors, lies, and police fabrications. The effects are already being felt, and they are disastrous not only for those who are being made the direct victims of the police lies, but also for the public at large, from whom an accurate reporting of the truth has been withheld. What are some of the effects?

David Groat, one of the men arrested in Wareham, Massachusetts, on December 3, has been set up by guards and brutally beaten twice while in "protective custody," once into unconsciousness after inmates saw the sensationalistic coverage on television. None of the media has reported these assaults, for which they must share responsibility with the authorities. The press continues to describe the home at which Groat was arrested as being a NAMBLA "chapter," when in fact no such chapter has ever existed. At least one death threat of a NAMBLA supporter has been received. Harassment is increasing. Since Sunday, December 19, FBI agents have visited at least twelve men in New York City, inquiring about men and youths and attempting to link NAMBLA to illegal activities. That same day, three apartments were broken into by FBI agents and ransacked, with NAMBLA files, newsletters, and personal effects being taken. This is part of a vast fishing expedition designed to intimidate and destroy a legal group. The FBI has reportedly given some of the scandal-oriented media a list of some 100 names of NAMBLA supporters and urged that the names and addresses be published. The media has falsely portrayed NAMBLA as a "shadowy" group, a "sex club" of international scope, and a "pornography ring." Unnamed police representatives have been quoted as linking NAMBLA to alleged abductions of runaway boys. All of these accusations are lies sewn out of whole cloth, and the police know it.

NAMBLA is a public and legal organization. It was founded in December 1978 in response to the extreme oppression of boys and men involved in consensual and loving relationships. It seeks to educate society about the benevolent nature of man/boy love, and supports the liberation of persons of all ages from sexual prejudice, exploitation, and oppression. NAMBLA is not, and never has been, involved in prostitution, the production or distribution of pornography, or the transportation of minors for illegal purposes.

NAMBLA supports the right of children to be treated as full human beings, not as the private property of anyone—whether the state, which sends them to die in far-off wars, their parents, or boy-lovers. We support their right to control their own bodies, without interference from adults. We oppose all efforts to deny them that right, and support the empowering of young people. We support only *consensual* relationships, and condemn *any* involving coercion or in which consent is lacking. We support the right of minor females to abortion if they desire it, and we support the right of young people to the sexual enjoyment of their own bodies. We oppose the military draft and the sexual mutilation of children through circumcision and clitoridectomy, which are imposed upon them without their consent. We support the World Health Organization's baby-formula code—a code designed to protect third-world babies from death at the hands of Western corporations, and a code which the American government was the only one in the world to vote against.

NAMBLA condemns the gestapo tactics of the authorities, which remind us of the Cointelpro operations of the 1960's. We demand an end to this harassment, and call upon the media to rediscover its intended role as a vehicle for objective reporting of the news.

STATEMENT BY MR. DAVID THORSTAD

During the past week, a cruel and cynical hoax has been perpetrated upon the public by the FBI, various police forces, and the media. This hoax has involved the release to the media of a photograph seized in a raid on a beach cottage in Wareham, Massachusetts, on December 3. The photograph is that of a boy whom police have implied was Etan Patz, a 6-year-old boy who disappeared from a street in SoHo in May of 1979. The authorities have gone so far as to suggest that NAMBLA airbrushed the photo to add a cleft chin, allegedly to make the boy more "appealing" to NAMBLA members. This ridiculous fantasy might be funny if it weren't so sad. If anyone has the technological capacity and the motive to airbrush photographs and doctor evidence, it is surely the FBI itself. The media have emblazoned this absurd police concoction across the front pages, and have abdicated all reportorial responsibility to question the police motives, to investigate further the nature and source of the photograph in question, and even to contact NAMBLA for its reaction to the obvious frame-up of our organization which the FBI and the police have begun. In the process, the authorities and the media have cruelly exploited the agony of Etan Patz's parents, and contributed to the police harassment of NAMBLA. The selling of newspapers has been placed ahead of the truth. The public has been manipulated in an effort to stir up

a witchhunt against NAMBLA which is a legal, civil-rights organization. The media have functioned as an adjunct of the police, rather than as an independent news-gathering and investigative institution.

Millions, especially young people, in our society are suffering from unemployment. The Western economies are tumbling toward collapse. The world is being dragged ever closer to a nuclear holocaust. The environment is being polluted, and natural resources squandered to increase the profits of the rich. Hundreds of thousands of young people, many of them gay, are fleeing the stifling environments and physical abuse of their homes. Men who love boys are being made into scapegoats for social problems for which they are not responsible. The priorities of our society are completely out of whack.

NAMBLA has called this news conference to expose the cynical exploitation for profit of an innocent organization. Let us hope that our presentation of the facts in this unfortunate matter will receive the same prominent coverage that was accorded the phony baloney attempt to link NAMBLA to the disappearance of Etan Patz.

Let me state categorically: If NAMBLA had ever known anything about the disappearance of Etan Patz, we would have been the first to inform the authorities. We express our profound sympathy with the extreme distress to which Etan's parents have been subjected, not only by the disappearance of their son, but also by the sensationalism of the past week. The police know that there is no connection between Etan Patz's disappearance and NAMBLA. NAMBLA has never been involved in the abduction of anyone, as the police also know. Reports to the contrary are lies.

NAMBLA has done the research that the police and the media should have been doing themselves in order to identify the photograph in question. We present to you today the results of our research. To the question emblazoned across the front pages—"IS THIS ETAN PATZ?"—we answer with an unimpeachable NO! The photo is not of Etan Patz. Here is the photo, a copy of which has been included in your press packet. As you can see, the photograph was published in a 1968 calendar, which means that the model would now be at least in his late twenties.

This information may be a revelation to some of the media. But we believe it is not news to the FBI and the police. We believe that the authorities have known the identity and source of this photograph all along. We accuse them of deliberately and cynically covering up this information in order to grab headlines and vilify NAMBLA. It is common knowledge that the Reagan Administration has unleashed the secret police forces of the government against groups like NAMBLA that are peacefully struggling for social change. It is their hope that by smearing an unpopular group they can win public support for any witchhunt they may wish to unleash. As for this particular smear, they now stand exposed!

STATEMENT BY MR. BILL ANDRIETTE

It doesn't speak well of a free society when a civil-rights organization with an unpopular message faces a coordinated assault by the government and

the press. The North American Man/Boy Love Association is facing such an attack right now. We will prove today that it is unjustified.

For the past week, NAMBLA has been portrayed as a "sex club," a "shadowy" group, and a "porn ring." These charges have absolutely no basis in fact. At least a dozen men have faced traumatic invasions of their privacy by FBI agents. Three apartments in New York have been raided. NAMBLA files have been seized. David Groat, a former NAMBLA Coordinator jailed on specious charges stemming from a Wareham, Massachusetts, raid, was beaten into unconsciousness while in the custody of the state.

I am a member of NAMBLA, and have been since I was 15 years old, because NAMBLA is fighting for my rights as a young person. The state says I have no right to control my own body, to have sex with whomever I choose. The state restricts my ability to earn a living, and says who I can and cannot live with. NAMBLA concerns itself with the rights of young people to have some measure of control over their own lives. We believe that the sexual oppression of children is one of the important tools society uses to control its young.

NAMBLA is a political and civil-rights organization. Its members are young and old—I am 17—male and female, gay and straight. We recognize that sexual abuse of children does occur, and we deplore it. But we also know from experience that meaningful, consensual sexual and emotional relationships can and do occur between men and boys. No FBI raid can stop that. You can't regulate my right to love.

UNDER SIEGE WITH THE BOY-LOVERS

by Katherine Davenport

[Reprinted from the *New York Native*, January 17-30, 1983.]

The following interview with David Thorstad was conducted on the afternoon of Thursday, December 30, in his New York apartment. The preceding midnight Thorstad had appeared on ABC's "The Last Word" with host Greg Jackson and Jill Haddad, executive director of the Foundation for America's Sexually Exploited Children.

David Thorstad was a founding member of both the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and New York's Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR). He has also served as a spokesperson for both of these organizations. In late 1978 Thorstad wrote a statement on man/boy love to distribute at a Boston conference on the subject. The statement was printed in Gay Community News in January 1979. At the time he was still a spokesperson for CLGR and was identified as such in GCN. When conservative members of CLGR voiced their embarrassment over the connection with man/boy love, Thorstad wrote a letter to GCN dissociating himself from CLGR; he resigned as a spokesperson for CLGR after the Boston conference which gave birth to NAMBLA.

David Thorstad: It's essentially a libertarian group, slightly anarchistic in its outlook, although it has people from all kinds of backgrounds and ideologies in it. Nevertheless, it's libertarian on sex.

We didn't start out with a full-blown program. We have taken positions since then on a number of subjects we had not taken positions on all at once.

Katherine Davenport: What did you start out with? What was your purpose?

The purpose was always to provide some kind of support, backup support for men and boys involved with each other in consensual ways. This does not mean that it was supposed to provide sexual outlets for people or anything like that. We have never done that.

The second aim has been to educate the public, to talk about it, to break the taboo about talking about the subject because there's so much ignorance about it. If you have a stereotype—which I believe most people in America have when they hear about man/boy love—if you have the stereotype of an innocent young lamb with his head buried in a pillow sobbing his heart out and being fucked in the ass by some dirty old man, then you're never going to understand the issues at all unless there's some group there, or some vehicle for raising your consciousness. This cannot be done by going underground; it cannot be done by just living your personal life. It has to be done in some kind of organized fashion.

All through 1977, the gay movement responded to Anita Bryant in a completely inadequate fashion, in my opinion. When Anita Bryant would say that gay men are child molesters, they would say, "Oh no, we don't do that. Gay people are not molesters, it's the heterosexuals who are the molesters." I've used that argument myself. It was a way of evading the issue, and I felt that the gay movement was selling out the very people who were being most victimized by the heterosexism of the society, and in my opinion that was wrong. It's not just morally wrong, it's politically stupid because it will all come back on you sometime.

In addition to that, I believe in these relationships. I always have, even before I was ever involved in one. I've had friends who were boy-lovers all the time that I've been in the gay movement. And yet the gay movement had, in 1977, and before the existence of NAMBLA, carried on as though they were nonexistent. They wanted to keep a closet within a closet, for boy-lovers. Bad for the image. I see all this coming up again now, in light of the recent events. When the current wave of the gay movement started in 1969, you heard the same thing from other homosexuals who were not open: "Oh, don't go out in the street, that's terrible, you're going to provoke a backlash against the rest of us good people." I don't know how many times I heard that argument then. The same thing is used on the boy-love issue, and, I think in other ways, in the lesbian community on the S&M issue. People are very timid. And with society being what it is today, it encourages fear in people.

Has NAMBLA ever done anything specifically in the area of children's rights, aside from wanting to do away with age-of-consent laws?

We can't do too much since we're such a small group and we're not welcome at most of the conferences and get-togethers of professionals who deal with children. In fact, in New York a couple of years ago, a year ago, NAMBLA representatives were expelled from a committee for lesbian and gay youth which had been formed by social workers and teachers specifically to deal

with the problems of gay youth. The NAMBLA people were considered very good by some people in this group, but others who were more conservative felt this was not right. So basically all we've done is take positions and talk about positions. That is mostly what we do: talk and publish, write.

In terms of children's rights, yes, we've taken a number of stands: an opposition to the draft, which was proposed originally as a children's rights issue, that young people have a right to control their bodies, which includes not being forced into military servitude for imperialists. We support the right of children to divorce their parents, the right of children to earn a living in any kind of labor that they do, including—if they participate in any kind of pornographic activity they have a right to organize and be paid for it. At our last conference, in Philadelphia in October, we adopted a position condemning circumcision and clitoridectomies. Clitoridectomy is not exactly a big issue in the United States, but you can't be against circumcision and be in favor of clitoridectomy, so we adopted opposition to both.

How long has the FBI been on the trail of NAMBLA?

It's hard for us to know because they won't let us see any of their files. We are appealing the judge's decision now, but he ruled that not a single page could be given to NAMBLA under the Freedom of Information Act because the "investigation" is still going on. So we don't really know for sure when it started. I assume it's been from the beginning, but at least two years, I would guess.

Have your members been harassed?

Oh, yes, indeed. They've been arrested with the help of agents, including boy-lovers who are working with the police. We've published the names and denunciations of such men in the "NAMBLA Bulletin." Since the FBI broke into the apartments of two of our members on Dec. 19 and confiscated files and printed materials, we know of 12 men (members or former members) who have been approached by the FBI for questioning.

In the cases of men who've gone to jail, how did authorities get evidence on them?

I haven't followed these cases terribly closely, but I think in only one case did a youth testify, and that was under the coercion of the state. In none of these cases that have occurred since a year and a half ago have any of the children or any of the parents of the children made any complaint. And I feel that this is the most disgusting aspect of the whole witchhunt against man/boy love, that in the United States the police make complaints. In France it's impossible to arrest somebody unless there's a victim; the state does not do that. The state's role is to implement certain procedures to protect people who are victims *by law*; it follows a legal procedure. Not in the United States—a state can go on a moral crusade of its own for its own purposes, and that's what's happening here. I think that's just astounding for a so-called "free country."

What percentage of your membership has been arrested for something related to man/boy love?

At one time I think we had about 125 members who were in prison, but they were there before they joined NAMBLA.

What is your membership now?

I don't know, I think it's probably around 500. It could be smaller by now because I'm sure there are members who are somewhat reluctant to renew.

What percentage are women?

Very small, very small. I would guess that most of the women who are, are lesbians, although we have had one or two straight women in it in the past who like boys.

How did you discover the origin of the photograph that was not Etan Patz?

Well, I confess that the first day after that picture occurred I was just stunned. I thought, "This is too stupid! Anybody can see this is not the picture of Etan Patz." By the second day that the press was full of this crap I called up some people in NAMBLA and said, "This is ridiculous, we have to find this fucking picture. It can't be that hard to find this goddamned thing." It was not an uncommon picture. This particular boy wasn't even very appealing-looking to me, although I noticed the police thought that NAMBLA had airbrushed a cleft chin into him to make him more appealing, if you can believe such an idiotic story. How they knew what was appealing to NAMBLA members still intrigues me.

Anyway, I said, "These people are very likely going to reveal the identity themselves. Why don't we beat them to it?" And furthermore, the agony that they were putting Etan Patz's family through is just scandalous, and furthermore, they are testing to see how far they can go with NAMBLA. It's quite obvious.

I don't know, and don't want to know how it was found. But it was some supporter of NAMBLA who would not allow us to use his original copy at the news conference. Apparently he was afraid that the police would take it and he would never see it again, and he was a collector. Some of these men don't want to lose their collections.

Not only did we have the picture, but we discovered that it was on a calendar. That meant the date [1968] was on the actual picture. There was no way in the world that they could question it. It was made in heaven. And that's how stupid the police were about that.

If they knew from the beginning that this was not Etan Patz, why do you think they would do such a thing?

It's a very interesting question. There are several possibilities that come to mind. They're not all very appealing ones. Probably the most likely one is that they're just stupid. They act as though they're omnipotent, and in a sense they are because it's a police state—if you're a boy-lover, this country is Nazi Germany. [But] it could be so innocent as to be a lack of communication between authorities. The FBI and the local police do not always communicate very well.

Another possibility is that they hoped to create a big furor over this to begin a witchhunt against NAMBLA, and I think this is a very likely reason why they did it. They could count on the issue of Etan Patz as something that would grab the public's attention. It's a very emotional issue that has national and international potential. And it could very easily be used as a

club for beating NAMBLA and whipping the public up into a state of hysteria.

They may have been trying to test NAMBLA to see how far we would go. In my paranoid moments I suspect that they may have done this stupid thing to result in hysteria which would result in violence against NAMBLA. I don't know, I really don't.

Another possibility is that budget time is up now and they're always trying to show how they earn their money. I think it's extremely cynical.

Patz's parents claimed before this was divulged that the photo wasn't him.

Yes, I know they did. How would you like to have been put through this wringer for a whole week and then have to wait for NAMBLA to release the truth to you? If I were them I'd be very, very annoyed.

Are you concerned that the FBI has NAMBLA files in its possession [files taken during the Dec. 19 raids]?

I don't enjoy the idea that they have anything of ours in their possession. They don't have all our files, but on the other hand they won't tell us what they have.

Do they have your membership lists?

To my knowledge, they do not. They have never, in any of the raids they have made, ever picked it up because it's a top-secret, as is the locale. I myself have never known where it was and have never wished to. But let's not fool ourselves. It's quite possible that the FBI has photographed every piece of mail going through our mailbox. We know that the Postal Service did an investigation of NAMBLA and then they terminated it and found that we hadn't violated any laws.

The answer is no, they have not seized our mailing list. They have not seized financial records because they haven't found them, or at least not raided the place where they could be found. It was on the search warrant for [Bob] Rhodes' place, but he did not have them.

Did they get the files of other organizations in the raids?

I believe they got a mailing for CSLDC [the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, which organizes the annual Gay Pride march and rally].

Do you think that the publicity that NAMBLA is now getting and the kneejerk reactions from some people in response to that will hurt the passage of the gay rights bill?

Well, I'm sure it won't help it. But on the other hand, let's look at it this way: if the gay community, the ones who care about this gay rights bill—and I think fewer and fewer people do care about it, to tell you the truth. They survived for over a decade without the goddamned thing, and it doesn't have teeth anyway. So I really think fewer and fewer people care. I'm for it; I think it's a good symbol, but that's it.

Now one of the people who does care about that bill [Andy Humm of CLGR, in a televised interview] chose to dissociate himself vehemently from such pariahs as the NAMBLAites. Will that help the passage of the bill? I doubt it. I don't think the state thinks that way. The opponents certainly don't consider the good queers much better than the bad ones. Sydney Schanberg of the *New York Times* might, or William F. Buckley, but most people don't.

If you're a homo, you're a homo.

These liberals in the gay movement, the reformist types, the "respectable" ones, are not really addressing the main issue of gay liberation, which is sexual liberation. That's what it all started over. It wasn't to get a gay rights bill or to play the game according to the rules the heterosexuals lay down for you, which is what the gay rights bill is.

The real issues aren't being addressed, and I think that's one of the main contributions NAMBLA has made to the gay community, and I hope it is recognized. NAMBLA has helped to reintroduce the subject of sex in gay liberation—or to bring gay liberation back to sex, which is where it belongs. We are not oppressed because we have a different lifestyle. My God, look at the gay lifestyle! These people aren't oppressed for that. We're oppressed because we suck cock.

Is NAMBLA getting good legal support?

We've had lots of trouble with that. The ACLU has really sat on its hands throughout almost all of this harassment going back a year and a half. Individual lawyers from the ACLU have been helpful up to a point. NAMBLA tried to get the ACLU involved in defending the so-called victims in these cases—that is, to protect the rights of children because they have been harassed, in some cases physically mistreated by the police, questioned for eight or nine hours at a stretch until 3 a.m., slapped around by the police to get them to sign statements without lawyers present, without their mothers knowing where they were, etc. And the ACLU always expressed interest, but it never did anything. Of course, I realize the ACLU has its own troubles, but it's a real problem for us. We really need good criminal lawyers working with us.

Is Michael Lavery the only lawyer with Lambda Legal Defense who's working on the matter?

Yes. He's the only lawyer who's worked with NAMBLA directly. We've had others, like the Yippie lawyer [David Michaels] and so on who have helped in specific cases, but I believe we'll need to get more legal support than we have at the moment. I don't know where we're going to get it. What if the federal grand jury starts to sit, for instance? It wouldn't surprise me at all. I don't think they have any information that's valid for such a grand jury, but it's also a tool of harassment.

In addition to good criminal lawyers, what does NAMBLA need from the community or the public at large?

I think one thing it needs right now is to nip in the bud this effort to write NAMBLA off. I think that would be very bad for the gay movement if that sort of thing happens. Not just for NAMBLA—it would be very bad for NAMBLA—but I think it would also be very bad for the gay movement.

I wouldn't be at all surprised if a letter is circulated throughout the community of New York denouncing the attacks on NAMBLA—not agreeing with [the organization] necessarily, but supporting it. And this is very important. We need it.

TRANSCRIPT OF ABC TELEVISION'S "THE LAST WORD," DECEMBER 29, 1982

The following is a transcript of ABC Television's "The Last Word," December 29, 1982. The host was Greg Jackson. His guests were Jill Haddad, executive director of the Foundation for America's Sexually Exploited Children, and NAMBLA representative David Thorstad. Both guests appeared on camera for the program's teaser, and then each did a segment separately. Finally, both again appeared together, during which time phone calls were taken from the viewing audience.

Greg Jackson: This is Etan Patz. He disappeared in New York City without a trace three years ago and last week police in Massachusetts thought they had uncovered a lead on the case when they raided a homosexual group that calls itself the North American Man/Boy Love Association. The police had found a photo. The incident generated so much publicity that by yesterday the Association itself called a press conference to deny any link to the case.

[*Cut to Boston NAMBLA news conference, and NAMBLA Spokesperson Brian Quinby making a statement:* To the question emblazoned across the front pages—IS THIS ETAN PATZ?—we answer with an unimpeachable No. The photo is not Etan Patz.]

GJ: The story goes much deeper than that. Sexual contact between men and boys isn't really something we like to discuss. It may offend some of you, but it does exist, and it's part of a larger, serious problem. By one estimate, that problem will affect one out of every three children in this country under the age of sixteen. The problem, of course, child molestation.

This woman is on a crusade against it. She'll talk about how it happens, and what you can do to protect your children. This man is a founding member of NAMBLA, the North American Man/Boy Love Association. He doesn't believe that sex between men and boys is molestation. He condones it. How does he justify his position? You can ask both our guests your questions.

GJ: . . . According to another source, one out of every four children under the age of sixteen will be sexually molested at some point in life. Absolutely accurate statistics are obviously difficult to come by because so many cases go unreported. But the thousands of documented incidents are frightening enough. This woman has mounted a campaign against the sexual abuse of children. She's Jill Haddad, executive director of the Foundation for America's Sexually Exploited Children. She's also written a book about the problem. The book is called *We Have a Secret*.

Jill, why are you on a campaign? What happened in your life?
Jill Haddad: Well, four years ago, in my community in Bakersfield, California, a young girl was sexually assaulted and murdered. She was a classmate of my daughter. And the alleged perpetrator was a retired Bakersfield city

police commissioner and criminology professor at our local college. And we started the Mothers of Bakersfield at that time, and when that case was closed we then went on to become organized with SLAM, Stronger Legislation Against Molesters, that was started because of the death of a two-and-a-half-year-old baby girl.

GJ: Now, you've become totally immersed in this world since then. You've just come from California. Actually, early tonight or yesterday. What was the last cases you've been involved in?

JH: Well, some that we were discussing earlier—a case where I was called as an expert witness in court. It involved a family of five children. It was a visitation-custody-type battle between Mom and Dad, who were divorced. The father admitted in court that he had molested five little neighborhood girls, and he named them in court. And when it came time to decide what his visitation rights should be, they asked me if I felt that the man was a pedophile, and I told them I'm not qualified to make that determination, but he had certainly demonstrated pedophilic behavior by his own admission, and he was a child molester, posed a danger to society. The judge, however, gave him visitation rights with the children, during the day only—he did not allow them to spend the night with Daddy, because of course you know offenders only offend at night. They could never offend during the daytime.

GJ: Now, wait a minute. Your point there is obvious, however, though that was a father in a neighborhood. As youngsters, we were always told—we all tell our youngsters—"Don't take candy from the stranger, don't get in the car." You've heard it all. How does this go on?

JH: How does what go on?

GJ: How do these pedophiles operate?

JH: They seduce children, very much in the same manner that a man would seduce a woman, or a woman seduces a man.

GJ: But who *are* these people?

JH: They're people like you, and they're people like me. They're married, single, divorced. They're executives, they're police officers, they're religious leaders, they are youth group organizers, they're ditch-diggers, milkmen—they come from all walks of life. There are no little nutshells that we can put them all in and say that they're all one thing or another. They cross all boundaries.

GJ: How are you so knowledgeable about that? Do you know these people yourself physically? You see 'em, you talk to 'em?

JH: Yes, I have. I have interacted with over 500 offenders personally myself.

GJ: Just give me an example of one.

JH: One, for instance, that will air on ABC on January 13, I believe, on "20/20." His name is Walter, and Geraldo Rivera interviewed him. The man admits to molesting over 3,000 little boys. He is a boy-lover. He likes 9-year-old, 10-, 11-year-old boys.

GJ: Is this guy in jail?

JH: He's never been arrested.

GJ: Why?

JH: Who's going to tell?

GJ: What do you mean, who's going to tell? Three thousand little boys.

JH: I have had his victims in my home, that are now 18, 19 years old, that he molested when they were 9, 10, and 11 years old. They loved him then, they love him now. They did not like what he did to them then, but they would never tell on him. He is their best friend.

GJ: You yourself, in a very unique, unrelated thing, you were molested as a child.

JH: Yes, I was.

GJ: Is it destructive? I mean, did you in any way like the person who molested you?

JH: The person was not close to me. The person was a schoolteacher. Mine was an acute molest, it was not a chronic molest. It didn't happen over and over, which is typical of child sexual exploitation. Mine was a one-time experience, after school, with an extracurricular activity, and I could remove myself very comfortably from the situation and never go back to that type of activity after school. But I can remember my feelings that very day, walking home from school. I was 11 years old. I can remember what I was wearing. I was remembering what I said to myself at the time: "Gee, you told a lie last week about your brother, and it got you into trouble, so everyone knows you lie. So no one will believe me. What do you say?"

GJ: People don't believe children.

JH: No, they don't.

GJ: At all, almost.

JH: That's true. When you stack a child up against what appears to be a quality, mature adult, it's almost impossible to believe the child.

GJ: A priest, for example, was recently—I mean, a kid can't come home and say the priest did this to me.

JH: We've had several priests in California recently.

GJ: The priest against the child, is your point.

JH: Right.

GJ: We're going to come back. I'd like to talk to you about what parents *can* do, and that we all tell them not to take candy, and that doesn't work. Stay with us, we'll be right back.

GJ: This man here believes that sex between men and boys is alright. The issue actually came up rather unpredictably. When we said earlier that authorities in Massachusetts thought they'd found a photograph of a young boy, Etan Patz, who vanished several years ago in New York. Here's what happened.

Police discovered a picture that resembled him in a raid on a homosexual group that calls itself the North American Man/Boy Love Association. Quite simply, the Association advocates homosexual love with boys, often very young boys. After the discovery of the picture, the parents of Etan Patz denied it was their son. And yesterday a spokesman for NAMBLA, as the 600-man group bills itself, called a press conference to deny the missing boy was in the picture. A spokesman said the photograph in fact was from a calendar fourteen years old.

[Brian Quinby: If you will note the date on the front page of this calendar, you will see that the photograph comes from a 1968, non-pornographic calendar.]

That incident has received just massive coverage in the press. With articles today—I have the notice in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*—and it really started us thinking about who these people are who come out openly advocating sexual love with children. How do they justify it? David Thorstad, you're one of the founding members of the North American Man/Boy Love Association—we're going to be calling it NAMBLA, so we should make it clear—what is NAMBLA's position? Take it, you've got the forum here.

David Thorstad: NAMBLA is a political and educational organization. We're not what the media has often referred to us as, as a sex ring, a prostitution ring, or a child-molestation outfit. In fact, I somewhat resent the use of the term "child molestation," at least insofar as it is used in connection with us, because we are not child molesters. The true child molestation in this society, of which there is a lot, occurs primarily in heterosexual contexts, and primarily in the family. NAMBLA does not approve of any type of sexual activity—or indeed other types of activity between adults and children, or indeed between adults—that involves coercion or lack of consent. Children in our society really have no rights at all. They have no control over their lives. They have no right, for example, to vote. They have no right to divorce their parents. They have no right to decide whom they wish to live with, if they want to choose to live with someone else.

GJ: You've put your finger on it. You said consent. Are you saying a 9 or 10 year old is qualified to give consent?

DT: Well, I think you have to deal with each case on a separate basis. The first problem is that—as Jill Haddad pointed out, and I agree with her completely on this—the child in this society, no matter how old the child is, is not considered someone able to articulate or explain their own desires or their own actions. Nobody pays any attention to children. Everybody who speaks for children—with the possible exception of NAMBLA—treats them as their own personal property, as people without any ability to determine their own lives.

GJ: Sir, the question really is clear, though. Do you think a child 9, 10, or 11 years old is in a position to give the consent to enter into a sexual relationship with a full-grown man?

DT: Oh, of course. They do it all the time. Why not? What is involved here? In the case of a man—

GJ: Well, let me stop you there. The law is involved here. The law clearly says, anyone who has any physical contact with a child—"child" being defined, depending on the states, from 13 to 18—with sexual intent is committing a crime. When you or your members have sex with a child, you're committing crime.

DT: Yes, but you see, the law doesn't bear any real direct relationship to the realities that occur. The law—when we're talking about the law here, we're referring primarily to what are known as statutory rape laws, or the age-of-consent laws. And these are laws that are artificially determined by the states. In the United States they vary from state to state, which is why nobody can determine what this age of consent is. Therefore, in some states there is no

age of consent for homosexual activity. You could be 99 years old, and you cannot legally consent to sex with another man, or a woman if you're a lesbian.

GJ: You well know that consent, even if you could prove in court that this boy gave his consent, that is no excuse in the law.

DT: Yes, it does not matter, and that proves again the point that Jill Haddad was making, I believe, and certainly the point that I would make, and that is that, if the child—and by "child" I am primarily talking now about teenage boys—if the boy is involved with a friend who is older than the age of consent, and enjoys being with this friend, is benefiting from his friendship with this man, he can go to the courts, if the man is dragged before the courts, and say, "I love this man. I enjoy this relationship. This is my friend." In fact, he's probably being treated better by this man than he has been in his own family situation. And yet the court refuses to allow this boy to determine his own life, and say "I love his man. I want this friendship with this man." And that is unfair to the boy and to the man. And this is extremely common. And when you're talking about man/boy love particularly, you are essentially talking about a consensual relationship. In a heterosexual context, which Jill Haddad mentioned at some length, the situation is somewhat different.

GJ: OK, but let's leave it there—we're going to have to take a break—and clearly understand that you are saying that you think the laws are wrong, they should be changed, and that a child should be allowed to have this relationship with an adult.

DT: I would go far beyond that. I do not think it is a matter simply of changing the laws regarding sexuality. It is a matter of empowering children. They have no power in our society, and that's a much more complicated question.

GJ: But that's a bit of a specious argument.

DT: No, it is not.

GJ: You're making it children's rights, and we're talking about an issue here that has to do with a law, now says it's wrong, and you want it changed.

DT: I am talking about my organization's position. My organization is not simply a gay organization involved in sexual activity. It is also a sexual liberation group and a pro-children's rights group.

GJ: OK. Let's stop right here. It's a good place to pause. We'll be right back.

GJ: Before we get any argument or discussion, summarize your positions. You start with yourself.

JH: Well, my position in arguing children's rights. I think children have the right to grow up without someone committing psychological murder against them and stealing their innocence, stealing their childhood, something that you can never replace. My organization's motto is "A crime against a child has no equal." And in our opinion, it's worse than a homicide.

GJ: Well, but what about his position on consent? He says many of these young boys are consenting.

JH: I don't think that a child has the capacity to consent to sexual activity because they don't have full knowledge of what sexual activity is, and they're coerced and manipulated by the adult into these affairs or relationships or whatever you want to call them.

GJ: Your partner, Mr. Thorstad—not your partner, a co-founding member—told one of our researchers that he himself had had over a hundred sexual relations with teenage boys and younger. So, obviously, it is something that your organization advocates and that you're—does your argument turn on consent? Where does it stand? Make sure we understand you.

DT: Consent is at the very crux of our position. We are absolutely opposed to anything that violates the right of the other person, no matter what their age, to do anything. We feel that when it comes to sexuality, sex is good for people, sex is an important part of everybody's potentiality. It does not hurt you in any way, as long as you are consenting to this. Now, my primary concern is with the gay boy. A gay boy, who lives in a family situation where the parents may not understand homosexuality, in fact may be quite hostile to it, often abuse this boy. They may throw him out of the home. They may have him put away in a psychiatric institution. He may be brought before the courts. Sometimes the police take these boys aside and torture them, or force them, coerce *them* into saying things against their older friends, and this is extremely traumatic for boys.

GJ: Let me ask Jill Haddad, How do you respond to that?

JH: Well, "it's extremely traumatic for boys." Let me tell you what's extremely traumatic for boys. What's extremely traumatic for a 9-year-old boy who can be classified perhaps as a throw-away, who has had no love, attention, or affection all of his life, and he runs into Mr. Wonderful, to David here. And David shows him more love, attention, and affection than he's received. And that's true. You are able to do that if you love—if you're a boy-lover. What happens if you happen to enjoy sex with 9-, 10-, and 11-year-old boys—that is your specific age range, which is very, very true of homosexual pedophilia—and when that child gets to be 12 years old you dump him like a hot rock. You know going into the relationship that it won't last. You know that in advance, but the child doesn't have that advance information when he consents.

DT: What are you basing this on? What you have just described does not describe me in the slightest.

JH: Well, it describes man/boy love, because I've interacted with enough pedophiles to know that.

DT: It may describe your view of it, but it certainly does not describe me. Now, for one thing, most man/boy love relationships do not follow this particular pattern. I could name you dozens of man/boy relationships where the boy actually remains a friend of the man for life.

GJ: That's true, but there is an element of seduction in here. You don't have a 9-year-old boy and a man walking down the street and suddenly performing sexual acts.

DT: My favorite point with regard to this question is a statement written by a lesbian writer in Canada, Jane Rule, who says that the problem in our society is not one of protecting children from seduction, but rather to make the adults easier for children to seduce. In the heterosexual context, young girls are considered very often very seductive types. I think of Brooke Shields, for example, who made a movie about a 12-year-old pretty baby. This movie created a certain stir, but not a very big one. It was only banned in a couple of places. Can you imagine a 12-year-old *boy* pretty baby, and that there would not have been a much greater uproar? The big issue here is that our society encourages

heterosexuality, but it opposes homosexuality. For example, how many women do you know of who have been prosecuted for having sex with a boy? Very few are prosecuted—and I don't think they should be either, by the way. But the reason is because in our society heterosexuality is encouraged, and if a boy has sex with a woman, this is considered good for him. Many fathers introduce their boys to heterosexuality that way. But if a man has sex with a boy, it is considered a very evil thing. What we're trying to do is break through the taboo on discussing this subject, because it occurs all over the United States. It occurs in every human society that has ever existed. And if it does occur on such a wide scale, certainly it has something to do with the human condition that goes beyond what is very simplistically referred to as "child molestation."

GJ: OK, hold on just a minute there. It's time for a break. We'll be back.

GJ: We're talking about child abuse and man/boy love. I must admit I almost find I can't believe we're sitting here discussing—maybe, you know, this is the year. Could you imagine ten years ago? I discover there's many organizations, you exchange pictures and newsletters and what not.

DT: No, we do not. No, we do not exchange pictures. That has nothing to do with our group.

GJ: I happened to look through your newsletters today.

DT: Yes, but our organization is not in business for that sort of operation. We do not exchange pictures. We have nothing whatever to do with pornography or prostitution.

GJ: I'm not suggesting it's pornographic. I am suggesting that there is an organization that's active in this. I'd like to stop here and go to the phones. Let's see what reaction we have out there. You have the last word. Go ahead.

Caller (female): Yes, I'm calling from Jamestown, Tennessee, and my first sexual experience was with my uncle when I was 12 years old, and it just left me badly scarred for a long time. And I think this man sitting over here, I think his attitude is very immoral and disgusting.

GJ: Would you like him to respond?

Caller: Yes, I would.

DT: Well, I sympathize with what this caller is saying. I think that one of the problems here is that the way a girl is brought up in our society is especially powerless because very often girls are forced, or coerced, into sexual activity with older men in their environment—family members and so forth—and this is extremely traumatic. A girl is not trained or brought up in any way to be an independent person. She has no power over herself, and I'm opposed to that.

GJ: But what are you saying, that it's worse for girls, or boys? I mean, somehow—

DT: I think there's a very big difference between a girl and a boy in the way they are raised in this society.

JH: Well, it's worse for a boy. It's worse for a boy to be violated by a man because it is then a homosexual act and they're infused with additional guilt. What this lady is telling you, David, is that somebody stole her childhood, and she didn't enjoy it.

DT: I agree with her on this entirely. Why are you saying this? I am on her side. I agree with her.

JH: Why am I saying what? Why are you focusing it on little girls?

DT: You're making a link as though I am somehow parallel to her uncle.

JH: You *are* parallel to her uncle.

DT: In what way?

JH: You're a child molester if you have engaged in sexual activity with a child.

DT: No, I am not a child molester. Child molesters do not go on television to talk about what they do.

JH: Oh, they do all the time. I just took one two weeks ago on TV.

DT: Well, I am not a child molester.

GJ: You took one on TV. What did he say?

JH: He said he's molested over 3,000 little boys.

GJ: Why did he want to be on TV?

JH: He wants everybody to know how child molesters seduce children.

DT: Let me ask you: Very often people like you go on television talking about what you consider to be child molestation in a homosexual context. But what advice do you have for the gay boy, who needs to find out what it is like to be a boy who is gay? Where does he find this out? Does he go to you and find out what this is like?

GJ: Mr. Thorstad, your point is, you're seeming to suggest that all the boys are homosexual. In fact, they are not.

DT: Of course they're not. Many of them have heterosexual relationships too. I encourage that. I think that's wonderful. They *should* have that.

GJ: But don't you see that it's important, you keep steering it that it is this poor, homeless gay boy that's taken in. It's not the case.

DT: I have never steered it that way. I didn't mention that. You did.

JH: Well, let me say this—

DT: Many of these relationships do not involve homeless boys running around looking for help.

JH: When I took—

GJ: Perhaps we should stop. Let's stop. I don't think this is getting anywhere. Let's take another call. OK? You have the last word. Go ahead.

Caller (male): I'm calling from Palm Beach, Florida. I was not sexually molested, I was sexually *aroused* when I was twelve by my 24-year-old cousin. And when I was seventeen, I moved in with him, and we have a strong, loving relationship now. What I'm interested in knowing is what percent of members of Mr. Thorstad's organization have been so lucky.

DT: Last year, NAMBLA published a pamphlet entitled *Boys Speak Out on Man/Boy Love* because we wanted to give boys an opportunity, in their own words, without editing in any way what they had to say, to describe their experiences with men. Some of them were not good experiences. Some boys have had bad experiences at the hands of men, and of course NAMBLA does not approve of that either. But many of the boys who we have come in contact with have thanked NAMBLA for being in existence, not because we arrange sexual activity—we do not do that—but because we are trying to educate the public about this issue. There is nowhere in our society today where a boy who wants to find out about his body, about what his future as a male

is, can go, except to another gay person. He will not find this out from Jill Haddad. He will not find this out from any of the crusaders of an antisexual bent who are flooding the United States these days. I feel that it is most important for us now to try and reach the young people in this society who need to find out what it is to be gay.

GJ: We get your point, and I think to hold your organization up now as an educational group is really stretching a bit.

DT: This is what we are.

GJ: What, for young boys? Is that what you—I mean—

DT: Why is it stretching it? I don't understand.

GJ: That your organization of men who love young boys is set up for education of young boys?

DT: Well, we have women in our organization as well. We're not simply a "man" organization.

GJ: OK. I must pause for a break. We'll be right back.

GJ: You have the last word. Go ahead.

Caller (male): Good morning, Greg. I'm calling from Philadelphia. I got a question for Jill Haddad. I'd like to know why the child molesters don't get very heavy sentences, and why, if they did get sentenced, they still get visitations with the children.

GJ: He says, Why are the sentences so apparently light, and even when they are sentenced—he misunderstood your story—they got visitation still with the children.

JH: Well, children aren't believed. In the story that I was talking about in the beginning of the program, the judge, I think, felt that the mother had put the children up to saying ugly things about their father, which is a universal problem in the courtroom. Children just aren't believed.

GJ: Let's talk about that. He brings something very good—what is a parent to do? We all tell our kids not to take candy. How *are* we to defend against this and help our kids?

JH: Well, in the first place, stop telling children, "Don't take candy from strangers," because strangers assault children perhaps 10–15% of the time. Generally, it's someone they know, someone they love, and someone they trust—either a close family friend or family member—that seduces them. So we overly warn them about the stranger, and we make them much more vulnerable to what actually happens to them.

GJ: Wait a minute. Wait a minute, Jill. What am I to say, to watch out for the teacher?

JH: We don't tell them, "Watch out for your teacher." We tell them, "Anyone can be a child molester, and if you come to me and say it is your teacher, I will believe you."

GJ: That *is* a problem, then, presumably, when the child comes to the parent. The parent finds it very hard to believe.

JH: Always. Especially if it's Daddy, perhaps.

GJ: So, let's get this clear. What do I say to the 4 year old?

JH: You tell the 4 year old, "If anyone touches your body in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable, you have my permission to tell that person No, and come tell me about it."

DT: Now, I agree entirely with what Jill Haddad has just said, but I'd like to say something about the caller. He's somewhat wrong about the sentences given to men who have sex with boys.

GJ: But wait a minute. Wait a minute. I've got so many people here getting—Mr. Thorstad, you'll just have to pause. Hold on. You got the last word before we can stop. Go ahead.

Caller (female): Hello. I'm from Ohio, and I would like to know what makes this man think that the public is gonna continue tolerating this kind of behavior with these children.

GJ: Do you mean Mr. Thorstad in particular?

Caller: No, this man, this gentleman here.

DT: I don't understand the question.

GJ: And your question specifically?

Caller: I would like to know why, I mean how these men think that the public is going to tolerate this. Because I myself, I'm outraged. I have a son, and I know that if anyone, any man, was to molest my child, you know I would be totally outraged.

DT: Do you love your son, Madam? Do you love your son?

Caller: I love him very much.

DT: What if your son turns out and tells you that he would like to have sex with a man. What would your reaction be?

Caller: Well, I would be very hurt.

DT: Why?

Caller: Because I don't believe that it's right.

DT: But what if he wants to do it? How would he be harmed by it if he wanted to do it, and he had a nice man as a friend? Why would it hurt him?

Caller: What age are you speaking of?

DT: Well, you were the one who raised the question. You said a teenage son, did you?

JH: Where did he find this man, David? How does he know that he wants to have sex with this wonderful man?

DT: Leave it up to him to find the man. He doesn't need you or his mother for that.

JH: Oh for Chr. . . .

DT: If he talks to his mother about it—

JH: The children chase the adults, don't they, David?

DT: If she loves her son, and the son loves his mother, which I believe in this case, why cannot the mother and the son sit down and talk about this? If she loves her son, I think she should encourage him.

JH: Where did he find this wonderful man? Where did the son find this wonderful man that he wants to have sex with?

DT: There are wonderful men in this world.

Caller: I don't believe that there are wonderful men that would actually molest a child.

DT: No, there are not. I agree with you. There are no wonderful men who would do that.

Caller: I think that they have a mental problem. I believe that anyone, any man that would actually even attempt to molest a child—a little boy, or for that matter a little girl—I believe that they should be given heavy prison sentences, and I don't believe they should be allowed to associate with the public.

GJ: I'm really sorry. I have to get in here. We have run out of time. We all take your point. I think his point is that we're not talking about a sex offender that's snatching children off the street. Jill Haddad, nonetheless, is saying that there is a seduction factor here, no matter what, and that you feel it is molestation in one form or another. That summarizes it?

JH: Absolutely!

DT: But it would be very harmful to this boy if he needed to find out what it was like to be gay, if he should turn out to be gay—it would be very harmful to him to find his parents saying that he was a bad person, to throw him out of the house, or whatever. It could be extremely traumatic for this boy.

GJ: I think that the point is obvious. We have run out of time. Obviously, it's an issue that just overflows.

GROUP PROMOTING MAN-BOY LOVE IS THE FOCUS OF POLICE INQUIRY

By Dudley Clendinen

[The following article appeared in the January 1, 1983, issue of the *New York Times*.]

BOSTON, Dec. 31—Four years ago this month, after two dozen men were indicted for sex crimes in the nearby town of Revere, a conference was held downtown at the Community Church of Boston. About 30 men stayed on to talk of the difficult issue discussed at the conference, and they decided to form an organization to promote understanding of their kind of love and to seek a change in the law.

Thus, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, where many of the laws on sexual conduct date from the Puritan period, was born the most provocative name of any homosexual organization in the United States: the North American Man-Boy Love Association, dedicated to the proposition that state laws establishing a

sexual age of consent should be repealed.

Massachusetts Cottage Raided

"We had no idea where it would go," says David Thorstad, 41 years old, a freelance editor in New York, one of the founders of the group, known by its acronym Nambla. For the next several years it produced literature and held conferences in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, promoting the legitimacy of emotional and sexual love between adult men and young boys and arguing that the state laws that made such relationships illegal should be repealed.

Four weeks ago, after a raid by the Massachusetts and Jersey City

police on a cottage in Wareham, Mass., where three teen-age boys were found, two former officers of the group, David Groat, 28, and Brett Portman, 26, went to jail on sex charges based on unspecified evidence, and the District Attorney of Plymouth County, William C. O'Malley, professed "scorn and contumely" for the organization.

The raid had been conducted in search of a man wanted on charges of kidnapping a boy in New Jersey. "I think that clearly that activity is organized, it is national, and it involves a great many people," Mr. O'Malley said. "I think that everybody everywhere is horrified."

This morning two more men, said by the Jersey City authorities to be "associates" of the organization, were arrested in a farmhouse outside Greensboro, Vt., on separate charges of the kidnapping and attempted kidnapping of two New Jersey boys, 13 and 11 years old, in late November.

The police activity stems from the New Jersey charges. But, in part because it was thought for a time that there was a connection between the men arrested in Wareham and the disappearance in New York City three and a half years ago of Etan Patz, a boy of 6, the law-enforcement effort in the last week grew to include the Federal Bureau of Investigation and state and local policemen in Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. The authorities now say a picture found in the Wareham house was not of the Patz boy, as was initially believed.

According to Child Find Inc., of New Paltz, N.Y., about 150,000 children disappear from home each year. And Nambla, which promotes understanding of a sexual relationship most people find difficult to understand, is now the focus of pub-

lic fear and contempt and the subject of police investigation.

F.B.I. Aids Investigation

"We're conducting an investigation here in Jersey City into the conduct of that organization," Detective Denis Aponte of the Jersey City Special Investigations Unit said today. "The F.B.I. has also been assigned to assist me in this investigation."

"We're not making any comment on them at all," Michael McDonnell, an agent from the F.B.I. office in Newark, said today. But members of Nambla, reached here and in New York, talked freely about their aims and the difficulties of their lot, and spokesmen for more established homosexual groups spoke about the difficulty that the organization causes them.

Nambla has not been shy of attention. Men and boys representing the organization have marched down Fifth Avenue in New York in the annual Gay Pride parade, although other homosexual groups protested its presence. "That particular name, it's almost a red flag," says Tim Sweeney, executive director of the Lambda Legal Defense and Educational Fund in New York. "It's like, 'Oh, my God!' It really sets people back."

Lambda was formed to litigate civil rights issues for homosexuals 10 years ago, when organizational names were more discreet, Mr. Sweeney said. "We don't call ourselves the homosexual law center," he noted.

"There are a lot of people in the gay community who find them obnoxious just as much as straight people do," Ronald Gold, a spokesman in New York for the National Gay Task Force, said of the members of Nambla. But he added, "One

thing I'm certain of is that they're not child molesters, they're not a sex ring, they're not a pornographic club or any of the things the press has painted them as."

Membership Called Small

The organization is small in size, "around 500 members," according to Mr. Thorstad. Leaders of other homosexual organizations believe its members number fewer than 50.

The guiding feeling of the organization is love of boys, Mr. Thorstad said, and it has strict rules against members being involved in such crimes as prostitution, the production of commercial pornography or sex by force. "If I ever knew of any member of Nambla who kidnapped a boy, I would report him to the police," Mr. Thorstad said.

"We haven't had any evidence of any forceful acts taking place by this organization," Detective Aponte said in Jersey City. The charge of attempted kidnapping in the case of the 11-year-old boy is "a statutory charge," he said, which could be based on evidence that someone suggested to the boy that he leave "the custody of his parents."

Such charges are possible

because of "age of consent" laws. The statutory ages range from 12 in Hawaii, Mr. Thorstad said [Actually, Thorstad said 14.—*Editor*], to higher in other states. Under state law, children below the set ages cannot be expected to have given their informed consent to sexual acts. Any proved sexual contact with them is illegal and usually classified as rape. Those are the laws that Nambla seeks to repeal.

The public assumes that boys are enticed and seduced by men, Mr. Thorstad said. But children are sexual and should have freedom of choice, he insisted, and in the cases he knows of the boys often approach the men.

That view gets some qualified support from a critic, Mr. Gold of the Gay Task Force. "All I know is that I've met people of 35 who would be taken advantage of if one had sex with them," he said. "And I know that when I was 13 or 14, I was running around looking for someone to have sex with."

But even Mr. Thorstad acknowledged that as the age of the boy involved gets lower, the rationale becomes more difficult. "The lower the age, the more complicated it becomes," he said.

THE BOY-LOVE MOVEMENT'S STONEWALL

by Wallace Hamilton

[The following is a statement by author, playwright, social activist, and member of NAMBLA Wallace Hamilton to a forum at New York University on March 17, 1983. The forum, on the topic "Youth Sexuality: The Case of NAMBLA," was sponsored by the university's Libertarian Student Association. Representing NAMBLA with Hamilton was David Thorstad. Hamilton died on September 1, 1983. The statement is reprinted from the October 1983 NAMBLA *Bulletin*.]

In 1969, I was living in Baltimore, and very much in the closet. I picked up the *Village Voice* in the summer and read that some uproarious street people had started a riot in Sheridan Square in front of a bar called the Stonewall, and these people were homosexuals. I was down in respectable Baltimore, and I found that this was pretty shocking, because this was a secret not to be told. I came up to New York shortly thereafter and fell afoul of some of the queens who were in the Stonewall Riot, and they enlightened me on many things.

I had an interview some time ago with Dr. Howard Brown, who was one of the founders of the National Gay Task Force. He was living in the Village with his lover at the time of the Stonewall Riots, and he heard through the grapevine that something was going on in Sheridan Square that was not to be mentioned in polite society. So he went down the next night with his lover to see this uproarious and horrifying situation, and stood there confidently expecting that his world—this tight little, nice little world of gay men—was blowing apart, and that this would lead to a great deal of prosecution and a great deal of scandal and a great deal of uproar. Well, Howard Brown thought twice about that, eventually, and was one of the founders of the National Gay Task Force.

We're in a situation roughly analogous to that now vis-a-vis NAMBLA, because in any movement for social change there are always those who say "Well, let's go with the flow," and there are those that say "This next insight is going to tear us to shreds and get us all put in concentration camps."

I think we have to look at these things with a certain amount of, shall we say, perspective and know that while we are in the forefront of some kind of a movement, and that this is fundamentally political, there are those in the social and behavioral sciences who are also moving along a corollary line and trying to find out just what this is all about. Now, one of the problems with the behavioral sciences has been that if a cause is popular, you can get money to do it. If a cause is controversial, you don't get funds. The foundations, and everybody in the government and so forth, say "Oh, we can't study that!" You remember, many of you, the story of Dr. Kinsey trying to get funded for the epochal study he did—the Rockefeller Foundation getting a little cold feet here, there, and the other place—and having to really scrounge to continue his research because it was not the research that was supposed to be

done. Human sexuality was all worked out in the Book of Leviticus and we didn't need to do much more about it.

The same thing is going on today. The study of childhood sexuality is just something that you can't get money for. And so the studies of the realities of childhood sexuality and of youth sexuality have been sort of low-keyed. However, those are beginning to confirm, in a very orthodox, scientific way what NAMBLA has been saying in a less orthodox and less scientific way. The most interesting study that has been done was done, oddly enough, in the Netherlands. It's by a fellow named Theo Sandfort, and it's an in-depth study of twenty-five kids, aged 11 to 16, who had been involved in pedophilic relations from about three months to about six years.* This is the first Kinsey-type study done on this, and it ought to start a lot of other studies going. Now, those studies are important because you can get up and say the earth is flat or the moon is made of green cheese and the objective evidence is such that you're not going to get away with starting a political movement that the moon is made of green cheese. But if you find that a political movement starts which addresses itself to something which begins to look at least sensible, if not real, then that political movement has a chance of succeeding. So I think we've got to observe very carefully that this is not just a bunch of dingbats getting up here, that this has substance behind it, and that that substance is going to stimulate further and further attention.

The Stonewall Riots were, on the face of it, a rather bizarre incident, just as putting an alleged picture of Etan Patz in the *Daily News* is a somewhat bizarre incident. But these things, if they're in relationship to some kind of reality which is demonstrable, begin to take on a less bizarre note. And so, I simply commend to you that I think we have here an issue of much greater importance than the membership—500 members—of NAMBLA would indicate. We have something that is an important part of our growing information and knowledge about ourselves.

**The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations* (Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus, 1982).

EXCERPT FROM U.S. POSTAL SERVICE REPORT ON NAMBLA

The following are the first five pages and the final memorandum of a 23-page report by the U.S. Postal Service on NAMBLA. Most of the report, heavily censored, dealt with the group's conference in Boston's Arlington Street Church December 6-7, 1980. The Postal Service's investigation was terminated four and a half months after it began, because no evidence of illegal activity by NAMBLA could be found. The FBI, however, maintains that NAMBLA is still "under investigation," despite the spy agency's failure to show any violation of the law by the group, and despite its failed attempt to fabricate out of thin air a case against NAMBLA by suggesting that it had kidnapped Etan Patz. The FBI continues to refuse to release even one page of its files, which would help to document its violations of the civil rights and liberties of a legal organization.

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE INSPECTION SERVICE		REPORT OF POSTAL INSPECTOR			
TYPE OF REPORT <input type="checkbox"/> PRELIMINARY <input type="checkbox"/> FINAL <input type="checkbox"/> SPECIAL <input type="checkbox"/> SUPPLEMENTAL		OFFICE Boston, MA		ZIP CODE 02109	
SUBJECT Monitor activities of NAMBLA National Conference 12/6-7/80, at Boston, MA.		DATE December 31, 1980		CASE NUMBER 352-85826-PM(1)	
POSTAL INSPECTOR [Redacted]		POSTAL INSPECTOR III CHANGE Boston, MA 02107			
REVIEWERS' INITS [Handwritten initials]		DATE [Handwritten dates]			
DISTRIBUTION			ROUTING		
INITS	DATE	AGENCY	INITS	DATE	TO
[Handwritten]	[Handwritten]	Inspection Service ONLY	[Handwritten]	[Handwritten]	Chief Inspector
		USPS	[Handwritten]	[Handwritten]	RCI-NE Region
			[Handwritten]	[Handwritten]	
<p>1. Basis for this investigation is receipt of information indicating the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) was to hold a national conference at Boston, MA on December 6-7, 1980. The case received personal attention at Boston and Bridgewater, MA on numerous dates commencing December 2 and continuing through December 30, 1980.</p> <p>2. The North American Man/Boy Love Association produces a quarterly publication entitled "NAMBLA News." It was announced that a national conference was to be held at the Arlington Street Church, Boylston & Arlington Streets, Boston, MA on December 6-7, 1980, to further define the issue of man/boy love and the goals of the organization.</p> <p>3. [Redacted]</p> <p>4. The North American Man/Boy Love Association was first formed in December 1978, in Boston, MA by, amongst others, [Redacted]. The first meeting was held on the aforementioned date in Boston relative to man/boy love</p>					

Boston, MA

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Case No. 352-85826-PM(1)

and attended by about 30-50 individuals. These people then decided to form an organization to support those men sexually involved with boys and to educate the general public with respect to their liaisons.

5. [Redacted] of a local journal entitled "Fag Rag," allowed NAMBLA to utilize post office Box 331, Kenmore Station, Boston, MA 02115 during its embryo stage. The nucleus of the organization then appeared to move to New York City c/o of Gay Activist Alliance, P. O. Box 2, Village Station, New York, NY 10014. NAMBLA subsequently acquired its present location of Post Office Box 174, Middtown Station, New York, NY, 10018, but also uses P. O. Box 2493, Boston, MA 02218.

6. The North American Man/Boy Love Association has grown to an organization of national range with members across the country. There are known chapters (5 or more members) in Boston, MA; Connecticut, New York City and New Jersey. The groups governing body is known as the "steering committee" thought to consist of about 20 individuals. This committee also oversees the organization's legal defense fund, thought to contain approximately \$2500. Efforts in this regard are presently focused on convicted sex offenders, Richard Paluso and David Groat of Massachusetts.

7. NAMBLA is additionally thought to be guided by a treasurer, membership secretary, corresponding secretary and recording secretary with general membership meetings, such as the one held in Boston on December 6-7, held at least once a year. Its goals have expanded, to include alignment with the gay and lesbian movement for sexual liberation, and the liberation of persons of all ages from sexual oppression and prejudice.

8. In addition, a great deal of emphasis is directed by NAMBLA towards educating its constituents of the growing awareness, concern and practices of law enforcement in its efforts to curtail child pornography.

9. [Redacted]

10. Articles pertaining to man/boy relationships also appear in the Gay Community News (GCN) 22 Bromfield St., Boston, MA. The GCN is distributed throughout the country and reports pertinent legal, political and social issues of the gay community. Also associated with the newspaper at that location is the Glad Day Bookstore which offers for sale homosexual literature. NAMBLA established its national conference pre-registration facility at 22 Bromfield Street apparently with the approval of the aforementioned firms.

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It is estimated that up to 75 people attended the conference.

As described by [redacted] in his notes, the dialogue at the meeting was generally a philosophical exchange about boy love with some legal advice given, and the financial posture of NAMBLA provided. One informational bulletin provided at the meeting was entitled "What To Do When The FBI Comes Calling." It was said Postal Inspectors or police could be substituted for FBI.

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16. Two individuals seen entering the meeting at the Arlington Street Church and then leaving were followed to 22 Bromfield Street, Boston, office of the Gay Community News where two unknown individuals were distributing literature denouncing the man/boy love relationship and NAMBLA in particular.

17. It was also learned that a movie was to be shown on Saturday evening at 46 Church Street, Boston entitled "You're Not Alone." According to the December 1980 NAMBLA News, the movie is a 1978 Danish Film distributed by the Welles Films of Los Angeles. The movie depicts the problems of gay youth at a Danish boarding school.

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19. Additionally, it was announced that on Sunday, December 7, the North American Man/Boy Love Association wished to assemble its members for a demonstration in support of imprisoned sex offender Richard Paluso at the Bridgewater Mass. Correctional Institute.

Boston, MA

- 5 -

Case No. 352-85326-PM(1)

20.

Thirty individuals with bull horns, banners, and signs peacefully demonstrated for about 20 minutes in front of the institution's main building. They denounced the practice of imprisoning non-violent sex offenders and proscribed man/boy love not to be a crime.

21.

Postar Inspector

Enclosures:

1. NAMBLA Constitution
2. NAMBLA Conference Schedule
3. NAMBLA Informational Bulletin
4. NAMBLA Bulletin Entitled, "What To Do When The FBI Comes Calling."
5. NAMBLA Petition
6. Anti-NAMBLA Literature
7. Copy of Notes of [REDACTED]

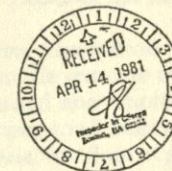


Regional Chief Inspector
NORTHEAST REGION
NEW YORK, NY 10097

April 13, 1981

Mr. J. O. Gallagher
Inspector in Charge
Boston, MA 02107

Case No. 352-85826-PM(1)



Attached is an opinion letter received from the Legal Liaison Branch, through Mr. W. T. Murphy, Assistant Chief Inspector, Office of Criminal Investigations. The Legal Liaison Branch reviewed Inspector Burke's preliminary report of December 31, 1980 regarding [REDACTED] the activities of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) through a National coordination case.

Based on the attached opinion, it is imperative that no further investigation of NAMBLA be conducted unless there is a factual basis to believe that it is being used as a cover for criminal activity under our jurisdiction. Furthermore, any personal identifying data in the case file should be destroyed and the remainder of the case should be retained for the minimum period in our files.

L. M. Saunders
Regional Chief Inspector

cc: Inspector in Charge
New York, NY 10116

NORTH AMERICAN MAN/BOY LOVE ASSOCIATION

The North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) is an organization founded in response to the extreme oppression of men and boys involved in consensual sexual and emotional relationships with each other. Its membership is open to all individuals sympathetic to man/boy love in particular and sexual freedom in general. NAMBLA is strongly opposed to age-of-consent laws and other restrictions which deny adults and youth the full enjoyment of their bodies and control over their lives. NAMBLA's goal is to end the long-standing oppression of men and boys involved in any mutually consensual relationship by:

- 1) building a support network for such men and boys;
- 2) educating the public on the benevolent nature of man/boy love;
- 3) cooperating with the lesbian, gay, and other movements for sexual liberation;
- 4) supporting the liberation of persons of all ages from sexual prejudice and oppression.

If you are interested in more information about NAMBLA, our regional meetings, national conferences, political actions, and publications, please send \$1 to:

NAMBLA
P.O. Box 174
Midtown Station
New York, NY 10018

A WITCHHUNT FOILED: The FBI vs. NAMBLA

Boston Herald American
Telephone (617) 426-3000 *** 25 Cents
Monday, December 20, 1982

W... TODAY
Highs near 30
TOMORROW
Cloudy, Buries
Highs to 30 32
Details on Page 10

DID SEX CLUB TRAP THIS BOY?

Missing since '79



Wareham Detective Jack Russell said that Elton Pitts, above, who has been missing for more than nine years from New York, has similar eyes, the same tooth teeth, the same hair style and color and the same cleft in his chin as that of a young boy in a photograph confiscated in a raid on a man-boy sex club.

*No.

Photos seized in Wareham raid are look-alikes of vanished New York 6-year-old Page 5

Published by the North American Man/Boy Love Association

In December 1982, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and local law-enforcement agencies launched a crusade against the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), a legal civil-rights organization. With the collusion of the media, they sought to smear the group as an international "sex ring" involved in kidnapping, production and distribution of commercial pornography involving minors, and other crimes. Their attempted witchhunt ran aground when NAMBLA exposed it for the fraud that it was. The case generated widespread attention, but until now the full story has not been told. This booklet tells that story. It gives a detailed and documented account of how one small, misunderstood group resisted the authorities and stood up for its rights in the face of a concerted effort to destroy it. It is a contribution to a literature of resistance to state abuse of power. A WITCHHUNT FOILED is must reading for everyone concerned about civil liberties and the struggle for social change.

"Are you a gay activist who thinks the issue of man/boy love has nothing to do with gay liberation? Read this book. Are you a lesbian feminist who thinks any sex between adults and young people is exploitation and abuse? Read this book. Would you like to know how the state proceeds against critics and dissidents? Read this book. Would you like to know how to initiate a sex panic or a witchhunt? Read this book. Think it can't happen here, or it can't happen to you? Then you damn well better read this book."

—Pat Califia

"Terrific. It makes its case beautifully—well, that sounds too silky. It's more like walking through a mine field with explosions going off all about. For people who can't imagine such things *can* happen, or for those who've never bothered to ponder the evil of the state secret police, it will be an eye-opener."

—Mitzel

"It is high time we recognized that age-of-consent laws do not prevent rape, but they do serve to deny the sexuality of youth. This denial of sexuality is itself a form of sexual abuse. Abolishing the age-of-consent laws is only one among many necessary steps we must take to abolish the vassalry of children and youth. There is much abuse documented in NAMBLA's booklet which should make any thoughtful reader sad. With these facts before us, we should also get mad and act."

—Scott Tucker

"There is no doubt that our beloved SEPARATE PEOPLE, the (not)Men and (not)Women of Gay Consciousness, are in for some rough years ahead. But so long as our Gay Liberation Movement continues to guarantee itself that our forward cutting edges toward ever newer perceptions of Gay Consciousness, and to ever more encompassing dimensions of social change, are maintained vigilantly, we may stay fluid and malleable to whatever flexes and transformations we shall need to make. It isn't necessary that we each concur with every new proposition, or tentative stance. It only matters that we remain malleable enough within our Collective to offer appreciation to one another for the 'witnessing' we occasionally contribute to the forward *lurch*, and so development, of us all. This little book, I think, serves as such a witness. Thank you, NAMBLA, for giving me the space to express my appreciation for your travail."

—Harry Hay

\$5.95

North American Man/Boy Love Association

ISBN: 0-9615497-0-X