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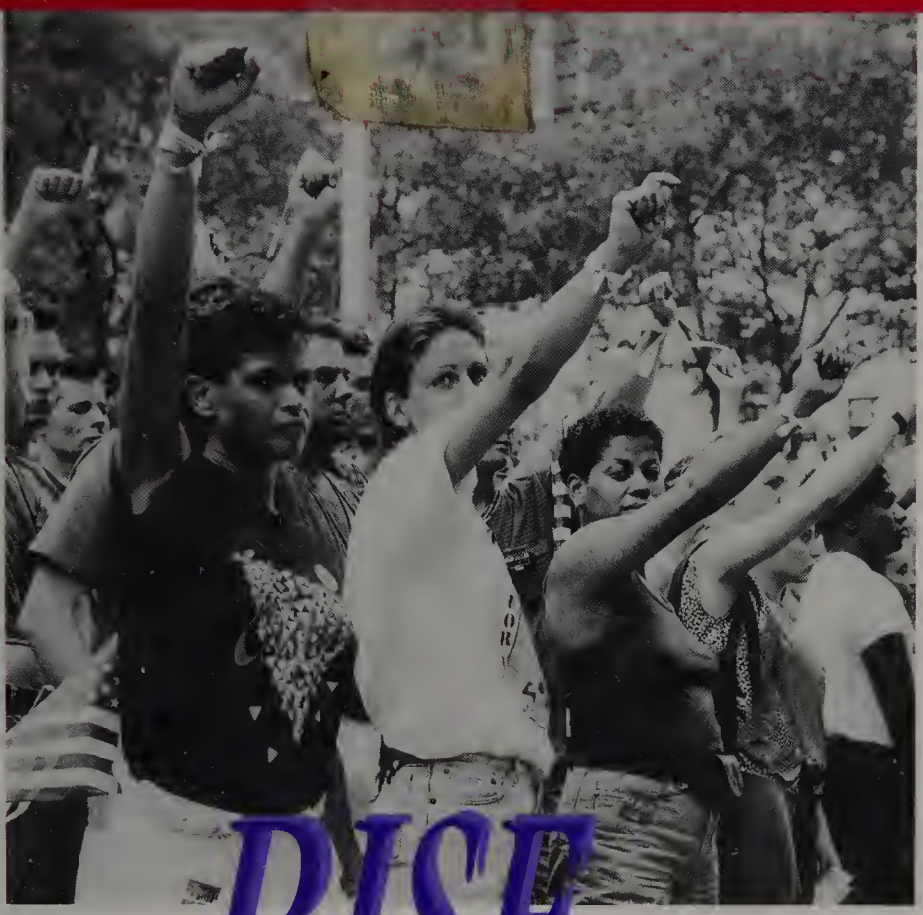

THE RISE OF A GAY AND LESBIAN *Movement*

BARRY D. ADAM

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The past decade has seen a wealth of changes in the gay and lesbian movement and a remarkable growth in gay and lesbian studies. In response to this heightened activity Barry D. Adam has updated his 1987 study of the movement to offer a critical reflection on strategies and objectives that have been developed for the protection and welfare of those who love others of their own sex.

This revised volume addresses the movement's recovery of momentum in the wake of New Right campaigns and its gains in human rights and domestic partners' legislation in several countries; the impact of AIDS on movement issues and strategies and the renewal of militant tactics through AIDS activism and Queer Nation; internal debates that continually shift the meanings composing homosexual, gay, lesbian, and queer identities and cultures; the proliferation of new movement groups in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa; and new developments in historical scholarship that are enriching our understanding of same-sex bonding in the past.

Adam delineates the formation of gay and lesbian movements as truly a world phenomenon, exploring their histories in the United States,

(Continued on back flap)

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Revised Edition

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Preface to the Revised Edition

This revision of *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement*, first published in 1987, documents a wealth of changes that have begun occurring in the movement and benefits from the remarkable growth in gay and lesbian studies in recent years. To name just a few of these changes, this revised volume addresses

- the movement's recovery of momentum in the wake of New Right campaigns and its gains in human rights and domestic partners' legislation in several countries;
- the impact of AIDS on movement issues and strategies and the renewal of militant tactics through AIDS activism and Queer Nation;
- internal debates that continually shift the meanings composing homosexual, gay, lesbian, and queer identities and cultures;
- the proliferation of new movement groups in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa; and
- new developments in historical scholarship that are enriching our understanding of same-sex bonding in the past.

To this end, Chapters 7–10 are either new or entirely reworked. Early chapters have also been amended.

If there is a danger in a book about any social movement, it lies in a tendency to identify a retrospective coherence in its subject—one that obscures the grass-roots reality consisting of fits and starts, fragile initiatives and collapses, and individual feats of boldness that characterize the formation of a social movement. Writing about a "gay/lesbian movement" inevitably evens out the diversity of experiences and aspirations that go under this label and give the movement an apparent life

that would supposedly transcend the personal dilemmas, decisions, projects, and retreats that make it up. The problem is especially acute in conjuring forth a lesbian movement. Lesbians have fundamentally shaped the course of both the women's and the gay (or gay-lesbian) movements and have shifted back and forth between the two, at times debating with each other from within the two camps, as well as flowing through autonomous lesbian organizations. Any talk of *the* gay and lesbian movement must take account of these qualifications.

The "payoff" in doing sociological history, on the other hand, is pulling together and displaying the accomplishments and missteps of past actors to better inform action in the present. The challenge is to identify the critical factors that have given personal and historical subjectivity to desire, that have shaped the faces and territories of homosexually interested peoples, and that have generated homophobia and heterosexism. If this analysis is to be useful, it must offer a critical reflection on strategies and objectives and build knowledge for the protection and welfare of those who love others of their own sex.

In this revision, I am grateful for the assistance of Harold Averill and Gerry King of the Canadian and Lesbian and Gay Archives in Toronto, of Hubert Kennedy on the early German movement, James Green on Latin America, and Massimo Consoli and Ray Best on Italy. Most importantly, I thank John Dufour for immeasurable care and support.

Preface to the First Edition

This book, delineating the formation of gay and lesbian movements as a world phenomenon, would have been inconceivable a decade ago. It is only through the impact of the movements themselves on the larger society that gay and lesbian history has come to be a "fit" subject to write about and a "legitimate" topic for research. And it is only through the pioneering investigations of such scholars as Jonathan Katz, Jeffrey Weeks, Lillian Faderman, James Steakley, Ilse Kokula, Hans-Georg Stümke, Rudi Finkler, Jacques Girard, Marie-Jo Bonnet, and countless others who have written for the gay press that the story of homosexual people is coming into view.

The study of social history is itself part of a historical context, and this work is no exception. Its limitations owe partly to the state of literature on or by the movement—and certainly to the capabilities of the author. Almost nothing has been written from the perspective of the gay and lesbian movement as a transnational event, nor has an international flow of information been well developed. Like other communication systems, knowledge of the movement follows a "center-periphery" pattern. The movement in New York City is the best known, and the movement in the United States in general is much better documented than movements in other countries. Though Italians know about the Stonewall rebellion in Greenwich Village and mark it with a gay pride day, few Americans know about Bologna's city-sponsored gay community center.

Most movement documents have appeared in English, French, and German, and some in Spanish, and these references are reflected here. Very significant movements have developed in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Italy, Brazil, and Indonesia, but almost all accounts of them remain in their national languages. My coverage is once

removed from these movements, since I have had to rely on characterizations of them in the first four languages. Thus I have not fully remedied the information economy. New research, however, will no doubt allow a future fleshing out of the overall picture.

This study is, as well, a sociological treatment of the rise of the gay and lesbian movement; it shows its roots in what Theda Skocpol (1984) calls "comparative-historical sociology" or what Doug McAdam (1982), referring specifically to social movement analysis, calls the "political process model." The sociologist cannot be content with tracing the development of any social formation as the simple unfolding of unanchored ideas, the creature of charismatic leaders, or an unexplained sequence of events. Alain Touraine (1981) views "society as a cultural field torn apart by the conflict between those who take over historicity for themselves and those who are subjected to their domination and are struggling for the collective reappropriation of this historicity" (62). He defines a social movement as "collective organized action through which a class actor battles for the social control of historicity in a given and identifiable historical context" (32–33). The course of social movements depends on a sometimes hidden context of political economy and social conflict. Larger social structures and historical changes allow for the possibility of a movement and inevitably shape its agenda. Its transformation partakes of shifts in the total social system as much as in outcomes of internal decisions and strategies. The terms of debate shaped by competing social coalitions can give way, intensify, or shift to new ground according to conflicts apparently far removed from the social movement at hand.

Following his review of social movement theory, McAdam (1982) identifies a set of critical issues to be addressed for understanding the rise of a movement:

- Latent political leverage available to most segments of the population
- Subjective transformation of consciousness
- Level of organization within the aggrieved population
- Collective assessment of the prospects for successful insurgency
- Alignment of groups within the larger political environment (36–38)

And Jean Cohen (1985) cautions that in studying the "new social movements," we must find them on the terrain they now occupy as "contemporary collective actors consciously struggle over the power to socially construct new identities, to create democratic spaces for autonomous social action, and to reinterpret norms and reshape institutions" (690).

Chapter One

Origins of a Homosexual People

The first social movement to advance the civil rights of gay people was founded in Germany in 1897. To understand where this early gay movement came from and where today's movement is going, it is necessary to look at the social conditions that made the movements possible. Before any social movement comes into existence, a set of prerequisites must be in place. An identifiable social group with considerable political awareness must be presumed before a movement is conceivable; those conditions came about relatively recently on the historical stage for same-sex relationships. Homosexuality has not always been organized as a separate "people." The evidence from non-Western cultures shows clearly that relationships we call "homosexual" were organized in quite different ways, making the development of a group identity and movement highly unlikely.

A glance through historical and anthropological research reveals a great variety of ways of being homosexual. In societies as far-flung as Melanesia, Amazonia, central Africa, and western Egypt, it has been common for many (sometimes all) males to have homosexual relations, at least for a period of their lives (Adam 1985a, 19; Herdt 1984; Lévi-Strauss 1969, 446; Evans-Pritchard 1970, 1430; 'Abd Allah 1917, 7). In these societies, sexual relations between older and younger males are thought to be part of parenting and growing up. Indeed, some Melanesian societies believe that without this sexual socialization their sons would fail to grow into worthy and robust men.

Where sexuality between men is both obligatory and common to all, the idea of homosexual "persons" makes little sense. K. J. Dover

(1978) offers another example. The classical Greek and Roman literature, the foundation of much of Western thought, leaves no doubt as to the general acceptability of same-sex bonding in those societies (see also Foucault 1978). In ancient Greece, adolescence was a time when young men left their biological families to become the lovers of adult men. Sexuality was but one element of an affectional and educational relationship in which youths learned the ways of manhood. Though less is known about similar relationships that may have existed among women, the writings of Sappho from this same era gave the name of the island of Lesbos to love between women.

Anthropology records as well the existence of gender-mixed persons among many of the native peoples of North and South America, Polynesia, Indonesia, and eastern Siberia. The gender-mixed North American berdache and the Polynesian mahu cannot be equated with the modern notion of the homosexual (Callender and Kochems 1983; Blackwood 1984; Levy 1971; Williams 1986). Still, it is known that female berdaches sometimes married women, and male berdaches, men. Sexual relationships between conventional men and male berdaches appear usually to have met public acceptance, if not approval. Even these examples of socially recognized homosexual relations do not cover all the forms of same-sex intimacy expressed in these and in homophobic societies. The creative anarchy of human experience is never fully contained by the social institutions of societies, and the varieties of homosexual experience have always exceeded their publicly recognized forms.

Sexual relations between women and between men, known in a great many cultures and in the history of our own, were rarely separated to create persons known as "homosexuals." The task in this chapter on the origins of a homosexual people is to find out how women-loving women and men-loving men became thought of as "homosexuals." From this it will become possible to understand how a sexual preference became a people and how lesbians and gay men became a minority. Once homosexuality is transformed into a people, the idea of a gay movement finds its place.

The Medieval World

Just how the erotic and affective spheres fit together with economic, political, social, ideological, and aesthetic aspects of life is the subject of a good deal of thought among scholars. Certainly new strides

in empirical and theoretical research will further sharpen our understanding of how gender, production, and reproduction influence our emotions and attractions. Suffice it to say that shifts in fundamental social arrangements of producing and distributing the goods of society have influenced such unexpected areas as sexuality and love. In the development of modern capitalist societies, family, gender, and sexuality took on new meanings, and homosexuality eventually reformed into the lesbian and gay worlds of today. From the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, Western societies were transformed from agrarian to urban industrial systems. People who once produced what they ate and what they wore, as well as the places where they lived, gradually became wage earners who sold their labor in a commodity market. People who were once limited to village and agrarian life became mobile city dwellers. People who were once guaranteed a livelihood in farming lost the land base that provided self-sufficiency.

Though the effect of all these changes on family, gender, and sexuality was both complex and indirect, personal, private, and intimate relationships changed during this period at least partly as a result of the rise of capitalism. For workers in urban labor markets, the meanings of mateship underwent subtle but profound alterations. The authority of parents over new generations declined, and the constraints and responsibilities of family ties began to give way to personal freedoms and an individualistic ethic. The decline of the old order brought new freedoms, and in the new milieu a gay world emerged.

In the feudal period, the importance of family can scarcely be overestimated. Families held the key to one's future well-being. Personal happiness and success depended on cooperation with family members, as it was their labor and goodwill that determined how well one ate, how one survived sickness, and how one resisted injustices committed by others. Individual prosperity hinged largely on inheritance, and marriage was necessarily a practical arena wherein family ambitions could be played out. The fates of individuals often rested on advantageous partnering. With the future prosperity of both marital partners and their families at stake, marriage could not be merely a matter of personal choice. In the words of the family historian Lawrence Stone (1977), "Among the upper and the middling ranks, it [marriage] was primarily a means of tying together two kinship groups, of obtaining collective economic advantages, and securing useful political alliances. Among peasants, artisans, and laborers it was

an economic necessity for partnerships and division of labor in the shop or in the fields" (5). In this context, the personal preferences of marital partners could figure as only one factor among many in the selection of mates. Romantic love, in fact, posed dangers if taken too seriously. Stone continues, "Romantic love and lust were strongly condemned as ephemeral and irrational grounds for marriage" (85). Love was thought to be a base and unbecoming motive for mateship when the practical questions of survival and the material quality of life were at risk (Flandrin 1979, 164), and theologians and moralists remained resolute in their condemnation of it. Emotional attachments ideally grew up between husband and wife after marriage out of duty and mutual dependence. Failing that, emotional interests would have to be pursued outside marriage (Adam 1985b; cf. Stone 1977, 102). Such social arrangements left little room for any publicly organized gay existence.

We are now accustomed to thinking of homosexual relationships as alternatives to the nuclear family system as lesbians and gay men are able, much more than before, to form exclusive, long-term relationships in the midst of a supportive subculture. But in the feudal period, same-sex mateships were more likely to come about between neighbors, friends, and household members or arise in same-sex institutions like seminaries, colleges, or armies (Bray 1982, 43; Sylvestre 1983). Several of these relationships in the historical records occurred between well-known literary men and their manservants. Seventeenth-century sodomy trials often involved servants, apprentices sharing common beds, or noblemen and household members. The trial of the earl of Castlehaven in 1631 is among the most notorious (Bingham 1971, 448). King James I of England and Sir Francis Bacon are other well-known examples. Records of the early American colonies confirm that intimate relations typically arose in already existing social networks among those who knew each other well (Katz 1983, 75). The household and the community, then, were the matrix for almost all emotional ties, and same-sex friendships were no exception. Alan Bray (1990) argues that two discourses of male affection coexisted in seventeenth-century England in uneasy tension: one discourse prized the male friend and bedfellow along with his kiss and embrace, while another discourse located sodomy as a vice lying in the hearts of all men, the expression of which so threatened the natural order that it was tantamount to heresy or treason. Toward the end of the century, the suspicion of sodomy tended to be associated with the employ of

menservants and bedfellows from the lower classes; only "gentlemen" were thought worthy of friendship. The potential accusation of sodomy increasingly cast a chill on male friendship such that by the eighteenth century, the custom of kissing among English men had disappeared altogether (Norton 1992, 128).

Romantic Friends

Romantic friendships among women flourished as long as women fulfilled their roles as wives and mothers. Because to the traditional mind sexuality was a male preserve, women's relationships were usually thought not to be sexual by definition. In Lillian Faderman's (1981) words, "because love without a penis was an impossibility to sixteenth-century England, women were allowed to demonstrate the most sensual behavior toward one another without suffering the stigma associated with such behavior in more recent times" (32). So pervasive was this social definition that even those few women who were able to form exclusive lifelong relationships escaped the suspicion of sexuality.

Perhaps the best-known case in point is that of the ladies of Llangollen. As upper-class Irish women, they were among the few who could support themselves, thus avoiding dependence on men. Their 1778 elopement "was considered not only socially permissible but even desirable. . . . Women envied them because they seemed not to have to be bothered with what many eighteenth-century females considered the duty and burden of sex. Romantic men admired them because they seemed to keep by choice 'the crown of their virtue'; they lived together because they were too spiritually pure to be sullied by the 'physical'" (Faderman 1981, 122). Not having to risk symbolic masculinization through entry into the male-controlled labor market, they were able to pay homage to the trappings of femininity and preserve a distinctly prefeminist consciousness. As Faderman notes, "At the start of the French Revolution they feared only for the safety of the nobility" (1981, 123) at the same time as the revolution was spawning the first serious feminist challenges to feudal patriarchy. Even in the nineteenth century, older definitions survived to remove female intimacy from the category of things sexual, so that there was little reason for such relationships to be called sexual or homosexual and no warrant for women to identify themselves in terms of a sexual orientation. As Martha Vicinus (1992, 476) remarks, in an era before the consolidation

of the concept of the "lesbian," independent and women-loving women were more likely to be found living the social scripts of the passing woman, the mannish woman, the libertine, or the romantic friend.

In 1811 when the mother of a schoolgirl accused Marianne Woods and Jane Pirie, mistresses of a boarding school for daughters of the wealthy, of "improper and criminal conduct" with each other, the British courts debated whether a sexual relationship between women was even possible—this at the same time as an increasing number of men were going to the gallows convicted of sodomy. Should one partner dare to break out of her gender by passing as a man and assume male privileges, however, punishment could be harsh (Faderman 1981, 51, 147; Crompton 1981, 11; Bonnet 1981, 51–57; see also Faderman 1983). As long as women married, fulfilling their roles through dowry, domestic labor, and the production of heirs, their relationships with each other escaped attention, whether punitive or supportive.

The vigilance of the church and the state was nevertheless uneven and episodic; even some male friendships escaped the strict boundaries imposed by official definitions of sodomy. There are instances of young men in the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries whose letters show an unself-conscious exuberance in their mutual passion and affection (Rotundo 1989). Perhaps it is twentieth-century architecture with its widespread provision of privacy in advanced capitalist societies that has irrevocably sexualized the meaning of sleeping together—a practice that was once considered above suspicion because it was thought to be due to necessity. Since the great moral crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that hounded sodomites, heretics, Jews, and rebellious women to their deaths (Boswell 1980), sodomy had been a capital crime. For those whose affections attracted the notice of authorities, their lives enter the historical record as a tale of cruel persecution and death at the hands of priests and judges (Crompton 1976, 277; Oaks 1978, 268; Monter 1981, 41; Katz 1983, pt. 1; Ruggiero 1985). Homosexual relationships were forced underground; their exposure was almost always due to misfortune. Indeed, much of the history of same-sex friendships is lost to us because of their careful concealment. What is known today of this period is seen through the prying eyes of their enemies, and it is early persecutory campaigns that make us aware today of the origins of the gay world.

The Molly Houses

What distinguishes the modern lesbian and gay worlds from anthropological and historical examples of homosexuality is the development of social networks founded on the homosexual interests of their members. In precapitalist societies, homosexuality was enclosed by existing social relationships. It emerged within the household, the larger family, and local groups. In the modern period, people who may have had no previous contact with each other discovered each other through mutual attraction. First a gay male and then a lesbian world grew up in new territory. Same-sex friends and lovers began to carve out social spaces, progressively freeing themselves from the encumbrances of their antihomosexual environs. From these beginnings came the lesbian and gay worlds that we recognize today:

1. Homosexual relations have been able to escape the strictures of the dominant heterosexual kinship system.
2. Exclusive homosexuality, now possible for both partners, has become an alternative path to conventional family forms.
3. Same-sex bonds have developed new forms without being structured around particular age or gender categories.
4. People have come to discover each other and form large-scale social networks not only because of existing social relationships but also because of their homosexual interests.
5. Homosexuality has come to be a social formation unto itself characterized by self-awareness and group identity.

These criteria distinguish the gay and lesbian worlds from anthropological and historical forms of homosexuality, and it is on this foundation that gay and lesbian civil rights movements have been built.

Some scholars claim that a continuous homosexual subculture has existed since as early as the twelfth century (Monter 1981, 42; Trumbach 1977, 9). From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, a religious movement known as the Beguines allowed many women and some men (the Beghards) to emulate monastic life through a personal commitment to piety and celibacy. Not recognized by church authorities, this movement where women often lived together independent of men, eventually came under scrutiny for suspicion of heresy and homosexuality (Lerner 1972, 39). In the fifteenth century, the ruling

mercantile elite of Venice (then the imperial power of its day) largely presumed that sodomy followed the classical model of older with younger men, but when it began to investigate charges of sodomy, it also turned up the beginnings of public homosexual networks centered in apothecaries, pastry shops, and church porticoes, suggesting an embryonic gay system (Ruggiero 1985). Documents from the Spanish Inquisition of the late sixteenth century also reveal a similar prototypical gay world in Seville (Perry 1988, 71) and Valencia (Carrasco 1985, 134–35).

Once again, the ruling elites of that era bequeathed us the documents that describe what happened. Gay people, rarely allowed to speak for themselves on the historical record, became known to us through the writings of those who aimed to condemn, punish, and annihilate them.[1] Rictor Norton (1992) notes that moral crusaders turned up a fairly well developed gay male world in London in a series of raids launched in 1698, 1707, and 1726. In the prosecution of Mother Clap's Molly House in 1726,

> a police constable gave evidence that he had visited the house on a Sunday evening and found between forty and fifty men "making love to one another, as they called it." Some, he reported, sat on another man's lap, kissing them, and using "their hands indecently." Others would dance, curtsy, and mimic the voices of women. After settling on a partner for the evening, they would go to another room on the same floor "to be married as they called it." (Bullough 1976, 480–81)

By the early 1700s, a network of gay meeting places was frequented by men from all walks of life. One trial docket listed defendants drawn from the food trades and the ranks of cabinetmakers, upholsterers, printers, lawyers, clerks, footmen, servants, watermen, and soldiers, all of whom were among those scooped up in a molly house raid (Trumbach 1977, 19). Jeffrey Weeks (1977) notes,

> Edward Ward in *The Secret History of London Clubs* (1709) records the existence of "the Molly's Club" where a "curious band of fellows" met in a tavern in the city and held parties and regular gatherings. A writer in 1729 described in more detail "their walks and appointments to meet and pick up one another and their particular Houses of Resort to go to. . . ." About twenty such places were known, most of them in the Covent Garden/Lincoln's Inn area. (36)

In France, too, police authorities were becoming alarmed by what they perceived to be an increase in sodomy. A wave of arrests swept up men from public parks and *sociétés d'amour* in the early 1700s. D. A. Coward notes that in Paris, "the Tuileries was the traditional temple of male love" (243). One writer noted in 1724 a need to control the growing audacity of sodomites lest "these kinds of persons lift their masks believing everything is permitted to them, to form influential leagues and societies by putting respected people at their heads" (Rey 1982, 116; my translation). Paris police records from the same year include a confession from one man that another had proposed "that he wanted very much to get to know me, and that we would live together, that he would pay for half of the room, that we would live together like two brothers, that we would drink and eat together" (Rey 1985, 180).

And in the Netherlands, there is a reference as early as 1689 to buildings frequented by sodomites. Amsterdam, too, endured its first major exposé of homosexual networks in 1730–31, resulting in 300 prosecutions and 70 executions. Several more prosecutorial waves followed through 1798, which in its last days included the prosecution of eleven women and the imprisonment of eight of them (Van der Meer 1989, 1991).

These early attempts by gay men to claim a few spaces for themselves drew the battle lines that are still being fought over. Governments and their police, moral reformers, and reactionaries seem still to begrudge lesbians and gay men the freedom they have created and defended for themselves. One 1725 raid on a molly house in Covent Garden met "with determined and violent resistance" (Bray 1982, 97). One man, William Brown, entrapped in 1726 at Moorfields, retorted on his arrest, "there is no crime in making what use I please of my own body" (Bray 1982, 114). But despite the modern efforts of feminists and gay liberationists, this right has yet to be fully recognized in the Western world.

Capitalism and Romantic Love

The developing capitalist economy provided new options for people confined to agrarian families. Wage labor opened new possibilities for people once dependent on access to land for their livelihood. Expelled from its traditional land base over a period of several centuries, the

Western European peasantry eventually found itself in a market where survival depended on the ability to sell one's labor. With this new source of income, the meaning of family and marriage changed considerably. Marriage no longer determined the entire economic life of its (male) members, nor implicated a lineage, and decisions about whom to marry fell increasingly into the hands of the marital partners themselves. The emotional functions of family life loomed larger, as productive economic life split off into the public realm.[2]

These changes had very different effects on men and women. Men became much more able to select mates on the basis of personal considerations. For women, however, whose access to the wage labor market was more limited, marriage retained much of its practical economic meaning. A young woman's future well-being was bound up in making a correct marriage. For men, whose advancement had less to do with their family lives, simple personal preference could be a major factor—and men who preferred men could more easily discover each other in the expanding urban milieus: in pubs and coffeehouses, public parks and railway stations, particular walkways and streets. The public sphere remained a male preserve. Women could be far less mobile, and female bonding continued much in the feudal mode into the nineteenth century.[3]

As men developed clandestine meeting places out of the sites of public encounters, women's romantic friendships formed through existing social networks. The traditional patriarchal denigration of women's activities as trivial and inconsequential has made their historical rediscovery that much more difficult. It also, ironically, provided a level of freedom that was pushed back only later. Just as the molly houses flourished between raids, public inattention to women's relationships allowed for an "entire female world of love and ritual" (Smith-Rosenberg 1975, 1; Lengerke 1984). A vast network of women's friendships grew up among neighbors and kin and, in the nineteenth century, in colleges. An 1882 American letter details college women

> falling violently in love with each other and suffering all of the pangs of unrequited attachment, desperate jealousy, &c &c. . . . And they write each other the wildest love letters and send presents, confectionery, all sorts of things like a real courting of the Shakespearean style. If the "smash" is mutual, they monopolize each other and "spoon" continually, and sleep together, and lie awake all night talking instead of going to sleep. (Sahli 1979, 22)

A few enterprising nineteenth-century women did move into the public sphere, making the difficult leap out of the constraints of Victorian femininity by passing as men. Jonathan Katz (1976, 232ff) reports on Mary Anderson/Murray Hall, a New York politician who married (women) twice and successfully maintained a male identity until her death. Few women, however, could risk independence from husbands and fathers without being perceived as "fallen women," and, indeed, the history of prostitutes may yet reveal an arena where women asserted their own sexual and emotional interests with other women, as well as with men.

For almost all "kindred spirits," however, a life together could be nothing more than a utopian fantasy (Taylor and Lasch 1963, 23). It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that some romantic friends became lesbians in the modern sense. As women began to enter wage labor and acquire some financial independence, they were better able to realize their personal preferences, and some chose women as life companions. Lesbians began to turn up in the public gay world. An 1889 Parisian *Guide des plaisirs* refers to a lesbian restaurant in Montmartre (Altman 1982, 7; see also Jay 1983, 18). Lesbians appeared in New York's gay world in the 1890s (Katz 1983, 218), and as they slipped away from male control they began to share the opprobrium of homosexual men.

The Stage Is Set

With material reality so fundamentally altered, traditional ideas could survive no longer. The French Revolution, which swept away a monarchy and symbolically marked the end of the feudal era, brought with it reforms improving the lot of peoples oppressed by the traditional order. Jews and national minorities acquired the rights of citizenship, and sodomy was dropped from the new Napoleonic Code. Sexuality joined religion—at least ideally—as a private confession outside the legitimate interests of government. The liberal ideals of the bourgeois era proclaimed the equality of all. For the purposes of the capitalist labor market, competence at one's job and the ability to produce a profit were the first principles. Accidents of birth and personal characteristics declined in importance now that ambition, hard work, and inventiveness were to constitute the road to success. Liberals foresaw an age when inherited and private traits would fade from the pub-

lic economy, and a new system of opportunity and liberal ideals would set the agenda for traditionally disenfranchised minorities. Women and ethnic groups, religious and sexual minorities, took to heart the promise of equal opportunity and wondered why they should be denied full participation in civil society.

Two centuries ago, then, the stage was set, the actors assembled, and much of the script worked out for the dramas of the modern era. The liberal promise of equal rights for all became the rallying cry for the victims of the old system. Still, sharp breaks are rare in history, and these changes remained hedged about by many traditional structures. The capitalist revolution proved not to be so far-reaching as liberals and socialists anticipated. Traditional disabilities woven into the fabric of the emerging society were not so easily expunged. The dominant classes resisted any compromise of their powers, and egalitarian trends ran up against serious obstacles and reverses. The agrarian morality, developed through centuries of accumulated human experience in response to an earlier reality, was still embedded in the foundations of Western cultures and preserved in religion and tradition. In feudal societies, founded on production relations organized by patriarchal assumptions, neither homosexuality nor the independence of women had a place; they made "no sense." And as capitalist societies emerged, traditional distinctions could be enlisted to fulfill new functions: families could be reshaped to complement the needs of capital, and subordinated peoples could be recruited into the reserve army of labor. Political elites, of course, fearful of all challenges to their preeminence, struck at those who were associated with the rising social order. In the wake of the French Revolution, the British elite, for example, reacted with a general crackdown against dissident elements during a period that Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer (1985) characterize as the "English terror" (115). This was a time when the British elite was consolidating "its 'standards of life' as 'the national interest'" (203) guaranteed by an expanded state system. Among its actions was a wave of executions against sodomites in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Gilbert 1977, 98).[4] Gay bars came under renewed attack, the 1810 attack on the White Swan on Vere Street being the best known.

Despite these formidable odds, however, a male homosexual underground was well established by the nineteenth century, and the first signs appeared of a gay intelligentsia and public existence. By the

end of the nineteenth century, astonished outsiders were describing the extensiveness of the gay world. Lydston, writing in the United States in 1889, remarked, "There is in every community of any size a colony of male sexual perverts; they are usually known to each other, and are likely to congregate together. At times they operate in accordance with some definite and concerted plan in quest of subjects wherewith to gratify their abnormal sexual impulses" (Burnham 1973, 41). And Francis Anthony, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1898, stated,

> I have been told—and I am informed that the fact is true of nearly every centre of importance—a band of urnings, men of perverted tendencies, men known to each other as such, bound by ties of secrecy and fear and held together by mutual attraction. This band . . . embraces, not as you might think, the low and vile outcasts of the slums, but men of education and refinement, men gifted in music, in art and in literature, men of professional life and men of business and affairs. (Katz 1983, 293)

The German Social Democrat W. Herzen (1977) wrote in 1898, "The homosexuals of Berlin, Hamburg, London are certainly not less numerous than those of Paris or Brussels. There are places here where homosexuals hold their gatherings, baths they frequent, premises where they hold their dances, streets in which male prostitutes offer themselves to homosexuals. Homosexuals have their *Café National* in Berlin" (37). Havelock Ellis (1942), too, remarked on "homosexual baths, pensions, and hotels" in Berlin and on baths in Sydney, Australia (4: 133–34). The 1899 Mazet Committee in New York City found a series of gay clubs in the Bowery and the Tenderloin district (Katz 1976, 44ff; Katz 1983). A few of these nineteenth-century accounts spoke of lesbians involved in the bar culture.

Karl Marx believed that men thrown together in the industrial workplace would develop a new solidarity expressed as working-class consciousness. It is an irony of social theory that industrialization did produce the conditions in which arose a new form of male, and later female, bonding. In this entirely unexpected way, the "alienation of man from man," which Marx believed to be an inevitable consequence of workers competing against one another for jobs in a capitalist society, led to a vast range of responses and solutions, both personal and collective. Modern gay and lesbian worlds, born of the changes wrought by capitalism, have been among the solutions, offering oases

of refuge and intimacy in a depersonalized, atomized world. And, along with feminist visions of the nurturant women's culture at the margins of capitalist production, modern gay and lesbian worlds have developed ambivalent relations with societies that would contain or suppress them.

Prelude to a Political Movement

During this era a new generation of poets and writers sought to articulate a modern vision of homosexual experience. In Europe and North America, a new people came to consciousness of itself in the mid-1800s. Still these first voices raised in defense of gay rights in the nineteenth century were marked by the pervasive heterosexism of the day. Those who first sought to give public expression to the gay experience had to grope for a language in which to embody a new reality. There were no ready channels to give shape to homosexual lives, and early writings drew on a range of discursive resources to present a public face for same-sex love. Antihomosexual prejudice complicated the task, leading often to indirect, morally acceptable characterizations of gay life. This development of a self-understanding was a critical step toward locating oneself in the world and arranging social and political priorities that would crystallize into a movement.

British writers often drew on the classical education they received as schoolboys to make sense of their affections for boys and men. John Addington Symonds's 1868 ode from his *Tales of Ancient Greece* tells of the courtship of Eudiades and Melanthius and their subsequent love affair:

> But day by day living with him he learned
> New sweetness, and the fire divine that burned
> In the man's heart was mirrored in the boy's,
> So that he thirsted for the self same joys,
> And knew what passion was, nor could abide
> To be one moment severed from the side
> Of him in whom whatever maketh sweet
> The life of man was centred and complete.
> (Reade 1970, 122–23)

In the United States, Walt Whitman envisioned male love in optimistic and democratic terms as an extended egalitarian network of "adhesive comrades" (see Martin 1979; Katz 1976, 337–65). The North

American landscape formed an ever-present backdrop to Whitman's celebration of the sensual body and his very modern synthesis of democratic values, equality for women, and "manly friendship." The *Calamus* poems retain a freshness and immediacy that continue to attract adherents today. Whitman's homoeroticism reflected contemporary America with its belief in the possible, its pioneering optimism, and its sense of comradeship among peers. Yet Whitman's vision retained a critical—even utopian—thrust. In a society that was beginning to betray its own ideals, Whitman posed an almost subversive alternative. As ideals of liberty and equality were transformed into the liberty of business tycoons and the reality of class privilege, Whitman expressed a concrete sense of the rallying cry of the French Revolution, including its third element: "Liberty, equality, *fraternity.*" Whitman's (1955) affirmation of nature, the common man and woman, and comradeship implicitly rejected the machine and urban alienation. And his instructions to posterity could not be clearer:

> Recorders ages hence,
> Come, I will take you down underneath this impassive exterior, I will tell you what to say of me,
> Publish my name and hang up my picture as that of the tenderest lover, . . .
> Whose happiest days were far away through fields, in woods, on hills, he and another wandering hand in hand, they twain apart from other men,
> Who oft as he saunter'd the streets curv'd with his arm the shoulder of his friend, while the arm of his friend rested upon him also. (118–19)

On the other hand, Whitman's contemporary Herman Melville looked away from America to Polynesia for a more hospitable climate in which to set his homoerotic romances (Austen 1977; Katz 1976, 467). And from the intense and tempestuous relationship of Paul Verlaine and Arthur Rimbaud came the poetry of renegades with its contempt for all things conventional and its leap into the radical possibilities of love without rules. Rimbaud (1979) wrote,

> Lovers who would be friends—
> Without vows, always true,
> Free-hearted, without promises—
> Such are we and our virtue.
> (see Schmidt 1979)

Karl Ulrichs, a Hannover lawyer, opened the debate on homosexual rights in the political and legal arenas in 1864, in the first book of his 12-volume work. His timing was critical: Napoleon had brought an enlightened legal code born of the French Revolution to much of Europe. As the German states became unified under Prussian auspices, the new German empire was adopting the Prussian legal model, which recriminalized homosexuality. Ulrichs, imprisoned in 1866 by Prussian authorities for protesting their takeover of Hannover, took his plea for equal treatment of homosexuals to an 1867 Congress of German Jurists, only to be shouted down from the podium (Steakley 1975, chap. 1; Kennedy 1988; Baumgardt 1984). In 1869, K. M. Kertbeny, a Hungarian writer, joined the fray with a lengthy open letter to the Prussian minister of justice (in which he coined the word *homosexual*) to plea for the omission of love between men from criminal law (Lauritsen and Thorstad 1974, 6–8). Despite Ulrichs's and Kertbeny's efforts, Paragraph 175 was reinserted into German law in 1871, subjecting gay men once again to legal prosecution throughout unified Germany.

Ulrichs's life work showed its origins in the popular scientific currents of the day. Caught up in the evolutionist rhetoric that framed most Victorian social theorizing, Ulrichs formulated homosexuality as a congenital anomaly (*Naturspiel*) like left-handedness or a cleft palate. This transitional work squeezed same-sex relationships into heterosexual molds by inscribing male-female sexuality into the homosexual psyche. The homosexual male (called "Urning," from Plato's *Symposium*) was presented as "a feminine soul confined to a masculine body" (Kennedy 1988; Ulrichs 1975, my translation). Lesbians were thought to be males encased in women's bodies and thus, being men, were "naturally" attracted to women. Gay people became nothing more than mistaken heterosexuals in this quaint formulation; consequently "homosexual individuals were seldom attracted to one another" but only to "normal" members of their own sex. (The attraction of "normals" to cross-gender people was something of a mystery in this theory.) At the same time, these biological foundations allowed Ulrichs to argue that homosexuality was as "healthy as fish in water" and that criminal penalties could never be more than needlessly cruel and useless punishments. But even Ulrichs found it necessary to add a labyrinth of new categories to his theory to accommodate the many homosexual people who showed no disjuncture between "soul" and "body."

At the same time, his third-sex theory did express how much homosexual men had come to believe themselves to be a people apart. An intolerant society, refusing same-sex bonds a place, separated homosexually inclined people in attempts to suppress and control them. Homosexually interested people were taking on the traits of ethnicity: separate social ties and subcultures, collective identity, and a folklore about how to cope with a malicious outside world.

The gay world was also attracting unsympathetic attention from self-appointed guardians of moral order and respectability. In the late nineteenth century, a few gay people began to fall into the hands of physicians and psychiatrists who reported on them in medical journals. Case studies of the 1880s and 1890s started to outline a "homosexual personality type" concocted out of Victorian morality, phrenology, and personal apprehensions. This is the era when the medical profession was consolidating itself as an expert monopoly over a series of "disorders." Physicians were transforming masturbation into a disease and busying themselves with new machines, constraints, and surgical operations to bring it under control (Parsons 1977, 55). Medical scrutiny moved on to cultivate a set of "feminine disorders," and the profession campaigned to suppress abortions throughout the United States. Homosexuality, too, fell under the disapproving gaze of the medical profession, and some physicians did not hesitate to remove ovaries from women and castrate men in their war against "perversion" (Katz 1976, chap. 2; Katz 1983, pt. 2). Ulrichs's third-sex theory, shorn of its claim for civil rights, reappeared as a medical syndrome subject to the reformative technocracy of the experts. Medicine thereby became another weapon among the armaments arrayed against same-sex love, opening a century of experimentation, drugging, electroshocking, mutilation, and psychological manipulation (Adam 1978, chap. 2). Medical ideologies were to find their way into new legislation to confine lesbians and gay men to prisons and mental hospitals and block them from professional and governmental employment, immigration, and the simple right to live unmolested.

In 1891, John Addington Symonds printed 50 copies of *A Problem in Modern Ethics,* a systematic review of the existing scholarly literature on homosexuality. There he sought to refute such vulgar errors as the confusion of male homosexuality with effeminacy and the belief that homosexuals "prey" on youth. He set cross-cultural variation in atti-

tudes about homosexuality against the tortuous reasonings of the medical ideologues who would turn homosexuality into a disease and argued for decriminalization in a set of 14 propositions at the book's conclusion. What interested Symonds most, whether he treated classical sources in *A Problem of Greek Ethics* or Ulrichs's third-sex theory in *A Problem of Modern Ethics,* was the simple valorization of male love. In the end, he remained most deeply impressed by Whitman's "intense, jealous, throbbing, sensitive, expectant love of man for man . . . a love that finds honest delight in hand-touch, meeting lips, hours of privacy, close personal contact . . . a daily fact in the present, but also a saving and ennobling inspiration" (1896, 123).

This swirl of conflicting ideas, then, closed the nineteenth century and led to the birth of the first homosexual social movements. It was a period of creative ferment; a series of disparate discourses emerged out of distinct national and theoretical foundations. This generation took the first steps toward dialogue among those who embarked on lifelong quests for the classical and contemporary traces of a sexuality actively suppressed for centuries. But more important were the urban subcultures creating folklores about surviving, succeeding, and enjoying gay and lesbian lives. It is against this backdrop that the first gay civil rights movement was founded.

Chapter Two

Early Movements and Aspirations

The founding of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres Komitee) on 15 May 1897 in a Berlin apartment inaugurated the first of several gay organizations that sprang up in Germany over the next 35 years. Founded by physician Magnus Hirschfeld, publisher Max Spohr, lawyer Erich Oberg, and novelist Franz Josef von Bülow, the committee became the leading voice for equal rights for homosexual men and women until its suppression by the Nazis in 1933 (Herzer and Steakley 1986, 201).[1] It had a profound impact outside Germany as well as within, with adherents such as the Dutch lawyer Dr. Jacob Schorer setting up a Netherlands committee in 1911, the Swedish steelworker Eric Thorsell taking its message to Sweden in the 1930s (Rogier 1969; Tielman 1982),[2] and small clubs starting up in Basel and Zurich (Schüle 1994). In other countries of Europe and North America, where gay organizations remained much more limited, the German movement offered a lifeline for isolated but aware lesbians and gay men, influencing their thinking and helping lay the groundwork for movements that emerged after World War II.

The development of gay and lesbian subcultures has varied considerably from nation to nation, and this chapter surveys those countries where gay political writing and organization arose before the Holocaust.

Germany

> The liberation of homosexuals can only be the work of homosexuals themselves.
>
> —1921 United Front Action Committee appeal

Germany of the 1890s was an unstable mix of feudal and modern elements; the early homosexual movement was but one of many liberal, middle-class, and workers' movements that developed at this time. With the German states united in 1871 under the auspices of the Prussian monarchy, Germany entered the twentieth century with a state system still largely in the hands of a conservative coalition composed of the old landed aristocracy (Junkers) and a growing capitalist class, which together held its army, bureaucracy, and established church. The Prussian monarch continued to exercise real power, representing the interests of a traditional patriarchal order that looked with suspicion on the reform, and sometimes revolutionary, movements taking root among the urban masses and new middle classes. The late 1800s was an era of considerable social rethinking and experimentation. The cautious women's movement, standing for motherhood and moral purity, began to develop a left wing with the publication of the journal *The Women's Movement* (*Die Frauenbewegung*) in 1895 (Evans 1976). A series of "life-reform movements" (Lebensreformbewegung) were emerging: a youth movement (Wandervogelbewegung), a health movement (Naturheilbewegung), nutrition reform (Ernährungsreform), clothes reform (Kleiderreform), and nudism (Freikörperkultur) (Steakley 1975, chap. 2).

The appearance in 1896 of the first homosexual journal, *Der Eigene,* under the editorship of Adolf Brand,[3] and of Magnus Hirschfeld's book, *Sappho und Sokrates,* presaged the founding of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee itself. In his book Hirschfeld (1975) set out the mandate for homosexual advancement. Deriving his ideas directly from Ulrich's evolutionary theory, he wrote that homosexuality shows itself as a "deep, inner-constituted natural instinct" and as a gender stage between the extremes of masculinity and femininity (my translation). Each of the antihomosexual theories is refuted in turn. The sickness theory: its conclusions, based on samples drawn from psychiatric clinics, are biased. The criminal theory:

countries where homosexuality is legal (France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Bavaria, Württenberg) do not experience unusual problems. The degeneracy theory: consider the "robust" but prohomosexual Albanians, Scythians, Dalmatians, and Celts—and the "great" homosexuals of history. Indeed, Hirschfeld rebukes science for its failure to stand for justice.

At the beginning, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee resolved on a petition and publicity campaign to garner support for the abolition of Paragraph 175, which subjected homosexuality to legal penalties, and to educate Germans about "Uranian" men and women. As early as 1898, the petition received support from the leader of the Social Democratic party, August Bebel, who stood up in the German parliament (Reichstag) to urge other parliamentarians to sign it (Lauritsen and Thorstad 1974, 13). (Bebel was a noted supporter of women's rights and had published a book on women and socialism in 1878.) By the following year, Spohr's printing house had published 23 titles on homosexuality, and the committee had issued a scholarly journal, *The Yearbook for the Intermediate Sex* (*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*), which continued to be published until the inflationary crisis of 1923 (Steakley 1975, 24). Publicity intended to educate the elite was sent out to newspapers, administrators, mayors, and courts, and a pamphlet called *What the People Should Know about the Third Sex* was produced in 1903, seeking to inform Germans about the "Uranian" fact. This opening text was deeply influenced by the progressive thought of the day, taking Ulrichs's essentially congenital theory to argue against persecution. It demonstrates the ubiquity of homosexuality through anthropological references and insists that homosexuals are among the benefactors of humanity, concluding, "every uranian owes a duty to himself [*sic*]: self-realization is his right, of that which has come to him by birth he must make the best" (British Society 1975, 10).

In addition, the committee in 1903 sent out 6,611 questionnaires to Berlin students and factory workers in the first sex survey of its kind. From it Hirschfeld concluded that 2.2 percent of the general population was homosexual. (Hirschfeld was fined 200 DM for his trouble, after six of the students charged him with "obscenity" [Steakley 1975, 33; Baumgardt 1984, 20].) In the same year, the petition reached 6,000 signatories including such luminaries as writers Hermann Hesse, Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Stefan Zweig, and Lou Andreas-Salomé; the philosopher Karl Jaspers; artists and musicians George

Grosz, Carl Maria Weber, and Engelbert Humperdinck; socialist politicians Rudolf Hilferding, Karl Kautsky, and Eduard Bernstein; sociologists Max Scheler and Franz Oppenheimer; the sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing; the theologian Martin Buber; and the physicist Albert Einstein (Lauritsen and Thorstad 1974, 14; Stümke and Finkler 1981, 422).

In 1905, reform of Paragraph 175 came up again in the Reichstag when Adolf Thiele and Bebel argued for its abolition. The liberal and conservative parties expressed outrage at the idea and the law remained on the books.

Whatever the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee's merits, not all agreed on its medical-scientistic orientation or its endorsement of the gender-mix conceptions of Ulrichs. In 1902, those around *Der Eigene*—Adolf Brand along with Benedict Friedländer and Wilhelm Jansen—organized the Community of the Special (Gemeinschaft der Eigenen) centered on a more purely ancient Greek understanding of intermale relations (Steakley 1975, 43; Stümke and Finkler 1981, 27; Baumgardt 1984, 27). As set forth in Friedländer's 1904 *Renaissance des Eros Uranios,* homosexuality was idealized as the relationship between an adult bisexual male and a youth in a strictly masculine context, a concept that found resonance in the literary circle around the poet Stefan George. Male bonding was understood in terms of the *Männerbund,* an idea of masculine comradeship founded in martial values (Oosterhuis 1991). As such, the Eigene offered nothing to women and ruled themselves out of the increasingly friendly alignment of the committee with the Social Democrats, retreating instead to the extreme individualist philosophy of Max Stirner. By 1907, the Eigene completed the split from the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee and the group successfully maintained its journal until 1931.

Hirschfeld attempted to engage more women in the committee's work, and by 1901 the *Yearbook* was publishing confessional statements by women. As E. Krause declared in an article titled "The Truth about Me," "I am proud of my exceptional state. . . . What I demand is humanity, an impartiality, equal rights for all" (Faderman and Eriksson 1980, 23, 30).

At the same time, the mainstream women's movement (Bund Deutsches Frauenverein) was preoccupied, as were its Victorian counterparts elsewhere, with women's rights articulated within traditional conceptions of femininity—motherhood, purity, and morality—

rather than challenging women's gender role. In the 1890s, it campaigned with evangelical Christians and the anti-Semitic right to stiffen penalties against prostitution, "obscenity," and "immorality." Helene Stöcker's questioning of gender ideology in the early 1900s attracted supporters who gathered together in a New Morality movement that challenged the old guard. Stöcker, arguing against the mainstream, declared that many of the attributes of femininity were the result of socialization and not women's inherent nature. She believed that marriage was often constricting and that "individual women should be allowed to dispose over her own body without interference from the state" (Evans 1976, 138). Her break with the women's movement came in 1904 when she pressed for support and protection of unmarried mothers, a group considered immoral and a threat to the family by the contemporary women's movement. This led to the founding of the Association for the Protection of Mothers and Sexual Reform (Bund für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform), which initiated sharp debates within the women's movement and extended the logic of its position toward support for divorce law reform, contraception, and abortion. It was this opening in feminist theorizing that eventually led Stöcker to join the directorship of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee and begin a dialogue between the two movements.

In 1904, Anna Rüling addressed the committee's annual conference with the question, "What interest does the women's movement have in the homosexual question?" She pointed out to the largely male gay movement (as lesbians have had to do so many times since), "In order to obtain for homosexuals and all women generally the opportunity to live according to their natures, it is necessary to actively aid the women's movement's efforts to expand educational opportunities and new professions for women" (Faderman and Eriksson 1980, 86). Adopting the third-sex framework, Rüling decried middle-class opposition to "uranian liberation" and castigated the women's movement's silence on lesbian issues, looking toward the New Morality movement and the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee for help in freeing "uranian women" from having to marry.

By 1910, the mainstream women's movement succeeded in purging its radicals in order to reestablish its earlier precepts, a mix of *völkisch* nationalism and the cult of motherhood, fidelity, and spirituality opposed to male carnality and abortion (Evans 1976, 156). The Mutterschutz association went on to rally against a 1911 Reichstag

committee proposal to extend Paragraph 175 to women (Lauritsen and Thorstad 1974, 15; Pieper 1984) but became a much weaker political force owing to internal dissension and its exclusion from the federation of women's organizations.

In 1907, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee was canvassing political parties for their positions on law reform as Reichstag elections approached. A public debate on Paragraph 175 sponsored by the committee attracted more than 2,000 (Lauritsen and Thorstad 1974, 15). But 1907 also brought the first major crisis to afflict the fledgling gay movement in the form of the Eulenburg scandal. The affair began when an independent Berlin newspaper launched a series of increasingly direct articles implicating the highest echelons of the imperial administration—perhaps even the kaiser himself—in homosexual practices (Steakley 1983, 22). In one sense the Eulenburg affair was not about homosexuality at all; the charges were simply convenient weapons to disrupt and embarrass the conservative coalition. The scandal was fueled, then, by deeper divisions in German society and directed at discrediting the ruling aristocracy. The issues posed particularly acute problems for the two gay organizations. The imperial government represented a deadweight they had little interest in maintaining, but the homosexual weapon posed other dangers, for the gay movement could scarcely go along with the unfolding logic of the scandal, which presumed that homosexuality constituted a disqualification from public office. The general format for the scandal had been set five years earlier when the Italian government had expelled the German industrialist Alfred Krupp for his dalliances with Italian boys on the elite resort island of Capri. A subsequent exposé in the Social Democratic newspaper *Vorwärts* had resulted in Krupp's suicide (Manchester 1968, 229–34).

In the ensuing courtroom maneuvers, Magnus Hirschfeld appeared as an expert witness in the trial of General Kuno Count von Moltke, military commandant of Berlin; he stated that "Moltke's 'unconscious orientation' could 'objectively' be labeled 'homosexual,' even if he had never violated Paragraph 175" (Steakley 1983, 71–72). Adolf Brand, who had added the German chancellor, Bernhard Prince von Bülow, to the list of high-placed homosexuals, was brought to trial on libel charges and sent to prison for 18 months. The trial of Philipp Prince zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld, the kaiser's close friend and adviser, was suspended for "health reasons" as the evidence accumulated of his sexual

friendship with a Bavarian farmer. It seems that both Hirschfeld and Brand hoped to expose the hypocrisy of a government that included homosexually interested men in its ranks while penalizing homosexual acts. Their testimony, however, was assimilated instead into a more traditional moral grid, resulting not in law reform but in a hardening of the battle lines. The trials ultimately sharpened the homosexual-heterosexual cleavage and overwhelmed more traditional conceptions of intermale sexuality, feeding into eugenic and militarist ideologies of the day that typified homosexuals as a conspiratorial threat to the nation's "manhood" and birthrate.[4] These were conceptions shared by the mainstream women's movement and bourgeois political parties along with more reactionary elements of German society.

The immediate effect on the gay movement was a serious flight of support among those frightened that the movement might be willing to betray even them to the authorities by violating the most common defensive strategy employed by gay people—self-concealment. Any significant gains to be made by the life-reform and socialist movements would have to await more fundamental changes in the structure of German society.

New hope arose in the closing days of World War I when the imperial order was forced to give way in the face of military defeat. In the autumn of 1918, war-weary soldiers and workers deserted their commanders and bosses to form popular democratic councils of their own, and the kaiser fled to the Netherlands. This German revolution swept throughout the nation in less than a week in November of 1918, and Magnus Hirschfeld was among the speakers to welcome the masses who surged, red flags aloft, into the square in front of the Reichstag at the height of the insurrection. There he declared, "Together with a true people's state with a genuinely democratic structure, we want a social republic. Socialism means solidarity, community, reciprocity, the further development of society into a unified body of people. . . . Long live the free German Republic!" (Steakley 1975, 71–72). But the tragedy of the German revolution was its failure to dissolve the traditional power bases of the old ruling elites: no land reform ensued to dispossess the Junkers, nor did industrial democracy overturn capitalism. Though displaced from government, the conservative coalition (with collaborationist Social Democratic politicians) rallied its forces and dissolved the workers' and soldiers' councils to reconstitute itself as a major force in German society—now increasingly resentful of the

abrogation of its traditional privileges. The tragedy of the ensuing Weimar Republic of 1918 to 1933 was its failure to resolve this volatile mix of reactionary and emancipatory forces.

Still there were causes for optimism in the 1920s: the Social Democrats came to power in Parliament, the right to vote was granted to women, and gay society experienced an unprecedented flourishing. In 1919, Hirschfeld founded the Institute for Sex Research (Institut für Sexualwissenschaft), which became an internationally respected center for the documentation of sexuality, "offering marriage and career counseling, venereal disease testing and treatment, family planning and sex education programs, and psychiatric and physical therapy," as well as a library and museum of "biological, sociological, and ethnological materials" (Steakley 1975, 91). A movie, *Anders als die Andern,* appeared in the same year, featuring the injustice of blackmail and a lecture by Hirschfeld. It was a popular success despite disruptions in the audiences and police closures in several cities. It was suppressed by the censors in 1920 (Theis 1984).

In the same year, a united front (Aktionsausschuss) of gay groups was organized by Kurt Hiller, a pacifist, socialist, and committee director. Hiller brought together the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, the Eigene, and the new German Friendship Association (Deutscher Freundschaftsverband) to issue this appeal for its second congress:

> We must demonstrate that we have learned to win our human rights ourselves and have created an organization which demands respect. We no longer want only a few scientists struggling for our cause; we want to demonstrate our strength ourselves. . . . No homosexual should be absent—rich or poor, worker or scholar, diplomat or businessman. . . . we must show whether we have developed into a fighting organization or just a social club. He who does not march with us marches against us. (Steakley, 1975, 77)

In 1921, Hirschfeld set up a World League for Sexual Reform, which gained 130,000 members worldwide through the 1920s. The appointment of a Social Democratic minister of justice, who was himself a petition signer, prompted the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee to submit its petition to the Reichstag in 1922 (Lauritsen and Thorstad 1974, 16, 30).

And yet, as James Steakley (1975) remarks,

> It appears that the almost legendary flowering of the homosexual subculture during the heyday of the "Golden Twenties" worked to the detriment of the

emancipation movement; a contradiction between personal and collective liberation emerged, for it was far easier to luxuriate in the concrete utopia of the urban subculture than to struggle for an emancipation which was apparently only formal and legalistic. (78, 81)

As early as 1905, Hirschfeld (1975) had documented a Berlin gay world of "more than 20 bars" catering to a variety of social classes and tastes, plus "restaurants, hotels, pensions, baths" as well as dance clubs, party circuits, and drag balls. He noted lesbian cafés (including one preferred by Jews) and costume balls. Personal advertisements for special friends placed by women and men were common in the newspapers (my translation; see also Rich 1981, 16). A glimpse of the same community 18 years later comes from a remarkable 1923 article in *Mercure de France,* where Ambroise Got, a French diplomat in Berlin, described the German gay world through the eyes of the shocked bourgeois, characterizing it as "a mad whirl of pleasure . . . a wild rush to enjoyment" (655; my translation). In a visit to the Kleist-Casino (still in existence in the 1980s), Got found a largely white-collar clientele and "a tiny orchestra consisting of a piano and a violin, playing soothingly sentimental and langorous airs. . . . [S]ome chat, hand in hand, of inconsequential things; others touch, caress and look longingly at each other. There are men of all ages" (673). Got then goes to the Eros Theatre (first opened in 1921) to see an adaptation of Marlowe's *Edward II* and a play by Sudermann called *Friend* (*Freundin*) about a woman who leaves home and child for another woman. Got is astonished by the diversity of cabarets, restaurants, and branches of the Friendship Association scattered throughout Germany, many with clubhouses sponsoring dances and other social activities. By the mid-1920s, more than 30 journals had come out, one of which, *Die Insel,* reached a circulation of 150,000 in 1930.

Some 14 bars and clubs for lesbians flourished in Berlin during the 1920s. With the mainstream women's movement firmly entrenched in naturalist and essentialist doctrines about femininity, no opportunity arose for the theorization of lesbianism as a general women's issue and none of the alliances of lesbian liberation with feminism that emerged in the 1970s became possible in the 1920s. Lesbian organizations remained closely aligned with gay male forms throughout the Weimar Republic, with social clubs typically meeting in the same clubhouses and journals printed on the same presses as their male counterparts (Kokula 1984).

At the close of the 1920s, the movement's long struggle for law reform seemed ready to bear fruit. Kurt Hiller drew together the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, the Institute for Sex Research, the Bund für Menschenrecht, Bund für Mutterschutz, and three other nongay sex reform groups into a Coalition for Reform of the Sexual Crimes Code (Kartell für Reform des Sexualstrafrechts), which called for equality for women, liberalization of marriage laws, distribution of contraceptives, abortion reform, and abolition of illegitimacy. It also sought to overturn Paragraph 175, and in 1929, in a close vote, a Reichstag committee approved a penal reform bill that would at last drop the infamous paragraph from German law (Kokula 1984, 83, 85; Baumgardt 1984). But, in fact, the work of the early gay movement was soon to be so thoroughly obliterated that few would remember that it had existed at all. Gay people were to suffer a systematic campaign of intimidation, harassment, and ultimately genocide. For consideration of this era, we must turn to an account of the Holocaust—but first, let us look at contemporary developments elsewhere.

France

> Love alone matters and not the sex to which it is dedicated.
>
> —Natalie Barney, "L'Amour défendu," in *Traits et portraits*

> Love is to be reinvented.
>
> —Jean Cocteau, *Le Livre blanc*

Though Germany was unique in its development of a sustained gay political movement before World War II, France merits attention for the artists and writers who reflected on the meanings of their homosexuality during the same period. In the words of Gilles Barbedette and Michel Carassou (1981), "Unlike the German homosexual movement created by "men of science," it is undeniable that homosexuals in France felt their first hours of freedom when men and women of letters set out to write on the subject, thereby partly thwarting the psychiatric trap which sought to contain homosexuality" (102; translation). Between the Commune and World War II, Paris was a cultural mecca for both native and expatriate artists, becoming a cru-

cible for such creative trends as impressionist and surrealist art, the ballet, and the shaping of the modern novel. Homosexuality is relevant to this cultural florescence in two ways: (1) among the creative circles were social networks formed and held together by their participants' shared fate as homosexuals, and (2) as homosexuality became an element in bringing about particular combinations of personalities, these circles, in turn, began to reflect on their experiences of being homosexual. These thoughts on homosexual experience in repressive societies set forth conceptions that still influence modern understandings.

If we step back to compare the political economies of Germany and France in this era, it is clear that French culture emerged from a very different set of social forces. Unlike the German experience, the 1789 French Revolution had swept away (in Karl Marx's words) "all manner of medieval rubbish," thereby incapacitating the feudal classes that in Germany exercised power for so long. The nineteenth-century partial restoration of empire in France suffered further defeats in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, when the reigning prince fled with his supporters, leaving Paris in the hands of its workers. In their hour of freedom, the workers declared the short-lived Commune. The Dreyfus case at the turn of the century further marked a symbolic victory for republicans and liberals over the church and aristocracy.

By the first decades of the twentieth century, then, France was at the forefront of European nations in the fragmentation of traditional coalitions and, thus, in many respects was among the most "modern." The result of this was a "weak" state, decried by some historians, but good news for the grass-roots who took advantage of the new freedoms to invent and imagine. As Gertrude Stein (1940) remarked, in her inimitable style, of French tolerance:

> It is not civilised to want other people to believe what you believe because the essence of being civilised is to possess yourself as you are, and if you possess yourself as you are you of course cannot possess any one else, it is not your business. It is because of this element of civilisation that Paris has always been the home of all foreign artists, they are friendly, the French, they surround you with a civilised atmosphere and they leave you inside of you completely to yourself. (56–57)

Everyone had their enclaves and balls: students, underworld gangs, Arabs and blacks, sailors and servants (Brassaï 1976). Gay people were no exception with a world of "disreputable bars, high-society

bars, dance halls, drag balls, night clubs, and music hall promenades" (Barbedette and Carassou 1981, 15). Best known of these was the famed Magic City transvestite ball, a glamorous and outrageous celebration akin to Mardi Gras. Lesbian nightclubs and restaurants are reported at least as early as 1881 (Altman 1982, 7), and three were well established in the 1920s. One of them, Le Monocle, like Magic City, specialized in the transvestite style. Says André du Dognon, "It was the epoque of 'sacred monsters.' . . . We were sort of princesses condemned to the sidewalk" (Barbedette and Carassou 1981, 60).[5]

Parisian life attracted such refugees as Oscar Wilde, following his release from prison, and Sergei Diaghilev, dismissed from the Imperial Theatre of Russia owing to artistic rivalries and gossip campaigns around his homosexuality. It was on French soil—free of the absolutist Russian state—that Diaghilev organized the Ballets Russes with the assistance of French artists and musicians. Though analysis of the complexities of the financial and artistic creation of the Ballets Russes falls outside the scope of this book, suffice it to note the existence of a homosexual "strand" in the process of cultural production. Igor Stravinsky's characterization of "Diaghilev's entourage—[as] a kind of homosexual Swiss Guard" cannot be ignored when considering the relation of the ballet to its Parisian milieu, nor can the fact that the major dancers and choreographers, who shaped much of the Ballets Russes repertoire, themselves matured artistically as Diaghilev's lovers.[6]

Much of French artistic life was as gregarious as Paris street life with its literary salons and cafés. Though much history is typified as the actions of handfuls of great individuals, cultural production is not simply the work of lone geniuses but the outcome of fruitful collaborations, whether explicit or implicit, that are nurtured by a complex of favorable conditions.

Most remarkable of the salons was that of Natalie Barney, a charismatic American heiress who so inspired a generation of artists that she appears as a character in many books and was the object of published love poetry and epigrams and a subject for portraitists. Most of Paris's literary elite passed through Barney's salon and some, as her friends and lovers, generated early reflections on the new lesbian. Barney's circle, composed largely of independent, creative women, moved beyond the "romantic friendship" model of the nineteenth century toward explicitly "lesbian" definitions of women's relationships. Out of Barney's early affair with Liane de Pougy came a volume of love

poems, *Quelques Portraits—Sonnets de Femmes,* in 1900, and Pougy published *Idylle saphique* in 1907 (Wickes 1976, 40ff). Her 10-year intermittent love affair with Renée Vivien included pilgrimages to the Greek island of Lesbos, and her weekly soirées (with a Greek *Temple à l'amitié* amidst the garden) paid homage to Sappho in poetry readings and impromptu dramas. Vivien, in turn, dreamed of Lesbos as "a great unknown imaginary territory" in which to inscribe a women's space and genealogy (Blankley 1984).

Lillian Faderman (1981) takes exception to the lesbian discourse produced by the Barney circle (268). Notions of the "Sapphic" or "lesbian" were in circulation as early as the period leading up to the French Revolution, and they were revived in the nineteenth century by such male authors as Balzac and Baudelaire.[7] The influence of this so-called aesthetic-decadent tradition is clear in the writing of many of the texts of Barney and her friends. It is a sensibility not far removed from Catholic orthodoxy in its use of lesbianism as a sign of morbidity and exoticism. Certainly Renée Vivien's domestic arrangements could have been lifted from the pages of Baudelaire, with their "odor of incense, of flowers, of overripe apples." Colette remarked, "Nothing could dispel the uneasiness engendered by the strangeness of the place, bound to astonish a guest, the semi-darkness, the exotic foods on plates of jade, vermeil, or Chinese porcelain, foods that had come from countries too far away." Barney's gifts to her of "jades, enamels, lacquers, fabrics . . . ancient Persian gold coins . . . glass cabinets of exotic butterflies . . . a colossal Buddha" show similar inspiration (Wickes 1975, 91–93). The literary connections with the decadents are direct enough with Pierre Louys, author of *Les Chansons de Bilitis,* often featured at Barney's gatherings.

Still, the revaluation of these inherited symbols cannot be ignored. Though Faderman (1981) excoriates Baudelaire's Victorian "childish wallowing in the deliciousness of 'sin'" (269), the thrust of the aesthetic initiative is decidedly two-edged. Whether it was Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley or Renée Vivien and Djuna Barnes, the writers of this era reconstituted the symbols of lesbian and gay worlds provided to them by luxuriating in and affirming their specialness. In delighting, with Aleister Crowley, in "evil," this romance with things "wicked" ultimately negated the received dogma that labeled them "sinful" in the first place—an insight not lost on readers of the period.

Despite the liberalism of French society, lesbian writing was nevertheless accomplished against a number of more conservative trends of

the published word. The French medical profession, like its counterparts in Germany and the United States, occupied itself with "the homosexual" as it might with a peculiar insect, "scientifically" classifying and dissecting him or her for public inspection. Medical textbooks appeared with "just-so" stories about "pederasts" designed to intimidate the unwary with depictions of "perverts" heading toward a bad end (Hahn 1979; Bonnet 1981, 90)—a tradition not much changed in postwar academic texts (Adam 1978, 32; Adam 1986; Norton and Crew 1974, 274). Popular novels of the day consigned homosexual characters to the obligatory "final solution" of suicide or some other untimely death (Barbedette and Carassou 1981, 107; Adam 1978, 30–34). This feudal ideology dressed up as medicine or biography had its practical counterpart in harassment by police, who would seize gay men cruising in the Tuileries or dancing at the Bal de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève (Hahn 1979; Brassaï 1976). It is against this backdrop that we must understand the pioneering efforts of those like Natalie Barney, who published her *Pensées d'une Amazone* in 1920, consolidating her reputation as the "matron saint of Lesbos" (Wickes 1976, 171). *Pensées* reflects the issues of the day with its references to Whitman, Ulrichs, and Symonds and its defense of Oscar Wilde. Natalie Barney was the model for Valerie Seymour in Radclyffe Hall's 1928 novel, *The Well of Loneliness.* She is described as "placid and self-assured, [she] created an atmosphere of courage: everyone felt very normal and brave when they gathered together at Valerie Seymour's. There she was, this charming and cultured woman, a kind of lighthouse in a storm-swept ocean" (Wickes 1976, 177).

Marcel Proust's *Sodome et Gomorrhe* appeared in 1921, the fourth volume of his monumental *A la recherche du temps perdu.* Proust's work is most notable in its presentation of a topic generally shielded from public view. As one unsympathetic observer of the Parisian scene remarked, "The publication of the first part of *Sodome et Gomorrhe* was like the staking out of new ground by an adventurous colonist" (Huddleston 1928, 273). Still, *Sodome et Gomorrhe* was deeply marked by the medical ideologies and Germanic theories of its time. Proust's portrayal of the gay world shows profound ambivalence in its willingness to embrace "illness" metaphors, its reliance on the third-sex theory, and its assumption of a number of stereotypes linking homosexuality with conspiracy, neurosis, and effeminacy (Rivers 1983). Much of Proust's view was colored by his experiences at the salon of the Count Robert de Montesquiou, "a great dandy and aes-

thete who entertained on a lavish scale, organizing elaborate parties in his Pavilion of the Muses, presenting dances from the Ballet Russe, the music of Debussy, or the poetry of Mallarmé and Verlaine read by the stars of the Comédie-Française" (Wickes 1976, 106). This, with Proust's juggling of his character's genders, provoked disdain in Natalie Barney (112), and André Gide found the book a "dissimulation, a desire to protect himself, a camouflage of the cleverest sort" (Rivers 1983, 155). What is modern in Proust is his depiction of homosexuality not as a few isolated individuals but as a social world. The gender-inscribed discourse of the third-sex idea ruptures in the face of these first descriptions of everyday gay encounters. Homosexuals become "a race accursed, persecuted like Israel, and finally, like Israel, under a mass opprobrium of undeserved abhorrence, taking on mass characteristics, the physiognomy of a nation" (Proust 1963, 276). "They form in every land an Oriental colony" in diaspora from Sodom, which leads Proust in pursuit of his analogy to Israel to imagine (but discount) a new Sodomite nation.

It is no doubt partly in response to *Sodome et Gomorrhe* that André Gide published *Corydon* in 1922. It had been written 11 years earlier, but like so many other gay texts of the day, such as E. M. Forster's *Maurice* or Gertrude Stein's *O.E.D.,* it languished in a drawer to await a more progressive era. Like many other gay people, Gide undertook the personal odyssey of coming out over a number of years, discovering Whitman in the 1890s (Rhodes 1940, 156) and wrestling with a religious upbringing. Unlike the heterosexual script, which equates the discovery of sexuality with loss of innocence, Gide abandoned the torment of asceticism to find innocence through sexual encounters with Arab youths, regretting only "the irretrievable years wasted with sanctity" (Mann 1948, 53). *Corydon,* too, opens with Whitman and a call for "someone who would lead the attack" against "the thick evil of lies, conventions and hypocrisy" surrounding the topic of homosexuality (1950, xiv, 10). With Symonds, Gide dissents from the gender logic of the third-sex idea and, perceiving the enemy to be medical moralism, presents a lengthy set of ethological findings to contradict assumed notions about the "natural." *Corydon* closes with the noble image of the Theban army of lovers honored in the Greek tradition. When questioned by a reporter following his winning of the Noble Prize for literature, Gide insisted that *Corydon* was his "most important" book, knowing well that the prize had come in spite of it (xii).

Gide was very much a topic of conversation in 1924 when *Inversions,* the first French gay journal, was issued. It published five numbers before being shut down by the police as an "outrage to good morals." Founded by Gustave-Léon Beyria, an office worker, Gaston Lestrade, a postal worker, and Alfred Zahnd, a Swiss carpetmaker, *Inversions* made this appeal in its opening statement: "We wish to cry out to inverts that they are normal, healthy beings, that they have the right to live their lives fully, that they owe nothing to a morality created by heterosexuals" (Barbedette and Carassou 1981, 170; my translation).

Inversions was very much aware of the German movement, printing translations of Ulrichs and Hirschfeld. It addressed the trial of Oscar Wilde, the formulation of the Napoleonic Code, the Greeks, the "great" homosexuals of history, even zoology. After the police raid ended *Inversions,* it was revived as *L'Amitié,* but this too succumbed to state repression. Without the scientific legitimacy of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* or the cachet of elite literature, this potentially popular magazine aroused the anxiety of French officials who charged that it was a "cynical apology for pederasty, a systematic appeal to homosexual passions and an incessant provocation to the most unhealthy curiosities" (Barbedette and Carassou 1981, 272). With eugenic ideas circulating under the sponsorship of the Catholic Right, the prosecution described *L'Amitié* in a closed trial in 1926 as "propaganda liable to compromise the future of the race with its neo-Malthusian tendencies." The outcome was 10 months in prison for Beyria and six for Lestrade.

Prewar France, then, offered a unique social milieu for the exploration of cultural identities. Jean Cocteau's motto, "What the public reproaches you for, cultivate! It's you," was adopted by many. And yet a comparison of France and Germany yields several ironies. Despite (or perhaps because of) their authoritarian state, Germans organized a public gay and lesbian movement before 1918, whereas the relatively liberal political climate of France nurtured no equivalent. The comparatively public openness of German gay and lesbian life contrasted with the apparent social conservatism of France, where gay political thought was displaced into literature. When Cocteau (1958) published his erotic confessions in *Le Livre blanc* in 1928, it appeared anonymously despite its closing line, "But I'm not willing just to be tolerated. That wounds my love of love and of liberty" (88). Even in Paris, the

expression of same-sex love had to resort to masks and subterfuges in the face of the heterosexist hegemony.

England

> Wickedness is a myth invented by good people to account for the curious attractiveness of others.
>
> —Oscar Wilde, *Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young*

> A map of the world that does not include utopia is not worth even glancing at.
>
> —Oscar Wilde, *The Soul of Man under Socialism*

In the 50 years before World War II, gay networks in England as on the Continent developed an increasingly public literature. All of this resulted in a very cautious British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology, a public forum for homosexual issues, but no organized gay or lesbian movement. These tentative initiatives were undoubtedly marked by the 1895 trial of Oscar Wilde, which, as Jeffrey Weeks (1977) observes, "created a public image for the homosexual and a terrifying moral tale of the changes that trailed closely behind deviant behavior" (21).[8] The willingness of the British courts to condemn the nation's leading playwright to two years' hard labor created a symbolic victory for the "moral purity" forces of the day and chilled the coming-out process of the British gay world. The trial of Oscar Wilde was an act of labeling so widely publicized that few in the English-language world escaped its effects. It provided the stamp of legitimacy for the suppression of any public mention of same-sex love and served as a warning to its adherents. In the year following the trial, Edward Carpenter's *Love's Coming of Age,* which contained a chapter on "Homogenic love," and Havelock Ellis's volume on "sexual inversion" both lost their publishers. Carpenter's book eventually appeared with the small socialist Labour Press, and Ellis's was published in Germany.

Still, the trial of Oscar Wilde was not an isolated occurrence but the culmination of decades of contending political forces in Victorian England. Although none of the mid-nineteenth-century movements

aimed to persecute gay people—indeed, few identified homosexuality as an issue at all—an unlikely mix of physicians, middle-class moralists, and established policymakers produced a legislative compromise that caught homosexuals in its net. As physicians campaigned to make medicine their professional monopoly, they battled midwives, abortionists, and other folk practitioners to extend their professional "expertise" over a new range of unregulated human behavior. Among these "newfound lands" was sexuality, and medical texts spread a veritable hysteria through the 1880s about the "dangers" of masturbation that resulted in fiendish machines to prevent children from indulging in the "evil deed" and surveillance systems in families and hospitals to stamp it out. Soon enough, homosexuality was colonized as yet another widespread phenomenon that could be cultivated as a "disease" requiring medical intervention (Neuman 1975, 1; Gilbert 1975, 217; Parsons 1977, 55).

As well, protests raised by the women's movement against the compulsory testing of suspected prostitutes for venereal disease ultimately contributed to legislation that raised the age of consent for all sexual activities and extended police surveillance over prostitution. Judith Walkowitz (1980) remarks, "Begun as a libertarian struggle against the state sanction of male vice, the repeal campaign helped to spawn a hydra-headed assault against sexual deviation of all kinds. The struggle against state regulation evolved into a movement that used the instruments of state for repressive purposes" (1; see also Walkowitz 1983). It was an amendment to this parliamentary bill on prostitution that in 1885 recriminalized male homosexuality (the medieval sodomy law having fallen into disuse).[9]

The "purity" campaign went on to win new laws suppressing the distribution of contraceptive information; then in 1889, the Indecent Advertisements Act banned publicity for VD remedies. An 1898 law prescribed flogging for "soliciting for immoral purposes," a penalty imposed primarily on homosexual propositioning (Bristow 1977, 126, 193, 204).

The roots of antihomosexual repression in England show significant differences from Germany. With its aristocratic classes long since politically neutralized, this legislative wave was no feudal remnant but rather a modern development that required the assent of England's ruling classes, now capitalist. It was only in the nineteenth century, with the growth of state bureaucracies, that governments became able to supervise the masses through the extension of compulsory educa-

tion, the expansion of the penal system, the development of military conscription, and the implementation of censuses. The creation of population and family policies became possible on this foundation, and with national statistics at their disposal, Malthusian and eugenic ideas came into their own. The intrusion of the capitalist state into the private familial and sexual realms proved functional to a system that needed a high birthrate (though eugenicists at times feared the proliferation of the "wrong kinds" of people). The prohibition of "irregular," nonreproductive sexuality and the promotion of reproduction came about at a time when the rapidly expanding capitalist economy required an immense labor supply. Indeed, an oversupply of workers would ensure the lowest possible wage rates. To sustain the socioeconomic configuration most favorable to the capitalist class, the least desirable outcome would have been a scarcity of labor, which would force employers to compete against each other by raising wages.

Through the nineteenth century the demand for reproduction was reflected in increasing state regulation of family life. The Factory Acts of the 1840s moved women out of wage labor; common-law marriages were forced into legal straitjackets; and medical and "helping" professionals developed to supervise family stability. Women increasingly were redefined as mothers and wives incapable of performing wage labor (see esp. Weeks 1981; Donzelot 1979). Humanitarian legislation to protect women and children from the degradations of factory work helped revalue women's *reproduction of* laborers over their *production as* laborers. As employment was withdrawn from women, they necessarily became more dependent on men and thus possessed fewer options in determining their own lives. Lesbianism as an alternative to the nuclear family (and as opposed to "romantic friendship") became an even more remote possibility, and male homosexuality fell under the baleful eye of the state and its agents.

Though Oscar Wilde is best known today for his apparently frivolous drawing-room comedies, his epigrams and sly observations flow from deeper sources. His mauling of upper-class pretense came from a viewpoint shaped by his mother's Irish nationalism, his own utopian socialism, and his love of young men. His marginality as an Irishman and homosexual no doubt contributed to his aesthetic and socialist protest against bourgeois meanness and vulgarity.

Wilde's 1890 essay, *The Soul of Man under Socialism,* contains this prescient line: "As one reads history . . . one is absolutely sick-

ened, not by the crimes that the wicked have committed, but by the punishments that the good have inflicted" (1973, 1087–88). When sentence was pronounced against him in 1895, Mr. Justice Wills could scarcely contain his righteous indignation, stating, "It is the worst case I have ever tried," and naming Wilde as "the centre of a circle of extensive corruption of the most hideous kind among young men" (Hyde 1948, 339). Wills's condemnation of Wilde as a "corruptor of youth" recalls the classical parallel of the trial of Socrates, and Wilde's now famous defense consciously invoked Greek ideals. When asked by the crown prosecutor about the "love that dare not speak its name," a line drawn from a poem written by his lover, Lord Alfred Douglas, Wilde replied,

> It is such a great affection of an elder for a younger man as there was between David and Jonathan, such as Plato made the very basis of his philosophy, and such as you find in the sonnets of Michelangelo and Shakespeare. It is that deep, spiritual affection that is as pure as it is perfect. . . . It is in this century misunderstood, so much misunderstood that it may be described as the "Love that dare not speak its name," and on account of it I am placed where I am now. It is beautiful, it is fine, it is the noblest form of affection. There is nothing unnatural about it. (Hyde 1948, 236)

But certainly the preeminent English thinker on homosexuality was Edward Carpenter. An active lecturer for socialist causes, Carpenter in his work shows the now familiar combination of progressive Victorian ideas on sexual issues: Ulrichs's third-sex theory, Whitman's democratic vistas, and the doctors' busy reprocessing of Christian moralism into scientific dogma. Carpenter was deeply uncomfortable with his Victorian milieu, rejecting its "commercialism, . . . cant in religion, . . . futility in social conventions, . . . denial of the human body, . . . class-division, . . . cruel barring of women from every natural and useful expression of their lives," and sexual hypocrisy (Rowbotham and Weeks 1977, 27). Carpenter delved into the alternatives to his society in his search for a place for "romantic comradeship," voyaging to the United States in 1877 and 1884 to see Whitman and to India in 1890 and joining English socialist movements to find refuge from bourgeois propriety (Tsuzuki 1980).

A chance meeting in a railway carriage led to a lifelong relationship with George Merrill in 1891, and their rural retreat attracted pilgrimages by reformers, bohemians, lesbians, and gay men inspired as much by the example of their life together as by Carpenter's work.

In *The Intermediate Sex* (1908) Carpenter mapped "homogenic love" onto the terrain of contemporary debates, sorting through distinctions between masculinity/femininity, body/soul, spiritual/sensual, and nature/nurture. German influence was clear in his association of Uranians with androgyny, characterizing males as having "gentle, emotional dispositions" and females as "fiery, active, bold and truthful" (27). He discounted Krafft-Ebing's morbidity theories, finding neuroses "the results rather than the causes of the inversion," but allowing for a distinction between congenital "born lovers of their own kind" and situational "confused" or curious inverts (55–62). A denunciation of "self-abuse" and "sensuality" in youth owed much to the medical viewpoint. Carpenter strained to recontextualize "comrade attachment" as an altruistic and spiritual sentiment and endorsed the Greek ideal of the "continent," "temperate," "even chaste" sublimation in "finer emotions," cautioning against "a too great latitude on the physical side" (34, 69–70). Carpenter envisioned a place for homosexuality in an ordered universe in terms of the heroic friendships of the ancients or Whitman's "fervid comradeship, . . . the counterbalance and offset of materialistic and vulgar American Democracy."

This spiritualization of "homogenic love" partook of the same strategy used by the nineteenth-century women's movement, which adopted "passionlessness" as an attribute to emancipate women from the temptress imagery of the Judeo-Christian tradition (Cott 1978, 219). It protested the relentless sexualization of the world finally accomplished in the post-Freudian period; today Carpenter's very rich set of names for same-sex bonding has given way to the triumph of "homo*sexuality*," which reduces lesbians and gay men to the meeting of body parts. Carpenter's work is a final plea for a more whole understanding of same-sex love. His historical and anthropological anthologies revolve around "romantic friendship" and "comrade attachment," not orifice and orgasm (Carpenter 1982, 1975).

Carpenter's work is a proposal for a full-blooded concept of friendship and a protest against the emotionless, "tough" masculinity that was coming to the fore. The booming nineteenth-century capitalist system created a labor market that pitted man against man to exhibit the requisite personality types. Masculinity was reconstituted to reflect the machine to which the worker had to adapt. The industrial economy sought to discipline and regularize workers as steady, reliable, emotionless, hard, and instrumental. Even the fashion system showed the revaluation of male purpose, as the flamboyance of the

aristocracy gave way to the "fastidious austerity" of the businessman and sober practicality of the male worker (Ewen and Ewen 1982, 132). Homosexual friendship as a form of male tenderness and avenue to male bonding became disvalued (or disvalued again) by the logic of capitalist competition as a "failure" betraying masculine "virtues" necessary for "success." Any male temptation to sexual exploration would be contained by the monogamous family. A dependent wife and children ensured that men would be "good" workers who would not risk unemployment through industrial rebellion (Horkheimer 1972, 120; Rapp 1978, 286).

At the same time, Carpenter's caginess about sexuality participated in the "denial of the human body" he longed to escape, but his reticence ought to be assessed in light of the conspiracy of silence instituted in the wake of the Wilde trials. Even his own books fell under the ban. In a 1911 visit to the British Museum, Carpenter found that *The Intermediate Sex* was not listed in the library's card catalog. It took two years of pressure to convince the library to acknowledge the book's existence to its borrowers (Weeks 1977, 117–19).

When one of Carpenter's admirers, Laurence Housman, pulled together a small network of gay professional men in the Order of Chaeronea, it made no attempt at public education but met clandestinely (Weeks 1977, 122–27). After Magnus Hirschfeld addressed the International Medical Congress in London in 1913, however, the network became the nucleus for the new British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology. Carpenter became its first president in 1914.

The society sponsored public lectures and produced pamphlets throughout the 1920s, publishing among others Stella Browne's *Sexual Variety and Variability among Women,* Havelock Ellis's *The Erotic Rights of Women,* Edward Westermarck's *The Origin of Sexual Modesty,* Laurence Housman's *The Relation of Fellow-Feeling to Sex,* and Edward Carpenter's *Some Friends of Walt Whitman* (Weeks 1977, 134). The society attracted such distinguished members as George Bernard Shaw and E. M. Forster, the communist publicists Maurice Eden and Cedar Paul, and Oscar Wilde's son, Vyvyan Holland. It also maintained links with Bertrand Russell and Magnus Hirschfeld, as well as the American birth control advocate Margaret Sanger, Soviet feminist Alexandra Kollontai, and writer Radclyffe Hall.

Carpenter (1982) looked with hope to the women's movement, seeing it as an advocate of egalitarian marriage ("a true comradeship between man and woman") and a herald of romantic comradeship for

same-sex pairs (39). As women asserted increasing power over their lives through the women's movement, he looked forward to "a marked development of the homogenic passion among the female sex" (Carpenter 1908, 77–78).

The irony of the Victorian mapping of intimacy, which opposed male carnality to female purity, however, was that same-sex bonds took on radically different meanings. It was an attitude expressed in Gertrude Stein's characterization (if Hemingway's account of it is to be believed) of male homosexual acts as "ugly and repugnant," whereas "in women it is the opposite. They do nothing that they are disgusted by and nothing that is repulsive and afterwards they are happy and they can lead happy lives together."[10] This interpretation allowed "romantic friends" to participate in the Victorian women's movement, which occupied itself with "morality" legislation, antiprostitution campaigns, and temperance along with right-to-work and right-to-vote issues. The Labouchere Amendment (which recriminalized male homosexuality) by being tacked onto an antiprostitution bill thereby ranged male and female "homosexuality" (to use a too modern word) at opposite ends of a moral spectrum.

Nancy Sahli and Lillian Faderman use the language of a "fall" from "innocence" to contrast the idyllic, prestigmatized ties between Victorian women to the carnalized and perverse lesbian, a transition occurring in the early years of the twentieth century (Sahli 1979, 17; Faderman 1981, 241). Without denying the role of the sexologists and novelists who helped recategorize lesbians with gay men, it is important not to forget the changing political economy of the era. It is only because of the powerlessness of Victorian women that patriarchal authorities could afford to trivialize women's relationships and tolerate them as not very serious. It is when women first began to achieve financial independence in wage labor that romantic friends could divest themselves of the constraints of marriage and heterosexuality (see Ferguson 1981, 11). And it was at this moment, when women threatened to escape male control, that lesbianism crystallized as a suppressed and reviled identity.

First steps toward articulating a lesbian identity are scattered references made by Edith Lees (married to Havelock Ellis) and by Stella Browne, a birth control and abortion law reformer, who implicitly linked lesbian emancipation to the principle of the right to control one's own body. In "Sexual Variety and Variability," Browne (1977) remarks that "many women of quite normally directed (heterosexual)

inclinations realise in mature life, when they have experienced passion, that the devoted admiration and friendship they felt for certain girl friends had a real, though perfectly unconscious spark of desire in its exaltation and intensity" (102–103).

Most significant of all was the 1928 publication of Radclyffe Hall's *Well of Loneliness,* a tortured polemic for the "merciful toleration" of the "pitiful plight of inverts" (Faderman 1981, 320, 467). The presentation of lesbianism as a "painful anomaly" (Weeks 1977, 110; see Ruehl 1982) caused Romaine Brooks (Natalie Barney's lover) to remark that it was a "ridiculous book, trite, superficial" (Faderman 1981, 322). Despite its highly ambivalent approach, *The Well of Loneliness* was, in a rerun of British history, abandoned by its publisher and subsequently printed in Paris. When imported to Britain, it was seized by customs and forced through an obscenity trial where the courts convicted it of not having "stigmatised this relationship as being in any way blameworthy" (Weeks 1977, 109). This time the British mania for silence subverted itself as an instrument to suppress the book and generated such international publicity that *The Well of Loneliness* became the best-known English-language book with a lesbian theme of its generation. And simply by breaking the silence about lesbianism, it gave hope to thousands by daring to portray an independent relationship between women as viable and right.

United States

> We stand in the middle of an uncharted, uninhabited country. That there have been other unions like ours is obvious, but we are unable to draw on their experience. We must create everything for ourselves. And creation is never easy.
>
> —F. O. Matthiessen, in a letter to his lover, Russell Cheney, 1925 (Hyde 1978, 71; Katz 1983, 415)

In the decades before World War II in the United States, medical definitions of homosexuality enjoyed a dominance unparalleled in Europe. Despite the supposed guarantee of freedom of speech in the U.S. Constitution, state and city governments suppressed the first gay and lesbian voices raised in arts and politics, thereby establishing medicine as the only approved dogma on homosexuality. Only the short-lived Chicago Society for Human Rights dared put forward the

question of civil rights for gay people, though abundant evidence points toward a well-developed gay underground in all the major cities. Edward Stevenson's 1908 *The Intersexes,* the first book of its kind by a gay American writer, identified social clubs and baths, cafés and restaurants, bars and music halls in such cities as New York, Boston, Washington, Chicago, New Orleans, St. Louis, San Francisco, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia (see Mayne 1975; Katz 1983, 326–30).

Jonathan Katz's remarkable documentary collections offer a wealth of insight into turn-of-the-century gay society through the eyes of writers, state commissions, doctors, and correspondents with the German movement. The 1911 report of the Chicago Vice Commission scarcely conceals its astonishment on finding

> whole groups and colonies of these men who are sex perverts, but who do not fall in the hands of the police on account of their practices, and who are now known in their true character to any extent by physicians. . . . It appears that in this community there is a large number of men who are thoroughly gregarious in habit; who mostly affect the carriage, mannerisms, and speech of women; . . . they have a vocabulary and signs of recognition of their own. (Burnham 1973, 47; Katz 1983, 335)

Nor was American gay society the preserve of only men or white people. Though the literary evidence suggests that romantic friendships among women were common until World War I and beyond (Faderman 1981, 298), lesbians, too, were known in the largely male bar circuits of New York (Katz 1983, 218–19). Racial segregation ironically opened the way for the artistic expression of homosexual experience. While gay topics were being pushed out of white theaters in the 1920s, "race records" (ignored or misunderstood by white authorities) included Ma Rainey's renditions of "Sissy Man Blues," "B[ull] D[yke] Woman's Blues," and "Fairy Blues" (Katz 1983, 443). Bessie Smith's participation in Detroit's "buffet flats" (underground bars), Claude McKay's observations of "the dark dandies loving up their pansies" in Harlem bars, and Richard Bruce Nugent's 1926 essay, "Smoke, Lilies, and Jade," in the short-lived literary journal, *Fire!,* leave little doubt about organized gay life among black Americans (Katz 1976, 80; Katz 1983, 367, 443, 447; Christopher 1991, 16).

Meanwhile, public awareness of lesbians and gay men was limited to occasional lurid newspaper articles linking "sex perverts" to murder and other crimes and to the advice of "experts" warning against mas-

turbation and "darker" evils. Medical journals published case studies of unrelieved misery—sad tales designed to frighten anyone who dared fall in love with a friend. An infrequent report would recognize that the social condemnation of homosexuality was the problem and not homosexuality itself (Katz 1976, 150), but the preponderance of medical attention was devoted to the armory of repression: castration, hypnosis, surgery, electroshock, drugs, and hormones (Katz 1976; Weinberg and Bell 1972).

As in England, the domination of American politics and economy by big business molded legal and moral norms after its own image. As Michel Foucault (1980) remarks, a regime of supervision and control was established to protect the means of production while it was in workers' hands through a "formidable layer of moralisation deposited on the nineteenth-century population" (41). Early industrialists showed no reluctance in examining the "moral lives" of workers and did not hesitate to dismiss those who violated Victorian ideals of sexual propriety.[11] In North America there were a number of instances of industrial towns founded, built, and governed by a single capitalist family who enforced moral standards. Antonio Gramsci (1971) argues, "The new industrialism wants monogamy; it wants the man as worker not to squander his nervous energies in the disorderly and stimulating pursuit of occasional sexual satisfaction. . . . The exaltation of passion cannot be reconciled with the timed movements of production, motions connected with the most perfected automatism" (302, 304–305; see Poster 1978, 169).

Industrial labor shaped men's experiences and organized a masculine ideology through which men were to understand and direct their lives. The repressive climate "inoculated" most men against homosexual activity and convinced them of its inutility. Competitiveness counteracted male bonding and the "team" absorbed intermale affection. Even the male gestural repertoire for affection needed to be dressed in the language of aggression: intermale touching could occur legitimately only as mock punches, slaps, and jabs.

No subordinated group that is victim of the same practices and information sources as the larger society can entirely escape the malevolent effect of so much indoctrination.[12] But even the most overwhelming propaganda system cannot completely convince people to ignore their own experiences, pleasures, and satisfactions when they seem so "natural, pure, and sound" (Katz 1976, 376).

And there were leaks in the American ideological umbrella, often provoked by European thought. Representatives of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee lectured in New York in 1906 and 1907, creating links between the German movement and gay Americans (Katz 1976, 381–82). Even more remarkable was Emma Goldman's inclusion of freedom for homosexuals among the anarchist issues for which she campaigned in her 1915 lecture tour across the United States. In an article written for the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* in 1923, Goldman acknowledged the influence of lesbians she met in prison as well as the writings of Hirschfeld, Carpenter, Ellis, and Krafft-Ebing on her awareness of antihomosexual oppression. Edith Lees also defended the sexually "abnormal" in a lecture tour of the United States in 1915, prompting Margaret Anderson to take her to task for understating the pain of those "tortured or crucified everyday for their love" (Katz 1983, 366). Anderson's *Little Review* continued to publish fiction about women-loving women into the 1920s even as the subject was falling under the pall of medical pathology (Faderman 1981, 308). Popular literature continued to reflect an unself-conscious celebration of female romantic friendship at least into the 1910s, but new trends were evident (Faderman 1981; see Simmons 1979). The potential of female relationships as alternatives to heterosexuality was put forward positively in Florence Converse's 1897 novel *Diana Victrix* but negatively in an 1898 Women's Christian Temperance Union advice book, *What a Young Woman Ought to Know,* which rejected women's friendships as "a sort of perversion, a sex mania" (Faderman 1981, 168; Katz 1976, 295). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a new vision of womanhood emerged among women "loving and living with other women, within the separatist environment of women's colleges, settlement houses, and reform organizations" (Smith-Rosenberg 1985, 256). This was a period of such notable romantic friendships as those between Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith, Jeannette Marks and Mary Woolley, Vida Scudder and Florence Converse, and M. Carey Thomas and Mamie Gwinn (Smith-Rosenberg 1985, 254). By World War I, however, these "new women" faced a disciplinary tide of official warnings against the danger of lesbianism (Faderman 1991, 50).

For women in North America as in England, the winning of access to paid work and to the vote were necessary prerequisites for self-determination. With the masses of women only beginning to filter into wage labor (and, at first, into subordinate and poorly paid positions),

the degree of financial independence needed to found one's own household and escape dependence on men was available to only a few.

The Society for Human Rights was the first formally organized gay movement group in the United States. Founded by an itinerant preacher and laundry, railway, and postal workers, the society was incorporated in Chicago on 10 December 1924. The inspiration for a gay rights group came from Henry Gerber, a German-American postal worker who had served with U.S. occupation forces in Germany from 1920 to 1923 and had been able to participate in the German movement at that time (Katz 1976, 385–89; Katz 1983, 554–61). The Society for Human Rights succeeded in putting out two issues of a (now lost) journal, *Friendship and Freedom,* and quickly contacted its counterparts in Europe. *L'Amitié* noted, "The first page of *Friendship and Freedom* is composed of an article on 'Self-control,' . . . a poem of Walt Whitman, and an essay, 'Green carnations,' on Oscar Wilde" (Barbedette and Carassou 1981, 263; my translation). The society came to a sudden end when the wife of one of the directors caught wind of it and called the police. Three directors were dragged through court, and the *Chicago Examiner* trumpeted, "Strange sex cult exposed." In Gerber's words, "We were up against a solid wall of ignorance, hypocrisy, meanness and corruption. The wall had won" (Katz 1976, 393).

The fate of the Chicago Society for Human Rights was no isolated incident. American democracy had long been compromised by an authoritarian underside. Governments had been quick to sweep away constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly when workers sought to organize themselves into unions during the late nineteenth century and when peace advocates questioned the reasons for the entry of the United States into World War I (Goldstein 1978). In 1919, urban riots broke out in Chicago and East St. Louis as black veterans returning from the war found unemployment and racism in the ghettos. Increasingly nervous about the recent Russian Revolution and about domestic political restiveness, the federal government plunged into the Red Scare of 1919–20, arresting thousands suspected of socialist or anarchist sympathies. Emma Goldman was among the deportees. Like British repression following on the heels of the French Revolution, American authorities sought to eliminate all signs of "disorder," including homosexuality. It was also in 1919 that investigation of homosexuality at the Newport (Rhode Island) Naval Training

Station resulted in the jailing of 16 sailors. An official committee, which reviewed the incident, found that a 41-man "pervert squad" had sought to entrap navy men and that "these boys not only permitted one [sexual] act to be performed upon them, but returned time after time to the same suspect and allowed a number of acts to be performed. . . . Not one boy declined the assignment," and several had received citations for their "interest and zeal in this work."[13] It was in this inauspicious climate that the first American gay civil rights group came into existence.

After his dismissal from the post office, Henry Gerber went on to become circulation manager for *Chanticleer,* where he wrote occasional progay articles and critically reviewed the maudlin gay-themed novels of the 1930s. In later correspondence with Manuel Boyfrank, he alternated between disillusionment and fantasies of a restored movement to fight the religious fanatics, blackmailers, psychiatrists, and "imperialist and fascist politicians who want a big population for cannon fodder" (Katz 1983, 558). In his words, "Capitalism, loyally supported by the churches, has established a Public Policy that the Sacred Institution of Monogamy must be enforced; and such a fiat is the deathknell to all sexual freedom" (Katz 1976, 394). (Gerber died in 1972 at the age of 80.)

When homosexual themes turned up in the movies, censors sliced Alla Nazimova's 1923 *Salomé* and Carl Dryer's *Mikael* (released in New York as *Chained, The Story of the Third Sex*) (Russo 1981, 22, 27). The staging of Edouard Bourdet's *The Captive* (which played unmolested in Paris) and Mae West's *The Drag* sparked police raids in 1927 and led to a toughened New York State censorship law that banned any reference to "sexual perversion" (Katz 1976, 87).

The Well of Loneliness endured another obscenity trial, this time in New York, but was ultimately acquitted by an appeals court. The establishment of the Motion Picture Code in 1930 assured ideological purity through self-censorship, introducing a new period of revisionist history. Thus, when *Mädchen in Uniform* opened in 1932, depictions of romantic friendships among schoolgirls were cut out. The lesbian *Queen Christina* of Sweden was married off to a Spanish ambassador in the 1933 film in violation of history, and the 1936 movie of Lillian Hellman's *Children's Hour* was completely rewritten to heterosexualize it (Russo 1981, 57, 63, 65). Through the 1930s, panics around child molesters and sexual criminals swept through the United States, uniting "media, citizen's groups, and law enforcement"

(Freedman 1989, 205) into pressure groups whose legacy was a series of "criminal sexual psychopath" laws. These laws allowed the courts to categorize a wide range of people, including homosexual men, as dangerous sexual offenders and to sentence them to lengthy—sometimes unlimited—terms in prison. It was not until the 1950s that lesbian and gay Americans tried again to break through the "conspiracy of silence."

Chapter Three

The Holocaust

> [Gay people] had their golden age a half century ago, a lost continent obliterated by the totalitarian bloodbath.
>
> —Guy Hocquenghem, *Race d'Ep!*

New Sources for Old Fears

The breaking up of feudal society organized around kin and hierarchy created a world with new possibilities, especially for traditionally oppressed classes: peasants and serfs, women, national minorities, and Jews. In this new world, "comrade attachment" between men and between women found new avenues for expression and new voices. But capitalism is no unitary phenomenon, and its development through the particular political makeup of different nations resulted in divergent conditions for the emergence of a gay people. Increasingly evident from the historical record is the fact that "homogenic love" faced difficulties that were not merely a question of overcoming older holdovers but hindrances stemming from modern sources (Adam 1985b).

Though the rise of capitalism opened new channels for homosexual expression, it also laid the groundwork for the reorganization and rejuvenation of older doctrines proscribing it. This unstable mix of ambivalent and contradictory trends presented little security to lesbians and

gay men whose social niches remained vulnerable to larger events beyond their control. In countries where feudal remnants, still smarting from recent defeats, combined with big business, particularly murderous coalitions came about to crush the gains of traditionally disenfranchised peoples. In countries where the state itself became the sole capitalist, there was no countervailing force to the imposition of particularly virulent forms of the productivist/reproductivist ideology.

To understand the changing prospects of the gay and lesbian movement, we cannot neglect the larger social milieu that provided both the resources for the emergence of a homosexual people and an impetus for other social classes to seek the destruction of the gay world. Nor can the postwar movement ignore the lessons of the Holocaust, where the early gay movement came to such a bitter end.

Stalinism

When the Russian Revolution succeeded in abolishing Europe's last absolute monarchy, all eyes turned toward the new social experiment in the East. In a single blow, an ancient autocracy had apparently given way to a popular democracy of workers' councils and peasant communes accompanied by sweeping reforms in family and sexual life. The new constitution mandated the legal equality of women, voluntary marriage and divorce, legalized contraception and abortion, state-supported day care, employment rights for women, and maternity leave provisions (Millett 1969, 168). Criminal penalties for adultery and homosexuality were dropped in favor of an official policy of withdrawing the state from the private realm. Soviet delegates to the World League for Sexual Reform reiterated the official position throughout the 1920s. In the words of Dr. Baktis's *The Sexual Revolution in Russia* (1925), "As for homosexuality, sodomy, and whatever other forms of sexuality that are considered as moral violations by European legal codes, Soviet law treats them just the same as so-called natural intercourse. All forms of intercourse are private matters" (22; my translation).

This clear-cut policy helped influence the leftward drift of the gay movement in Germany as the German Communist party assured gays in the 1928 election campaign that "there is no need to emphasize that we will continue to wage the most resolute struggle for the repeal of these laws [Paragraph 175] in the future" (Steakley 1975, 85). Wilhelm Reich's Sexpol movement became active within the party in 1930–31,

and Communist deputies supported repeal in parliamentary committees at this time.

The dream of a land with the freedom to love recurs frequently in gay writing. Whether in Melville's voyages to Polynesia, the flight of so many American writers to Paris, Isherwood in Berlin, or Gide in Algeria, many sought (and some found) countries where they could escape the antisexual suffocation of their homelands. The socialist critique of bourgeois morality promised as well to overcome the contemporary system that claimed liberty and equality for itself but instead appropriated them for the monied classes. That the Soviet Union raised such hopes in the 1920s cannot be surprising, and Gide among others became increasingly involved in the Communist movement (Mann 1948, 151). With high expectations, Gide went to Moscow in 1936 where he found not freedom but a new bureaucratic class upholding the Stalin personality cult and enforcing a rigid ideological conformity in the press, in art and music, and in family and sexual life (see Gide 1937).

What went wrong? The debates over the "betrayal" of the Russian Revolution continue unabated today, though few efforts have been made to explain the dramatic reversals of Soviet policy on the family and sexuality. What we do know is that grass-roots organizations gave way to a new dictatorial state that exerted unprecedented control over all of Russian life. As early as 1921, workers' councils were replaced by a central administration for directing economic production and distribution. By 1929, unions had lost "rights to participate in enterprise management and to bargain over wages and working conditions on behalf of their worker members" (Skocpol 1979, 219, 228); moreover, the nonparty press was choked off (Medvedev 1977, 205). The Communist state under Stalin's leadership embarked on a crash program to industrialize an essentially peasant society and to seize direct control of agricultural production from its peasant holders. The result, in Alvin Gouldner's (1980) words, was "a regime of terror aiming at the collectivization of property" conducted by an "urban-centered power elite that had set out to dominate a largely rural society to which they related as an alien colonial power" (214, 226). This war against the peasantry consolidated a centralized state that suppressed all opposition through a massive police and prison apparatus that knew no bounds in imagining enemies.

From 1933 to 1938 the terror encompassed the Communist party itself. Half of the party membership was arrested, and as Nikita

Khrushchev later revealed, 70 percent of the party's Central Committee was "arrested and shot": "Stalin killed and tortured more Communists than any other dictator in the twentieth century" (Gouldner 1980, 233, 256). Thus, Stalin and the Soviet state bureaucracy succeeded through the 1930s in eliminating most of the original revolutionaries and much of the socialist program: "Persons were jailed, shot or exiled not because of what they had done but because of their supposed readiness to do injury to Soviet society inferred on the basis of their social category: social origin, nationality or group membership" (Gouldner 1980, 234). Ironically, Stalin restored many of the characteristics of absolute monarchy in his personal dictatorship and persecution of traditional outgroups of Russian society: Jews, intellectuals, national minorities—and gay people.

According to John Lauritsen and David Thorstad (1974), "In January 1934, mass arrests of gays were carried out in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, and Odessa. Among those arrested were a great many actors, musicians, and other artists. They were accused of engaging in 'homosexual orgies,' and were sentenced to several years of imprisonment or exile in Siberia" (68; see also Hauer 1984). Homosexuality was recriminalized in 1934, punishable by a five-year prison sentence, and other social legislation was rolled back: abortion of first pregnancies was outlawed in 1936, and all abortions in 1944. Divorce became subject to fines, and common-law marriage lost legal recognition (Millett 1969, 172).

The 1991 fall of the Soviet regime opens new possibilities for recovering the history of gay and lesbian life in Russia, which until now has been concealed by the state. Mikhail Kuzmin's 1904 book, *Wings,* suggests the existence of an early gay intelligentsia in Russia similar to that found in the rest of Europe (see Karlinsky 1979). Hirschfeld (1975) includes Saint Petersburg among the European centers with a gay life in his 1905 book. Kuzmin's lover was among the victims of the terror, and "Kuzmin himself was reportedly on the list of those to be executed when he died in 1936" (Lauritsen and Thorstad 1974, 65).

Herbert Marcuse's (1961) analysis of Soviet Marxism suggests one explanation for the reactionary morality of Stalinism. As the Soviet state pressed for rapid industrialization, it installed the productivist/reproductivist ethic favored by Victorian capitalists, which similarly aimed to create an expanding labor supply and disciplined work force. The antihomosexual laws of the Stalinist period remain on the books until 1993, and the state monopoly of the commu-

nications media assured an almost unbroken silence on the subject. The full story of the Stalinist terror and gay people has yet to be told (but see Jong 1985).

Nazism

In 1933 the early gay movement came to an abrupt end. With the Nazi party in power, the German state made every effort to wipe away the restive, subordinated groups who agitated for their rightful places in German society. The Nazi machine crushed workers' and women's movements, Communists and socialists, peace activists and dissidents. With a racial ideology glorifying the "Aryan," it developed a network of concentration camps to contain and destroy "inferior" peoples: Jews, Slavs, gypsies, criminals, the disabled, Jehovah's Witnesses—and gay people. The Nazis wanted to roll back history to an earlier, supposedly more harmonious era of German greatness. To do so required the removal of the "abrasive" groups of the modern period. Ernst Röhm, leader of the Nazi party militia (the Sturmabteilung), characterized the ascendance of Nazism this way: "National Socialism signifies a spiritual rupture with the thinking of the French Revolution of 1789" (Gallo 1972, 36). Not only would the peoples released by the collapse of feudalism be driven out; even the memory of them would be extinguished. And, with the gay movement, they almost succeeded. Even after World War II, the early gay movement shrank to no more than a rumor and a hope for the mass of lesbians and gay men. A new generation grew up isolated from a cultural heritage that had embodied its experiences and possibilities.

Extreme conservative forces had always been forthright in their hatred of gay people. They had assaulted Hirschfeld in 1920, and in 1921 he was so badly beaten that some newspapers printed an obituary. With shifting government coalitions in the 1920s, censorship returned, and gay and lesbian journals were banned in 1926 and 1928. Anti-vice crusaders, some with roots in the Protestant church, called more stridently for the suppression of homosexuality.[1] The Nazi party had been unambiguous in its reply to Adolf Brand's survey of candidates for the 1928 election: "Anyone who even thinks of homosexual love is our enemy. We reject anything which emasculates our people and makes it a plaything for our enemies, for we know that life is a fight and it's madness to think that men will ever embrace fraternally" (Steakley 1975, 84).

Still, it seems that many in the gay movement—like so many others—did not take the Nazi threat seriously in the early days. Was not Ernst Röhm himself homosexual and a member of the Bund für Menschenrecht? Still even the Social Democrats, in a replay of 1907, could not resist baiting the Nazis with the charge of homosexuality in high places, thereby adopting the Nazi's own rhetoric by claiming that the "moral and physical health of German youth stands at risk" because of it (Stümke and Finkler 1981, 124). As the Gestapo closed the gay press in the first months of the Nazi regime, the final issues of gay journals were announcing upcoming dances and meetings, showing few signs of their impending fate.[2] Christopher Isherwood (1976) remarked, "Boy bars of every sort were being raided, now, and many were shut down" (124). (Isherwood subsequently fled Berlin for England.) On 27 February 1933, Max Hodann and Felix Halle of the Institute for Sex Research were arrested, and on 23 March Kurt Hiller, the leading organizer of the sex law reform coalition of the 1920s, was seized and imprisoned in the Oranienburg concentration camp. (Hiller was released after nine months and escaped to Prague and later London with Walter Schultz, a man he met in the Oranienburg camp who was to become his lover of 30 years.)

On the morning of 6 May 1933, a hundred Nazi students from a nearby school for physical education appeared at the doors of the Institute for Sex Research:

> They smashed the doors down and rushed into the building. They spent the morning pouring ink over carpets and manuscripts and loading their trucks with books from the Institute's library, including many which had nothing to do with sex: historical works, art journals, etc. . . . A few days after the raid, the seized books and papers were publicly burned along with a bust of Hirschfeld, on the square in front of the Opera House. (Isherwood 1976, 129)

Like the sacking of the ancient library at Alexandria, which blotted out a good deal of ancient culture from human history, the Nazis destroyed 12,000 books and 35,000 pictures (Steakley 1975, 105), burning much of the heritage of those who dared to love others of their own sex. Hirschfeld was already outside Germany and tried to start again in Paris, but he died in Nice on 15 May 1935. His lover, Kurt Giese, once a secretary at the institute, moved on to Prague, where he committed suicide in 1936 (Isherwood 1976, 129) in the face of a German invasion.

Switzerland became a sanctuary for other refugees from Nazism. Helene Stöcker, Anita Augspurg, and Lida Heymann, all veterans of Mutterschutz and the struggle to define a progressive women's movement, fled to Switzerland. Stöcker continued on to the United States. All three died in 1943 (Evans 1976, 264). Stefan George, the homoerotic poet, also took refuge in Switzerland, and *Der Kreis,* a publication founded in Zurich in 1932, became the only gay journal to survive the war (Hocquenghem 1979, 93; Bullough 1976, 664).

Just what elements of German society propelled the Nazi party to power remains a subject of scholarly debate. Most evidence points to a three-fold coalition. Among the early adherents of Nazism were followers of the old conservative political parties: the agrarian aristocracy (the Junkers), the military, the bureaucracy, and the church—in short, the old imperial establishment deposed at the end of World War I. The second major bloc of support came from major industrialists, who still remembered the 1918 revolution and saw Nazism as a bulwark against the popularity of socialism among German workers. When the Nazis did come to power, they assured a passive work force for the capitalist elite by abolishing or taking over trade unions and imprisoning the political Left. Third and more difficult to assess is the mass base of the Nazi movement. Strong suspicion has also been cast upon those elements of the German population who had lost status during the preceding decades because their jobs had disappeared owing to the advance of technology, competition from big business, or the inflation crisis of 1923–24. It was "the small peasant farmers, the independent artisans and the rest of the multifarious mass of individual tradesmen, petty entrepreneurs, salesmen and shopkeepers" (Sohn-Rethel 1978, 131) who were most attracted to the Nazi promise to restore a lost, more orderly and comfortable world.[3] This powerful reactionary coalition lashed out at all the symbols of the modern era that provoked in them such insecurity and resentment.

Nazism revived much of the ultraconservative ideology propagated by the prewar imperial court. Adolf Stöcker, the court preacher attached to the kaiser, had consistently denounced Jews, feminists, liberals, and gay people for creating the ills of German society throughout the imperial regime (Steakley 1975, 37). Now Himmler believed women's organizations to be "a catastrophe," which masculinized women, destroyed their charm, and led the way to gender-mixing and homosexuality (Vismar 1977, 314; my translation). Ironically, the Bund Deutsches Frauenverein, the major women's organization, was

already on record as "combating sexual libertarianism, pornography, abortion, venereal diseases, advertisements for contraceptives and the double standard" and could only vainly protest its solidarity with Nazism when it was dissolved in 1933 in favor of the Nazis' own *Frauenfront* (Evans 1976, 237, 254ff). In the 1930s, women were removed from government and the professions in accord with Nazi policy, which prescribed women's place as being among "children, church, and kitchen" (*Kinder, Kirche, Küche*), but women quietly resumed wage labor during the war years, as they did in the United States, in order to fill the labor shortage created as male workers went to battle (Evans 1976, 262; Millett 1969, 159–66).

For those who nourished illusions about Nazi intentions toward gay people, the Night of Long Knives was a grim awakening. On the weekend of 30 June through 1 July 1934, Hitler, Himmler, and Göring had several hundred political rivals murdered. Among them were the Strasser brothers, who had taken too seriously the "Socialist" claim of "National Socialism" by calling for implementation of such early elements of the Nazi program as abolition of incomes unearned through work, nationalization of trusts, and a ban on land speculation. Also executed where the holdouts from the old imperial regime who balked at the Nazi line. But the best-known victim was Ernst Röhm, who led a "vicious and quite popular struggle against the old order in general" and had dared to call for a "Second Revolution" against "reactionaries [and] bourgeois conformists" in April of 1934 (Gallo 1972, 37; Geyer 1984, 204).

When Adolf Hitler stood before the Reichstag two weeks after the Night of Long Knives, he denounced supposed international Communist and Jewish "conspiracies," Röhm's "plot" against the regime, and his "vice," claiming that some of Röhm's associates had been caught in bed with male lovers on that fateful weekend. Meanwhile, the Nazi press defamed Röhm's militia for its "homosexual cliques."

Nazi doctrine constructed homosexuality as an urban corruption and a disease alien to "healthy" village life but easily spread through seduction and propaganda. With a single-minded pronatalist policy aimed toward producing "Aryan" Germans, sterilization and extermination were reserved for subordinated peoples, including homosexuals. In 1934, Paragraph 175 was extended to include "a kiss, an embrace, even homosexual fantasies," and in 1936, Himmler reorganized the Gestapo to create a division responsible for ferreting out

political and religious dissidents, Freemasons, and homosexuals. In 1940, Himmler ordered that everyone completing a prison term under Paragraph 175 was to be sent to a concentration camp if they had had "more than one partner."[4]

Just how many gay people died at the hands of the Nazis will never be known. Concentration camp officials destroyed many of the records as the Allied armies marched into Germany, and other records held in East Germany remained closed until the reunification of Germany in 1990. From his examination of extant camp records Rüdiger Lautmann (1980–81) offers a conservative estimate of 5,000 to 15,000 camp inmates designated as homosexuals by a pink triangle. The Gestapo had a number of ready-made resources for locating gay people when Hitler became chancellor of Germany. One police district alone in Berlin had an accumulated list of 30,000 names of suspected homosexuals in its files. Some 50,000 people were convicted under Paragraph 175 during the Nazi period, and judicial files existed on many more convicted before 1933 (Steakley 1975, 110, 113; Herzer 1985; Stümke and Finkler 1981, 263–67). And certainly the many collaborators and sympathizers with Nazism were no more loath to turn in their homosexual neighbors than they were to hand over Jews and the many other victims of Nazi terror.

As Germany invaded other European countries, it cast its deadly net wider. The Nederlandsch Wetenschappelijk-Humanitair Kommittee, which had existed from 1911, fell in 1940, and bar raids took many more, a move welcomed by the Dutch Roman Catholic church, which had been campaigning for the suppression of gay people throughout the 1920s (Tielman 1982; Rogier 1969). Heinz Heger (1980) a 22-year-old Austrian student, was arrested in 1939 on the basis of an intercepted postcard he had addressed to his lover (19, 39). Those caught by the police network included "unskilled workers and shop assistants, skilled tradesmen and independent craftsmen, musicians and artists, professors and clergy, even aristocratic landowners" (Heger 1980, 9).

Camp prisoners were classified by a set of colored triangles: green for criminals, red for Communists, blue for emigrants, black for "asocials," purple for Jehovah's Witnesses, brown for gypsies, yellow for Jews, and pink for homosexuals (Lautmann 1980–81). Most camp observers agree that, despite the desperate conditions afflicting all prisoners, an internal hierarchy could be discerned. Greens and reds more often achieved easier jobs, supervisory positions, and thus better

diets, while brown, yellow, and pink triangles were subjected to disproportionate violence, hard labor, and starvation (Heger 1980, 32; Kogon 1976, 44). Heger (1980) recounts the relentless beatings and pointless labor experienced by pink-triangle inmates, being forced to stand naked in subzero weather, and dawn-to-dusk work moving snow with their bare hands from one side of a road to the other and then back again (35).[5] In Sachsenhausen, most homosexuals were included among laborers sent to the clay pits (for brick manufacture) in order to load and push rail carts. Supplied with a diet that fell below the daily minimum necessary for survival and subjected to Gestapo violence, homosexuals suffered an extremely high death rate. Lautmann, Grikschat, and Schmidt (1977) quote a survivor who observed, "The SS were glad if several 175ers were left on the road by evening. When in January 1943, the number of dead homosexuals at Klinker [clay pits] reached a total of 24 in a single day, commanding headquarters became somewhat disquieted. There followed a pause" (349; my translation). Comparison of the camp records of red-, purple-, and pink-triangle prisoners shows that the death rate for homosexuals was half again as high as for the other two categories (350).

Late in the war, Himmler toyed with the idea of "curing" homosexuals by forcing them to visit brothels. (Heger asked stand-ins to take his place.) Once, he ordered that homosexuals willing to be castrated would be released to fight at the Russian front (Heger 1980, 98). Tiring of this, the Gestapo subjected homosexuals and other prisoners to the notorious "medical experiments" conducted by physicians who mutilated, injected, burned, and froze prisoners to death in the name of science.

Rudolf Höss (1951), the commandant of Sachsenhausen and later of Auschwitz, wrote this observation in his diary: "Should one of these [pink triangles] lose his 'friend' through sickness, or perhaps death, then the end could be at once foreseen. Many would commit suicide. To such natures, in such circumstances, the 'friend' meant everything. There were many instances of 'friends' committing suicide together" (104–105).

Perhaps most ironic of all is what little effect the genocide of gay people had on homosexuality as a whole. Eugen Kogon (1976) observed that "homosexual practices were actually very widespread in the camps. The prisoners, however, ostracized only those whom the SS marked with the pink triangle" (43; see Heger 1980, 61). Heger could never quite understand why his persecutors would beat him for

being homosexual and then force him to commit homosexual acts with them (29). It was as if a great enough sacrifice to the altar of morality released them from its obligations (see Adam 1978, 69–77, 54–58). Whatever gods the Nazis served, the genocide of a generation of homosexuals, the extermination of gay thought, and the intense supervision of those who might be tempted to homosexuality were not enough to contain the human potential for same-sex love.

The Holocaust then effectively wiped away most of the early gay culture and its movement through systematic extermination and ideological control. Its legacy was a willful forgetting by both capitalist and communist elites who tacitly confirmed the Nazis' work by denying lesbians and gay men any public existence. The doctors, the bishops, and the police could now fully occupy the gay domain. A new generation awoke to homosexual feelings reviled as "sick," "sinful," and "criminal"; they could find one another and their tradition only at great personal cost. But unlike the third- and fourth-world peoples decimated or annihilated by European colonialism, lesbians and gay men emerged in undiminished numbers in new generations. Not reliant on biological reproduction, a gay and lesbian nation grew up again in the very heart of its enemies. No matter how fervent the hatred of judges or psychiatrists, politicians or business people, preachers or patriarchs, same-sex love appeared again among their own sons and daughters as it did in the rest of society.

Chapter Four

The Homophiles Start Over

The McCarthy Terror

When lesbians and gay men organized again after World War II, they faced a new range of repressive forces in Western Europe and North America. Though fascism was defeated in Germany, a reactionary coalition had mobilized in the United States, reaching its height in the early 1950s with the prosecutorial activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee. Though McCarthy's name has come to characterize the whole era, history is never made by a single individual or lone governmental committee. McCarthyism, like its reactionary predecessors, needed supporters in order to assert power. In the first postwar decade, capitalist and governmental elites deployed their forces to restore the prewar social order and hold off the forces of change. Wartime labor needs had overturned traditional pecking orders among ethnic groups, and families had been disrupted by the mobilization for war. National liberation movements in Asia and Africa were challenging Western domination. McCarthyism was simply the most visible aspect of a restorationist trend that was directly to affect lesbians and gay men.

As early as 1945, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce conducted an active anticommunist campaign. Deeply alarmed by Soviet power in Eastern Europe and later by the 1949 revolution in China, the cham-

ber's program directors drew together big businessmen, the Roman Catholic church hierarchy, federal agencies, and veterans' groups, all of whom held "an apocalyptic view of Communism and an unremitting zeal to defeat the Soviet Union and its American supporters" (Irons 1974, 79). The apparently growing popularity of the Communist party, with its program to expropriate the business class, appeared to be the most visible of the menacing changes occurring at home. Strong conservative sentiment often arises among groups of people who feel their standard of living is declining and who, consequently, look back in time toward images of a better world. Social research at the time revealed that McCarthyism appealed most to small businessmen (especially the less educated) and long-term Republican voters; both groups responded to the conservative call to preserve the "American way." As with earlier reactionary movements, McCarthyism drew on "a wistful nostalgia for a golden age of small farmers and businessmen and [was] also an expression of a strong resentment and hatred toward a world which makes no sense in terms of older ideas" (Trow 1958, 270; see Griffith 1974).

As the nation again prepared for war, this time to "stop communism" in Korea, the federal government set up loyalty commissions to examine any connections between government employees and suspected "subversives." The commissions scrutinized their personal lives for what they thought were "tell-tale" details: "communist associates," "un-American" magazines or books, affiliation with Henry Wallace's Progressive party—even "too great sociability with black people or unorthodox styles of dress" (Goldstein 1978, 299–303). When Wallace was trounced at the polls in 1948, even liberal organizations began to yield in the face of McCarthyite campaigns.[1] Congress responded with new laws to ban the Communist party and register members of "subversive" groups; blacklists were drawn up of persons to be seized in case of national emergency, and plans were made for concentration camps to contain them (Goldstein 1978; 322–24).

On the face of it, there is no reason homosexuality should have been mixed into the anticommunist furor of postwar America, but in McCarthyism as in other reactionary ideologies, psychosymbolic connections between gender and power assigned a place to homosexuality. For the authoritarian mind, male homosexuality signified the surrender of masculinity and the "slide" into "feminine" traits of weakness, duplicity, and seductiveness. As Leslie Fiedler (1954) remarks, "McCarthy touched up the villain he had half-found half-composed,

adding the connotations of wealth and effete culture to treachery, and topping all off with the suggestion of homosexuality. . . . The definition of the enemy is complete—opposite in all respects to the American Ideal, simple, straightforward, ungrammatical, loyal, and one-hundred-percent male" (77). Like the German militarists of the Weimar period or the British at the time of Napoleon, the McCarthyites drew together personal feelings of self-esteem expressed in terms of "manhood" with national self-esteem and belligerence. Working within a gender discourse that associated maleness with toughness and effectiveness, in opposition to supposedly female weakness and failure, male homosexuality symbolized the betrayal of manhood—the feminine enemy within men.

A 1949 *Newsweek* article called "Queer People" had already named homosexuals as "sex murderers," echoing a consistent media theme identifying homosexuals as destroyers of society.[2] From there, it was but a small step to brand gay people as traitors and to call for their expulsion from public life (Adam 1978, 46–48).

In 1950, a series of incidents injected homosexuality into the rising anticommunist tide. With loyalty commissions so closely scrutinizing the personal lives of government workers, it is not entirely surprising that homosexuality should be turned up and labeled as one of the suspect behaviors. In March, the testimony of John Peurifoy of the State Department security program identified homosexuals as among the "security risks." In April, Guy Gabrielson, national chairman of the Republican party, declared, "Perhaps as dangerous as the actual Communists are the sexual perverts who have infiltrated our Government in recent years." In May, New York State governor Thomas Dewey "accused the Democratic national administration of tolerating spies, traitors, and sex offenders in the Government service." In June, an inquisitorial subcommittee met to investigate "Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government" (Katz 1976, 91–94). The subcommittee's December 1950 report projected a right-wing paranoia, claiming homosexuals to be subject to blackmail, emotionally unstable, and of weak "moral fiber." "One homosexual can pollute a Government office," they wrote, calling for a thorough purge of homosexuals from government and revealing that between 1947 and 1950, some 1,700 applicants for government jobs had already been turned down because of homosexuality, 4,380 had been expelled from the military, and 420 were forced to resign or were dismissed from the government.[3] John D'Emilio (1983)

estimates that 40 to 60 lesbians and gay men were dismissed per month between 1950 and 1953 (41–44).

Nor was the repression restricted to the federal level. It extended to state and local governments throughout the country and even spilled over to other nations in the Western alliance. Police departments did not hesitate to round up dozens—sometimes hundreds—who dared turn up in lesbian and gay bars; others were entrapped in parks or on the street and pressed to reveal their friends who would then, in turn, be subjected to similar treatment. Local politicians in Miami ordered beach sweeps in 1953 and outlawed the wearing of drag. Following the murder of a gay man in 1954, Miami newspapers "demand[ed] that the homosexuals be punished for tempting 'normals' to commit such deeds" (Taylor 1982, 9). A 1953 New Orleans bar raid netted 64 lesbians, and a 1955 Baltimore raid got 162 gay men—the list is lengthy (D'Emilio 1983, 50ff). Perhaps the best-documented antigay panic occurred in Boise, Idaho, in 1955. A small state capital dominated by a conservative Mormon elite, Boise erupted in a major scandal after a teenage boy admitted to engaging in sex with a local man; this resulted in nine men being sentenced to 5- to 15-year prison terms for the crime of being homosexual (Gerassi 1966). And in 1958, a Florida senator succeeded in having 16 faculty and staff members purged from the state university at Gainesville and in having a state committee publish pamphlets "to prepare . . . children to meet the temptations of homosexuality lurking today in the vicinity of nearly every institution of learning" (Florida Legislative Investigation Comm. 1975; see D'Emilio 1983). In response, many bars and dance clubs developed elaborate defense systems with double doors opened only after patrons were screened. Should the police appear at the door, lights could be turned up to alert everyone inside to act "straight" until the danger passed.

McCarthyism invaded Canada with a decade of antigay witch hunts conducted in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, and the National Research Council. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police even concocted a scheme to map all the homosexuals in Ottawa a project eventually abandoned when the map at police headquarters became overwhelmed with red dots (Sawatsky 1980, 112–29). Gay and lesbian existence was acknowledged only in the yellow press, police action, and psychiatry, while the state and "respectable" newspapers consolidated police and medical discourses through a Royal Commission on Criminal Law Relating to Criminal Sexual Psychopaths, which met through the mid-1950s (Kinsman

1987). In this decade, Jim Egan, a lone, persistent letter writer to the Canadian press, offered a passionate and articulate view of the gay world but succeeded only in having an occasional letter published in the tabloid press (Champagne 1987).

Just as the British state attacked a series of imagined enemies in reaction to the French Revolution, it once again institutionalized itself in the early postwar period as the guardian of a particular form of gender, race, and class privilege. L. J. Moran (1991) remarks, "The male body becomes a device through which an idea of the nation is realised. . . . Thus manliness/nation is represented as order, strength, rationality, the upper part of the body, stiffness, harmony, proportion, stability, unchanging values, timelessness . . . [while the] homosexual is produced through a particular chain of associations: the emotional, effeminate, weak, subversive, conspiratorial, rebellious, revolutionary, corrosive, dark, dangerous, sensuous, irrational, unstable, and corrupt" (160–61). Among its victims was Alan Turing, the mathematician who broke the Nazi code for British intelligence and established the early principles of the computer (Hodges 1984). In the 1950s, lesbians and gay men were subject to unrestrained violence and blackmail as they were bereft of any recourse to police. Bars that tolerated a gay clientele were vulnerable to police raids and the suspension of their liquor licenses (Horsfall 1988, 16; Jeffery-Poulter 1991, 62). Prosecutions peaked in 1954 with the conviction of Lord Montagu and Peter Wildeblood. But in Britain, it was a government commission appointed in the same year to study the "problem" of homosexuality that was to turn the tide of antigay persecution.[4]

The McCarthy terror exacted an immense toll from ordinary lesbians and gay men, with thousands being thrown out of work and imprisoned in jails and mental hospitals.[5] Today, with the benefit of hindsight, one cannot but marvel at the speed at which the intelligentsia of the day adopted the official line. The mass media applauded the state-directed purges; medical researchers tinkered with lobotomies, castration, and electroshock to "rehabilitate" gay people; churches sanctioned the persecutions as "Christian"; and Hollywood continued revising history with heterosexualized screen biographies of such notables as Valentino, Hans Christian Andersen, Alexander the Great, Michelangelo, and General Charles Gordon (Russo 1981, 66–90). Even the American Civil Liberties Union abandoned both Communists and lesbians at the time of their greatest peril (Bérubé and D'Emilio 1984, 759). Not until 1990 was the

McCarthy-era immigration law that barred lesbians and gay men entry to the United States overturned; the repressive legacy continued in decades of dishonorable discharges from the military (see Williams and Weinberg 1971).

Homophiles under Siege

> The right which I claim for myself, and for all those like me, is the right to choose the person whom I love.
>
> —Peter Wildeblood, *Against the Law*

Gay men and lesbians joined with other minorities in the 1950s in pressing for liberal democratic societies to live up to their self-professed ideals of "liberty, equality, and the pursuit of happiness" for all. Only too aware of the climate of repression around them, the first homophile groups typically adopted a cautious approach to social change, hoping first merely for survival and, only then, for an abatement of the general hostility. The Amsterdam Cultuur-en-Ontspannings Centrum (COC) was revived in 1946 from the subscribers' list to *Levensrecht,* the journal of the Netherlands Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. *Levensrecht* had begun publishing in 1940, but with the Nazi invasion imminent, its editor destroyed its records after committing its 500 members' names and addresses to memory for the period of the war. In Denmark, Axel Axgil and Helmer Fogedgard organized the Forbundet af 1948, issuing the journal *Vennen* the following year and spawning other Scandinavian chapters that became independent in 1951–52—the Riksforbundet for Sexuellt Likaberattigande (RFSL) in Sweden and Det Norske Forbundet av 1948 in Norway. These were not easy times even in Northern Europe. Axgil was fired from his job, evicted from his apartment, and expelled from his political party for his organizing efforts (Kleis 1980). In 1955, some 80 men associated with the movement, including Axel Axgil and his lover, Eigel Axgil, were jailed for selling pictures of male nudes (Miller 1992, 354). The Roman Catholic church in the Netherlands, having welcomed the Nazi persecution of gay people in official publications during the war, called for recriminalization thereafter (Rogier 1969; Ramsay, Heringa, and Boorsma 1974). The Norwegian state church warned against a supposed "world conspiracy" of homosexuals in 1954 (Offerman 1984; Kleis 1980). Elsewhere, Arcadie in Paris,

Mattachine in Los Angeles, and the Daughters of Bilitis in San Francisco found few allies during the cold war of the 1950s.

Wartime left an ambiguous legacy to women, gay people, and national minorities. On the one hand, it had opened unprecedented employment opportunities and exposed millions to new life-styles both at home and abroad. On the other hand, the end of war brought pressures to restore the prewar social order—or an idealized memory of it—and this restoration sought to roll back new financial and personal freedoms.

With great numbers of male workers at the battlefront and a rapidly rising need for military hardware in the United States, new jobs had become available during wartime for women and black people in high-paying industrial manufacturing. Government policy had afforded a respite to Mexican workers from the traditional threat of deportation. Women benefited from state-supported day-care services, which allowed them to work and socialize together in unprecedented numbers and to take for granted the freedoms long enjoyed by men such as going out unescorted and patronizing bars on their own (see Bérubé 1983). With greater independence and access to the public world, women increasingly experienced the opportunities that had long permitted men to create gay places and other supportive environments.

The many men and some women who entered military life also overcame small-town isolation, made new friendships in same-sex environments, and encountered gay life in port cities (Bérubé 1990).[6]

At war's end, however, state and economic elites moved decisively to reestablish their version of the "American way of life." As Jo Freeman (1975) points out,

> The returning soldiers were given the GI Bill and other veterans benefits, as well as their jobs back. Women, on the other hand, saw their child-care centres dismantled and their training programs cease. They were fired or demoted in droves and often found it difficult to enter colleges flooded with ex-GIs matriculating on government money. Labor unions insisted on contracts with separate job categories, seniority lists, and pay scales for men and women. (23)

Popular women's magazines of the day extolled the virtues of home, husbands, and babies, reasserting the old gender categories.

Along with women and minorities, lesbians and gay men came under renewed attack after the war. The U.S. military began building an apparatus of surveillance and expulsion directed against gay men and lesbians during World War II (Bérubé 1990). Official toleration of special friendships among military men and women during the war yielded to concerted propaganda to suppress, isolate, and eliminate them afterward (see Bérubé 1981, 20; D'Emilio 1983, 24–29; Katz 1976, 637). Allan Bérubé and John D'Emilio (1984) state that early postwar navy "lectures project a stereotype of lesbians as sexual vampires: manipulative, dominant perverts who greedily seduce young and innocent women into experimenting with homosexual practices that, like narcotics, inevitably lead to a downward spiral of addiction, degeneracy, loneliness, and even murder and suicide" (759).

Like other subordinated people, lesbians and gay men experienced acute contradictions in the 1950s. After finding new possibilities through war mobilization, they encountered repression in peacetime. Full employment and urban life had been the unintended consequences of national war preparations. But once the ruling elites were freed from Nazi imperialism, they tended only to reestablish the old order.

Out of this tension between new possibilities and renewed suppression, a homophile movement arose. The first stirrings of movement activity in the United States appeared among recently demobilized men in the Veterans Benevolent Association in New York and among working women in Los Angeles. Both groups developed out of existing friendship networks and made no attempt to go public. When "Lisa Ben" printed nine issues of a circular called *Vice Versa* in 1947 and 1948, it received only private distribution among Los Angeles lesbians (D'Emilio 1983, 32; Katz 1983, 618ff).

Most important of all was the creation of the Mattachine Society in Los Angeles in 1951. Named for the medieval Italian court jester who expressed unpopular truths from behind a mask, Mattachine originated with a comprehensive vision of social and political change for gay people and a willingness to challenge antihomosexual attacks even in the midst of McCarthyism. The idea for Mattachine was developed by Harry Hay, a music history teacher at the People's Educational Center in Los Angeles. Together with Rudi Gernreich, Dale Jennings, Bob Hull, and Chuck Rowland, also center workers, Hay drew on Communist models for inspiration in organizing and effecting social

change (Timmons 1990, 144).[7] In its founding statement of "Missions and Purposes," Mattachine pledged

- "'TO UNIFY' those homosexuals 'isolated from their own kind. . . .'
- 'TO EDUCATE' homosexuals and heterosexuals" toward "an ethical homosexual culture . . . paralleling the emerging cultures of our fellow-minorities—the Negro, Mexican, and Jewish Peoples. . . .
- 'TO LEAD'; the 'more . . . socially conscious homosexuals [are to] provide leadership to the whole mass of social deviates'" and also
- "to assist 'our people who are victimized daily as a result of our oppression.'" (Katz 1976, 412; see D'Emilio 1983, 59ff)

With its first members drawn from signatories to an anti–Korean War petition circulated around gay beaches, word spread quickly until Mattachine had more than a hundred discussion groups in southern California in 1953.

There was occasional cause for optimism. The 1948 Kinsey Report had made a worldwide impact in revealing how widespread homosexual experience was among Americans. Edward Sagarin (pseudonym, Donald Webster Cory) published *The Homosexual in America* in 1951. Though in retrospect a somewhat weepy and ambivalent book, it presented a plea for toleration and offered the only publicly available presentation of gay life by a homosexual writer. Also in 1951, the owners of a San Francisco gay bar, the Black Cat, established in California Supreme Court the right to serve gay customers. (The state later attempted again to suppress gay bars with a 1955 law to remove liquor licenses from "resorts for sexual perverts" [see Martin and Lyon 1972, 234; D'Emilio 1983, 187].)

In its first years, Mattachine secured a public victory by winning an acquittal for one of its members, Dale Jennings, on a sex charge arising from police entrapment. A Mattachine discussion group founded *One,* the first American homophile magazine to be distributed publicly. (Its editorial board consisted of two women and four men, including Jennings.) But *One* soon had to struggle through the courts to lift a ban imposed on it by the U.S. Post Office in 1954. (In 1958, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the post office ban violated First Amendment rights to free speech.)

But the tense political climate of the 1950s set the tone for Mattachine's first convention in 1953. After a tumultuous weekend sorting through Mattachine objectives, its founders bowed out in favor of an anticommunist Coordinating Council led by Kenneth Burns, Marilyn Rieger, and Hal Call. The change in leadership brought a dramatic reversal in Mattachine policy. In what John D'Emilio calls a "retreat to respectability," Mattachine adopted a low-profile, accommodationist stand that defined movement strategies for more than a decade.

The approach of the new leadership was premised on the belief that assimilation into the larger society could be accomplished more readily by minimizing the "disability" that stood in the way of full participation. The assimilationists insisted that gay people are just the same as heterosexuals except for what they do in bed. The appropriate strategy for attaining equality, then, was to stress the common humanity of homosexuals and heterosexuals and keep sexuality as such private. It was an approach founded on an implicit contract with the larger society wherein gay identity, culture, and values would be disavowed (or at least concealed) in return for the *promise* of equal treatment. The movement would "educate" away the "prejudices" of the ignorant and rely on "goodwill." Tolerance would be earned by making difference unspeakable (see Adam 1978, chaps. 4–5, esp. p. 121). By 1959, Mattachine had retreated so far from the possibility of open confrontation that it "billed itself as an organization 'interested in the problems of homosexuality,'" not as a gay organization at all (Martin and Lyon 1972, 231). The term *homophile* became virtually synonymous with the assimilationist strategy at this time.[8]

When the Daughters of Bilitis came into being in 1955, the homophile platform was clear in its orientation. Named for Pierre Louys's poems on a lesbian theme, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) was founded by four couples in San Francisco and was the first postwar lesbian organization. Under the leadership of Del Martin as president and Phyllis Lyon as editor of the *Ladder* (founded the following year), DOB stated its objectives to be:

- "Education of the variant"
- Development of a library on the "sex deviant" theme
- Public discussions "to be conducted by leading members of the legal, psychiatric, religious and other professions"
- "Advocating a mode of behavior and dress acceptable to soci-

ety" (see Martin and Lyon 1972, 219; Faderman 1981, 378–79; Katz 1976, 420–26).

Later the association added to its aims "participation in research projects" and "investigation of the penal code as it pertains to the homosexual . . . and promotion of these changes through the due process of law in the state legislatures."

After the McCarthy terror, accommodation seemed the only realistic choice. Like other minorities facing a seemingly unmerciful oppressor, the homophiles sought to placate the enemy by being law-abiding and deferential and by lying low. The authorities seemed to have become wild beasts; there was nothing to be done but appease them, mollify them, and hope they would exhaust their malicious rage (see Adam 1978, chap. 4, esp. p. 95).

In Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union had settled on a division of the spoils, setting up national governments in their own images: Soviet central bureaucracies in the East, conservative capitalist governments in the West. For gay people, the war's end entrenched losses suffered through the Holocaust. Pink-triangle prisoners released from the concentration camps found that they were still criminals in both the Soviet and American occupied zones and, as such, ineligible for compensation or even recognition as victims of fascism (Hohmann 1982, 27; Stümke and Finkler 1981). The psychiatrists and criminologists, who had gained a monopoly over the public discussion of homosexuality with Nazi sponsorship, retained their dominance in the cold war period. With American occupation, the McCarthyite chill descended over Western Europe, and gay organizations necessarily shared the cautious homophile approach to social reform.

The Netherlands COC sponsored five International Conferences for Sexual Equality between 1951 and 1958, offering support and, most important, hope for lesbian and gay organizations in Europe. In West Germany, two decades of Christian Democratic government preserved Paragraph 175 within a larger "God-and-family" social policy, which resisted all attempts at reform despite a 1949 petition by surviving adherents of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee to abolish it. For gay men, the 1950s offered little improvement over the Nazi era; prosecutions under Paragraph 175 actually *increased* in the period 1953–65 compared with the years of the Third Reich. Among those incarcerated in German prisons in the 1950s and 1960s were former concentration camp victims who now received sentences as long as six

years as "repeat offenders" for not renouncing their homosexuality (Stümke and Finkler 1981, 368–70; Schilling 1983). Two of the many testimonials gathered by Joachim Hohmann in *Keine Zeit für gute Freunde* (1982) express the mood of the period:

> The younger generation can scarcely conceive how gays used to have to live: always fearing for their livelihood, freedom and reputation, always having to playact in order not to raise suspicions. (151; my translation)
>
> Friendships, if they came about at all, were constantly dependent upon the perceptiveness of prudish neighbors, the sharp eyes of the police, on jealous friends, and even the "toleration" of one's own relatives. (24; my translation)

In 1955, West Berlin confirmed the Nazis' seizure and pillage of the Institute for Sex Research by retaining legal title to its land and property (and remained intransigent in this claim despite gay movement protests in the 1980s). In this political climate, only scattered, clandestine, and very small homophile groups came into existence, often as circles of friends who put out magazines that made oblique references to homosexuality or as human rights groups addressed to general law reform. The Swiss journal *Der Kreis,* published throughout the period until 1967 (opening the way for the Swiss Organization of Homophiles), and the International Conference for Sexual Equality issued a German newsletter from Amsterdam from 1951 to 1958. As early as 1953, the Hamburg Society for Human Rights (Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte) issued the journal *Humanitas.* Other publishing ventures such as *Der Ring* and *Freond* soon dissolved as their editors were jailed by the authorities for daring to print pictures of adult men in bathing suits. An attempt by Kurt Hiller to refound the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in 1962 met with little success (Hohmann 1982, 21–27; Stümke and Finkler 1981, 340–409; Baumgardt 1984b, 38; Werres 1973). None could overtly present itself as gay oriented. For Germans, the advent of gay liberation in the 1970s would offer the first opportunity for open organization.

In France, André Beaudry gathered together the subscribers to *Der Kreis* in Paris to found Arcadie in 1951.[9] The free and easy days of the 1920s and 1930s were gone, extinguished through Nazi rule. The conservative governments of the 1950s hedged around gay existence with catch-all laws. A law raising the age of consent to 21 was retained from the previous profascist Vichy government. In 1946, a "good morals" law limited the employment of gay people in public service. In 1949, the Paris police chief banned transvestite balls and forbade men from

dancing together, ending a tradition extending back into the nineteenth century. In the same year, a new solicitation law criminalized "provocative attitudes" in public places. *Futur,* a "journal of information for sexual equality and freedom," which appeared from 1952 to 1955, was suspended in 1953 and again in 1954 under the same law that had felled *L'Amitié* (Girard 1981, 13–39).

Arcadie attracted such well-known writers as Jean Cocteau and Roger Peyrefitte and succeeded in issuing a high-toned "literary and scientific review" called *Arcadie* in 1954. Jacques Girard (1981) describes Arcadie's approach as a sort of "ministry" to "the profound physical and moral distress of homophiles," linking it to the seminarian background of its founder (44, 48; my translation). Like its homophile counterparts in the United States, Arcadie assumed a quietist disengagement from public action in the 1950s, stressing moral discipline and respect for law, morality, and public powers. Indeed, when it opened its clubhouse, CLESPALA (Club Littéraire et Scientifique des Pays Latins), in 1957, it insisted on observing the norms of heterosexist propriety by forbidding kissing on the dance floor (57, 71).

By the end of the decade, the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, the political arm of the French Roman Catholic church, began to press for further "moral reform," and in 1960, a conference sponsored by the church and the psychiatric profession denounced a supposed "homosexual peril." Soon the Gaullist government had declared homosexuality a "social plague" along with alcoholism and prostitution (15–19; see Hocquenghem 1978, 51).

In the United Kingdom a government commission appointed to investigate the "problems" of homosexuality and prostitution produced an unexpectedly liberal recommendation in 1957. The homophile movement in Britain came about specifically to preserve and promote the commission's recommendation that "homosexual behavior between consenting adults in private should no longer be a criminal offense" (Wolfenden et al. 1962, 25). The Wolfenden Commission resisted the efforts of some of its own members who were physicians to force all gay men into therapy, prompting a minority report from the doctors who decided that anyway "a prison sentence could have therapeutic value" (76). The report reached its liberal conclusion via a tortuous path, reasoning that children must be saved from homosexuality through stiffer penalties on underage sex and that the age of consent be set at 21; that military homosexuality remain criminal for the

"preservation of discipline"; and that family breakdown be averted by avoiding the "disaster" of homosexuals marrying.

In an effort to keep the spirit of reform alive, the Homosexual Reform Society and its "charity arm," the Albany Trust, were founded in 1958 (Jeffery-Poulter 1991, 38). Like its predecessors, the society disavowed any identification with being homosexual in favor of prestigious sponsors. Eventually a newsletter, *Spectrum,* appeared; a public forum was held in 1960; a journal, *Man and Society,* was issued in 1961; and a lesbian organization, the Minorities Research Group, appeared in 1962—all founded squarely on the Wolfenden Report's right-to-privacy argument (Weeks 1977, 168–72; Laurie 1990).

In the 1950s, then, lesbian and gay organizations were lone voices with little ability to break through the ideological fog generated by the media and the professional and legal establishments. The 1950s generation had been effectively severed from a rich history of gay writing through systematic obliteration of their cultural heritage by fascism. But gay people themselves could not but recognize anew that the official ideologies presented by church, medicine, and police offered, at best, twisted and alien images of their own experiences and elaborate lies about their feelings and intentions (see Adam 1978, 30–53). The homophiles believed that forthright opposition to the official line would invite swift retaliation, concluding that assimilationism would be the safest course of action. The homophiles deferred to the professionals, hoping to engage them in dialogue and believing that conformity would bring toleration.[10]

The lesbian and gay movements were not alone in these dilemmas, and as a new militancy began to sweep black people, students, war draftees, Chicanos, and women in the 1960s, they began to reassess the assimilationist strategy.

The Rise of the New Left

> Like members of other minority groups, homosexuals are interested in their rights, freedom, and basic human dignity, as homosexuals.
> —Franklin Kameny, founder of the Mattachine Society of Washington

Lesbians and gay men were not the only casualties of the 1950s restoration of traditionally privileged classes in North America and Western Europe. The pioneering efforts of black people in the

American South in challenging the established political order were to galvanize a disparate set of aggrieved social groups through the 1960s. The proliferating social movements of the decade, which came to be known as the New Left, engendered a militancy in the gay community that overturned the homophile approach. Like the early German gay movement before it, the homophile movement of the 1960s expanded and reorganized as part of a larger social upheaval and soon began to question the premises of the assimilationist approach.

Important for the new outlook was the example set by the Beat generation, at first a small group of outlaw poets who rejected the conservatism of the 1950s by reveling in the forbidden pursuits of drugs, anarchism, and hedonism.[11] Among them were Allen Ginsberg and William Burroughs, who did not hesitate to celebrate homosexuality among other taboo pleasures. Ginsberg wrote his famous "Howl" in 1955 as a paean against the bankruptcy of the repressive consumer society of the day. "Howl" came about at a time when Ginsberg had fallen in love with Peter Orlovsky and among its lines were:

> who let themselves be fucked in the ass by saintly
> motorcyclists, and screamed with joy,
> who blew and were blown by those human seraphim,
> the sailors, caresses of Atlantic and Caribbean love

These lines put the poem's publisher in court facing obscenity charges.[12] (He was acquitted.)

The Beats gave new life to the artistic and bohemian districts of San Francisco (the North Beach) and New York (Greenwich Village), which developed in the 1960s as free zones for cultural dissidents of all types. Many gay men and lesbians were among those who sought refuge and new lives there.

But San Francisco was not yet ready to recognize its homosexual minority when the subject became an issue in the 1959 city election. By that year, the Daughters of Bilitis had chapters in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and, briefly, Rhode Island, as well as San Francisco. Mattachine had small groups in San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Boston, Denver, Philadelphia, and, for a time, Detroit, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.[13] Both groups were by now holding national conventions, and in September 1959 Mattachine met in Denver, where for the first time it received relatively positive newspaper coverage. It was a short-lived success. In October, Denver police raided the homes

of Mattachine leaders, jailing one and procuring the dismissal of another from his job. The *San Francisco Progress* proclaimed, "Sex Deviates make S. F. Headquarters," and the opposition candidate in the city's mayoral election accused the incumbent of tolerating vice. As John D'Emilio (1983) remarked, "The San Francisco press criticized Wolden [the opposition candidate] not because he had attacked a persecuted minority but because, as the *Examiner* put it, he had 'stigmatized the city' by suggesting that it tolerated such life-styles" (121–22; see Martin and Lyon 1972, 227). When gay bar owners revealed to an investigatory commission the following year that they had been forced to pay off San Francisco police officers in order to stay open, the police retaliated with mass roundups of bar patrons through 1960 and 1961 until all the bar owners who had testified were out of business. The upshot was a Tavern Guild of bar owners determined to support one another against police assaults (D'Emilio 1983, 182–84, 189).

In 1955–56, Martin Luther King, Jr., came to prominence as black people in Montgomery, Alabama, boycotted the city's segregated bus system. Like so many other social movements that came to have a profound impact on their societies, the early black movement had the initially "conservative" intention of enforcing the law and fulfilling the promise of liberal democratic societies. It worked through the late 1950s and the early 1960s to reclaim basic rights to vote and to receive public services; it demanded that black people be integrated into schools and universities, into restaurants and transportation facilities—in short, to be *let in* to American society—and it worked to achieve these ends through nonviolent public action.

It was a struggle that caught the imagination of people around the world. College support for the civil rights struggle coalesced in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formed in 1960 to work with the voter registration project and participate in the freedom rides to integrate the bus system. Preparation by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations for yet another foreign war to "stop communism"—this time in Vietnam—further impelled both students and blacks (traditionally among the first groups to be drafted for war duty) toward civil disobedience. An antiwar movement began to emerge among once complacent sectors of the population.

Hopeful signs appeared in 1961. Illinois adopted the Model Legal Code of the American Law Institute, thereby becoming the first state to decriminalize homosexuality between consenting adults in private

(Gunnison 1969, 119). The Motion Picture Association of America reversed the Motion Picture Code to accommodate Otto Preminger's *Advise and Consent,* thereby lifting the ban on gay themes in the movies. (The homosexual character in *Advise and Consent* nevertheless is obliged to commit suicide [Russo 1981, 121].) A Black Cat drag queen, José Sarria, declared himself a candidate for city supervisor of San Francisco, winning 6,000 votes (D'Emilio 1983, 188; see also Adair and Adair 1978, 72–73).

Also in 1961, Franklin Kameny founded the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., eventually forcing a confrontation with the homophile old guard and opening the way for a more aggressive assertion of gay rights. Kameny was an astronomer who had been dismissed from the federal civil service in 1957 under the security legislation set in place by the McCarthyites. The Mattachine Society of Washington (MSW) made the rounds of the federal agencies in 1962 and 1963, launching complaints against the Civil Service Commission's discriminatory policies and surviving an attempt in the House of Representatives to "revoke Mattachine's permit to raise funds" (D'Emilio 1983, 156; Marotta 1981, 22ff; Gunnison 1969, 120–21).

Confrontations between police and the black, student, and antiwar movements intensified during this period. In 1963, hundreds of thousands of people made the March on Washington to demand their civil rights. By 1964, student civil rights workers returning to class from the Mississippi Freedom Summer had shared the experience of black movement workers and began to question the political system that so strongly resisted the implementation of its own liberal principles. Reflecting upon their own roles in the larger capitalist system, the student movement attacked the complicity of the universities, working toward an analysis that punctured the rhetoric of business and political elites and sought to understand the oppression of people (especially nonwhites) both at home and elsewhere in the American empire. No longer was it a question only of the civil rights of black people; students weighed the moral choices inherent in their own lives, believing "that a political movement is created by thousands of individuals who say 'no' to the structures and politics of the dominant society, who refuse to take part and in so doing create a crisis of legitimacy that stops the machine" (Breines 1982, 23).

When Kameny (1969) took his message to the Mattachine Society of New York (MSNY) in 1964, he called for "acceptance as full equals

. . . basic rights and equality as citizens; our human dignity; . . . our right to the pursuit of happiness . . . right to love whom we wish," making explicit reference to the black civil rights struggle (144). Gay people, Kameny argued, had been too long the victims of prejudice and discrimination and had too long tolerated medical domination; they needed to proclaim a pride in being gay:

> Increasingly, homosexuals are becoming impatient with the place of their traditional role as that of a mere passive, silent battlefield, across which conflicting "authorities" parade and fight out their questionable views, prejudices, and theories. . . . Homosexuality is . . . something around which the homosexual can and should build part of a rewarding and productive life and something he can and should enjoy to its fullest. (130)

In face of the MSNY president's traditional homophile contention that "we must lose the label of homosexual organizations," Kameny asserted simply that "gay is good!" In its 1964 election, MSNY swept away its old leadership (including Edward Sagarin) in favor of an activist slate (see Adam 1978, 89, 145; Marotta 1981, 31).

The move toward activism provoked turmoil among the Daughters of Bilitis. Barbara Gittings, the founder of the New York DOB in 1958, had become the editor of the *Ladder* in 1962, moving the journal toward an "antisick," mass-movement stance. With new militance emerging among the other organizations, the DOB leadership withdrew from the conference of East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO) and removed Gittings from the *Ladder* in 1965. Members of DOB, sharply divided between the homophile and new militant strategies, responded by expelling the conservative leadership in favor of its first black president, "Ernestine Eckstein." When the old leadership regained control in 1966, many activists left the DOB for Mattachine (see D'Emilio 1983, 172–73; Katz 1976, 420–26; Marotta 1981, 49).

Meanwhile, ECHO groups took to the streets in 1965 in public demonstrations at the Civil Service Commission, Department of State, Pentagon, White House, and Independence Hall in Philadelphia, attracting the attention of national news media. In New York, the city administration had launched a "cleanup" campaign to close gay bars to "improve" the city's image for the World's Fair. When John Lindsay came to the mayor's office, gay leaders pressed for an end to "Operation New Broom," and MSNY held a "sip-in" in a New York bar

to establish the right of gay people to attend bars unmolested by police (Marotta 1981, 32, 39; D'Emilio 1983, 164–65).

In San Francisco, four men organized the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) in 1964, attracting several hundred members in a few years. Soon SIR was holding candidates' nights to review election contenders in its own clubhouse, publishing a magazine called *Vector* and sponsoring a full calendar of dances, drag shows, bridge clubs, bowling leagues, outings, meditation groups, and art classes (D'Emilio 1983, 190–92). With the assistance of Glide Memorial Methodist Church, a black downtown congregation, a Council on Religion and the Homosexual was organized. A fund-raising ball for the council held on New Year's Eve of 1965 turned out 600 guests who were forced to cross police lines and face police photographers in order to attend. Experiencing for the first time the routine police harassment long endured by gay and lesbian San Franciscans, the council clergymen and lawyers protested loudly to the local press, which in turn made the first serious effort to communicate that abuse to the public (D'Emilio 1983, 193–94; Martin and Lyon 1972, 239). The San Francisco movement went on to set up a Citizens Alert telephone line to serve a gamut of youthful, black, Chicano, and gay victims.

The period from 1965 to 1967 marked a new stage for the New Left. The black power movement began to come apart over issues of strategy. In 1964, Malcolm X posed the question "Ballots or bullets?" and many, despairing of the slow gains made by the integrationists and alarmed by mounting state repression, opted for abandonment of white society and the construction of a black nation. Others argued for a revolutionary transformation of American society to overturn the military-industrial complex that preserved corporate power against the subordinated peoples of America and the third world. Black people in the northern ghettos revolted in a series of urban uprisings through 1967 and 1968. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) faltered through factional in-fighting, while the antiwar movement reached a new height of mass mobilization in marches on Washington.

Though the impermanence of the 1960s movements has since been much lamented on the left, the "utopian and 'anti-organizational' characteristics of the New Left were among its most vital aspects" (Breines 1982, 5). These qualities empowered and mobilized millions of people and gave voice to new categories of the powerless and oppressed. Out of the decay of the New Left came the modern feminist and gay liberation movements.

Both women and gay people have long been taught to "know their place," to keep silent before their "superiors," and to believe themselves unworthy of the rights and privileges of men and of heterosexuals. Both now found themselves deeply involved in optimistic affirmative movements that ironically exempted them from their programs. As Judith Hole and Ellen Levine (1971) note, "Women had gone to the South to work alongside men in the fight for equality only to find that they were second-class citizens in a movement purportedly determined to wipe out all discrimination" (110; see also Evans 1979). New Left ideals called for broad-based, egalitarian, participatory democracy, eschewing bureaucracy and leadership for fear the voices of the masses would rapidly disappear through institutionalization. Still, Stokely Carmichael announced that "the only position for women in SNCC is prone," and Eldridge Cleaver denounced homosexuality as an evil as great as being the chairman of General Motors. Student leaders often exhibited the same mentality. Like the Mattachine's early roots in American communism, modern feminism and gay liberation emerged from antecedents that provided them with both political foundations and explicit rejection. Rumblings of discontent among movement women were discernible in 1964. By 1967, the failure of the National Conference for a New Politics to address women's issues led to a walk-out and the formation of feminist groups in Chicago, Toronto, Seattle, Detroit, and Gainesville, Florida (Freeman 1975, 59).

Gay and lesbian groups were springing up across the United States and Canada, jumping from 15 in 1966 to 50 in 1969 (D'Emilio 1983, 199). A new politicized generation transformed the homophile movement, often sweeping aside the leadership that had survived McCarthyism. The homophiles, who had been deeply affected by the McCarthy terror, now seemed too cautious, too fearful. Many homophile leaders nevertheless had been inspired by the changes around them. The 1968 North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO) resolved that "homosexuality is in no way inferior to heterosexuality as a valid way of life" and accepted the "gay is good" credo (Gunnison 1969, 113). Similarly, in Britain the North-Western Homosexual Reform Committee of the Albany Trust rejected the medical doctrine of homosexuality as the British Labour government at last implemented the Wolfenden recommendations in 1967 (Weeks 1977, 181).

But like the black nationalists, the gay and lesbian veterans of the New Left movements no longer wanted to define themselves in terms

left over to them by the heterosexist opposition; rather, they sought to build a new gay culture where gay people could be free. Civil rights and integration seemed like endless begging for the charity of liberals who conveniently ignored the everyday physical and psychological violence exerted by homophobic society.

The student and antiwar movements were already sweeping Europe and gay liberation followed quickly on their heels. Student action in 1968 at Columbia University in New York and at the Sorbonne in Paris nurtured the first stirrings of the new gay liberation. Within three years almost every sizable city in North America and Western Europe would see a gay liberation front in its midst.

Chapter Five

Gay Liberation and Lesbian Feminism

From the Stonewall Rebellion . . .

> Liberation for gay people is to define for ourselves how and with whom we live, instead of measuring our relationships by straight values. . . . To be a free territory, we must govern ourselves, set up our own institutions, defend ourselves, and use our own energies to improve our lives.
>
> —Carl Wittman, *Refugees from Amerika: A Gay Manifesto*

On the Friday night of 27–28 June 1969, New York police raided a Greenwich Village gay bar called the Stonewall. Bar raids were an American institution—a police rite to "manage" the powerless and disrespectable—and in the preceding three weeks, five New York gay bars had already been raided. What made the Stonewall a symbol of a new era of gay politics was the reaction of the drag queens, dykes, street people, and bar boys who confronted the police first with jeers and high camp and then with a hail of coins, paving stones, and parking meters. By the end of the weekend, the Stonewall bar had been burned out, but a new form of collective resistance was afoot: gay liberation. The Mattachine Action Committee responded to the Stonewall outbreak with a flier on 29 June calling for organized resistance, and within a few days radical students at the Alternative

University were providing meeting space for a Gay Liberation Front (Teal 1971, 17–23; Marotta 1981, 72–85).

Still, Stonewall was no isolated event. A police campaign against Los Angeles gay bars in 1967 had sparked a rally of several hundred "on Sunset Boulevard, where they listened to angry speakers intoning the phrases of confrontational politics" (D'Emilio 1983, 227), and student activism, especially on the campuses of Columbia University and the Sorbonne, were associated with the formation of radical gay caucuses. In 1967 and 1968, political tensions were mounting to new heights with clashes between police and black nationalists, hippies, students, and antiwar demonstrators, most notably at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago. In the Netherlands, the Socialist Youth formed a gay caucus, and student groups openly sponsored gay dances on campus (Straver 1973, 170–72). Student Homophile Leagues were formed in 1967 at Columbia by Robert A. Martin and at New York University by Rita Mae Brown. In 1968, the Columbia group picketed a psychiatric seminar on homosexuality held on campus (Martin 1983). In May of the same year, Paris erupted in a general strike and students seized the campus of the Sorbonne in a protest that shared New Left goals. Amidst the "liberated zones," a Comité d'Action Pédérastique Révolutionnaire met, much to the dismay of the orthodox Left (Girard 1981, 80).

The new militants, then, typically came out of student and other New Left movements and carried with them current debates and precepts, which they turned to issues of gender and sexuality. Radicalized by their experiences in black and student organizations, they were now thinking through their own lives with new concepts and were taking a militant message to new constituencies. Feminists and gay liberationists often thought of themselves as revolutionaries rejecting a fundamentally unequal and corrupt power establishment in favor of participatory democracy whereby all the voiceless and suppressed could gain a measure of control over their own lives. Civil rights had become passé: Why petition to be let into a social system so deeply riven by racism, sexism, militarism, and heterosexism?

The goal that radical women and gay men shared with the counterculture was "to construct community institutions based on democratic participation": free universities, an underground press, communes, a society of cooperative and nonexploitative relations (see Breines 1982). Deeply suspicious of leaders, bureaucracies, and political parties, the fundamental movement unit was the consciousness-raising

group. As explained in *Come Out!,* the journal of New York's Gay Liberation Front (GLF), it was a deceptively simple mechanism:

> A consciousness raising group is a group of gay people who have regular sessions together. By consensus a topic is selected for each session. Each member of the group contributes her personal experiences relating to the chosen topic. When all of the testimony is heard, the group locks into the similarity in the experiences related by all the members. . . . A gay person begins to see that his personal hang-ups, those that he was afraid to divulge to others, are indeed the same hang-ups that other gays were also afraid to divulge. It becomes increasingly difficult to explain this commonness without considering each person's interactions with sexist society. (Gavin 1971, 19)

The group's chair would be selected by lot and rotated from meeting to meeting. To limit the formation of elites, every person in the group would be given the floor in turn. Analysis of one's situation was to flow from the collective experience, owning nothing to received dogmas. Consciousness raising was a technique well known from the "speaking bitterness" campaigns of the Chinese cultural revolution, and were intended to help empower the powerless and grant participation to the masses.[1]

The result of these intense discussions was immense anger, joy, pride, and a boiling over of new ideas. People glimpsed the future and fell in love with a utopia far from the bad old days with their repression and terror, hiding and fear. Gay liberation groups rarely reached the consensus they assumed would come out of consciousness raising, but stimulated outpourings of hopes and ambitions of irreconcilable diversity. Resolutely guarding itself against stasis, gay liberation in its heyday—from 1969 to 1972—functioned as an ongoing catalyst. Like the New Left itself, which had spawned new social movements, gay liberation ultimately was to produce a larger set of gay and lesbian groups.

Sexuality was a yet undeveloped theme in radical thought. In addition to the Beat poets, New Left figures such as Paul Goodman and Daniel Cohn-Bendit had raised it at various times as did a few relatively isolated European intellectuals. Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* raised many of the issues of modern feminism two decades before the revival of the modern movement, and Herbert Marcuse, who had been a youthful participant in the 1918 German revolution and had been steeped in the thinking of the life-reform movements of the Weimar Republic, caught the imagination of many gay liberationists. His *Eros*

and Civilization, published in the ideological wasteland of 1955, bridged the prewar and postwar gay movements with its implicit vision of homosexuality as a protest "against the repressive order of procreative sexuality" and as an affirmation of a liberated sensualism (37, 155, 183). James Baldwin, one of the leading voices of black militance, wrote movingly of gay relationships as early as 1956 in his novel, *Giovanni's Room,* which bears this dedication from Walt Whitman: "I am the man, I suffered, I was there." As well, Allen Ginsberg, testifying at the trial of black and student movement leaders arrested at the Chicago Democratic convention, invoked the socialist fraternalism of Whitman and Carpenter. In the face of the prosecutor's characterization of the Chicago protestors as "freaking fag revolutionaries," Ginsberg (1974) spoke out for "a natural tenderness between all citizens, not only men and women but also a tenderness between men and men as part of our democratic heritage, part of the Adhesiveness which would make the democracy function: that men could work together not as competitive beasts but as tender lovers and fellows" (14; see Tytell 1976, 243).

Gay liberation never thought of itself as a civil rights movement for a particular minority but as a revolutionary struggle to free the homosexuality in everyone, challenging the conventional arrangements that confined sexuality to heterosexual, monogamous families. For gay liberation, there was no "normal" or "perverse" sexuality, only a world of sexual possibilities ranged against a repressive order of marriage, oedipal families, and compulsory heterosexuality. It is in this context that Dennis Altman could foresee an "end of the homosexual" because "gay liberation will succeed as its raison d'être disappears" (Altman 1971, 225; see Front Homosexual 1971). Once everyone was free to express her or his latent sexualities, boundaries between the homosexual and the heterosexual should fade into irrelevance and false partitions in the flow of desire give way to personal fulfillment.

Carl Wittman's (1972) 1970 "Gay Manifesto" drew together many of the themes of gay liberation thinking. Announcing "we are euphoric, high, with the initial flourish of a movement," it began, "we have to realize that our loving each other is a good thing." Characterizing San Francisco as a "refugee camp" and a "ghetto" controlled by the heterosexist occupational forces of law, police, employers, and capital, Wittman called for rejection of heterosexual standards of gender and monogamy, an end to homophile conformity and closetry, resistance

to street violence and police harassment, and confrontation with the "psychological warfare" purveyed by the mass media. "We strive," he continued, "for democratic, mutual, reciprocal sex," affirming the possibility of this ideal even in man-boy and sadomasochistic relationships. Gay liberation also meant coalition with other progressive forces, especially feminism, as well as with black, Chicano, radical, hip, and homophile movements (157–71).

Gay liberation groups sprang up in the spring and summer of 1969 in the San Francisco Bay area, New York City, and Minneapolis. Leo Laurence forwarded the radical plank in the pages of SIR's *Vector* and came out with his lover in the countercultural *Berkeley Barb*. The upshot was his lover's dismissal from his job with a steamship company and Laurence's removal from the editorship of *Vector*. They then formed a Committee for Homosexual Freedom, which picketed the steamship company and then a record store that had also fired a gay employee. In Minneapolis, a group called Fight Repression of Erotic Expression launched Jack Baker in a successful campaign to become president of the university students' association (Knopp 1987, 248). The Stonewall rebellion in New York engendered a wave of new groups willing to take immediate, direct action against the old array of antihomosexual institutions. In late summer, the New York GLF and the Mattachine Action Committee picketed in a park where trees had been cut down to eliminate cruising (that is, gay men meeting each other). The GLF joined in antiwar rallies and presented the new platform to the 1969 North America Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO) in Kansas City. By fall, GLF dances were regular events in New York, Chicago, and Berkeley, cities where men had often been arrested for dancing or touching in public. Pickets arrived at the *Village Voice* protesting its refusal to print the word *gay* and at *Time* magazine and the *San Francisco Examiner* for their demeaning treatment of gay people. Newspapers such as *Gay Power, Come Out!,* and *Gay* sprang out of movement committees. The GLF confronted Western and Delta airlines about their employment practices, and SIR picketed Macy's for having gay men entrapped by police in its washrooms. Transvestites formed Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, and blacks and Hispanics organized Third World Gay Revolution. At the end of the first year, 2,000 to 3,000 people marched to Central Park in New York to commemorate the Stonewall rebellion, as did hundreds in Los Angeles and Chicago (see Teal 1971; D'Emilio 1983; Humphreys 1972b).

In 1970, after "three terrible, joyous days of open, honest battle," conflicts between gay liberation and the old guard wrenched apart a NACHO meeting in San Francisco. In the end, the conference "passed motions supporting women's liberation and the Black Panthers, calling for immediate withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam, authorizing a Gay Strike Day, and calling for memorialization of homosexuals killed in Nazi concentration camps" (Rankin 1970, 4; Humphreys 1972b, 108). In the same month, the Black Panther leader, Huey Newton (1972), declared his solidarity for the gay movement, stating that "homosexuals are not given freedom and liberty by anyone in the society. Maybe they might be the most oppressed people in the society" (195). Gay and lesbian delegates, in turn, showed up at the Panther-sponsored Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention in September to claim their place in the radical coalition that so upset the ruling elites of the United States.

But as early as November 1969, GLF experienced a schism. Jim Owles and Marty Robinson walked out to found the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) in New York, having found the GLF too anarchic and self-focused, strong on rhetoric but unable to plan effectively, and too preoccupied with revolutionary doctrine to address the day-to-day discrimination occurring around it. The GAA wanted to concentrate on the one issue of gay rights without the diffusion of energy into other New Left causes evident in the GLF. For the GLF, the GAA represented a regression to homophile accommodationism and an abandonment of total social transformation for piecemeal reform. The GAA's adoption of a committee structure and elected leadership, they believed, betrayed the GLF's commitment to consensus and participatory democracy. The movement was facing a transition experienced by so many others before it, when charisma and chiliasm give way to structure and institution. In the end, the GAA proved more durable and effective, and the GLF soon exhausted itself (see Altman 1971, 116; Humphreys 1972b, 124; Teal 1971, 106; Marotta 1981, 150).

In practice, many participants flowed between both organizations, and the two cooperated on a number of projects. Renewed bar raids in March 1970 brought another round of street demonstrations. Election candidates faced sharp questions on gay rights, and GAA activists forced the New York mayor to address gay issues before television and opera audiences. City hall, the *New York Post, Harper's,* the *New*

York Times, and the "Dick Cavett Show" felt the wrath of the GAA in 1970 and 1971 "zaps," or confrontations. The GAA set up task-oriented committees on political action, police, elections, civil rights law for the city, fair taxes, law, news, leaflets and graphics, fund-raising, social affairs, and member orientation—soon accumulating a thick dossier on antihomosexual discrimination.

The GAA's response was often ingenious: "In the summer of 1971, the owner of a credit agency on New York's Forty-second Street was questioned about his agency's practice of informing employers of the suspected homosexual tendencies of prospective employees, as well as credit applicants." When questioned about how he determined sexual orientation, he was quoted as saying, "'If a man looks like a duck, walks like a duck, quacks like a duck, and associates with ducks, I'd say he is a duck.' In a short time, a dozen GAA members dressed in duck costumes were waddling around the sidewalk at the entrance to the credit agency, quacking and carrying picket signs" (Humphreys 1972b, 126).

Perhaps the best-known success of the early 1970s was the assault mounted against American psychiatry, which resulted in the 1973–74 removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association's (APA's) official diagnostic manual. A century of psychiatric talk in the United States had provided the underpinnings for a range of antihomosexual practices. After all, what rights could a psychopathology have? If gay men and lesbians were no more than diseased beings, then state institutions had a duty to stamp them out by isolating them in prisons and hospitals, excluding them from a wide range of employment, barring them from entering the country, banning them from bars, and suppressing their voices in the arts and literature. *One* magazine had long disdained psychiatric ideology, but it was not until the militant 1970s that gay people gained sufficient strength and confidence to confront the therapeutic establishment directly. In 1968, even before Stonewall, a contingent of San Franciscans arrived unannounced at a convention of the American Medical Association to speak out against the scientistic extermination of homosexuality. In the same year, students demanded of a medical forum at Columbia University that "it is time that talk stopped being *about* us and started being with us" (see Teal 1971, 293–97; Kameny 1969; Bayer 1981, 92). Gay liberation fronts stormed San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago conventions of psychiatry, medicine, and

behavior modification in 1970, where sessions on the "treatment" and "correction" of homosexuality were disrupted with cries of "barbarism," "medieval torture," and "disgusting" and with demands for equal time.

These GLF zaps rapidly polarized the psychiatric profession between such hard-line conservatives as Edward Bergler, Irving Bieber, Charles Socarides, Lionel Ovesey, and Lawrence Hatterer (whom Allen Young characterized as the "war criminals") and a growing liberal contingency, including Ernest Van Den Haag, Hendrik Ruitenbeek, and George Weinberg, who had been questioning the psychiatric label for some years. An unprecedented panel of gay people was arranged for the 1971 convention of the APA in Washington, D.C., where Frank Kameny, Larry Littlejohn of SIR, Del Martin of DOB, Lille Vincenz, and Jack Baker, president of the University of Minnesota Students' Association, represented the movement. A 1972 panel included liberal psychiatrists and a gay psychiatrist who appeared wearing a mask. The issue reached a climax in 1973 with a debate between Irving Bieber and Charles Socarides on one side and Judd Marmor, Richard Green, Robert Stoller, and Ron Gold on the other. Gold's paper, "Stop! You're Making Me Sick," represented the gay movement's position.

Official changes were already under way elsewhere as the American Sociological Association passed a no-discrimination resolution in 1969; the National Association for Mental Health called for decriminalization in 1970; the states of Connecticut, Colorado, and Oregon did decriminalize in 1971; a federal court stopped automatic dismissal of gay people from federal employment in the same year; and the National Association of Social Workers rejected the medical model of homosexuality in a 1972 resolution. As the GAA waned through internal dissension (coming to an end, at least symbolically, when its community center was fire-bombed in 1974), leading movement activists reorganized as the National Gay Task Force to press forward the antipsychiatric struggle. When the APA Council accepted deletion of homosexuality from the diagnostic manual in a unanimous vote in 1973, the conservatives forced a referendum on the issue. The result of this curious spectacle of defining pathology by plebiscite was a vote of 58 percent for deletion and 37 percent for retention in 1974. In the end, the new diagnostic manual included a compromise category that continued to allow psychiatrists to "treat" people unhappy with their sexual orientation.

The movement forced debate on homosexuality among a number of professional and scholarly associations in the 1970s, opening the way for the formation of gay and lesbian caucuses within several disciplines: librarianship in 1970; modern languages and psychology in 1973; sociology in 1974; history, psychiatry, and public health in 1975; nursing and social work 1976; and a general Gay Academic Union in 1973 (see Noll 1978, 173–77).

. . . to a World Movement

Within two years of the Stonewall rebellion, gay liberation groups emerged in every major city and campus in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Western Europe. With a gay liberation press founded in Los Angeles (*Advocate*), New York (*Come Out!*), San Francisco (*Gay Sunshine*), Boston (*Fag Rag*), Detroit (*Gay Liberator*), Toronto (*Body Politic*), and London (*Come Together*), far-flung organizations became much more connected and aware of diverse initiatives. On three continents, gay movements in the early 1970s developed along a similar course, with parallel Left-oriented gay liberation groups forming alongside more liberal civil rights organizations. With the general decline of New Left movements in the late 1970s, self-professed gay liberation fronts faded as well, leaving reformist groups in the political field and engendering a new proliferation of gay and lesbian interest groups organized within existing institutions: in the workplace, church, the theater, social services, business, and sports.

The British experience illustrates the process in the early 1970s. The North-Western Committee of the Homosexual Law Reform Society reconstituted itself as the Committee (and then, Campaign) for Homosexual Equality (CHE) in 1969, adopting a platform aimed "to remove fear, discrimination and prejudice against homosexuals, to achieve full equality before the law, and to promote the positive acceptance of homosexuality as a valid way of life" (Marshall 1980, 78). A successful, nonthreatening formula, it attracted 60 local groups by 1972, which offered telephone counseling, regular discos and meeting places, and a concrete political agenda: equalization of the age of consent at 16, extension of the 1967 decriminalization to the military, to Scotland, and to Ulster; abolition of gross indecency laws, and freedom of the gay press (see Weeks 1977, 207–13; Galloway 1983).

Gay liberation arrived in London in 1970, when Aubrey Walter and Bob Mellors returned from New York to call a gay liberation meeting

at the London School of Economics. Like its American counterparts, the London GLF evolved through high-energy consciousness-raising groups into a collection of workshops focusing on antihomosexual practices in psychiatry, religious denominations, and government. Soon it was working on public education, women's and youth issues, the media, and street theater. Coming out, or public confrontation of its antagonists, was always a central feature of gay liberation. As well as forcing its persecutors to become aware of the maliciousness of their actions, coming out had an immensely exhilarating and self-healing effect on gay men and lesbians who had, for so long, lived a secretive and shamed existence (see Adam 1978, 126). Essential for personal and social change was gay pride, asserting the worth and capability of a people rejected as despicable and weak. For the London GLF, its first act of coming out took the form of a November 1970 demonstration in "Highbury Fields, where a prominent Young Liberal had been arrested by the police and accused of 'indecency'" (Walter 1980, 12). At its height in 1971, the GLF was active in Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol, Cardiff, Edinburgh, and Leeds. But the GLF was all but defunct by the end of 1972, torn apart by tensions between women and men, drag queens and machos, socialists and counterculturalists. By drawing together such a diversity of gay people and engendering such utopian aspirations, the GLF could not resolve the intensely different experiences of its adherents. If male domination was the problem as the feminists and effeminists agreed, then rejection of masculinity was the solution, and many GLF men briefly embraced "gender-fuck" drag—mixing beards and dresses, jewelry and leather—in order to parody gender. If sexual repression and the nuclear family were the problem, then public affection and sexual communism could be the answer. In the end, few could so radically rearrange their emotional lives, and such experiments proved more dramatic than viable. At the personal level, many who had come out for companionship and community experienced too much hostility and pain in the GLF cauldron to want to continue devoting so much of themselves to the cause, and GLF yielded to CHE's more sober and limited style.

In Canada, sporadic homophile groups had come about as early as 1964 with the Vancouver Association for Social Knowledge and in 1965 with the Ottawa Council on Religion and the Homosexual (Adam, 1993c). A group of six, who wrote an open letter to Toronto newspapers and to Liberal prime minister Lester Pearson, raised the question of decriminalization in 1964. But it was not until 1967, when the British

Parliament approved a new Sexual Offenses Act, that debate in Canada began in earnest. Also in 1967, the Supreme Court upheld the indefinite sentence of a Northwest Territories man, Everett Klippert, as a "dangerous sexual delinquent" following repeated convictions for consenting sexual relations with adult men. The following year, the justice minister, Pierre Trudeau, promised law reform, stating that "the state has no place in the bedrooms of the nation" (Sylvestre 1979, 24), and in August 1969 a new "consenting adults in private" law was proclaimed following passage by the Liberal and New Democratic parties in Parliament. (Many Conservatives and the right-wing Parti Créditiste voted no.)

The modern gay and lesbian movement took the familiar route. Campus groups organized first at the University of Toronto in 1969 and, within three years, across the nation. A Gay Liberation Front formed in 1970 in the well-developed counterculture of Vancouver and then in 1972 in Montreal (Front de Libération Homosexuel) and Toronto (Gay Action). In 1971, a group around George Hislop staked out more moderate ground with the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT).

When the first march on Parliament was held in 1971, Gays of Ottawa enunciated its law reform program: abolition of the gross indecency law, a uniform age of consent, protection through the human rights codes, equal rights for homosexual couples, destruction of police files, and the ending of discrimination in immigration, employment, custody and adoption, and housing (Jackson and Persky 1982, 217–20). A national meeting in 1972 to plan strategy for a federal election led to annual meetings coordinated by a National Gay Rights Coalition.

As in the United States and the United Kingdom, gay organizations unfolded in Canada throughout the 1970s even in small towns and rural areas where, for the first time, they often *preceded* the commercial infrastructure of bars and public meeting places. In small cities, such as Saskatoon (in 1973) and London, Ontario (in 1974), community-run clubhouses offered the first gay and lesbian places in their regions (see Warner 1976). In sparsely populated areas, such as Newfoundland, northern Ontario, and the British Columbia interior, the urban press provided the catalyst to overcome geography and connect widely dispersed gay and lesbian readers.

In Australia and New Zealand, gay and lesbian organization showed much the same pattern of development as its kin in the rest of the

English-speaking world. With the deepening involvement of Australian forces in the war against Vietnam, an antiwar movement mobilized through the late 1960s, opening an intense political debate and a crisis of confidence in the entrenched Liberal administration. Homophile groups surfaced in New Zealand in 1964 with the Dorian Society (Parkinson 1988, 168) and in Australia in 1969 with the Australian Capital Territory Homosexual Law Reform Society and the DOB in Melbourne in 1970. A more enduring homophile group, the Campaign against Moral Persecution (CAMP), formed in Sydney through the initiative of John Ware and Christabell Poll, CAMP stressed the "ordinariness of homosexuality" and sought reform through public education (see Thompson 1985, 10; Johnston 1984; Altman 1979; Watson, French, and Blockman 1983). The group quickly formed chapters in the other state capitals, issuing a journal, *CAMP Ink,* from 1971. In its first demonstration in October 1971, CAMP targeted Liberal party headquarters in Sydney to challenge the preselection candidacy of an opponent of homosexual law reform. When an election was called in 1972, a gay activist ran against the Liberal prime minister, garnering 218 votes. (A similar attempt was made against the New Zealand prime minister to publicize gay concerns.) The ensuing Labour party government decriminalized homosexuality the following year in areas of federal jurisdiction—the Australian Capital and Northern Territories. With gay liberation splitting from CAMP in the mid-1970s, public actions against media, churches, and government reached a height only to die down by 1975–76.

The postwar hegemony of the United States, especially among the advanced capitalist nations, as well as among much of the third world, has also had an impact on the social organization of homosexuality and the development of a political movement. But national traditions and varying arrays of social preconditions have led to different paths of movement development. As argued earlier, a complex set of socioeconomic factors and political possibilities created the crucible in which homosexuality became organized into gay and lesbian subcultures in Western countries. With a shared language, cultural diffusion became an important stimulus for parallel development of the gay world and its movement in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. (Despite its nationalism, Quebec cannot help but be deeply influenced by the Anglo-American culture that surrounds it.) Among other language communities and among

nations with different political legacies and economic systems, the movement, although cognizant of the Stonewall heritage, has developed along alternative paths.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, student activism and the coming to power of the Social Democrats preceded the emergence of the modern feminist and gay movements. With the end of the cold war Christian Democrat government, the Social Democrats decriminalized homosexuality in 1969, later lowering the age of consent from 21 to 18 in 1973. Campus action groups (*Aktionsgruppen*) sprang up across the country in 1971–73, often following screenings of Rosa von Praunheim's controversial film, *Not the Homosexual Is Perverse, But the Situation in Which He Lives,* which documented the gay upheaval in the United States. Among the first such groups was Homosexuelle Aktion Westberlin, which adopted an explicitly radical approach (see Stümke and Finkler 1981, 410–14).

In the Netherlands, a peculiar balance of political forces that has guaranteed a more genuinely pluralistic society than other liberal democracies combined to allow more direct participation of the 1950s homophile movements in the political process and less direct confrontation between the state and homosexuality than in Germany or English-speaking countries. The result has been considerable continuity in the national gay and lesbian federations of the Netherlands (as well as Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), all of which have worked well and have survived from their founding in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Gay liberation, although provoking a rethinking of the political agenda, never overturned the early organizations but instead became largely integrated into them, causing a partial name change for the COC from the Netherlands Homophile Association COC (selected in 1964) to the Netherlands Association for the Integration of Homosexuality COC in 1970–71 (see Tielman 1982; Ramsay, Heringa, and Boorsma 1974).[2] Lesbian and gay social integration in the Netherlands has moved toward the elimination of police supervision and censorship, while the state supports access to the media, funding for social service projects and scholarly research, and legal accommodation for gay people in immigration, housing, the military, and education.

In France, the "pederastic" committee of May 1968 disappeared as quickly as it had arisen, along with the barricades of that fateful month. Not until 1971 was there a second outburst, following an issue of *Tout* (edited by Jean-Paul Sartre), that called for sexual liberation—

free disposition over one's own body, free abortion and contraception, the right to homosexuality, and the right of minors to freedom of desire (Girard 1981, 83ff; Front Homosexuel 1971). *Tout*'s "call to arms" found hundreds of adherents—as well as police seizure of the issue as an "outrage to public morals." Here emerged the Front Homosexual Action Révolutionnaire (FHAR), which issued a *Report against Normality* (also seized by police) proclaiming a new sexual revolution. Like gay liberation, FHAR took a spontaneous turn, eschewing leadership for a series of ad hoc action groups that confronted professional "experts" and the established Left with slogans designed to explode bourgeois morality and sexual repression. The enemy was "le sexisme, le phallocratisme et l'hétérofliquisme," and FHAR declared to a startled citizenry that "we get fucked by Arabs. We're proud of it and will do it again. . . . Our asshole is revolutionary" (Girard 1981, 89–90). By 1972, FHAR had spread to major French cities and Belgium, while the Frente Unitario Omosessuale Rivoluzionario Italiano (FUORI) had sprung up in Turin, Rome, and Milan. FUORI invaded a sexology conference in San Remo to oppose the oppressive practices of penology and psychiatry. In Rome, the Associazione Culturale Roma-1, a low-profile group that had formed in 1968, became Rivolta Omosessuale in 1972, eventually evolving by 1975 into Organo del Movimento Politico degli Omosessuali (OMPO), a gay and lesbian cultural center (Consoli 1990, 63).

Again like gay liberation, FHAR soon lost its momentum, to be succeeded by a civil rights–oriented Groupe de Libération Homosexuelle (GLH), and in Italy, FUORI joined with other progressive movements affiliated with the Radical party, which took its demands to Parliament. The GLH soon split into two factions: the Groupes de Base (GLH-GB), organized in 1975 and 1976 around fighting antigay discrimination in law, employment, residence, police, and media, and the Politique et Quotidien (GLH-PQ), which developed a more radical analysis. The first group adopted the single-issue program in an effort to bring together a broad spectrum of gay people with diverse backgrounds and beliefs. It continued to look forward to a time when social distinctions based on gender and sexual orientation could be dissolved and when the commercial ghetto would fade away unneeded. With Trotskyite inspiration, the GLH-PQ argued that homosexual identity was an invention of the bourgeoisie, the better to contain unruly desires in a police-supervised ghetto. Why, the GLH-PQ militants wondered, were antihomosexual practices most concentrated in

the institutions of repression—the family, the church, the military, the police, the prison, sports, and the schools? Might the key to a liberated society be a class struggle against the bourgeoisie combined with the liberation of the repressed homosexuality holding together the institutions of repression? Neither of the GLH tendencies survived past 1978, but perhaps most notable was the GLH-PQ's unique development of some tenets of early gay liberation into the late 1970s.

In southern Europe and Latin America, gay organizations have proved much more ephemeral, traceable to important differences in economies and politics. Traditional gender differences, often labeled Latin machismo, have remained strong in societies where industrial employment encompasses a small portion of the population and women, especially, have been less able to enter wage labor and thereby upset the gender system. So strong are gender codes that gender differences inscribe themselves even within homosexuality, creating two classes of men: the machos, who may with impunity take the "active" role in sex with males or females, and the effeminates (every nation has its terminology), who are stigmatized for "degrading" themselves to the status of women, in bed and out (see Young 1973, 60ff; Carrier 1976; Lacey 1979; Arboleda 1980; Adam 1993). With a sexual semiology defined far more by gender than by sexual orientation, a gay world and identity are much less likely to develop. Lesbians, typically, have no public recognition, and the power of kin make independent same-sex relationships even less likely for women than men.

In addition, alliances between U.S. capitalists and indigenous landholding elites have often resulted in semifascist governments aided by successive U.S. administrations. Under such regimes, political organization of any kind becomes perilous. Notwithstanding these factors, small gay worlds have emerged in those sectors of Latin America that most resemble North America and Western Europe: in major cities with large mobile work forces that earn enough money to afford a drink in a bar. Diffusion of the gay ideal clearly plays a role, as well, in the commercial establishments that consciously model themselves after American examples.

In Argentina, for example, a Frente de Liberación Homosexual formed in 1973 as part of an alignment of political forces emerging at the end of a dictatorship. Six issues of *Somos* appeared that defined a clear left liberationist politics and included reports of the massacre of gay people under the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. Gay lib-

eration was forced to dissolve with the return of right-wing death squads and military government in 1976, when tens of thousands of Argentines identified with progressive movements died at their hands (see McCaskell 1976).

The first of several short-lived gay organizations began in Mexico City in 1971, when a Frente de Liberación Homosexual formed in response to the firing of several gay employees by the Sears store in Mexico City.

By the mid-1970s, gay liberation was in crisis, and out of the malaise and exhaustion after the radical phase of the gay and lesbian movement came a reorganized and diversified set of movement groups. Most central of all the divisions that fragmented early gay liberation was that between women and men, and an autonomous lesbian feminism opened the way for revitalization.

Lesbian Feminism

> Feminism at heart is a massive complaint. Lesbianism is the solution.
> —Jill Johnston, in *Ms.*

Intense political debates and dramatic shifts in analysis characterized the emergence of lesbian activism in the early 1970s. Coming out of a flux of rapidly changing and inconsistent movement strategies developing among feminists, gay liberationists, and homophile lesbians, women went through fundamental debates about what a lesbian is and what lesbians should work for. Having a much less extensive public-bar sector than gay men have, many women came out for the first time in the midst of the women's movement and struggled for both a personal and a political orientation in an environment radically different from that of "traditional" lesbians. Because these women had so much on the line and so little anchorage in tradition, their struggles over basic questions often reached a high intensity and were resolved in frequently contradictory ways.

As late as 1970, the New York Daughters of Bilitis was holding to the cautious homophile position, only to be interrupted by the police at one meeting where they had just reaffirmed their political neutrality and had abstained from joint action with the Gay Activists Alliance. They soon reversed themselves, and the DOB president, Ruth

Simpson (1977), began to invite notable feminists to speak in the ensuing months (Marotta 1981). Del Martin, a DOB cofounder, had joined the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1967, and many other lesbians were already working behind the scenes for women's rights.

Feminists at this time, however, were not always pleased to find lesbians among their ranks. Betty Friedan, in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), had endorsed the stereotype of male homosexuality, characterizing it as "shallow unreality, immaturity, promiscuity," while leaving lesbians invisible (276). When Rita Mae Brown attempted to confront heterosexism in the women's movement in 1970 as newsletter editor of the New York chapter of NOW, Betty Friedan, then the national president of NOW, denounced a supposed "lavender menace" threatening the credibility of feminism. Brown and other suspected lesbians were purged from the organization (see Brown 1972; Abbott and Love 1972, 109–12, 127; Freeman 1975, 99). Similar confrontations occurred among radical feminists in Boston and at the 1971 National Women's Conference in the United Kingdom, where attempts to raise lesbian issues were rejected as "red herrings" and "private problems" (Carden 1974, 53; Walter 1980, 150).

Lesbians received a more sympathetic welcome in San Francisco in February 1970, when Gay Women's Liberation joined with the Bay Area Women's Coalition Conference. In New York, they regrouped with activists from both women's and gay liberation to hammer out the now famous manifesto, "Woman-identified Woman." Calling themselves Radicalesbians (1971), they asserted that "a lesbian is the rage of all women condensed to the point of explosion" and pointed out that feminists could never escape the lesbian accusation. "Lesbian is the word, the label, the condition that holds women in line," they argued, "a debunking scare term that keeps women from forming any primary attachments, groups, or associations among ourselves." Lesbianism was independence from men, freedom from male approval, a matrix of women's solidarity: as such it was at the heart of feminism.

When the Second Congress to Unite Women met in New York in May, participants at a theater evening found themselves plunged into darkness. When the lights came up, they saw at the front of the auditorium 20 Radicalesbians wearing "Lavender menace" T-shirts who presented a list of grievances. The conference was liberated: workshops on lesbian issues were presented the next day, an all-women's dance was a resounding success, and the conference ended with a set of res-

olutions beginning, "Be it resolved that Women's Liberation is a Lesbian plot" (see Radicalesbians 1971; Teal 1971, 179–81; Hole and Levine 1971, 239–40; Abbott and Love 1972, 113–14).

But the war was not won. In the fall of 1970, when Gay People at Columbia held a public forum, Kate Millett came out as a lesbian in response to a question from the floor. *Time* magazine, which had promoted her as the preeminent feminist thinker, now announced her demise—a classic example of the tactics decried by the "Woman-identified Woman" manifesto. The case became a test of the new solidarity, and in a December press conference, leading feminists, such as Ti-Grace Atkinson, Gloria Steinem, Florynce Kennedy, Sally Kempton, Myrna Lamb, and Susan Brownmiller, rallied to Millett's defense. By 1971, even NOW had turned around, resolving that "N.O.W. acknowledges the oppression of lesbians as a legitimate concern of feminism." In 1973, at the behest of its Lesbian Caucus, the group appointed a National Task Force on Sexuality and Lesbianism (Abbott and Love 1972, 119–23, 134; Abbott 1978).

It had been an exhilarating time, which forged a major realignment of lesbian forces. "This was," remarked Jill Johnston (1973), "a momentous series of steps from self-hatred in guilt and secrecy to apologetic pleas for greater acceptance and legal sanctions to affirmation of identity to aggressive redefinition in the context of revolution" (149). The immediate outcome was a massive mobilization of lesbian energies in a cultural renaissance with the founding of such notable journals as *Ain't I a Woman?* (Iowa City), the *Furies* (Washington, D.C.), *Amazon Quarterly, Lesbian Tide, Sinister Wisdom* (Charlotte, N.C.), *Lesbian Connection* (Lansing, Mich.), *Long Time Coming* (Montreal), *Sappho* (London), and *Unsere Kleine Zeitung* (Berlin) as well as numerous local publications. A series of annual national women's music festivals began in 1973–74, stimulating an outpouring of creative talent, the rise of internationally known artists such as Meg Christian, Cris Williamson, Holly Near, and Margie Adam, and the founding of Olivia Records, devoted to the growing women's culture (St. Joan 1978; Nixon and Bergson 1978).

The redefinition of lesbianism as a form of feminist "nationalism" also spelled the end of the Daughters of Bilitis and secession from the gay movement. Both the New York chapter and the national DOB collapsed in the highly charged days of 1971. Rita Laporte and Barbara Grier seized the *Ladder* from the national DOB in 1970 to publish it as a radical lesbian journal from Reno, Nevada, but they were unable to

keep it going after 1972 (see Martin and Lyon 1972, 251; Grier and Reid 1976; Marotta 1981, 263–69; D'Emilio 1983, 230).

From the beginning of gay liberation, lesbians often found themselves vastly outnumbered by men who were, not surprisingly, preoccupied with their own issues and ignorant of the concerns of women. Many women became increasingly frustrated as gay liberation men set up task groups to counter police entrapment, work for sodomy law reform, or organize dances that turned out to be 90 percent male. Men took for granted many of the social conditions that made it possible for them to be gay. But lesbians needed to address fundamental problems facing all women—such as equal opportunity in employment and violence against women—in order to have sufficient independence to become lesbian. Most men had at least the financial independence of wage labor and a well-developed commercial scene to fall back on, whereas many women were struggling to gain a foothold in employment and create places where lesbians could be together. In a movement that was supposed to forward their cause, lesbians grew angry at having to devote time and energy to "reminding" men of their existence. Many lesbians suspected that gay men would be happy to accept the place befitting their sex and class while leaving the system of male domination intact. As Marie Robertson stated to the Canadian National Gay Rights Coalition, "Gay liberation, when we get right down to it, is the struggle for gay men to achieve approval for the only thing that separates them from the 'Man'—their sexual preference" (Robertson 1982, 177).

Early on, a move toward lesbian autonomy was under way. In April 1970, women-only dances were organized through the New York GLF to create a space where women could meet. In Los Angeles, the GLF Women's Caucus became Gay Women's Liberation and then Lesbian Feminism in rapid succession. Women-only meetings were held in CAMP-Sydney for similar reasons. With the apparent embrace of lesbianism by the women's movement in the early 1970s, lesbians around the world began withdrawing from gay liberation from 1971 to 1973. The Furies were founded in 1971 in Washington; Purperen Mien and Paarse September formed in Amsterdam in 1971 and 1972; London GLF split in 1972; and the Homosexuelle Aktionsgruppe Westberlin formed a Frauengruppe in 1972 (later becoming Lesbisches Aktionszentrum). Further lesbian organization in Germany usually occurred under the auspices of women's centers sponsored by feminists. Les Gouines Rouges left FHAR in Paris, and the Women's

Subcommittee of the New York GAA became Lesbian Feminist Liberation.[3]

Every social movement must at some point choose what to retain and what to reject of its past. What traits and attitudes are the results of oppression and what are healthy and authentic? Which tactics come from the wisdom of forebears in facing the enemy and which merely imitate the established power system? Every movement at some time vacillates between "nationalist" and "integrationist" positions. The black movement divided over whether it wanted to affirm similarity or difference, whether it wanted to abandon Sambo-ism and claim its share of the goods of advanced capitalism, or to affirm all things African and reject a morally bankrupt and exploitative society. Gay liberation encountered similar dilemmas. Were drag queens a heterosexist stereotype acted out by self-hating homosexual men or were they the vanguard of the new gay man, rejecting the violence and misogyny of machismo and proudly coming out with their homosexuality for all to see? Feminists were not immune to the problem. Was motherhood a burden to be collectivized (or avoided) or was it women's unique contribution to humanity? Was housework merely drudgery to be shrugged off for fulfilling and *paid* employment? Was it an essential but unrecognized component in the reproduction and maintenance of the capitalist work force?

The positions taken on these questions by lesbian feminists are inextricable from the debates of the overall women's movement. After an early period of feminist integrationism, many feminists tended toward a socialist feminist camp, which argued for a comprehensive inclusion of women, gay men, and other subordinated people in a broad front against patriarchal capitalism, or toward a certain "nationalism," which aimed for a women's culture and values wherein lesbianism was revalued as the highest expression of women's solidarity and as central to women's struggle. As Ti-Grace Atkinson (1973) remarked, "Lesbianism is to feminism what the Communist Party was to the trade union movement" (14).

Many responded favorably to the new lesbian visibility, declaring themselves "political lesbians" in solidarity without necessarily involving themselves sexually with women. After the initial euphoria wore off, however, it became clear that acceptance was often superficial. Lesbian concerns were once again too often ignored, and few heterosexual women were willing to let go of their "heterosexual privilege"—what Charlotte Bunch (1976) called the "actual or promised benefits

for the woman who stays in line," or "the small and short-term bribe in return for giving up lasting self-discovery and collective power" (60). This inaugurated yet another split with the development of "lesbian separatism" in 1972 to 1974. The separatists built within the nationalist position, defining lesbianism as a "woman-identified experience, . . . sharing of a rich inner life, the bonding against male tyranny, the giving and receiving of practical and political support" (Rich 1983, 192; Myron and Bunch 1975). Like other forms of nationalism, its theorists embarked on synthesizing a transhistorical women's mythology that reordered the universe in terms of gender opposition. Unlike the early feminists who sought to annihilate gender, insisting that such distinctions were social inventions, the nationalists adopted the opposite position, affirming an essential biological difference between men and women and working to rescue a women's culture from millennia of male domination. In contrast to male competitiveness and militarism, women would found a new civilization on their own traditions of motherhood and nurturance.

So total was the new paradigm that Jill Johnston (1975) could claim, "Considering the centrality of lesbianism to the Women's Movement it should now seem absurd to persist in associating lesbian women with the male homosexual movement. Lesbians are feminists, not homosexuals" (85). Mary Daly (1978) drew a sharp line between lesbians, whom she defined as "women who are woman-identified, having rejected false loyalties to men on all levels," and gay women, who "although they relate genitally to women, give their allegiance to men and male myths, ideologies, styles, practices, institutions, and professions." The latter group, she claimed, remained male-identified by collaborating with "heterosexist [*sic*] 'gay pride' protests promoted by and for men" (20, 26). If the pivotal distinction of human civilization is gender, then gay men are simply men and thus of little interest for lesbian politics.

The consolidation of lesbian identity around feminist nationalist precepts was not without problems for many lesbians. Women whose experience of lesbianism had been shaped by the bar community often found themselves rejected as "male-identified." Feminists of the early phase, who defined the core of feminism as the elimination of gender, believed that "all role playing is sick" including the "butch-fem" distinctions that remained an aspect of bar culture (Koedt 1973, 249; see Abbott and Love 1972, 36, 60; Marotta 1981, 250). Others were taken aback by the new "political lesbian" who wanted to "try it

out" but knew nothing of the day-to-day hardship experienced by lesbians. Barbara Ponse (1978) found that "the self-labeled political lesbian who is bisexual or heterosexual in practice is somewhat of a mystery to women who have always defined themselves as lesbians," and many felt used by apparently bisexual women who had no interest in emotional commitment (112, 123, 212). Many suspected political lesbianism to be a form of sexual "tourism"—"the one who was going to liberate herself on my body," as Rita Mae Brown (1972) put it (191; see Gay Revolution Party 1972, 179).

Paradoxically, although the redefinition of lesbianism as a form of women's class consciousness gave permission to heterosexual women to experiment with lesbianism, it tended, at the same time, to remove sexuality from lesbian identity. As Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (1983) state,

> In pointing to anger rather than eros as the wellspring of lesbianism, the [Woman identified Woman] manifesto opened the way for the desexualization of lesbian identity. . . . While the pre-feminist-movement lesbian could not forget her differences from straight women, the feminist lesbian could scarcely perceive them. Ultimately, this homogenization suppressed but could no more eliminate the tensions of difference between lesbian and straight women than it could between white women and women of color. (33)

For lesbians who decided to stay with the gay movement, feminist nationalism had taken an unfortunate turn. Whereas early feminist writers called for an end to the suppression of female sexuality, later nationalists appeared to be falling back on an image of women as above sexuality. As Jill Johnston (1973) wondered, after listening to Ti-Grace Atkinson's pleas for the political lesbian, "in her feminist rationale she had told us that the female dynamic is love and the male dynamic is sex. Translated: Man-Sex-Evil versus Woman-Love-Good" (117–18). Barbara Gittings and Kay Tobin (1978) thought that political solidarity was all very well but that the meaning of lesbianism lay elsewhere: "We believe that the majority of lesbians who come around to any gay group are not looking for analysis or warfare or reconstruction. . . . They want to meet and mix with other gay women in the legitimate pursuit of friendship and love" (151). And in an article called "Why I Am a Gay Liberationist," Chris Bearchell (1983) rejected the "imaginary world where lesbians are pure and gay men are sex perverts," arguing, "Every time a lesbian is a feminist to the world and a

lesbian only to her feminist friends she is behaving with the same 'closetry' that characterized much of ghetto life, with the additional betrayal that she is doing so in the name of freedom for women" (59).

Whereas some feminists denounced the gay movement's failure to take gender abolition as its sole issue and its willingness to embrace such politically incorrect people as drag queens and butch lesbians, others viewed the movement's willingness to embrace such a diversity as a strength. And whereas Rita Mae Brown and Martha Shelley were attacked as male-identified for promoting coalition between lesbians and people oppressed by class and race, others believed that social transformation could not be a question of gender alone. Gittings and Tobin (1978) claimed that lesbian separatists had identified the wrong enemy with their "supercharged response to sexism and male chauvinism, to the point that they spend much time and energy attacking the sexism of the handiest men around, the gay men in the movement" (151). And Bearchell (1983) complained,

> It is, after all, our sexuality, and the sexual minorities in our community, that are under attack. Here, it seems, is where we must defend ourselves. But suddenly the same radical feminists who had denounced gay liberationists for our concern with such un-radical things as rights, were nervous about being in a coalition with us because we might take some not-quite-respectable position on sex. (59)

Gay men's reactions to the lesbian secession ranged from breast-beating to confusion and resentment. About the time many feminists became political lesbians, some gay men became "effeminists," taking to heart lesbian criticism of their male privilege and renouncing all personal signs of masculinity. The effeminists recalled the earlier debates over drag in gay liberation and later reemerged as "radical faeries" searching for a tradition of "gay male spirituality" parallel to feminist cultural nationalism. Harry Hay, a founder of the first Mattachine, and his lover, John Burnside, figured among its relatively small number of adherents (Collier and Ward 1980; Hardy 1980). Most gay organizations scrambled—often too late—to accommodate lesbian demands, but some groups successfully retained female and male participation by moving toward parity decision making in the organization's day-to-day affairs. Many of the tensions between lesbians and gay men, then, stemmed from a tendency of many gay men to ignore the structural inequality that lesbians shared with other

women and to expect lesbians to understand themselves only as a sexual minority, while the "nationalist" school of lesbian feminism (see Frye 1983) tended to ignore the violence that straight men directed toward gay men and to expect male homosexuality to be a variant of male solidarity against women.

With the feminist movement continuing to develop inconsistent trends in the late 1970s, debates on the future of lesbian organization went on unabated. Cultural nationalism offered quite a different agenda for lesbian struggle than did integrationist approaches, whether from a liberal civil rights approach or from a more radical socialist feminist model. The immediate outcome of these conflicts was considerable fragmentation of lesbian energies and a renewed confrontation between these tendencies in the sex debates of the 1980s. But for this story, we must look at the movement in the 1980s.

The Movement and the Grass Roots

The paradox of the 1970s was that gay and lesbian liberation did not produce the gender-free communitarian world it envisioned, but faced an unprecedented growth of gay capitalism and a new masculinity. While debates raged inside the movement, the actions of gay liberationists and lesbian feminists entered a larger political field, which transformed and expanded the gay world in unexpected directions.

The most immediate effect of the movement on the masses of gay men and lesbians, who were largely unacquainted with its internal debates and struggles, was a new sense of pride, an honest affirmation of a personal emotional life, a sense of relief at not having always to hide or apologize, and a new claim (or reclamation) of the symbols of masculinity. After the "gender-fuck" drag of the early 1970s and the intense critique of gender, both lesbians and gay men began more and more to embody a certain working-class ideal of masculinity; the fashion was "jeans and denim workmen's overalls . . . topped by a man's T-shirt or workshirt . . . [and] heavy men's workboots or sneakers" (Cassell 1972, 83; see Faderman 1992). While heterosexual men were relaxing into a new androgyny in the 1970s, adopting longer hair, brighter colors, and softer fabrics, gay men and lesbians were making a mass commitment to denim, plaid, and leather.

The gender shift is perhaps not so surprising in retrospect. Masculine symbols offer the most ready-at-hand vocabulary of self-assertion. As gay people gained self-confidence and demanded

respect, they began to present themselves as serious and tough. Still, it is important not to confuse this artful masculinity with conventional male chauvinism. The new gay masculinity had a specific meaning. It was an open secret among gay men that the apparent motorcyclists and cowboys standing in gay bars were gentle men at heart. Although this cultivated masculinity was a disappointment to gay men of the old school who thought they wanted "real men," for most the apparent inconsistency was attractive and right. Among lesbians, the new dress code rejected the incapacitating delicacy and frilliness vaunted by the heterosexist press in favor of the self-reliant image of the Amazon. Once the new self-confidence was fully internalized, the masculinist style began to wane—but more quickly for lesbians than for gay men.

In another sense, the new masculinity participated in one of the deepest aspirations of the movement—that is, to develop egalitarian relationships free from role playing. In this, the movement was an inheritor of a 200-year trend toward egalitarian ideals in the companionate marriage. Long the victims of male violence and control in families, women had sought to improve their status at home and espouse full equality. It might be argued that homosexual relationships have an inherent interest in shedding gender and that they have, in fact, pioneered work sharing and role flexibility in coupled relationships. Whether ahead of or with progressive trends in heterosexual relationships, Stonewall marked a decisive break with a waning tradition of gender within homosexuality. The masculinization of the 1970s dissolved remnants of the "real man" versus "queer" distinction (described earlier as the Latin American model), which is so evident in historical documents of gay life in the West (see Chauncey 1985). As Rudy Kikel (1981) put it, "Up until liberation, I really feel that we were all in love with straight men. . . . what we found was that we could find that [maleness] in each other. And the great benefit was that we became sexual objects for each other" (12). As well, sex roles (as opposed to gender) largely disappeared in the 1970s in that "the most common set of sexual preferences among gay males is for all roles, both oral and anal and active and passive" (Harry 1976–77, 150). Joseph Harry found only a folk distinction between "versatile" and "not versatile" but not a distinction between sex roles.[4]

None of this is to say that the new trends solved the much thornier micropolitics of day-to-day living or that gender entirely lost its meanings. As women have increasingly entered male-identified jobs and vice versa (and gay people are on the cutting edge of this change),

gender has become more and more disarticulated from the division of labor. Still, problems of initiative and response, active and passive, domination and submission, continue to crop up in actual relationships, and discussions of them inevitably become entangled in gender vocabularies, which have so long characterized the differences. In the gay world, drag has been shunted off to the side, becoming a "little tradition" outside a larger mainstream. Transvestism has become a world of its own, with many female impersonators developing professional identities and straight audiences. Debates among lesbians about butch-fem relationships have resurfaced to recover what was valuable in the bar dyke tradition and to rearticulate feelings and practices that egalitarian slogans never dealt with.

The other paradoxical outcome of gay liberation was the expansion of the gay ghetto. The success of the movement in beating back stage management and repression of gay places allowed for a new generation of businesses oriented to a gay market. Within a decade, every major city in North America and Western Europe had a new range of bars and saunas, restaurants and discos, travel agents and boutiques, lawyers and life insurers, social services and physicians, who catered specifically to a gay clientele. At the same time, there was a remarkable development of many women-owned and -operated places, many of which were havens for lesbians.

While gay liberation zapped public institutions, a new class of small businessmen (and some women) began carving out a commercial ghetto that directly touched the lives of many more gay people than the movement itself. While gay liberation theory presumed that the release of homosexuality would explode conventional sexual and familial arrangements, capitalist environments cultivated new institutions compatible with itself. The result, remarked Dennis Altman (1980), was a new masculine gay man who was "non-apologetic about his sexuality, self-assertive, highly consumerist and not at all revolutionary, though prepared to demonstrate for gay rights" (52).

The capitalization of homosexuality in the 1970s shaped gay male identity in quite another way. Neither Ginsberg's vision of "tender lovers and fellows" nor gay liberation's democratic gay community could come to pass under such auspices. As businessmen developed efficient sex delivery systems for gay men, a world of adhesive comrades and brothers became a more remote ideal. The unique potential inherent in homosexuality to rehumanize relationships among men became increasingly closed off in favor of orgasm without communica-

tion. Relationships among men were participating in the growing sexual reductionism of the current century: male bonding in the commercial gay world tended to implode into its sexual aspect, and those who did manage to make long-term commitments to each other often withdrew from the commercial world to do so. As Laud Humphreys (1972) observed, "In the *Wealth of Nations,* Adam Smith postulated the ideal form of human relationship as being specific, depersonalized, short-term and contractual. This capitalist ideal is realized in the sex exchange of the homosexual underworld [*sic*]" (66).

The new sexual "freedom" brought a tremendous release of energy and profound exploration of erotics as a value in itself. Early gay and lesbian liberationists looked forward to an era of plural bonding, freed of the oppressive weight of monogamy, jealousy, and sexual boredom. But many gay men began to feel a certain sexual alienation and emotional suffocation.[5]

Thus, whereas the lesbian movement began to submerge sexual topics under talk of sisterhood, thereby slipping back toward traditional definitions of female sexuality, gay men found themselves unable to talk forthrightly of their need for love, confirming traditional male socialization that demands that men be sexual but unemotional. As Andrew Holleran (1979) confessed in a perceptive article for *Christopher Street,*

> Last week in the baths I was sitting in a corner waiting for Mister Right when I saw two men go into an even darker nook and run through the entire gamut of sexual acts. And when they were finished—after all these *kisses* . . . and *moans* and *gasps,* things that caused scandals in the nineteenth century, toppled families, drove Anna Karenina to suicide— . . . after all that, they each went to a separate bedroom to wash up. Now you may view this as the glory of the zipless fuck, but I found it suddenly—and it surprised me, for I'd always adored this event before—the most reductive, barren version of sex a man could devise. (12)

The commercial gay world could provide "fast-food" sex, but it did nothing to nurture lasting relationships among men. It contained and marketed gay male sexuality back to gay men, but reproduced the competitive alienation among men experienced in the larger society. It was, in fact, as Joseph Harry and William Devall (1978) found, a satisfactory arrangement for "persons with significant components of heterosexuality in their self-identity" who "vacationed" in the gay ghetto

but had no interest in emotional involvement with other men.[6] But for gay men, it was not always enough.

The irony of the 1970s, then, was the ease with which gay and lesbian aspirations were assimilated, contained, and overcome by the societies in which they originated. The gender challenge of the liberation movements (itself imminent in the increasingly complex division of labor of modern capitalism) became the gender affirmation of the end of the decade, whether as gay male masculinity or lesbian feminist nationalism. The socialist challenge of the New Left helped contribute to its opposite: a bigger commercial ghetto. Still, these paradoxes were not simply historical cycles or pendulum swings against an unchanging background. Each social convulsion pulled out, amplified, and rewove disparate, discursive strands into different social patterns. Each stage experimented with new combinations of received elements, producing a changed social fabric. But the disarray of outcomes was soon to fall prey to a reorganized enemy as conservative forces in the United States formed the New Right.

Chapter Six

The Rise of the New Right

> He struggles with dream figures, and his blows strike living faces.
> —Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1968, 143)

On 7 June 1977 voters in Dade County, Florida, repealed a six-month-old civil rights ordinance that had prohibited discrimination on the grounds of "sexual orientation." Through 1978, similar repeals grew into a wave striking down equal rights laws across the United States. Emboldened by an increasingly reactionary climate, police and street violence against gay people escalated, television programs appeared resurrecting old stereotypes, and many public leaders shed their veneer of liberalism to attack gay people as immoral sexual predators and threats to the family. After a tumultuous year and a half, Harvey Milk, the best-known openly gay public official in the United States, was assassinated.

The reactionary trends of the late 1970s encompassed much more than the rights of gay people. A disparate set of opponents to New Left and liberal ideals was pulling together into a more coordinated force. Segregationists and antibusing groups chipped away at voting rights legislation, affirmative action programs, and health and social services won by the civil rights movement. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), intended to stop discrimination against women, went down to defeat, and "right to life" groups challenged feminist claims to a right to control one's own body, including a right to terminate pregnancy. Under the guise of reducing government regulation, business associa-

tions pressed for lowered health and safety standards and for so-called right-to-work legislation designed to contain and destroy labor unions.

The new conservatism appeared primarily in English-speaking countries and preeminently in the United States. In France, southern Europe, and much of Latin America, the 1980s brought social democratic governments or, at least, an end to dictatorship and an often improved political climate for lesbians and gay men. Opposition there tended to come from extremist, neofascist groups enjoying little popular support. In France, for example, a small fascist commando unit ransacked a gay film festival in 1978, but the far right had little electoral impact or long-term effect on the civil liberties of lesbians and gay men. In West Germany as well, gay movement meetings suffered disruptions by neo-Nazis, who, in one incident, assaulted a meeting hall in Munich with tear gas (Girard 1981, 144; Rusche 1984a). In the United States, on the other hand, reactionary ideologies gained significant popular support and fueled new repressive moves. What, then, led to the events of the late 1970s and early 1980s and what structural and historical changes gave rise to the New Right?

A look at the Save Our Children organization, which led the Dade County repeal, reveals a profile of the antigay forces. Headed by evangelist singer Anita Bryant, the antigay campaign drew together conservative religious leaders and politicians. Founding the campaign squarely on fundamentalist church networks, Bryant garnered support from the National Association of Evangelicals, representing more than three million people from 60 denominations (Wuthnow 1983, 173). Through its television programs (such as "PTL Club," "700 Club," and "The Old-Time Gospel Hour") the electronic church gave Bryant a nationwide platform and raised funds for her, while Jerry Falwell campaigned in person and B. Larry Coy, from the Falwell ministries, became a campaign director. The right-wing Christian Cause, a direct-mail political lobby, also drew on a national reservoir of conservatives, extending its purview to supporters from Jewish and Roman Catholic hierarchies. The archbishop for Miami sent around a pastoral letter to local Roman Catholic churches, calling on their congregations to vote against civil rights for lesbians and gay men, and 28 rabbis and the president of the Miami Beach B'nai B'rith joined the chorus. Close supporters and directors of the campaign included Florida senators and its governor, antiabortion and anti-ERA activists, police representatives, YMCA and Kiwanas leaders, a football manager, and psychia-

trists who had fought to keep homosexuality labeled "sick" (Young 1982, 37; Bryant 1977).

The gay defense campaign, organized as the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights (DCCHR), and the Miami Victory Campaign opted for a "'high-toned' human rights approach of flag-waving and pictures of the endangered American constitution" (Merrill 1977–78, 11). Gay businessmen and Democratic party gay club leaders chose a professionally directed media campaign for the DCCHR, eschewing door-to-door canvassing and ignoring Miami's large Cuban and black communities. The media campaign ran afoul of pro-Bryant editorials and continual suppression and cutting of progay ads in the Miami newspapers (consistent with their editorial stance in the McCarthy years). Only the Miami Victory Campaign made belated efforts at popular mobilization. On 7 June 1977, equal rights were repealed by a massive margin: 202,319 to 83,319.

Within a few months, Anita Bryant was on tour throughout the United States and Canada. In April 1978, the city of St. Paul, Minnesota, lost its gay rights law in a referendum vote of 54,090 to 31,690; in May, Wichita, Kansas, repealed by 47,246 to 10,005.[1] The Oklahoma state legislature joined in, unanimously passing a law to dismiss teachers who "advocate" or "practice" homosexuality.

When the antigay crusade arrived in Eugene, Oregon, many now classic traits were apparent (Gay Writers' Group 1983). The New Right group, calling itself Volunteer Organization Involved in Community Enactments of the People (VOICE), relied heavily on fundamentalist churches for its labor, attracting small- and big-business financing and local Republican party organizers. The winning ideological formula equated the no-discrimination law with "child molesting," "gay recruiting," "boy prostitution," "threat to the family," and a "national gay conspiracy," adding the argument that "the majority has the right to do business with and rent to people of their choice." Presented as a "freedom of conscience" issue, the repeal campaign asserted the right of local capitalists to employ and lodge only those whom they like, against the right of workers and minorities to earn a livelihood and find shelter. In May 1978, the rights of gay people in Oregon again suffered a loss by 23,000 to 13,427.

The next confrontation was to come in November. The New Right hoped to consolidate its successes in a fifth repeal campaign in Seattle and in an Oklahoma-style proposal in California to dismiss anyone

"encouraging, or promoting private or public homosexual activity . . . likely to come to the attention of children." In California, the attempted civil rights rollback faced well-established gay and lesbian communities that understood it as a threat to their very survival. San Francisco—Carl Wittman's "refugee camp of Amerika"—had just gained its first gay city supervisor with the 1977 election of Harvey Milk. Gay neighborhoods had emerged around Castro and Folsom streets; they were "liberated zones" to some and "ghettos" to others, but in any case a territorialization of sexual desire in a political system based on geographical representation. As Manuel Castells (1983) remarked, "Many gays were able to live in their neighborhoods because they organized collective households and they were willing to make enormous economic sacrifices to be able to live autonomously and safely as gays . . . a financial and social cost that only 'moral refugees' are ready to pay" (160–61).[2] While the white middle classes were abandoning the cores of many cities across the United States, gay people were intent on building habitable urban communities enriched by street life and indigenous festivals in aesthetic surroundings. In San Francisco, the Castro Street Fair, first organized by Harvey Milk in 1974, had become one such festival.

Gay and lesbian settlement in San Francisco, Castells points out, filled in city space left over and "opposed by property, family, and high class: the old triumvirate of social conservatism" (153). When Harvey Milk at last entered City Hall after a number of tries, he counted on the support of the dispossessed of San Francisco—a coalition of labor unions, blacks, Asians, Chicanos, feminists, hippies, and, of course, lesbians and gay men.[3] His electoral program opposed the destruction of neighborhoods by big capital and called for a fair tax to force big business to pay its share of city revenue, making a populist appeal for a city governed *for* its inhabitants.

When the Dade County repeal became known in June of 1977, 3,000 had turned out in San Francisco to protest; a year later, as the reactionaries swept toward the Pacific coast, 250,000 rallied for Gay Pride Day in 1978. Public opinion polls in the summer of 1978 revealed a likely win for the antigay initiative sponsored by State Senator John Briggs, which was to expel from the school system gay men and lesbians as well as those who presented homosexuality positively. Some 30 organizations sprang up across California in response, most notably the Bay Area Committee against the Briggs Initiative (BACABI), the Committee against the Briggs Initiative, Los Angeles (CABILA), and

Concerned Voters of California. Whereas the latter group, sponsored by *Advocate* publisher David Goodstein, took the cautious approach pioneered in Miami, stressing abstract principles, the respectability of gay people, and conventional public relations strategies, BACABI and CABILA aimed for mass mobilization and high visibility (see Ward and Freeman 1979; Hollibaugh 1978). They took every opportunity to call out public demonstrations and confront Briggs's supporters in public forums.

Harvey Milk debated with Briggs on television and in town halls, taking on each of Briggs's inflammatory claims by pointing out, for example, that child abuse was an overwhelmingly heterosexual problem (there had been no case of homosexual molestation of children in California schools), and that far from removing governmental control, the Briggs Initiative would place the state in the bedrooms of the nation. In the end, the gay and lesbian movement succeeded in winning endorsements from a series of unions (teachers, auto workers, steelworkers, Teamsters, culinary workers, postal workers) and from black and Chicano leaders, including Angela Davis and United Farm Workers leader César Chávez. Apart from a contribution from the Atlantic Richfield oil company, the Briggs forces relied on the evangelical churches and fund-raising lists compiled by the Anita Bryant campaign (a consortium that became Christian Voice), winning endorsements from the Los Angeles County Deputy Sheriffs Association, the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Nazi party (Shilts 1982, 247). California voters rejected Briggs's Proposition 6, 58 to 42 percent.

On that same day in November, Seattle voters retained their gay rights law by 63 to 37 percent. The repeal forces, led by two police officers, had suffered a blow mid-campaign when one of their leaders, Dennis Falk, murdered a black youth while on duty. With sufficient lead time to campaign in a generally liberal city, a willingness to go to the people and build coalitions, and the bungling of its opponents, the three gay defense groups scored an impressive victory.

Many breathed a sigh of relief that the New Right was not invincible, but within weeks, Harvey Milk was felled by an assassin's bullets. His murderer was a former city supervisor, Dan White. White had been a police officer in San Francisco and had won a seat in City Hall in 1977 with a promise to keep a youth home out of his ward. On a city council evenly divided between neighborhood activists representing gay, feminist, black, and Asian concerns on the one side and more tra-

ditional probusiness representatives on the other, White soon attracted business interest, eventually taking up an offer to open a fast-food franchise in a major business redevelopment project. His vote on council tipped the balance toward big-business interests with tax breaks and development incentives granted through city legislation. White also cast the only vote against a gay rights ordinance introduced by Harvey Milk and opposed city cooperation with Gay Freedom Day celebrations. After resigning in the fall of 1978 and then wishing to regain his seat, White found Mayor George Moscone unwilling to reappoint him. Believing himself betrayed by the liberal bloc on the council, he shot both the mayor and Harvey Milk in their City Hall offices on 27 November (see Weiss 1984, esp. 100, 126, 158–59).

San Franciscans responded with a massive candle-lit procession to City Hall to commemorate its slain reformers. Five months later, they would return in rage. In the interim, Dan White had gone to trial where police witnesses characterized him as "a man among men . . . [and the] most valuable player [in the] law enforcement softball tournament." Psychiatrists pronounced him "depressed" and suffering from "diminished capacity" owing to a junk-food diet. On 21 May 1979, a jury from which gay people had been excluded convicted White on a manslaughter charge that carried a sentence of seven years and eight months. (In fact, White was released after little more than five years on 6 January 1984.) Though the murder of public officials was subject to the death sentence in California, White had received the lightest possible penalty. The day of the verdict, thousands marched on City Hall, protesting that White had "got away with murder" and that the court had declared "open season on faggots." At City Hall, the insurgents set 11 police cars aflame and smashed City Hall windows; 120 went to the hospital with injuries (Weiss 1984, 407–13; Shilts 1982, 329; McCaskell 1979). The police, many of whom had sported "Free Dan White" T-shirts during the White trial and had invaded a bar a month earlier where they beat several lesbians, now retaliated with a siege of Castro Street, attacking pedestrians and destroying a gay bar.

A tumultuous two years ended with a different kind of response from lesbians and gay men. Before, when Nazis and McCarthyites had targeted gay people, they proved unable to respond effectively. Nearly all attempted to fend for themselves individually by running for cover, adopting the duplicity of closetry, and playing the heterosexist game through marriage and conformity.[4] Individual solutions exacted an

immense cost through the psychological suffocation and fear suffered by those in hiding and, more gravely, through the incarceration and murder of thousands ferreted out by the state and its agents. This time, gay people resisted, intending to seize their own destiny and conserve the small spaces they had so laboriously carved out of the cities. When homosexuality was a "vice," an "illness," or a "luxury," it could never resist the depredations of moral entrepreneurs, police, or kin, and Western history is the record of centuries of underground homosexual life. Only by embracing it as an identity could homosexual desire be reorganized as a collectivity capable of defending itself from its enemies.

The Sources of Homophobia

But where did these enemies come from and why did they take on themselves the fight against homosexuality? The answer is not an easy one—no easier than tracing the roots of Nazism and McCarthyism—but like these reactionary movements, a set of constituencies, networks, and alliances can be identified. In brief, three components of the opposition deserve attention. First are the adherents of a number of single-issue groups, many of which appeared in the mid- and late 1970s to defend traditional social arrangements against their critics. Most important here are a range of groups focused on "family" and sexuality, such as antiabortion, anti-ERA, antipornography, and antigay campaigns per se, and also groups with overlapping membership and leadership that oppose gun control and support the military buildup and economic empire building of the United States in the third world. Second are the 22 percent of the United States population who identify themselves as evangelicals and who thereby adopt a religious ideology of general social conservatism and particular homophobia. In many ways, this constituency has been a traditional source of American conservatism, having been the major force behind the temperance movement and the prohibition of alcohol during the 1920s, a bulwark against science and Enlightenment values (best known from the Scopes trial of 1925, where the theory of evolution was condemned as a heresy), and a proponent of McCarthyism and other anticommunist organizations, as well as antifluoridation, antiobscenity, and anti–secular education campaigns in the 1950s (see Gusfield 1963; Hughey 1982). The third component, which has largely distinguished the New Right from the old, is a significant fraction of

the capitalist class (from both the corporate elite and small business) and its political organizers who seek to pull together the first two components into a political force supportive of capitalist development unfettered by state regulation, community control, civil rights, or international law.

Having identified three components, it is important to bear in mind that these social formations do not form a coherent bloc. On the one hand, many individuals and groups do not support others in this apparent alliance. Antiabortion groups that draw disproportionately from Roman Catholics, for example, usually show little interest in other portions of the evangelical agenda. Conservative Jews who join with the religious right must contend with a long tradition of anti-Semitism among American evangelicals. On the other hand, important convergences are evident as the same right-wing ideologues and organizers often appear among the leadership of organizations spanning a diversity of issues.

The "profamily" coalition is one response to a number of social indicators often interpreted as meaning the "breakdown of the nuclear family." Interpretation of rising divorce and abortion statistics, the growing visibility of gay people, and the identification of widespread wife and child abuse have set feminists and gay liberationists apart from the recent single-issue movements. Whereas the former point to dissatisfaction with a family form characterized by male domination and a limiting division of labor as the source of change, the latter typically call for the suppression of the alternatives to the traditional family in favor of state intervention to shore it up. And whereas the liberationists seek to disestablish the legally bound family system that presumes and enforces female dependence in favor of the freedom to choose among domestic alternatives, the traditionalists (who, ironically, condemn big government in the next breath) enlist government to curb working mothers, single parents, and gay and lesbian families along with child-care centers, refuges for battered wives, and child custody for gay parents, all of which provide escape routes from the patriarchal family system. For many people who find that the traditional arrangement of male wage earner and housewife "works," feminism has been experienced as an attack on their personal worth and an invitation *not* to fulfillment in a professional job but to abandonment in an unfriendly labor market. The statistics on female poverty speak clearly of the casualties of family breakdown as female-headed households make up the bulk of the very poor.

During her campaign against equal employment rights for gay people, Anita Bryant worried that "so many married men with children who don't have a happy marriage are going into the homosexual bars for satisfaction" (Kelley 1978, 76). The core of Phyllis Schlafly's campaign against the ERA shared similar anxieties, claiming in Frances FitzGerald's (1981b) words, "If women behave themselves sexually, then men will have to marry them, stay married, and support them. That there exists a trade-off between sexual propriety and financial security for women is in fact the underlying theme of all the 'pro-family' groups" (25). The ERA, opponents worried, "would consign married women to the same unhappy predicament of unwed or deserted mothers, by lifting from husbands and fathers any special obligation to support their families" (Boles 1979, 106). Ironically, as advocates of the free market, the New Right appears to believe that the traditional trade-off could not survive a free market of alternatives and that too many would abandon it without state institutionalization.

For inhabitants of advanced capitalist societies, families have been charged with emotional meaning as havens in a heartless world. Especially for male wage-earners, the competitive, impersonal labor of capitalist employment contrasts with the promise of trusting, nuturing relationships at home. Given this symbolic opposition, any threat to the family portends a completely contractual world where sex, food preparation, and child rearing would all presumably become only impersonal paid services. As Linda Gordon and Allen Hunter (1977–78) have remarked of the profamily movement, "The images of the aborted fetuses, the emphasis on the cruelty of abortion, reflects a fear for the withdrawal of motherly compassion" (14; see also Luker 1984, 163). For the traditionalists, "sexual freedom has dissolved the bonds of the society, leaving nothing but a quasi-criminal anarchy in the home, the workplace, and the school" (FitzGerald 1981b, 25). There is a need, then, that sex not become too easy. Allowing abortion and contraceptives, especially to youths, or sex education in schools contributes to lowering the double standard. Indeed, sociological research on the profamily forces frequently reveals their strongest support comes from women who are housewives without advanced education (and thus limited job prospects), with more than three children and with strong church participation: prochoice groups more often include women who are "educated, affluent, liberal professionals" (Luker 1984, 194–98; see Conover and Gray 1983, 111). For many whose options appear to be the continued dependence and security of

the patriarchal family or else abandonment in a heartless labor market, the ERA and gay rights apparently symbolize a future fraught with difficulties.

The irony of the New Right position is its fervent support of American capitalism at the same time as it struggles against modernity. Like the racists who observe black ghetto poverty and then conclude that black people cause urban decay, the profamily people confuse cause and effect, problem and solution. Black history shows that impoverished sharecroppers, attracted northward by the promise of a better life in industrial employment, found instead residential segregation, unstable employment, and a white capitalist class with little interest in investing its profits back into black neighborhoods. Similarly, the modern gay and lesbian communities, which have created new styles of community and intimacy in modern, anomic societies, are instead identified with the loss of community that is characteristic of modern capitalist societies. What is missing from the New Right analysis is the entire social mechanism that engenders the changes they so fear, for it is capitalist economic development that opened alternatives to kin-controlled livelihoods; that offered medical, food, and domestic services on a cash market; that employed women as a cheap, docile reserve of labor; and that constructed the heartless labor market that dissolved kin obligations, thereby creating new pressures and opportunities that have made new forms of intimacy possible.

Caught in this symbolic vortex, homosexuality for the New Right, as for the Nazis, signifies the modernity, the sexual freedom, and the dissolving underpinnings of traditional domesticity. The reactionaries have never been interested in the *experience* of gay people or in hearing their voices, often priding themselves in their ignorance of the subject and demanding that gay and lesbian speech be silenced as "obscene," "immoral," or "subversive," thereby giving free reign to their own projective fantasies of child molesters and sex fiends. Perhaps what is most remarkable about modern homosexuality is, in fact, the refounding of intimacy and community on the very sites of advanced capitalist development: in the commercial sex scene (bars and baths), in declining urban districts used up and abandoned by investors, and in the workplace.[5] Like racists, whose short-circuited analysis jumps over the social and historical antecedents of black poverty, heterosexists protect the causes of their anxieties and blame those who are trying to cope with the same difficult environment. Like the Nazis, who found it much easier to attack a visible but relatively

powerless symbol of modernity, heterosexists displace their fear and anger of modern society on lesbians and gay men.

Evangelical churches figure prominently in the profamily movement, both in leadership and in popular support. Symbolic of the once dominant rural white Protestant class in the history of the United States, evangelicals have been fighting a century-long campaign to retain moral and political influence in an increasingly diverse and secular society. Since the split of American Protestantism in the 1920s between a liberal majority, which has accommodated itself to the exigencies of urban capitalism, and a conservative minority, intent on preserving the moral absolutism characteristic of the agrarian roots of Christianity, Evangelicals have manifested several strategies to conserve tradition. When faced with a world where old cognitive maps prove inapplicable, people can revise their worldviews (as did the liberal Protestants), withdraw from the larger society, or attempt to preserve or restore the old order. Each strategy has a very different political impact, and the Anabaptist and Pentecostal tendencies usually choose to insulate themselves from secular cultures and abstain from mainstream politics, some building communities dedicated to preserving antiquated life-styles in their entirety (see Hunter 1983).

It is among the Baptists that political activism combines with Christian traditionalism, but even here there are important divisions. Black Baptists have always been much more impressed by biblical themes of brotherhood, freedom, and the promised land than by the moralism and authoritarianism of the white churches, and Baptists have been central in the struggle for black civil rights from Martin Luther King, Jr., to Jesse Jackson. It is conservative white Baptists who tread the fine line between disengagement from a world of secular humanism and political engagement. Biblical injunctions alone, then, explain very little about religious responses to homosexuality, as their interpretation is as diverse as the political spectrum itself. White fundamentalist Baptism has developed a peculiar ideology that George Lipsitz (1983–84) calls a mixed "cult of self-improvement," and "religion of upward mobility, encouraged adjustment, amicability, optimism, and conformity" (101). Its preachers rage against the heterogeneity of American society, which has dislodged the absolutist vision of fundamentalism from its once privileged status and forced it to retreat into being no more than one private confession among many. Their fervent identification with the American state and its

imperial ambitions, their adoration of nineteenth-century capitalist ideologies of frontier individualism, and their zealous belief that God is on their side are a unique construction of Christian doctrine paralleled only by the other essentially nativist American church, the Mormons.

The peculiarities of white fundamentalist beliefs stem from the sociological base of the Evangelical churches. When compared with other denominations, Evangelicals are more often older, married, and female, have lower education and income, and live in rural areas especially in the southern states (Hunter 1983, 49; Lienesch 1982; Simpson 1983, 188, 195). At the opposite extreme, those with no religion are more often male, single, skilled workers or professionals, and live in urban centers in the western states. The demographic profile bears comparison with supporters and opponents of women's and gay issues. Opponents of the gay equal rights ordinance in Eugene, Oregon, were disproportionately older, Evangelical, less educated, and members of traditional families; supporters were younger, single, well educated, and unreligious (Gay Writers' Group 1983, 23). The profile of opponents to the ERA (when compared with supporters) shows trends toward women with lower education and income, white middle-aged men, and rural dwellers who attend church regularly. Black people supported the ERA overwhelmingly.[6] Psychological studies of homophobia have also found it correlated with measures of racial prejudice and endorsement of traditional gender roles, and the contours of antigay dogma show many of the same traits as other racisms (MacDonald et al. 1973; Henley and Pincus 1978; Adam 1978, 42–51; Seltzer 1992; Herek 1988).

This is also a very well organized constituency. Of all the religious groups in the United States, Evangelicals attend church most frequently and give it money most consistently, also turning out to vote in elections at the highest rate. This gives Evangelicals political influence that extends well beyond their numbers, and new gains in television have greatly increased their apparent strength. Because time and space in communications media in the United States are commodities like any other, access to the nation is a simple question of money. Whereas religious broadcasting was once a public service given to a variety of local viewpoints, by "1980, ninety percent of all religion on television was commercial," bought by the new religious right (FitzGerald 1981a, 59). Most notable of these are Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour," Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, and a host of smaller electronic evangelists who campaign for money

with images of the starving in Africa, or the scare tactics of lesbian and gay teachers in the classroom. In addition to the television church, Falwell's Moral Majority and Robertson's Christian Voice issue regular direct-mail appeals. A 1981 letter from Falwell warns, "Please remember, homosexuals do not reproduce! They recruit! And, many of them are out after my children and your children"; a Christian Voice fund-raising letter cries, "Can't let militant gays, ultra liberals, atheists, porno pushers, pressure Congress into passing Satan's agenda instead of God's" (Young 1982, 307, 309). More recent letters exploit the fear of AIDS to raise funds for antigay campaigns. In 1979, the gay movement succeeded in temporarily removing television preacher James Robison from the air in Dallas and New York, arguing that gay people should at least have equal time to refute the endless barrage of vilification. Because the television networks refused gay people *any* time, they canceled Robison's show rather than apply the equal-time principle. Before long, however, Robison was restored as was.

Finally, the group that has attracted most recent attention has been corporate families and political organizers seeking to harvest the social conservatives for the advancement of corporate capitalism and have scored notable successes in shaping U.S. government policy. Best known is Richard Viguerie, a fund-raiser for the George Wallace presidential bid, who compiled a massive mailing list of American conservatives and has proven successful in direct-mail fund-raising for various New Right causes. Viguerie, Paul Weyrich (Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress), Terry Dolan (National Conservative Political Action Committee), and Howard Phillips (Conservative Caucus) attracted significant capitalist backing to create a set of political lobbies and policy institutes with which to cultivate the profamily, single-issue, and religious-right organizations for the capitalist class.

Most evident among the funding sources is the Joseph Coors family (breweries). The Coors corporation has a lengthy record of intimidating employees with lie-detector tests to root out Communists, gay people, and union sympathizers, and it has a reputation for excluding women, blacks, and Chicanos from advancement in the corporation. One of Harvey Milk's early political accomplishments was to forward Howard Wallace's campaign to remove Coors beer from San Francisco gay bars. The financial linkages between the American corporate elite and New Right organizations are not easy to discover, but well documented is the backing of the Scaife Foundation (Mellon fortune in steel, Gulf Oil, and banking), Pew Freedom Trust (Sun Oil),

billionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt, the Marriott family (hotels and amusement parks), the Hearst family (newspapers), Amway corporation, California industrialist Robert Fluor, and, according to the *Washington Post,* donations from Weyerhaueser, Ford, *Reader's Digest,* Potlach, Mobil, Coca-Cola, Consolidated Foods, Ashland Oil, Citibank, Republic Steel, General Motors, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and IBM.[7]

All this political maneuvering occurred against a backdrop of events directly shaped by the same elite actors. The economic recession of the late 1970s and the retrenchment of major industries increased unemployment, creating greater defensiveness in a population anxious for its livelihood. As American capitalism continued its trend toward capital-intensive high-technology production at home while relying on third-world sources for its cheap labor supply, American workers, women, and minorities were forced toward "concessions" and "conservation" of their positions and away from the struggle for greater equality. As the capitalist class maintains a near monopoly over mass communications media in the United States, it can as well provide interpretations, frame debates, and set agendas for social problems and their solutions, including explanations for economic rollbacks and the deployment of force both at home and abroad. With overt McCarthyites returned to power in the Nixon and Reagan administrations, the impression of a popular "shift to the right" could be presented (though public opinion polls do not show a change on women's or gay issues [Mueller 1983]). With a president in the 1980s who was directly identified with Hollywood mythologies, well-worn militarist formulas enjoyed yet another revival. Combining slighted national self-esteem with masculinist ideology in a rhetoric of football, war, and western movies, the Reagan presidency appropriated the military hardware to arm guerrilla and state armies in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, and Mozambique.[8] The reconsolidation of a national fantasy of obsessive anticommunism and suppression of movements for self-determination both at home and abroad stalemated the gay and lesbian movement, forcing it into a defensive mode. The Reagan presidency created a uniquely effective union of state and media to legitimize the dismantling of state services and civil liberties.

The emergence of the New Right cannot be chronicled without noting the participation of apparently homosexual people *within* reactionary organizations. In several instances, New Right adherents have been exposed in homosexual activities through police entrapment or by the press. Congressmen Jon Hinson, a Mississippi ultraconserva-

tive, and Robert Bauman, once president of the far-right Young Americans for Freedom, are cases in point. Both had voted against progay legislation in Congress. Others include the Reverend Leo McKenzie, communications director of the archdiocese of Philadelphia and vocal opponent of gay rights; Billy James Hargis, a prominent fundamentalist preacher of the 1950s; and Nixon Supreme Court nominee Harold Carswell.[9] All were drawn from the same groups as other New Right followers and no doubt had had no contact with the gay world, experiencing their homosexuality as a guilty secret scarcely admitted to themselves, much less to other people, and carefully concealed behind what Laud Humphreys calls a "breastplate of righteousness."

More problematic is the case of Terry Dolan, director of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, a major New Right force, who took a libertarian position, regretting the moralism of the religious right while opposing civil rights legislation of any kind in the hope that big government might be reduced in general.[10] Emboldened by the gains of the 1970s, gay conservatism came to the fore most notably in the formation of Republican party gay clubs and in gay business organizations. Nearly always white (upper) middle-class men, whose class position has apparently overcome the implications of their homosexuality, they fervently wish for an exception in conservative ideology to allow them the place appropriate to their backgrounds.

Hard times often stimulate cautious or conservative responses among those under attack, as the homophile movement of the 1950s demonstrates. And certainly repression causes social movements to reevaluate their tactics and wonder if everything would be different had they taken another course of action. In 1932, a member of the Nazi militia wrote to the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in Berlin to condemn its law-reform policy, claiming that if only the committee had presented gay men as "healthy, regular guys, boy scouts, army officers, or athletes," instead of talking so much about sex reform, then homosexuality would not have had such bad press. The Nazis, he assured the committee, were willing to ignore one's private life—only the real deviants like pedophiles would be sterilized (Stümke and Finkler 1981, 103–10; my translation). It is perhaps not surprising that in periods of intensified persecution accommodationist and conservative strategies should again come forward and voices should again be raised to argue that everything would be all right "if only" gay people would get good press through effective image making, acting

respectably, and abandoning leathermen, boy lovers, and butch dykes (e.g., Kirk and Madsen 1989).

Under Attack in the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia

In the nations of the British legal tradition, there is less reason to talk of a New Right than in the United States. With much smaller evangelical populations, fewer single-issue groups, and none of the trappings of the central power of the capitalist world, antigay practices of the late 1970s and early 1980s show considerable continuity with earlier periods and little, if any, distinction need be made between old and new conservatism. All three nations, nevertheless, have been subject to the same trends of the world capitalist economy and, with a shared language and cultural tradition, have not been impervious to developments in the United States. The rightward drift of the United States emboldened moral entrepreneurs, the police, and conventional conservatives in the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia.

In the United Kingdom, Evangelicals formed the Festival of Light as early as 1971, and in 1976, Mary Whitehouse, a longtime campaigner against "declining morals" on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), had *Gay News* charged with "blasphemy" for publishing a poem on Christ. Though the blasphemy law was virtually moribund, not having been used since 1921, she won the conviction of its editor, who received an 18-month suspended sentence and a £500 fine; *Gay News* itself was fined £1,000 plus court costs. A *Gay News* defense fund eventually paid costs after the House of Lords upheld the conviction in 1979 despite massive public demonstrations and outrage at the absence of press freedom revealed by the conviction (see Weeks 1977, 205, 268; Weeks 1981, 277, 281; Tracey and Morrison 1979, 9–17).

The Whitehouse campaign proved to be only an opening salvo in a series of assaults on lesbians and gay men consolidated by the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher. Closely aligned with the Reagan administration in the United States, the Thatcher government reasserted the moral regulation of the state through a series of symbolic acts. In 1984, two gay men were fined £100 for the crime of kissing on a London street; police staged several raids on gay pubs; and Customs impounded much of the inventories of two gay and lesbian bookstores—London's Gay's the Word and Edinburgh's Lavender

Menace (Jeffery-Poulter 1991:168–69). In 1988, the Conservative government in the House of Commons passed Clause 28, which forbids "teaching . . . the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship," sparking a demonstration of 10,000 protesters in the streets of London (223). When the Commons bill appeared before the House of Lords in February 1989, three lesbians descended a rope ladder from the visitors' gallery to the House floor to dramatize their outrage; others succeeded in breaking into a news broadcast of the BBC to bring their appeal to the British people (Sudell 1988). The outcome has been that "lesbian and gay groups are failing to get rooms to meet in on council property, failing to get grants for equipment and workers, [and] failing to have journals and books published with council support" (Green 1990, 6). In 1989, British courts were convicting some 3,000 men for mutually consenting acts of sex by reviving once "dead letter" laws containing sweeping references to "public order," "public morals," and "indecency" (Tatchell 1992, 89).

In Canada, a wave of police raids from 1975 to 1981 owed much to conservative governments already in power for more than a generation—the first being the Jean Drapeau administration of Montreal and the second the Conservative government of Ontario. Following widespread practice in North America, Montreal police launched a "cleanup" campaign in the months preceding the opening of the 1976 Olympic Games, descending on seven bars and a bathhouse in four raids to intimidate the city's gay men and lesbians. Using nineteenth-century bawdy house laws that permitted the arrest of everyone "found in" a place "resorted to for the practice of acts of indecency," police could undermine the 1969 decriminalization law by allowing judges to define gay conduct as indecent. In 1976, a bath raid in Montreal seized 89 men and a membership list of 7,000 and another in Ottawa netted 27 men and 3,000 names. The raids reenergized the flagging gay and lesbian movements in Quebec, leading to the formation of the Association pour les Droits des Gai(e)s du Québec (ADGQ). When Montreal police struck again at a popular gay bar in October 1977, arresting 145 as "found-ins" and 8 for "gross indecency," the ADGQ mobilized demonstrations that paralyzed the city core and organized a defense committee that fought each case through years of litigation. (Those who refused to plead guilty were ultimately acquitted after six years in court.)

The Drapeau administration was a holdover from an earlier era of Quebec politics, taking its cues from the Catholic Right. In the 1960s,

Quebec's own New Left formed as a nationalist movement intent on preserving French-language culture in North America without the patronage of the Roman Catholic church or the domination of Anglo-Canadian capital. As a participant in the nationalist alignment, the ADGQ pressed the Parti Québécois, which had recently come to power as the provincial government, to remedy the Montreal persecution. Clearly not averse to tweaking the noses of the old guard, the government added "sexual orientation" to the Quebec Charter of Human Rights on 15 December 1977 (see Sylvestre 1979, 57–60, 141–47; Jackson and Persky 1982, 229–30).

In Toronto, police invaded the offices of the journal, the *Body Politic,* on 30 December 1977, ostensibly to seize evidence on a charge of "using the mails to transmit immoral, indecent and scurrilous material." The charge arose from the November publication of an article called "Men Loving Boys Loving Men," which took a sober look at pedophilia. Though the prosecution needed only a single copy of the journal to press its case, the police carried away 12 packing crates of material, including the journal's financial records and subscription lists, leading to fears that police were compiling "pink lists" of gay Canadians for further persecution. Legal proceedings continued through 1978 as Renaissance International, Canada's Evangelical moral crusaders, sponsored Anita Bryant on a national tour and Toronto police began the first of several bathhouse raids in December. In February 1979, a Toronto court acquitted the journal, but the Conservative provincial government appealed, keeping the *Body Politic* in the courts with appeals and new charges until its ultimate acquittal in 1983. Perhaps more significant than the actual charges was the province's ability to curb a dissident press by imposing a six-year financial drain on a largely volunteer and nonprofit collective.

In 1979, the progressive mayor of Toronto, John Sewell, spoke out against the provincial prosecution of the *Body Politic,* creating a furor that spilled over into the 1980 city election. With George Hislop, the city's first openly gay candidate running with the mayor's endorsement, the campaign attracted antigay pamphleteering from Renaissance International, the city police, and the ultraright fringe. Both Hislop and Sewell went down to defeat in November. (Sewell increased his popular vote from 39 to 47 percent but lost to a single conservative candidate; two candidates had split the conservative vote

in the previous election, which had brought him to the mayor's office [Casey 1981; Jackson 1980–81; Fleming 1983].)

Three months later the Conservative provincial government called an election for 19 March 1981. On 5 February, the same week of the election call, 150 Toronto police officers arrested 286 "found-ins" and 20 "keepers" in a massive raid on several bathhouses, thereby arresting the largest number of Canadians in a single action since the declaration of the War Measure's Act in 1970 to stem the activities of the Front pour la Libération du Québec. In a cynical bid to capitalize on the preceding municipal election, the Conservatives succeeded in winning away seats from the New Democratic Party (a long if ambivalent supporter of civil rights for gay people) in Toronto, returning to power with a parliamentary majority.

It was also at the height of the Anita Bryant campaign in North America that Australian police took an unexpectedly harsh turn. Police attacked a Gay Mardi Gras rally of about 2,000 people in Sydney on 24 June 1978, beating demonstrators and arresting 23 women and 30 men. Demonstrators who had not been arrested maintained an overnight vigil at the Darlinghurst police station in solidarity with those who had been seized. With Mary Whitehouse arriving at the invitation of the local Festival of Light, a Gay Solidarity Group formed to defend the Mardi Gras 53. With sympathetic protests directed against New South Wales tourist offices in Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane, the Gay Solidarity Group on 15 July marched on the Darlinghurst station, where 14 more were taken by police. By the end of the winter, the toll had risen to 184 when courts threw out most of the charges.[11]

In Canada and Australia, the unintended consequence of police actions was the revitalization of gay organizations that had fallen into some disarray in the 1970s. The day after the bath raids in Toronto and again two weeks later, 3,000 marched on the No. 52 Division police station, spawning a Right to Privacy Committee that became the largest gay organization of the city in the 1980s (Hannon 1980).

Chapter Seven

Civil Rights and Electoral Politics

German sociologist Max Weber once defined the state as "an association that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence" (Gerth and Mills 1958, 334), and it is state power that has primarily preoccupied the gay and lesbian movements of the 1980s. It is perhaps a sign of the maturity of the movement that activists have sufficiently learned the rules of the game to have begun to make significant headway through law reform in many countries. No longer unorganized individuals easily controlled by the state, gay people have, in the modern era, followed some well-tested routes toward political efficacy. Like the Irish and Italians in the United States in the first decades of this century, or the blacks of today, gay men and lesbians have taken on many of the traits of ethnicity to assert their political will. Increasingly organized through an indigenous press, in neighborhoods, at work, and at church, lesbians and gay men have forged a social movement that, like others, seeks to give them a voice in their own future and to defend themselves against the violence of the state and of others.

In the modern liberal democracies of the European Union, North America, Australia, and New Zealand, issues and struggles have developed common patterns, such that annual conferences of the International Lesbian and Gay Association (founded in Coventry, England, in 1979) can provide a useful forum for sharing experiences and developing new policies. The 1980s and early 1990s have also seen the unprecedented emergence of fledgling organizations in sev-

eral state socialist and third-world countries. The political rules and social priorities of these new groups in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa differ sufficiently from the mature movements such that fruitful world comparisons shift from comparisons among liberal democracies (Chapter 9 reviews developments elsewhere).

This section on civil rights and electoral politics focuses, then, on political gains in liberal democracies. The cutting edge of legislative change has been the introduction of sexual orientation into human rights codes, which outlaw discrimination in employment, housing, and state services. Notable accomplishments in civil rights law, however, cannot distract attention from the fact that many jurisdictions—especially in the United States—continue to criminalize sexual contacts between men and subject gay men to arbitrary police and judicial harassment for the expression of mutually consenting acts of sexuality and affection. (Lesbians are typically ignored in these laws.)

Lesbians and gay men now have extensive experience in holding elected office in city, intermediate, and national assemblies on four continents. Still, despite these developments, conservative and neoconservative sectors of modern governments continue to play out local "sex scandals" through moral frameworks that have shown little change since 1897. Medieval Western presumptions about homosexuality live on, especially in the practices of police and military organizations, orthodox churches, New Right lobbies, and aristocratic remnants.

Just what the gay civil rights movement "wants" is summed up in this exemplary statement of the French Comité d'Urgence Anti-Répression Homosexuelle (CUARH) adopted in 1979:

- Abolition of the law fixing a higher age of consent for homosexual relations than for heterosexual
- Addition of "sex" and "sexual orientation" to the antiracism laws that ban discrimination
- No discrimination in employment or housing
- Custody and visitation rights for gay parents (which would "suppress the paradox which wants homosexuals to be reproached for not having children, then takes them away when they do have them")
- Recognition of "social, administrative, judicial and fiscal rights of two people living together as a homosexual couple"

- Right to adopt children
- Destruction of police files on lesbians and gay men
- An end to isolation of gay people within prisons
- Deletion of "homosexuality" from the World Health Organization classification of mental illness
- An end to medical research and therapy to change sexual orientation
- Compensation for gay victims of Nazism and recognition of them in memorials
- Right of asylum to persons persecuted in other countries because of their homosexuality
- International recognition of the problem of antigay intolerance[1]

As the momentum of New Right campaigns faltered in the United States in the mid-1980s, gay and lesbian rights began to reappear on public agendas. The troubles of the New Right became increasingly evident in a series of sex scandals involving the Christian fundamentalist leadership beginning in 1987, and the failure of Pat Robertson to attract significant support in a bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988. Despite the discovery of AIDS in 1981 and a period of public hysteria in the English-speaking world around AIDS in the mid-1980s, the decades of work by lesbian and gay organizations began to come to fruition. Gay men and lesbians became increasingly active participants in all spheres of civil society as they organized at work, in communities, in churches, in health and social services, in sport, and in the media, education, and the arts.

Winning Human Rights Protection

The struggle for the inclusion of "sexual orientation" in human rights legislation is an attempt to provide legal recourse for people denied employment or shelter because of their homosexuality. It is a law reform that demands no more than the realization of the self-proclaimed principle of liberal democracies that everyone receive equal and impartial treatment before the law and that people be evaluated according to their job performance and not by criteria irrelevant to their competence. The passage of human rights legislation has followed a pattern of first winning hard-fought gains at the grass-roots level in labor unions and voluntary associations and then at municipal,

state, or provincial levels, beginning with the 1977 amendment in Quebec, and finally achieving national human rights guarantees, pioneered by Norway in 1981.

In the United States, gay and lesbian organizations succeeded in forging an unusual consensus in Wisconsin that included endorsements from the whole range of religious authorities. With even Roman Catholic and Baptist officials agreeing that gay people should not suffer discrimination despite the churches' rejection of homosexuality itself, the reform became a no-risk proposition for Wisconsin politicians who amended the state's human rights law in 1982. In California, civil rights legislation passed the state house and senate twice, only to be vetoed by successive Republican governors. The second veto in 1991 provoked violent demonstrations in the major cities, and the law was later signed in a more limited form to confirm an existing judicial ban on discrimination in employment. Massachusetts joined the trend with a human rights law in 1989, Hawaii and Connecticut in 1991, and Vermont and New Jersey in 1992. In 1990, the human rights law in St. Paul, Minnesota, which had been repealed during the Anita Bryant campaign, was restored, surviving a second referendum challenge in 1991. A statewide law followed in 1993.

In Australia, New South Wales pioneered human rights reform in 1982 despite stiff opposition from church groups. A coalition of Anglican, Salvation Army, Roman Catholic, and New South Wales Council of Churches officials campaigned from the pulpits to suppress the antidiscrimination bill. The Labour government, nevertheless, added "sexual orientation" to its human rights law despite the shrill claims of television evangelist Fred Niles that homosexuals would be seizing children from school classrooms as a result. Nine years later the state of South Australia followed with an amendment of its own (Anderson 1991, 39).

In Canada, Ontario became the second province to adopt human rights legislation in 1986. The reform followed on the collapse of a 42-year reign of the Conservative party, when a minority Liberal government, dependent on the New Democratic Party (NDP), came to power. When the Liberals introduced a bill to amend the human rights law to protect the disabled, they could not ignore an NDP amendment to include sexual orientation, and the bill succeeded despite a concerted campaign against it by the province's Roman Catholic hierarchy and evangelical preachers (Adam 1993c). The following year, law reform was generated by NDP governments in Manitoba and the

Yukon. With these precedents, human rights protection for lesbians and gay men became almost uncontroversial, with even the Conservative government in Nova Scotia making the change in 1991. In the same year, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission added sexual orientation to its regulation banning hate propaganda from Canadian broadcasting. New Brunswick amended its human rights act in 1992, and British Columbia and Saskatchewan in 1993.

Norway's law was initiated by Conservative parliamentarian Wenche Lowzow, who discovered her own lesbianism and entered a relationship with Kim Friele (then general secretary of Norway's major gay organization, DNF-48) while her party was part of a governing Labour, Centre, and Conservative coalition. The 1981 law, drafted on the model of legislation protecting women and minorities, extends beyond protection against discrimination to include a provision against hate propaganda. The law bans "statements of an aggravated insulting nature" and "statements inciting violence" against "homosexual tendencies, way of life or orientation" in addition to the standard safeguards against discriminatory acts. The Supreme Court of Norway delivered its first conviction under the antidefamation law in 1984, ruling in a 4-1 decision that television evangelist Hans Bratterud had violated the law by demanding in a radio broadcast the dismissal of all homosexuals from leading positions. The court reasoned that "it is no encroachment on the freedom of worship that qualified insults to vulnerable minority groups are forbidden."[2]

Also in 1981 the Council of Europe passed an equal rights resolution, and in 1984 the European Parliament adopted perhaps the most comprehensive statement on the civil rights of lesbians and gay men to date (Pronk 1985). In 1985 the French National Assembly added sexual orientation to the antiracism law, Denmark followed in 1987, as did Sweden (with a law banning discrimination by commercial organizations) and the Netherlands in 1992 (Tielman and Hammelburg 1993, 308, 329). The Danish, Swedish, and Dutch laws, like their Norwegian counterpart, contain a provision banning hate propaganda against gay people. Ireland is unique in having banned "incitement to hatred" against gay people without having legislated protection against discrimination because of sexual orientation (Norris 1993, 161).

The achievement of a national human rights law in New Zealand in 1993 is especially remarkable given the acrimonious national debate that preceded the decriminalization of male homosexual relations only

eight years previously. At that time, the lesbian and gay movement succeeded in having the law reformed in the midst of an intensive antigay campaign led by the Coalition of Concerned Citizens, organized by the Reformed Churches, Pentecostals, the Assembly of God, the Salvation Army, and four reactionary members of parliament (Parkinson 1988).

For every legal breakthrough, however, there have been dozens of legislative bills and referenda that have denied equal rights for lesbians and gay men or even abolished existing protections. New Right coalitions in the United States have continued to generate homophobic panics in several locations. Voters in Houston repealed a civil rights ordinance by a 92 percent margin in the midst of an AIDS hysteria created by a coalition composed of the Chamber of Commerce, real estate developers, doctors and lawyers, and the Republican party. Repeal supporters were typically highly homophobic, fundamentalist Christians with low education and income and longtime residence in Texas (Gibson and Tedin 1988; Lang 1989). Referendum repeals have also succeeded in Santa Clara County, California, in 1980; Tacoma, Washington, Irvine, California, and Athens, Ohio, in 1989; Tampa, Florida, in 1992; and Cincinnati, Ohio in 1993. The apparent "gap" in antigay initiatives in the mid-1980s was due to New Right attention being turned to referenda designed to penalize or quarantine people living with HIV at that time.

The 1992 Republican party convention attempted to attract these voters behind a "traditional family values" banner in an unsuccessful campaign for the presidency, however, in the same election. 53 percent of Colorado voters approved a referendum initiative that preemptively banned human rights protection for gay men and lesbians thereby overturning city laws in Denver, Boulder, and Aspen (Wockner 1992b). A similar initiative failed at the same time in Oregon by a 55 percent vote, though a set of rural counties attempted to reintroduce a ban in 1993 despite a state law prohibiting local human rights repeals. Financial support and leadership for the repeal drive was strongest among small businesspeople and in "mid-sized towns and semi-rural areas within an hour's drive of larger metropolitan centers" (Burris 1993). The repeal vote was highest in counties with lower education and lower income levels.

While several national, as well as state or provincial governments, have responded to the gay and lesbian movement in assuring equal citizenship rights, others continue to criminalize same-sex erotic contact, especially for men. Among European Union Countries, the last

hold-outs from decriminalization were resolved in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These last decriminalizations primarily involved local gay and lesbian organizations securing rulings from the European Court of Human Rights against areas of current or former British administration. A suit brought by Jeffrey Dudgeon of the Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association led to decriminalization in 1982 (Jeffery-Poulter 1991, 151; Tatchell 1992, 26). A similar action brought by openly gay Irish senator David Norris (1993) won a court order for decriminalization in 1988, but the government of Ireland waited five more years before complying in 1993. The Isle of Man and Gibraltar dropped their antihomosexual laws in 1992.

Sometimes decriminalization has been accomplished only at the price of retaining discriminatory holdover legislation or of imposing new restrictions on the rights of gay men and lesbians. The 1969 reform in the Federal Republic of Germany created an exemption to Paragraph 175 for consenting adults in private but did not abolish the sodomy law itself. In October 1990, 6,000 people marched in the streets of Berlin against Paragraph 175 as the reunified German government sought to reconcile the criminal codes of the East and West (Schock 1990). The German government ultimately adopted the position of the former German Democratic Republic, which had abolished Paragraph 175 in 1988, finally accomplishing an objective the gay movement had set a century previously. Two of the new federal states, Brandenburg and Thuringia, also wrote "sexual orientation" into the human rights clauses of their constitutions.

In Austria and Finland, decriminalization in 1970 and 1971 was coupled with press muzzle rules providing jail sentences for "incitement" to homosexuality and for membership in a gay group. When the Finnish organization Sexuaalinen Tasavertaisuus (SETA) demonstrated publicly against the law in 1981, 20 were arrested, but no charges were laid. Similarly, Homosexuelle Initiative (HOSI), formed in Vienna in 1979 (and later in four other cities), published a journal and in 1982 opened a gay community center (Rosa Lila Villa) with assistance from the Vienna city council, despite a state law suppressing gay publicity (Manson 1985; Hauer et al. 1984, 11).[3]

By 1990, all but one of the Australian states had decriminalized homosexuality, leaving Tasmania in the grips of a Christian fundamentalist campaign to retain its antisodomy law (Miller 1992, 274).

By contrast, the United States lags well behind the record of the other advanced capitalist nations with almost half of the states still

criminalizing homosexuality. The "unfree" states are concentrated in the more conservative southern and Rocky Mountain regions. The District of Columbia decriminalized only after two tries, when in 1993 the U.S. Congress refrained from vetoing the reform, which it had done previously.

The judicial record regarding homosexuality is mixed in the United States. Lower courts have generally upheld students' right of assembly when universities have refused to recognize gay and lesbian campus groups, even overturning a 1981 Florida law that would have cut off state funding to colleges that tolerated gay campus organizations. Despite this precedent, the gay and lesbian students association of the University of Alabama was forced into court in the early 1990s when the state legislature outlawed it. After seven years of court battles sponsored by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the National Gay Rights Advocates, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1985 struck down the Oklahoma law that banned the favorable mention of homosexuality in schools as an unconstitutional interference with free speech. The decision came on a perilous 4-4 tie vote that resulted in the upholding of a lower court ruling. In June 1986 the Supreme Court ruled in a 5-4 decision that states retain the right to criminalize private sexual conduct between consenting adults. The *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* case began in 1982 when a police offer arrested Michael Hardwick, an Atlanta gay man, in Hardwick's own bedroom and charged him with violating the Georgia law that declares "any sexual act involving the sex organs of one person and the mouth or anus of another" to be a felony punishable by up to 20 years in prison. As the judges who presided over the civil rights era of the 1950s and 1960s retired, their successors have been more and more conservative. By 1992 two-thirds of the U.S. federal judiciary were appointed by the Reagan and Bush administrations, which had accumulated a 12-year record of gutting civil rights legislation, thus dimming the prospects of further decriminalization through the courts (Stoddard 1992, 555).

From time to time the judiciary has even acted complicitly with the murderers of gay men. From the 1962 murder of former Labour party chairman, George Brinham, in the United Kingdom to the 1992 murder of Joe Godfrey in Australia (Horsfall 1988, 22; Wockner 1992c, 7), many courts have been willing to hand out very light sentences or outright acquittals to murderers who claim their victims have made sexual advances toward them. In some cases of "queer bashing," the "respectable" middle-class background of the murderers has sufficed

to convince judges to give probationary or suspended sentences even where sexual approaches were not alleged but the victim was thought to be gay (see Monk 1986; Lesk, Popert and Taylor 1986; Comstock 1991).

Recognizing Domestic Partnerships

Where sexual orientation protection has already been won, the question of the legal recognition of gay and lesbian couples has emerged as a primary concern of movement groups. If discriminatory treatment is to be overcome, so the argument goes, does that not also require that same-sex relationships be able to take part in the rights and responsibilities of marriage and family? Opponents to this trend have noted that even heterosexuals are fleeing marriage and traditional family forms and have questioned why lesbians and gay men would want to buy into a bankrupt legal relationship fraught with problems of domination, domestic violence, and state supervision. Yet it is equally clear that there are many same-sex couples who are disadvantaged by exclusion from the legal benefits bestowed on married couples in inheritance, pensions, taxation, immigration, housing, workplace perquisites, health care, and parenting (Bell 1991). Some couples have been innovating rites of their own to celebrate their lives together; others have been marking their relationships with ceremonies of holy union at Metropolitan Community Churches (Sherman 1992).

For jurisdictions primarily in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Canada, where sexual orientation protection is combined with existing legal recognition of unmarried heterosexual couples, the inclusion of gay and lesbian relationships has been coming about through judicial or legislative action. The usual approach has been to allow "marriage" per se to remain an essentially heterosexual category while conferring a similar range of rights and obligations on same-sex couples as "domestic partners." The Danish lesbian and gay association, LBL/F-48, won comprehensive legal recognition of gay and lesbian relationships in 1989 with a "registered partnership" system. The bill passed through a free vote in the Danish parliament despite the unwillingness of the Conservative party to adopt it as government legislation (Hansen and Jørgensen 1993). The Danish rules require one partner to be Danish, withhold adoption or joint custody rights, and apply the existing liberal divorce regulations. Unregistered gay couples retain

the rights of "unmarried cohabitants" to pension, death duty, and housing. On 1 October 1989, pioneering activists Axel Axgil, then 74, and Eigil Axgil, 67, became the first registered partnership, and they celebrated their union by riding through the streets of Copenhagen in a jubilant parade. By 1992, 809 male couples and 492 female couples had registered and 17 had divorced (Wockner 1993, 7). Norway became the second nation with a domestic partnership law in 1993. Sweden followed in 1994.

The Netherlands, Australia, and Canada have a patchwork of domestic partners' rights precedents set by city officials, local courts, and provincial governments. Immigration department regulations in the Netherlands and Australia now permit citizens to sponsor foreign same-sex partners under their family reunification policies (Hendriks and Ruygrok 1993; Hart 1993). In two decisions in 1993, the Canadian Supreme Court refused to recognize gay relationships. In one case, longtime activist Jim Egan, then 72, was denied a spousal allowance for his lover of 45 years, John Nesbit (Brown 1993). In the other, Brian Mossop was denied a day off work to attend the funeral of his lover's father. On the other hand, the Federal Court of Appeal ruled in 1989 that Les Beau had to be permitted to visit his lover, Tim Veysey, in prison under the Private Family Visiting Program or "conjugal visit" program. In this case, the law already provided for a range of eligible visitors extending well beyond the category of spouse. Apart from these court decisions, a series of rulings show a trend toward recognition: the Ontario and New Brunswick governments extended spousal benefits to provincial employees; the Ontario Human Rights Commission struck the "other sex" requirement from its definition of spouse; and the British Columbia Supreme Court added domestic partners into the province's Medical Services Plan. A comprehensive domestic partnership bill failed in the Ontario legislature in 1994.

In the United States, much of the attention around domestic partners' rights focused on the Sharon Kowalski case. Severely disabled in a 1983 car crash, Sharon Kowalski was seized from Karen Thompson by Kowalski's homophobic parents through a 1985 court order. Thompson struggled for six years against an onslaught of "experts" and lawyers to legally validate Kowalski's decision to return to her home with Thompson. After Kowalski's father resigned as her guardian in 1990, a court awarded guardianship to a third party, because Thompson's organizing efforts to win Kowalski back had pub-

licized their lesbianism. They were finally reunited by an appeals court in 1991 (Thompson and Andrzejewski 1988; Schmitz 1991). A dozen cities in California and northern states have recognized domestic partnerships among their own employees and two of them (Seattle and San Francisco) survived referendum repeal propositions in 1990. Congress vetoed a similar attempt to extend domestic partners' rights to city employees in Washington, D.C., in 1993.

Domestic partners' rights, then, are still very much a frontier of movement work in most places. The imposition of heterosexist requirements has been especially harsh regarding the custody of children. While a very few exceptional adoptions of children by lesbians or gay men have occurred, the courts continue to seize children from gay and lesbian households despite the competence and care of parents (Lewin 1993), frequently subjecting them to various closet rules: a lover must be absent or sleep in a separate bed; the child cannot stay overnight; or the parent will lose visiting rights if he or she lives with someone of the same sex (Ryder 1990; Eaton 1990).

Attaining Elected Office

Against the expectations of many, openly lesbian and gay candidates for political office have been able to be elected in a wide variety of places and a number of political parties have endorsed the idea of at least basic civil rights for all regardless of sexual orientation. Party support has come first from Social Democratic (or Green) and Communist parties (or their successors) and occasionally from traditional liberal or centrist parties once precedents have already been set.

In 1977, the French Socialist party, as well as the French and Italian Communist parties, adopted gay rights planks. In 1981, the Spanish Socialist Workers (PSOE) and Communist (PCE) parties followed suit (Mirabet i Mullol 1985, 446–48). With the French Socialists and Spanish PSOE in power in the early 1980s, both nations moved forward to equalize their laws. An early act of the French government extended amnesty to 156 gay men convicted under a discriminatory age-of-consent law and to abolish the "homo squad" of the Paris police. In 1982, the age of consent was equalized for all at 15, and under a general plan to regularize dozens of pirate radio stations, the government licensed Fréquence Gaie, the first full-time gay radio station in the world (but not until the station's listeners demonstrated in force

through Paris street to support its mandate).[4] In 1985 the National Assembly added sexual orientation to the antiracism law. The Spanish Socialists removed homosexuality from the repressive "Social Danger" law in 1979. Passed in 1970 by the previous fascist government of Francisco Franco, the law had declared gay people a social danger in the manner of the Gaullist law of 1960, thereby providing a warrant for police persecution. In 1984 homosexuality was removed as an offense from the Spanish Code of Military Justice.

In Italy and the United Kingdom, where leftist parties dominated city politics and conservatives held national power, lesbian and gay organizations won municipal support for community centers in several cities. The 28th of June Cultural Center in Bologna opened in 1982 with the assistance of Communist city administrators, while Labour city councils in Manchester and London also funded lesbian and gay community centers in England in the 1980s. The Conservative national government, however, later abolished the London council altogether, and the London center was not able to survive for long afterward.

Openly lesbian and gay politicians have demonstrated, against the pessimists, that homosexuality is not an insuperable barrier in gaining the confidence of the people and that in many instances, majorities of voters are willing to understand the concerns of gay people and understand the relationship of those concerns to their own interests. To see just how such successes have been achieved, it is best to distinguish among three styles of publicness: (1) those elected primarily in Europe as part of a party list, (2) incumbents who come out after winning at least one election, and (3) those winning elected office as openly gay candidates in district elections.

The key to public office in party list systems is to win the approval of the party, which is allocated parliamentary seats according to its proportion of the popular vote. Angelo Pezzana, elected on the Radical party ticket in Piedmont in Italy, and Herbert Rusche (1984b) and Christina Schenk, with the German Green party, were nominated to parliament by parties formed from coalitions of progressive social movements (such as feminist, ecological, peace, student, and civil rights movements) where the gay and lesbian movement is an explicit participant. Gay candidates have also succeeded at the city level in Italy, with Paolo Hutter elected in Milan in 1985 and 1990 and Franco Grillini and Beppe Ramina in Bologna in 1990, all with the Communist party (Consoli 1990, 132). The inclusion of Eveline Esthuis as one of

two Communist representatives in the parliament of the Netherlands follows the party's adoption of a stronger feminist orientation in the early 1980s.

The experience of incumbent parliamentarians who either came out voluntarily or were exposed is more mixed. Wenche Lowzow was retained, after coming out, on the Norwegian Conservative list through one election but dropped in 1985 following the dissolution of the Conservative alliance with the social democrats. Maureen Colquhoun, a British Labour member of parliament (M.P.), endured a press exposé of her relationship with the editor of the lesbian journal *Sappho* and lost her seat in the 1979 Conservative sweep of the United Kingdom (see Colquhoun 1980). Chris Smith, a British Labour M.P. who came out in 1984, was subsequently reelected twice.

In the United States, Gerry Studds and Barney Frank, Democratic party congressional representatives from Massachusetts, have also won reelection in their districts. Svend Robinson, the New Democratic Party M.P. from suburban Vancouver who came out publicly in 1988, won two subsequent elections even despite the sharp diminution of his party's fortunes in 1993. As well, Irish senator David Norris (1993) has been reelected since 1987, while Swedish Social Democratic M.P. Kent Carlsson has also gone public.

Since the breakthrough election of Elaine Nobel to the Massachusetts House in 1974 and Minnesota senator Allan Spear's coming out in the same year, a number of state and local politicians in the United States have employed a similar winning formula. Rarely sponsored by business, privilege, or wealth, openly lesbian and gay candidates have won on popular platforms combining the concerns of racial minorities, feminists, tenants, the elderly, neighborhood activists, labor union members, environmentalists, and, of course, gay people themselves. David Scondras's election to the Boston City Council is a case in point. A longtime activist in tenants' organizations, health centers, and food co-ops, Scondras was instrumental in exposing a massive arson-for-profit conspiracy where land speculators and landlords had been burning their buildings (dispossessing and sometimes killing tenants in the process) in order to collect insurance payments (Goldsmith 1981; Brady 1983). He won a fifth term in 1991. By 1992 there were some 75 openly gay and lesbian elected officials across the United States, of which 11 were elected to state houses.[5] As well, black and Latino gay candidates have begun to win city council seats with Keith St. John in Albany, New York (1989), Ricardo Gonzalez in

Madison, Wisconsin (1989), and Sherry Harris in Seattle (1991). In the 1980s, several cities—namely, Laguna Beach, California, Key West, Florida, and Bunceton, Missouri, in the United States and Fitzroy, Victoria, in Australia—elected gay mayors. Manchester, England, inaugurated its first openly lesbian mayor in 1985. In 1984, West Hollywood, California, voters chose an unprecedented *majority* of gay and lesbian candidates for their city council, and in 1983 voters in Sydney, Australia, added three gay men to that city's government until the state of New South Wales abolished the city council altogether in 1987.[6] Paul O'Grady, however, continues to serve as a Labour M.P. in the New South Wales Upper House. Finally, in Canada as well, electoral success at the municipal level was evident across the country.[7]

Resisting Violence

The gay and lesbian movement has never been able to ignore state systems as laws, regulations, and bureaucratic practices have been central agents in reproducing the social relations that have long disadvantaged gay people. The inclusion of sexual orientation in human rights laws and the assertion of domestic partners' rights have been important steps in creating avenues of redress for people who have lost their jobs, been evicted from apartments, and been denied state services. Yet the law is only one sphere of state activity, and the struggle over heterosexist regulation goes on as well in such areas of state purview as the military and police, censorship, family, and immigration policy.

The police and military remain centers of antigay violence in many countries, even acting with a certain relative autonomy from the states that employ them. Jeffrey Weeks (1981) observes that in the first years following decriminalization in England, "between 1967 and 1976, the recorded incidence of indecency between males doubled, the number of prosecutions trebled and the number of convictions quadrupled" (275). It is a pattern reproduced elsewhere with suspicious regularity. Dramatic police raids are often staged soon after the passage of liberalized laws, and "sex scandals" are manufactured for eager press consumption. Even so, mass roundups of gay men and lesbians are only the most visible aspects of a systematic surveillance machine that routinely processes thousands more. As Doug Wilson (1984) points out, although the mass arrest of more than 300 men in

raids of Toronto bathhouses attracted considerable press attention in 1981, the routine arrest of 800 others on indecency charges in the same year went unnoticed (9). While Canada's indecency law has been dropped, vague laws on "lewdness" or "public morals" continue to allow police to imprison large numbers of gay men in many places (Nealon 1990).

The military has been among the most recalcitrant of institutions to accede to the trend of assuring lesbians and gay men full citizenship rights. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, virtually all of the European Union (Tatchell 1992, 81–82), Canada, and Australia had overturned the regulations that had permitted discrimination against gay people by the military. The United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany, however, continue to dismiss thousands of men and women each year who are accused of having "homosexual tendencies," often officially labeling them as gay in the process, thereby making them the targets of employment discrimination. Despite the Democratic administration of Bill Clinton and a massive march on Washington in 1993, an unworkable "compromise" policy continued to permit the expulsion of gay men and lesbians from the U.S. military should they allow themselves to become known (see Adam 1994).

These police ideologies are not without effect, sometimes leading to police challenges to civilian administration of the legal apparatus.

- On Gay Pride Day in 1980, Fred Paez, the secretary of the Houston Gay Political Caucus and an active investigator of police violence, died of a gunshot wound to the back of the head while in police custody. Two Houston policemen, subsequently tried for "negligent homicide," claimed that Paez had made sexual advances to them and had been shot "accidentally." Both were acquitted. When a reform city council came to office with gay support in 1984, police responded with a series of 11 raids on gay bars and bookstores in Houston.
- A series of police raids and arrests in Sydney occurred in the months following adoption of the 1982 New South Wales civil rights law. The movement responded by parking a trailer emblazoned with the words "Gay Caravan Embassy" across the street from the house of Premier Neville Wran. The gay "diplomatic mission" to the premier pressed for a decriminalization bill to follow the human rights law and for an end to police harassment. (Decriminalization was won in 1984.)
- In Almeria, Spain, the murder of three young gay men found handcuffed together and burned beyond recognition in the back seat

of their car was determined to be the work of the Guardia Civil. Three officers were subsequently sentenced to 12- to 24-year terms for the murders.

- Paris police instigated a new round of harassment of gay bars in 1984 as the Socialist government moved forward with liberalization of the law.
- In New York, police pillaged a bar frequented by black gay men the same night that Vice President Walter Mondale addressed a fund-raising dinner for gay civil rights a few blocks away.

The videotape surveillance and entrapment of men caught masturbating in washroom stalls or the discovery of boys having sex with men is the kind of evidence often accumulated by police over several months for eventual release in a single dramatic press conference identifying "sex and prostitution rings" or "white slavery rackets." The publication of the names, addresses, and occupations of the accused following such press conferences has often preceded the presentation of police budgets before city councils in the United States and Canada. Publication of names frequently preempts any penalties imposed by the courts by exacting a wave of job dismissals, evictions, and sometimes suicides of the accused.

Mindful of the use to which police files were put in identifying gay people for the Nazi genocide, gay leaders have petitioned governments to eliminate police "pink lists" of gay and lesbian citizens who have committed no crimes but are documented solely because of their homosexuality. The West German police even succeeded in winning the conviction on libel charges of gay activist Gerd Blömer, who had accused them of keeping such lists, only to be exposed some months later as being guilty of Blömer's accusation (McCaskell 1980). The Canadian solicitor-general announced that police files on gay people were ordered destroyed in 1984; the issue has arisen, as well, in the United States, France, Israel, Italy, and Switzerland. With the fall of Communist regimes in the 1990s, the destruction of pink lists has emerged as a priority for gay and lesbian groups in Eastern Europe. Police observation of gay people calls to mind Guy Hocquenhem's (1978) wry observation, "The law is clearly a system of desire, in which provocation and voyeurism have their own place" (49).

Street violence, combined with state violence, poses a particularly deadly threat to lesbians and gay men. In recent years, organized

attacks on gay and lesbian institutions and individuals have led to antiviolence projects among movement groups. Gay and lesbian bookstores and churches have been subject to fire bombings across the United States and Canada. In 1991, a fascist youth gang of 20 attacked a fundraising event for the International Lesbian and Gay Association at the Grundezeit Museum in Berlin (Motte-Sherman 1991). But much more pervasive are the assaults and murders committed against people in or around gay-identified places and against people perceived to be gay or lesbian. Studies of perpetrators typically reveal groups of young men between 15 and 25 years old who are marked above all by their ordinariness (Comstock 1991, 106). Acting with the sometimes overt, sometimes tacit complicity of police, churches, courts, their families, and communities, these men are able to view gay people (often along with women and minorities) as unworthy victims on whom they can demonstrate the power and status promised to them by patriarchal society. In response, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in the United States has succeeded in having sexual orientation included in hate crimes legislation that mandates harsher penalties for crimes motivated by bigotry. Some movement groups have organized episodic street patrols and have distributed distress whistles in an attempt to stem homophobic violence.

Gay and lesbian movement groups of the 1980s and 1990s have built on the groundwork laid by their homophile and gay liberation antecedents, succeeding in writing into law some of the elemental guarantees necessary for life, freedom, and security in democratic societies. The maturation of movement organizations, the developing infrastructure of gay and lesbian communities, and the integration into national political processes have created unprecedented conditions for the flourishing of same-sex desire, bonding, and cultures. Still, history has within it no inevitable movement toward progress or enlightenment. The distress of people threatened or displaced through socioeconomic dislocation in the modern world system not only creates forces for change but also creates resentment and nostalgia for what may seem in retrospect to be more "stable," happier times from the past. This attraction to New Right and neofascist ideologies poses persistent dangers to lesbians and gay men as the wish for a secure, ordered world becomes translated into neoconservative movements to restore the privileges of patriarchy, white domination, and lost imperial grandeur—a vision from which gay people remain always excluded.

Chapter Eight

Queer Politics

A great deal of gay and lesbian movement activity engages state institutions both to remove the regime of surveillance, harassment, and imprisonment that has historically characterized state relations with gay men and lesbians, but also to secure basic avenues of legal redress for those who have experienced discrimination. Those countries most willing to carry through democratic principles of bringing the full range of their citizens into their political processes and those countries with comparatively insignificant New Right constituencies have come the farthest in integrating lesbians and gay men into civil society. But civil rights and electoral strategies have run up against several critiques from within gay and lesbian movement groups.

Like social movements of women or Afro-Americans, "the" gay and lesbian movement is no unitary phenomenon but rather a collection of diverse social groups, competing schools of thought, and evolving debates over fundamental questions of who homosexually interested people are and what the objectives of movement activity should be. The creation and cultural development of proud gay and lesbian identities since the Stonewall era, in reaction to the more cautious homophile, have themselves given birth in the 1990s to debates over "queer" theories and identities. The postulation of yet another identity label arises as a "solution" to several changes and tensions that have come about in the quarter century since Stonewall. One such development has been a certain weariness with the twists and turns that lesbian identity has taken during the period. In the 1980s a wave of

lesbian "sex radicals" challenged the cultural feminism of the late 1970s (see Chapter 5) through the "sex debates." Many women tired of the moral idealism of the "woman-identified" *real* lesbian that implicitly excluded all but a few who could or who wanted to live up to its demands. A growing segment of those who felt left out this idealized "lesbian" category rallied around "bisexuality" as an alternative sexual identity. A second area of discursive change came out of the ongoing diversification and decentralization of gay and lesbian organization. Many groups of Asian, African, Latin American, Arabic, and aboriginal cultural heritage, as well as people differentiated by physical ability, age, or transgenderism, found contemporary ideas of the "gay" and "lesbian" too constraining to express their ways of being sexual and affectional. Some organizations responded to these changes by renaming themselves to add, typically, "bisexual" or "transgender" to their billing; others opted for "queer" with the hope of encompassing everyone and even potentially to include those heterosexuals who rejected heterosexism as an ideology and a system. A third stream of thought challenging the contemporary "gay" and "lesbian" flowed from nationalist misgivings that civil rights and electoral strategies pursued by the mainstream movement were leading to the homogenization of gay people, the denial of difference, and conversion into replicas of heterosexual banality. Bringing back the idea of "queerness" reasserts a dissident social space and transforms existing ideas bequeathed to same-sex desire. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Halperin (1993, iii–iv), in introducing the journal *GLQ*, remarked, "'Lesbian' and 'gay' tend to function (from the outside) as administrative labels for the management of sexual difference and tend to legislate and police (from the inside) personal identities and individual behaviors" while *queer* stresses "the fractious, the disruptive, the irritable, the impatient, the unapologetic, the bitchy, the camp." Among the interests of queer nationalism is a desire to value and retain the particularity and difference developed in gay and lesbian cultural forms.

These three areas of cultural ferment, which have shifted movement self-conceptions and directions, merit a closer look.

Debating Sex

In 1980, the Lesbian Rights Committee of the National Organization for Women (NOW) succeeded in having the national convention adopt

a resolution that "NOW does not support the inclusion of pederasty, pornography, sadomasochism, and public sex as Lesbian rights issues, since to do so would violate the feminist principles upon which this organization was founded" (Ehrenreich, Hess, and Jacobs 1982, 88). In 1982, the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Women's Center expelled a lesbian sadomasochist support group by a vote of 9-1 on the grounds that it was contrary to feminist principles. By the end of 1984, a clear division had emerged as feminist anticensorship groups sprang up across North America to challenge this enforcement of the cultural feminist position in feminist organizations.

For many feminists, the cultural feminist view (basically a nationalist position) evolved out of a series of experiences in attempting to gain rights for women. The way to end male exploitation made possible by women's relative powerlessness was to develop defenses and alternatives to the violence experienced day to day by so many women in society. The perpetuation of wife abuse depended on the inability of women to flee male violence at home, so the movement organized refuges for battered wives. Rape would never be controlled while prosecution depended on police who believed sexual coercion to be a male right, so activists opened rape counseling centers. Low status in the employment market left women vulnerable to sexual harassment on the job, so feminists pressed for legal protection from it. The organizational wave among women in the 1970s was toward groups of "women against violence against women." Here, it seemed, was a social realm in which the concrete daily effects of women's oppression could be relieved at least in part.

While most feminists retained more liberal or socialist analyses of women's oppression, the ongoing struggle against violence and the collective solidarity engendered by the struggle began to lead to the consolidation of the cultural feminist worldview. Like so many previous social movements, this nationalist tendency elevated the feminist conflict into a cosmic battle that revalued itself as the unqualified good against an implacable enemy—a position that, according to Angela Miles (1981), "asserts a feminine essence, which contains all that is good in humanity, in opposition to the oppression and destruction of civilization which is ascribed to maleness itself; it posits as its aim the establishment of a free and good all-female society" (485). It is perhaps not surprising that theorists with strong theological backgrounds, such as Mary Daly and Sally Gearhart, played such major roles in the formulation of this Manichaean cosmology. Women's cul-

ture is fundamentally different from men's, the nationalists argued, because of women's unique commitment to life through their procreative potential. They claimed that "feminist analysis is founded in the central aspect of reproduction for all species. . . . Reproduction is the epitome of creativity, the ultimate creative act, belonging particularly to women" (Hughes 1985, 96–97).

In this context, pornography loomed large as a primary indicator of what was wrong in the relations between women and men. Not the harbinger of sexual liberation as claimed by the editors of *Playboy*, pornography so often duplicated and intensified the most reactionary images of women as willing objects of male sexual predation, seemingly expressing and reinforcing a male culture of violence. Images of dominated and mistreated women abounded in pornography, leading many women to read these images as a form of hate literature inciting men to all the behaviors they were working to overcome. Patricia Hughes summed up the anxieties of many women in asking, "Is it possible for that man to treat me . . . as a human being when he received gratification from seeing someone who looks like me bound, beaten, humiliated?" (100). Many suspected that the proliferation of pornographic images in popular culture represented a male backlash against the rise of feminism. As Eileen Manion (1985) notes, "Insofar as it blatantly sneers at us, tediously insists we are nothing but cunts, bunnies, pussies, and chicks, it seems like the grandiose ravings of the (male) infantile imagination" (69).

But the war against pornography had subtly shifted the contours of feminist discourse. In a decade, feminist reasoning had seemingly come full circle: from arguing the artificiality of gender and demanding its transcendence, it now asserted an unbridgeable chasm between the sexes and the need to obliterate "death-loving" male values. The new nationalism, or cultural feminism, rang with echoes of nineteenth-century argumentation that women are essentially more pure, more temperate, and more moral than men, and that women's mission is to battle male lustfulness and corruption. Antipornography literature implicitly endorsed some very traditional assumptions about the nature of women and their roles in society. As Carol Vance (1984) notes, "Through a culturally dictated chain of reasoning, women become the moral custodians of male behavior, which they are perceived as instigating and eliciting" (4; see Snitow 1985, 143).

But pornography has a very different meaning for gay men than that offered by cultural feminism. Whereas women observing pornog-

raphy often found a medium made *about* them but *by* and *for* heterosexual men, gay men more often found a medium that presented images of themselves for their own consumption. Where many women found the depiction of coercion to be a form of hate literature directed against them, gay men typically read consent even into portrayals of sadomasochistic sex, because both partners, at least on the face of it, shared the same status as men and were being presented to viewers who likely shared their sexual tastes. For feminist nationalists, sadomasochism looked far too much like a male fantasy of beating and humiliating women in complicity with the domestic violence that women suffered in the larger society. For gay men, where consent is presumed, sadomasochism represents no more than a sexual drama where, one might say, Halloween masks are not confused with real devils. For most gay men, then, pornography filled a relatively benign role of affirming their sexuality in the midst of a sex-phobic society and of offering aesthetic images of men as pleasurable and playful in contradiction to the predominant imagery of men as instrumental and controlling. While some feminists were finding a legitimation of male dominance in pornography, many gay men were finding its subversive potential in allowing men to express tenderness and make love with each other in opposition to deeply held taboos of patriarchal society.

Nor were many lesbians willing to "buy" the antipornography vision of feminism or of female sexuality. In 1981, a self-proclaimed Lesbian Sex Mafia turned up in New York to raise such forbidden topics as sadomasochism and butch-fem relationships, concurring with Gayle Rubin's remark, "I, for one, did not join the women's movement to be told how to be a good girl." Critics of the antipornography position confronted defenders in an acrimonious 1982 Scholar and the Feminist Conference at Barnard College; the Samois collective published a lesbian sex book on sadomasochism and other taboo sexualities in San Francisco; and four publishing ventures (*On Our Backs, Bad Attitude, Power Exchange, Outrageous Women*) took up the challenge to create a nonexploitative erotica by and for lesbians in 1984 and 1985.

Meanwhile, antipornography proponents pressed forward in the mid-1980s with a legal initiative, written by Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon, to declare pornography a violation of women's civil rights. Introduced first in Minneapolis where it was vetoed by the mayor, the initiative reappeared in Indianapolis, where it drew support from a councillor active in the Stop ERA movement, from the mayor

who was a Presbyterian minister, from the police, and from the Christian Right. It passed by 24 votes cast by Republicans to five cast by Democrats on the council (Duggan, Hunter, and Vance 1985, 131–33). The law was subsequently blocked by a court ruling citing First Amendment rights.

While the Dworkin–MacKinnon proposal made little headway in the United States, it proved a powerful tool in the hands of conservative administrations in Canada. With a legal edifice including customs seizures, provincial film review boards, and federal obscenity legislation already in place, the proposal became a way of "modernizing" traditional state control of gay and lesbian expression by dressing it in feminist rhetoric. Canada Customs was already routinely scissoring pages and inking out paragraphs of magazines that conflicted with individual officers' notions of "decency," and Toronto police had repeatedly obtained convictions of the city's gay and lesbian bookstore, Glad Day, for stocking "obscene" material that had already passed through Customs' screening. The Ontario film review board had already banned *Not a Love Story*, a film made by (ironically) feminist antipornography activists. And in 1979, the Supreme Court of Canada had ruled that the Vancouver monthly *Gay Tide* had no right of access to the city newspaper (in order to put a small advertisement to announce its existence) because only those who own presses have the freedom to determine what they print. Against this backdrop, the Supreme Court of Canada adopted part of the reasoning presented by the feminist legal organization, Legal Equality Action Fund (LEAF), in the 1992 Butler decision by adopting the criterion that obscenity could be determined according to the "harm" to women and children that the "community" believes may flow from exposure to sexual representations (Bearchell 1993, 37). The immediate result of the Butler decision was court confirmation of a massive Customs seizure of gay erotica from Glad Day (including innovative journals that challenged conventional standards of gay beauty by eroticizing "bear"-like and Asian men), and the 1993 conviction of the lesbian magazine, *Bad Attitude*.

In other places, censorship practices traditionally also fell most heavily on representations of lesbian and gay lives and sexuality. The New Zealand Indecent Publications Tribunal included a wide range of sexual and nonsexual publications on its prohibited list. In 1984, British Customs seized 800 books from London's gay and lesbian

bookstore, including yet again *The Well of Loneliness* and Edward Carpenter's works, later admitting in court that its prosecution relied on criteria no more sophisticated than the simple equation of "gay" with "obscene." Charges were eventually dropped in 1986. Then, in 1991, a police raid on a gay party resulted in the British courts convicting 15 men of mutually consenting sadomasochistic sex, eight of whom were sentenced to one to two and a half years in prison.

In the United States, conflicts over gay and lesbian cultural representation centered on the Mapplethorpe exhibition and school curricula. In the first instance, the U.S. congressional representatives demanded that the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) withdraw its subsidy for a national tour of the work of gay photographer, Robert Mapplethorpe, and revoke arts grants for four other gay and lesbian artists. In a much publicized trial, the director of the Cincinnati Contemporary Arts Center was acquitted of obscenity and the courts later ruled that the NEA could not withdraw funding it had granted through an equitable process. In the second instance, the New York City school board dismissed its schools chancellor, Joseph Fernandez, for approving a "rainbow" curriculum. Conceived as an educational program to recognize the diversity of families represented by city school children and to reduce violence against minorities by improving intercultural understanding, the curriculum fell victim to an outcry against mentioning homosexuality in schools. Three Alyson Press books that had been recommended as supplementary reading—Michael Willhoite's *Daddy's Roommate* and Leslea Newman's *Gloria Goes to Gay Pride* and *Heather Has Two Mommies*—became widely banned across the country. In an effort to remedy the many egregious stereotypes propagated by the U.S. image industry, chapters of the Gay and Lesbian Association against Defamation (GLAAD) have organized in several major cities and have had a significant impact on cinematic and television portrayals.

The gay movement, perhaps preoccupied with defending what little erotica exists, has yet to challenge the limitation of gay pornography that infrequently presents the beauty of Asian or black men, reproduced Hollywood icons of male muscularity, and seems unable to contextualize sexuality in broader emotional contexts. The growing market in gay male Gothic romances suggests a widespread interest in a richer vision of intermale relationships than the strictly sexual. The libertarian position tends to limit itself to the cherished liberal

principle of the right of individuals to do as they see fit as long as they hurt no one else. Despite its radical pretensions, it is an argument that abstains from any critique of the ways in which sexual representations and have already been shaped by the logic of capitalism, where sexuality is increasingly marketed as a commodity like others, spilt off and contained in sex ghettos, and encoded with the competitive individualism of the market economy. Like other arguments for individual freedom, it throws comparatively powerless and unorganized individuals into prestructured social settings where they have to make do with the possibilities presented by entrepreneurs and governments.

Most contentious of all is the issue of sexual contact among adults, youths, and children. Gay people, who are again and again painted as "child molesters" by the religious right, have, sometimes unwillingly, had to consider the question. So emotionally charged is the question that discussion has only infrequently attained the level of "debate" with even the possibility of considering it being choked off, shouted down, or censored in most instances. Very little scholarly attention has been give to pedophilia, nor have its participants, young or old, been given forums to explain their experiences, at the same time as a wave of antipedophile hysteria has swept across the English-speaking countries, France, and West Germany since the 1970s. In this period, an unrestrained public campaign fed by police and press has discovered "sex rings" in unlikely places and has led to the widespread passage of repressive legislation and the imprisonment of pedophiles for terms exceeding those meted out to murderers.

These campaigns are made possible only by a complex net of presumptions about children, gender, and sexuality that is peculiar to these societies. For the Melanesian peoples, who hold that the insemination of boys is *necessary* for them to attain sexual maturity, the antipedophile complex is inconceivable, and for many societies where sexuality is the integral component of the pedagogical relationships of older and younger men, current Western attitudes would be thought puzzling or reprehensible.[1]

For all nations with liberal, democratic traditions, the issue revolves around the question, "At what age can people give consent for sexual relations?" Anthropological and historical comparisons are of limited value here as individual consent rarely emerges out of the large social complex of collective decision making to become a primary issue. In the advanced capitalist nations, where individual sexual choice is

founded on financial independence, entry into wage labor underlies individual mastery over his or her own domestic arrangements, and the law typically follows along. It can be no accident that age-of-consent laws governing sexuality approximate the age when young people are permitted employment (and in those countries where the discrepancy between the two legal ages is wide, the tension between practice and the law is greatest).

The sexual practices of those under these ages opens another, more trenchant set of conflicts. The New Right has effectively played on parental anxieties by typifying gay men and lesbians as child molesters intent on seizing children from parental jurisdiction. Intergenerational sexuality also reopens the dialectic between pleasure and danger that has divided feminists on pornography and sadomasochism. For many feminists, all too aware that the relative powerlessness of women and children deprives them of the conditions in which consent is possible, age-of-consent laws form a necessary bulwark against sexual abuse. Children, without the resources to determine their own living arrangements, schooling, finances, or even diet seem similarly defenseless against the structural power of adults, especially when the relationship is between female children and male adults. Lorenne Clark (1980) enunciates the widespread feminist objection "because the sexual behaviour . . . violates the requirements of mutuality and/or equality which are the hallmarks of permissible, non-coercive, sexual conduct which does not violate the physical integrity or rights of some of the participants" (10). And indeed, with increasing public attention focused on the issue, more and more women, and some men, have come forward in the 1980s and 1990s to denounce the sexual abuse they experienced as children.

Since the 1970s, Canada, Switzerland, and many of the European Union countries lowered the legal definition of the age of consent to 14, 15, or 16 years, thereby rendering large categories of "pedophilia" unproblematic. The United Kingdom manufactured a much bigger problem in retaining the inordinately high age of 21 as its legal age of consent for so long. In 1989 alone, some 31 men were sentenced to three- to four-year prison terms (Tatchell 1992, 84) for mutually consenting sex with males between 16 and 20. In 1994, the British Parliament lowered the age of consent to 18. The few small pedophile groups that emerged in the 1970s, for the most part, accepted the framework of the current debate, contending that consent is possible among youths and

children and asking that their relationships be evaluated by the same criteria as others: when coercive or exploitative, let them be banned; when mutually pleasurable, caring, and desired, let them be.[2] A rising tide of prosecutions in the United States (Mitzel 1980), Canada (Sylvestre 1976, 40–46; Hannon 1982), the United Kingdom (O'Carroll 1980), Australia, and Germany (Witzel 1985; Hohmann 1982, 33) led to the dissolution of virtually all of the pedophile groups by the 1980s. "Child pornography" legislation in many countries has suppressed the ability of such last holdouts as the North American Man-Boy Love Association to raise their position or appeal for reconsideration of campaigns that have suppressed the sexuality of young people as effectively as they have incarcerated their adult partners.

The antipedophile campaigns of our era have been bound together with larger feminist campaigns against sexual harassment and domestic violence and a historical trend to define more sharply the boundaries of personal inviolability. Long the objects of unwanted male attention, trespass, and assault, an important objective for the women's movement has been the demand that men no longer take for granted their "right" of access to the bodies of women and children. The struggle for equality, citizenship rights, and democratic participation has perhaps inevitably involved expression of respect for personal integrity through a vocabulary of personal space already established by adult (heterosexual) men. It is a space premised on a concept of privacy made possible only by the affluence of advanced capitalist societies. (In very few if any of the societies studied by historians or anthropologists can people presume a bed of their own, not to mention a bedroom of their own.) This assertion of democratic rights carries with it, however, the likelihood of establishing the social distance of adult heterosexual men as the normative standard for personal interaction expected of everyone, and thus the adoption of the competitive and unsupportive style long associated with conventional masculinity as a universal practice. While resisting the assaults directed their way by straight men in groups, gay men have been reaching for new ways to bring men back into physical and emotional contact in order to bridge the conflictive space now established as normative male behavior. In that sense, gay men already have the luxury of presuming the equality that feminists still strive for, but perceiving the pathologies of the traditional male pattern, gay men have been experimenting with ways to bring in closeness and erotics.

Confronting AIDS

AIDS was first identified in the U.S. medical literature in 1981, arriving in the midst of the Reagan administration and during the ascendancy of the New Right. Appearing as an unknown and unanticipated phenomenon at the site of some of the deepest anxieties of Western civilization—namely, sex and death—it was not long before AIDS was being encoded by highly charged rhetorics generated by the New Right (Adam 1992a). AIDS rapidly assumed a significance unlike that of other life-threatening diseases as a symbol of the social divide between church- and state-sanctioned orthodoxies on the one hand, and the toleration of, or celebration of, single or multiple parenthood, gay and lesbian households, and women-controlled fertility on the other. Confronting AIDS inevitably raised questions of who was going to supervise and regulate the sexuality of whom in order to stem the epidemic tide.

From 1981 to 1983, an official conspiracy of silence refused to recognize a disease that was ravaging gay men and intravenous drug users. Unlike Legionnaire's disease, where a mysterious affliction affecting white, middle-aged war veterans received immediate and massive government assistance and public sympathy, AIDS languished in obscurity until U.S. television found more "respectable" and "innocent" victims of the disease among children, people who had received blood transfusions, and, in 1985, the popular actor Rock Hudson.

Once the silence about AIDS had been ruptured, AIDS became the subject of a widespread panic (Altman 1986; Watney 1987) fueled by the mass media promotion of right-wing demagogues who vilified gay men as a threat to public health. Traditionalists were quick to exploit AIDS as a weapon in the advancement of a "family values" agenda and succeeded in a few places like Houston, Texas, in stampeding the electorate into repealing human rights protections for lesbians and gay men. A wide range of local jurisdictions prepared reforms to quarantine laws, forceable testing programs for vulnerable populations, and bathhouse closures in response to the AIDS panic. The U.S. government banned HIV-positive people from entering the country, and despite a boycott by the International AIDS Association and an initiative by the Clinton administration, Congress reaffirmed its exclusion in 1993.

Gay and lesbian communities, already staggered by the growing numbers who were falling to the new epidemic, began to mobilize to cope with the expanding emergency. Their first priorities were to offer immediate assistance to people with AIDS, to defend themselves against state and corporate initiatives to deprive them of liberty and work, and to let people know how to avoid infection by HIV. Traditional conservative forces, whether based in the church, state, or patriarchy, seemed more than a little reluctant to cede the power to be sexual (including homosexual) to the masses, preferring to use AIDS to forward a moralist agenda and have the uninformed "suffer the consequences" of sexually transmitted disease (Adam 1992a). AIDS groups countered the monogamy-or-abstinence refrain of the traditionalists by inventing "safer sex" to affirm the enjoyment of nonpenetrative sex and to advance the simple technology of the latex barrier as means of preserving sex while avoiding HIV.

AIDS became the impetus for a new wave of mobilization and a new set of organizations, some of which developed unprecedented, routinized connections to state institutions, social welfare systems, and health bureaucracies (Adam 1992b; Altman 1988). The social response to AIDS rapidly outstripped its beginnings in the gay and lesbian movement, leading to community-based AIDS organizations that soon embraced a wide range of people affected by AIDS and encompassed virtually every city in North America, in the European Union countries, and Australia and New Zealand by the late 1980s. As the panic of the mid-1980s began to subside, many governments recognized that subsidization of the community-based AIDS movement of committed volunteers and front-line AIDS workers, would prove to be a cost-effective method of meeting the exigencies of the AIDS epidemic. Though the state-funding of AIDS organizations has been uneven at best, their increased incorporation into the larger welfare system has tended to shape them into the form of social service agencies with one particular mandate amidst a much larger AIDS establishment composed of public health officials, medical and social service professionals, and state bureaucrats (Adam forthcoming).

The impact of AIDS on gay and lesbian movement organizations has been multifaceted. While AIDS organizations have tended to syphon away much of the leadership of gay and lesbian organizations, the indiscriminate reach of the AIDS epidemic has tended to draw new constituencies of gay men and their friends and relatives into the struggle for legal protection and the advancement of gay and lesbian

cultures. The social legacy of AIDS has been equally disparate. It has killed many hundreds of thousands in countries of the northern and western hemispheres, the majority of whom have been gay men, including a significant portion of the male leadership of movement organizations. It emboldened those who would return gay people to the closet. But at the same time, AIDS has also led to the unprecedented institutionalization of gay-friendly organizations, an increased recognition and discussion of gay sexuality, and a public reimaging of gay men and lesbians in their now-public roles as caregivers, educators, and volunteers. In several countries in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America, AIDS has been the stimulus for the first gay and lesbian organizations and has curbed state proclivities to deny and repress above-ground networks of gay people.

The story of the mobilization around AIDS deserves a book of its own (Adam forthcoming). The surge of organizations—whether gay, "mixed," or nongay—and the growth of an AIDS "industry"—including governments, medical, and therapeutic professions, the pharmaceutical industry, and many more—exceeds the parameters of the gay and lesbian movement. Still, the social responses to AIDS have been indelibly shaped by preexisting gay and lesbian organizations that rallied to defend those stricken by the syndrome, worked to build supportive, nonpunitive programs, and pressed for adequate treatment and research. Gay movement initiatives made it possible to organize an institutional response that let everyone know about safer sex rather than relying on police measures or patriarchal control over the sexualities of women, young people, and gay people, as was demanded by conservative forces. Lesbian and gay groups took responsibility for doing something about AIDS in the mid-1980s when the larger society was either panicking or denying the threat, and many of those participants remain deeply involved in the organizations that have diverged from the movement itself.

Organizing Everywhere

The contemporary history of movement development has been toward ongoing diversification and decentralization. While many cities often had only one often campus-based group in 1970 at the time of gay liberation, the gay and lesbian press in every sizable city today typically lists dozens of local groups organized by gender, ethnicity, religion, workplace, and cultural or recreational interest. This

proliferation and fragmentation of movement organizing has had a pervasive impact on the larger society; few social groups or institutions can continue to content themselves with the idea that lesbians and gay men are outside their membership or purview. Gay and lesbian concerns have become harder to ignore when they come from peers, friends, and co-workers. These trends have also fundamentally affected how gay people understand who they are, what they want, and what movement objectives should be.

People of color have been active in gay and lesbian groups from their inception, working within homophile groups and organizing autonomously amid gay liberation. People of Asian, African, and Latin American descent have come together to confront racism in the gay world and homophobia within racial communities, often organizing first in countries with well-established gay and lesbian movements to reach out to compatriots in the third world. A First National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference met as a result of the 1979 march on Washington and has continued onward with meetings in Canada and England. National Black Gay and Lesbian Leadership Conferences have been meeting since 1978 in the United States (Benjamin 1992). As well an antiracist movement uniting Black and White Men Together/Men of All Colors Together has met regularly since 1980 in national conventions (Christopher 1991). This movement activity has been accompanied by a flourishing of black gay and lesbian arts, with landmark books by Joseph Beam and the Combahee River Collective, and films by directors Isaac Julien and Marlon Riggs.

Chinese, Filipino, South Asian, and Arabic gay and lesbian networks in diaspora have typically begun to meet for the first time in the 1980s and 1990s in advanced capitalist countries while developing links to their counterparts in "home" countries. In 1987, aboriginal people began annual Native Lesbian and Gay Gatherings in the United States, while a Toronto Gays and Lesbians of the First Nations formed in 1989 (Charles 1990).

Furthermore, lesbians and gay men who are the same age or have a common disability meet together. Youth groups are widespread, and New York's Senior Action ir a Gay Environment, founded in 1979, was the best known organization of older people. The Rainbow Coalition for the Deaf, begun in 1976, has chapters around North America; a student group received college recognition in 1984 at Gallaudet College for the deaf. The Gay and Lesbian Blind organized in New York in 1978, and a Chicago Lambda Resource Center for the Blind

began making cassette books on gay topics in 1980. Physically disabled New Yorkers organized Mainstream in 1984, and few sizable communities lack a group affiliated with the Gay Alcoholics Anonymous Acceptance Network.

As well, the multiplication of organizations of gay people has stimulated the development of an international federation of Parents, Friends, and Families of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG). Founded as a support group for parents distressed by their children's homosexuality, PFLAG has matured into broad-based network of nongay people working for gay and lesbian equality.

The status of gay people in religion has been perhaps most problematic of all, given the intense hostility of most Judeo-Christian church officials toward homosexuality since the thirteenth century. It is likely no accident that the first gay movement group called itself the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, thereby clearly separating itself from religion and staking its claim on the territory of the Enlightenment. Whereas most of the liberal democracies have separated church and state and have accepted a plurality of political viewpoints, the idea of sexual pluralism has yet to escape the weight of religious occupation. Christian, Jewish, and Islamic organizations have long been primary sources of antigay ideologies. When exercising punitive power of their own, churches have subjected sodomites to death and mutilation; when closely interlocked with modern states, they have often harassed, imprisoned, and even executed gay people for daring to love persons of their own choosing.

Christian Democrat parties in Europe and the evangelical Right in North America, Australia, and New Zealand have been major forces blocking recognition of equal rights for lesbians and gay men and have frequently shown a willingness to endorse or lead persecutory campaigns against them. In court cases where gay people have sought redress against discrimination and in human rights law reform, a similar set of denominations has appeared regularly as active opponents. Roman Catholic, Orthodox Jewish, Salvation Army, and various Pentecostal and evangelical denominations have committed resources to amicus curiae briefs in court cases, have propagandized through the pulpit and their own television programming and have organized letter-writing and electioneering campaigns to prevent the full enfranchisement of lesbians and gay men in society. It is noteworthy that in the Netherlands, where 49 percent of the population identifies itself as without religion and that portion of the population has organized itself

as a significant political force, lesbians and gay men live with considerable state acceptance (Schedler 1993). It is also in the Netherlands that Pope John Paul II in 1985 met the most vocal public resistance to the antigay and antifeminist pronouncements of his world tours.

The churches, of course, do not form a monolith. In general, liberal Protestant congregations where policy is determined democratically have been reconsidering antigay positions, while conservative Protestant, orthodox, and Roman Catholic churches, with their authoritarian administrative structures, have persisted with policies frozen in medieval theologies.

For lesbians and gay men with no wish to abandon their religious beliefs, few churches have been willing to extend the hand of friendship; churches of one's own have been the solution. Troy Perry, an expelled Pentecostal preacher, founded a ministry to the gay community in 1968. Growing from a congregation of 12 in Los Angeles, his group by 1983 became the center of a Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (UFMCC) of 195 congregations in 10 countries. Local MCC congregations endured some 17 attacks by arsonists through the 1970s and 1980s (Perry 1990, 76). From 1981 to 1992, UFMCC has been repeatedly refused membership or even observer status at the U.S. National Council of Churches. The UFMCC has not been alone in founding gay-positive churches. Dr. James Tinney founded Faith Temple in Washington in the black Pentecostal tradition, and a Unity Fellowship Church Movement now serves African-American communities in several major cities. The Centre du Christ Libérateur, founded in 1976 in Paris, has also served as a general Protestant ministry to lesbians and gay men. The independent gay churches have earned reputations for social service work such as telephone hot lines for the troubled and support groups for parents and alcoholics. Jews organized gay and lesbian synagogues as early as 1970 in New York and, since then, across the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, France, and Israel (Brick 1979; Teal 1971, 280).

A few have found a place for themselves within their churches through liberal Protestant theologies holding that the gender of participants in human relationships is not at issue, only the quality of the relationship. The influential 1963 statement *Towards a Quaker View of Sex* opened the way with the proposition "homosexual affection can be as selfless as heterosexual affection, and therefore we cannot see that it is in some way morally worse" (Heron 1966, 41). The Unitarian

Universalists called for an end to discrimination in 1970, opening an Office of Gay Concerns within the church in 1973 (Gearhart and Johnson 1974, 69; Humphreys 1972b, 152). When the Golden Gate Association ordained William Johnson, an openly gay candidate for the ministry, it forced a wary acceptance of the issue in the United Church of Christ and the formation of a gay and lesbian caucus (Johnson 1979). And in 1972, the Evangelical Lutheran church of the Netherlands held that "there is no obstacle" to gay ministers (Mirabet i Mullol 1985, 323; my translation).

The ordination of gay and lesbian clergy also dominated the public agenda of Canada's largest Protestant denomination in the 1980s. Gay and lesbian members of the United Church of Canada had long pressed it for recognition of its concerns, and in 1984, the church assembly resolved to oppose discrimination but rather paradoxically refused to hire them as its own clergy. This contradiction culminated in the decision by the 1988 convention to extend the right of ordination to (openly) gay and lesbian members. This hard-fought resolution provoked the secession of some of the evangelical wing of the church (Riordan 1990).

The experience in other Protestant denominations is far more mixed. Gay and lesbian caucuses among Episcopalians, Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians have encountered considerable resistance. Most others are organizations "in exile" from churches such as the Brethren/Mennonite Council on Gay Concerns, Gay People in Christian Science, Affirmation (Mormon), Kinship (Seventh-Day Adventist), American Baptists Concerned, and Integrity (Anglican Church of Canada). Dignity, the organization of gay and lesbian Catholics founded by Father Pat Nidorf in San Diego in 1969, faces hostility and suppression by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Despite church officials, Dignity has sprung up across the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Spain. David et Jonathan, the French equivalent, has also spread rapidly since 1972.

Fighting Back

The institutionalization of gay and lesbian politics in the form of AIDS service organizations and law reform campaigns left many dissatisfied. As more people in diverse communities organized themselves into gay and lesbian groups, they contested the limitations of the older movement groups that were often dominated by white, mid-

dle-class people. Those impatient with business as usual at AIDS service agencies broke away to form more confrontational groups such as the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) in the United States, Australia, and Europe and AIDS Action Now! in Canada in order to demand immediate action to overcome AIDS. The entrenchment of the New Right and the durability of everyday homophobia convinced increasing numbers of people to turn out to successive marches on Washington in 1979, 1987, and 1993. And a new generation 20 years younger than gay liberation, and whose formative political experiences came out of ACT-UP protests, initiated new militant action groups in the form of Queer Nation. Queer nationalism found particular strength in countries where civil rights strategies were less successful and impatience with the stagnation of gay and lesbian advancement fueled a new militance.

Despite the appearance of a normalization of politics and increasing social integration that accompanied the civil rights strategy, mass demonstrations never went away in the decades following the Stonewall rebellion. Even the gains in legislative reform and electoral politics still depended on years of grass-roots work and support, petitions and demonstrations, fundraising and meetings. Some 200,000 people marched on Washington on 14 October 1979 to protest New Right power and the intransigence of the U.S. Congress. The 1984 convention of the Democratic party brought out 100,000 marchers in San Francisco to demand:

- immediate, increased funding for AIDS research;
- provision of social services for lesbian and gay youth, aged, disabled, prisoners, and poor;
- "an end to violent attacks against lesbians and gay men";
- an executive order prohibiting discrimination in federal employment;
- a national lesbian and gay rights law;
- child custody, adoption, and visitation rights;
- enforcement of civil rights legislation, including within the lesbian/gay community;
- passage of the Equal Rights Amendment;
- an end to discrimination in immigration and naturalization law;
- the right of women to choose "if and when to bear children," including the right to choose abortion;
- legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships;
- repeal of sodomy and solicitation laws.

In fact, the convention did adopt several of the demands and black presidential nominee Jesse Jackson embraced lesbians and gay men into his Rainbow Coalition.

People with AIDS led the second March on Washington of perhaps a half million people on 27 October 1987. Together with the Names Project quilt, marchers pressed the Reagan administration to address the AIDS crisis.

Against this backdrop, Queer Nation first appeared in New York in the spring of 1990 and emerged spontaneously across the major cities of the United States, and in Toronto, Melbourne, and Sydney. Queer Nation quickly gained a reputation for direct-action confrontational tactics by protesting right-wing politicians, holding kiss-ins in shopping malls and straight bars, marrying same-sex couples on the steps of a Roman Catholic cathedral, and forming pink patrols against street violence. Perhaps the best known national protest in the United States was a series of demonstrations and boycotts directed against Cracker Barrel restaurants for their purge of gay and lesbian employees. Also in 1990, OutRage appeared in London, where it held a kiss-in at the Eros statue in Piccadilly Circus, invaded the Isle of Man to press for decriminalization, infiltrated an awards ceremony to protest press homophobia, and demonstrated against religious homophobia on the steps of Anglican churches.

The Queer Nation idea intended to challenge the now "respectable," integrated gay/lesbian in favor of a radical coalition of the sexually excluded, including bisexuals, transgendered people, and presumably some heterosexuals as well (Duggan 1992). Allan Bérubé and Jeffrey Escoffier (1991) found that "They are trying to combine contradictory impulses: to bring together people who have been made to feel perverse, queer, odd, outcast, different, and deviant, and to affirm sameness by defining a common identity on the fringes. They are inclusive, but within boundaries that threaten to marginalize those whose difference doesn't conform to the new nation" (12). Like gay liberation before it, Queer Nation combined spontaneous high energy and an anarchistic internal dynamic that resulted in a wave of high-profile challenges to heterosexism but also in the division and dissolution of many groups after a couple of years. Despite a new freshness and resolution brought to the post-Stonewall movement, queer nationalism contained its own set of contradictions. Its claim to an identity that is more inclusive than gay or lesbian inevitably stumbled over a new series of oppositions and exclusions. Neither historical (such as romantic friendships) nor anthropological

forms of same-sex bonding have any connection to the "queer": the berdache and the two-spirited idea of aboriginal Canadians find no place among its connotations. Its embrace among a young, urban, intellectual cohort intentionally separates away the "assimilated" and "respectable" who do not share the queer impulse to shock the bourgeoisie. And the queer nationalists must contend with the fact that few "ordinary" lesbians and gay men have taken up the term in referring to themselves. While claiming to reject the policing of identity, queer nationalism, like other nationalisms, engages in a covert moralism by valuing difference for itself. Other culturalist or nationalist trends have tended toward political myopia where social action is abandoned for spiritualism or left vulnerable to co-optation by conservative forces (see Adam 1993b). In the case of queer nationalism, the tendency is toward reducing politics to questions of aesthetics, style, or performance, while failing to address the state, political economy, kinship, or family structures.

Arlene Stein (1992) sums up changing lesbian self-conceptions in a three-stage model. The homophile era was an "'old gay' prefeminist world, a series of semi-secret subcultures located primarily in urban areas, formed in relation to the hegemonic belief that heterosexuality was natural" (37). The woman-identified woman of the cultural feminists "transformed lesbianism into a normative identity" of "lifestyle preferences" and "ideological proclivities" (39), which succeeded in drawing some heterosexual feminists into its ambit while marginalizing many lesbians. The outcome of the sex debates and of challenges posed by women unwilling to deny their bisexuality has been a decentering of lesbian activism in the form of "lesbian parenting groups, support groups for women with cancer and other life-threatening diseases, new and often graphic sexual literature for lesbians, organizations for lesbian 'career women' and lesbians of color, and mixed organizations where out lesbians played visible roles" (35). In this scenario, Queer Nation turns out not as the overarching unifier but as yet another fraction in the overall mosaic of contemporary gay and lesbian organizing.

Chapter Nine

Coming Out around the World

Gay and lesbian organization has generally been more tenuous outside the advanced capitalist nations of the European Union, North America, Australia, and New Zealand. Homosexuality in the form of gay and lesbian identities and networks encompasses only a portion of homosexually interested humanity, as so many people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America remain in agrarian production characterized by traditional kinship and gender systems and precapitalist codes of homosexual desire. Poverty and limited access to housing and transportation entail a lack of privacy, greater reliance on and supervision by families, and more localized personal friendship networks. Nevertheless, the wish to realize deeply felt emotional and sexual preferences has motivated many in the urban sector to embrace gay and lesbian identities and to stand up for the right to experience pleasure, form households, and make friends without interference from the state, church, or families. The example of gay and lesbian communities and movements has proven to be highly influential in other countries. The first commercial venues typically appear in the largest cities where they attract a literate and traveled clientele and coexist with indigenous forms of same-sex attraction and bonding. They are often soon followed by clubs, political groups, and AIDS service organizations that emerge from the friendship networks developed inside and outside of the commercial scene.

The working groups of the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) attempt to monitor civil rights around the world,

twin established organizations with new ones, and link international efforts around asylum, the military, churches, youth, ableism, health, trade unions, AIDS, and prisoners.[1] Gay and lesbian refugees fleeing persecution in their home countries have found asylum in several countries, but few maintain a consistent policy of recognizing persecution on the grounds of sexual orientation as adequate reason for refugee status.[2] In 1991, Amnesty International (1994) agreed after a lengthy debate to defend people imprisoned around the world because of their homosexuality. In 1993 the World Health Organization dropped homosexuality from its International Classification of Diseases, and the United Nations Economic and Social Council granted ILGA the status of a nongovernmental organization permitting it to submit statements to the United Nations on lesbian and gay issues.[3]

Eastern Europe

The state socialist nations of Eastern Europe created many of the fundamental social conditions that made gay and lesbian worlds possible at the same time as they inhibited their development. Nations structured on the Soviet model pursued a model of economic development that built urban industrial systems, moved much of their populations from agriculture to wage labor, and opened employment opportunities for women. As in capitalist societies, state socialist societies displaced kinship as the primary determinant of people's life chances, disestablished churches, and devolved (except in the case of China) decisions about family and reproduction to the individual level. Many years before the collapse of state socialist governments, gay bars and coffeehouses emerged in East Berlin, Prague, and Budapest; gay and lesbian movement groups organized in East Germany and Yugoslavia. Yet all of these social formations were severely compromised by the immense power of central bureaucracies that regulated so many aspects of life and suppressed public organizations that lacked explicit state approval. With monopolistic control of communications systems and state administration of personal mobility, commercial meeting places, and housing, movement formation was severely limited (Hauer et al. 1984).

A comparison of East and West Germany reveals the differences. While the Communist government, true to its prewar commitment, ceased prosecuting men for homosexual acts after World War II, it seized control of businesses in the country, thereby dissolving the les-

bian and gay bars that had flourished from 1945 to 1947 and pushing gay people out of the public sphere (Klimmer 1969; Kokula 1983, 17). The government of the Federal Republic on the other hand, maintained a policy of persecution through the 1950s, but small businesspeople opened a number of unofficial gay and lesbian bars out of which a public gay community and movement emerged. As early as 1973, a Homosexuelle Interessengemeinschaft Berlin applied without success for permission to meet in East Germany. In 1982, a modern gay and lesbian organization arose under the auspices of the state-approved Evangelical Student Congregation. By the mid-1980s, gay and lesbian work groups had organized across the East so that a fully formed national federation was already in place at the time of the reunification of Germany.

Russia's first underground gay organization, the Leningrad Gay Laboratory survived only from 1984 until its dismemberment by the KGB in 1986 when its founder, Alexander Zaremba, was imprisoned, and other members were fired, exiled, or banished to Siberia (Schluter 1992, 6). Under the policy of glasnost initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev, gay and lesbian groups began to spring up along with thousands of other voluntary associations in Russian society. The Moscow Association of Sexual Minorities (later Moscow Gay and Lesbian Union) started in 1989 and began publishing *Tema* in 1990. Both the press and activists suffered police attacks, but thousands came out for Russia's first gay and lesbian pride week in the summer of 1991. When the administration of Boris Yeltsin in 1993 abolished the criminal penalties for homosexuality that had been introduced in the Stalinist period, almost a thousand gay men were in prison and "pink lists" of suspected homosexuals were kept by police, according to official sources (Gessen 1994). New gay and lesbian groups were soon reporting from all across Russia, including several cities in Siberia.

Several republics newly released from the Soviet Union also decriminalized from 1991 to 1993. Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan dropped the Stalinist law as gay and lesbian groups organized in their capitals. As well, new groups appeared for the first time in 1993 in the Moldovan and Uzbek capitals.

In the latter years of Yugoslavia, movement groups formed in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. The Slovenian group, Magnus, dates from 1984 (Renar 1989), and a lesbian section from 1988 (Anderson 1991, 30). Both gay and lesbian groups organized after 1988 in Zagreb.

The group Arkadia appeared briefly in 1991 in Belgrade before the Serbian government launched a campaign against a wide range of imagined enemies (including homosexuals) in the midst of a civil war, arresting its chairperson and interrogating its members.

Small, low-profile groups had formed in Czechoslovakia (Lambda Prague 1982), Poland (1986), and Hungary (Homeros Lambda 1988) during the Communist era; these participated in annual international meetings of the Eastern European movement beginning in 1987 (Catalano and Steinman 1988). With the fall of Soviet-style governments at the end of the 1980s, gay and lesbian groups, bars, and magazines developed quickly across the region, with the group Gemini appearing in Bulgaria in 1992. Apart from Serbia, only Romania retained its sodomy law, attracting the attention of Amnesty International for its persistent imprisonment of gay men.

Mediterranean Countries

Gay and lesbian groups have tended to be fewer and more recent in southern Europe than in the North. Their comparatively late emergence has been associated with the presence of fewer of the social conditions that allow for the emergence of organized gay and lesbian life, and thus of civil organizations. Mediterranean regions have long functioned as economic peripheries to the industrial centers of the North; their populations have been poorer, more rural, and more organized around traditional kinship forms. Greece and Spain suffered military dictatorships into the 1970s that suppressed popular mobilization of all kinds. As in Latin America, homosexual relationships tended toward the role-defined model which exempted the "active" male from any particular label but condemned the "passive" male to a stigmatized status. The decline of regional disparities through the economic, legal, and communications union of the European Union have also improved the mobility, housing, and personal autonomy of women and men and thus enhanced the conditions for gay and lesbian cultural formation.

In Spain, a gay and lesbian movement sprang forth at the death of Francisco Franco. During his dictatorship, two Barcelona lawyers, Armand de Fluvià and Mir Bellgai, circulated a letter to protest the 1970 social danger law and pulled together six Spanish subscribers to *Arcadie* to form an underground Agregación Homófilo para la Igualdad Sexual (AGHOIS). During this time, the group developed contacts with other European organizations, having the AGHOIS bul-

letin mailed back to Spain through *Arcadie* and then, following a complaint to the French government by the Spanish foreign minister, through the Swedish *Revolt* (Fluvià 1978; Mirabet i Mullol 1985, 244–45). Following the death of Franco, gay liberation went public in 1977 in Barcelona as the Front d'Alliberament Gai de Catalunya (FAGC), soon followed by Euskal Herrico Gay Askapen Mugimendua (EHGAM) in Bilbao, and a number of groups in Madrid, Malaga, and other major cities.

Italy's most successful contemporary gay and lesbian movement organization is ARCI-Gay, a branch of the Associazione Ricreative e Culturale Italiana, a cultural association affiliated with the Communist party and its successor, the Party of the Democratic Left. Founded in 1980 in Palermo in response to the suicide of two lovers aged 15 and 25, ARCI-Gay organized a gay pride day on 28 June 1981 (Grillini 1990, 113–14). In 1985 ARCI-Gay opened a national office in Rome and the Italian Communist Youth Federation (FGCI) elected a member of ARCI-Gay, Nikki Vendola, as its national secretary that same year. By 1989, ARCI-Gay counted some 25 local clubs throughout Italy and 13,000 members (Consoli 1990, 72).

The Greek gay organization, AKOE, first demonstrated publicly in 1981 against a solicitation bill, which subsequently banned sexual propositioning whether for money or not. AKOE has attempted to defend the journals, *Amphi* and *Kraximo* against repeated prosecution for "offending public morals" (Vassilas 1984). In 1991, *Amphi* editor Irene Petropoulou was sentenced to five months in prison and a 50,000 drachma fine for the same offense because she refused to accept personal ads directed to lesbians by heterosexual men.

In Turkey and Cyprus, the state has acted against gay initiatives without regard to the most basic of civil rights. Gay men have been subjected to repeated police attacks and beatings in the 1980s. Gay activism found a small public space in the pages of the Turkish Radical Green party publication that was subsequently subjected to prosecution in 1989 (Tielman and Hammelburg 1993, 334). A gay pride celebration planned in 1993 was suppressed by police; 22 of its European supporters were deported. In Cyprus, a Gay Liberation Movement came about in 1987. Its leader Alexandros Modinos succeeded in having the European Court of Human Rights declare the Cypriot sodomy law to be invalid in 1992 (*ILGA Bulletin* 3/1993: 23). The response of the theocratic Cypriot state has been to threaten to excommunicate gay people.

Israel's Society for the Protection of Personal Rights has had to struggle against a state system that institutionalizes Judaism as the official religion (Sofer 1985) but has nevertheless won decriminalization in the 1980s and a 1992 limited ban on workplace discrimination.

The Arabic nations of the Mediterranean region lack the foundations for movement groups as they they have developed only limited separation between the state and religion and little tolerance for grassroots organization that lack approval of government or Islamic officials. Homosexual relations remain coded by indigenous role-defined norms (Schmitt 1991) and subject to theocratic surveillance and suppression, despite a rich tradition of Arabic and Persian literature extolling the love of boys.

Latin America

Several factors account for the comparative fragility of gay and lesbian movement groups in Latin America. Popular indigenous forms of same-sex attraction and bonding tend to follow a role-inscribed pattern where only "pasivo" males and a very few, if any, "masculine" women become socially differentiated (see Adam 1993a). Gay- and lesbian-identified people represent only a fraction of the homosexually active population and tend to appear only in the most cosmopolitan centers. Several Latin American countries have recent histories of dictatorial governments that denied freedom of speech and assembly to their citizens. As in Spain and Eastern Europe, gay and lesbian mobilization has typically come about as part of a larger wave of activism that reasserted democratic rights against repressive regimes. Even in officially democratic states, gay people have had to contend with vague and sweeping police powers, as well as strong reactionary forces, which have not hesitated to harass, extort, and assassinate powerless sectors of society.

In Mexico, gay liberation revived itself as the Frente Homosexual de Acción Revolucionaria (FHAR) "in response to numerous anti-gay assaults and murders and police harassment in the Federal District" (Kyper 1979). They first appeared publicly as part of a 1978 demonstration in support of students arrested after the 1968 Olympics; by 1979, FHAR and the new lesbian group, Oikabeth, drew 1,500 in a gay pride march through Mexico City. In 1982, the Revolutionary Workers party even ran an openly gay candidate, Rosario Ibarra, for president.

Police raided and closed gay bars in Guadalajara from 1989 to 1990, and the clubhouse of the Grupo Orgullo Homosexual de Liberación (GOHL) suffered a fire bombing during the same period. When GOHL rallied its members and invited ILGA to meet in Guadalajara in 1991, the city's mayor ordered its disbanding, and ILGA held an impromptu conference in Acapulco instead. In 1992, an unnamed death squad murdered six gay activists in Mexico City, including Francisco Estrada, a founder of Mexico's major AIDS organization. Neftalí Ruiz, an activist who had been campaigning for an investigation of police murders of gay men, was himself found murdered in 1993. These assaults and murders follow a pattern of repression already well established against dissident journalists and peasant organizers in Mexico (see Lumsden 1991; Green and Asis 1993; *ILGA Bulletin* 2/1993).

In Brazil, the gay and lesbian movement organized in the waning days of dictatorship to develop relatively rapidly with the restoration of parliamentary democracy. As early as 1961–64, an underground gay press circulated in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo until its suppression following the United States–backed coup that replaced the democratically elected president with a military dictator in 1964 (Clarke 1984). With the regime's promise of an "opening" toward democracy in the late 1970s, a gay journal, *Lampião*, began, and a group called Somos formed in São Paulo amid widespread agitation for democracy from many sectors of the Brazilian population. Soon *Lampião* was in court on a public morals charge, and police had imprisoned 1,500 in sweeps through the gay ghetto following a 1980 national conference held in São Paulo. More than a thousand turned out to protest the police roundups in June of 1980. When the military regime stepped down in 1982, the Workers' party fielded eight gay candidates, including an incumbent, João Baptista Breda (who had come out on national television).

In the 1990s gay and lesbian groups remained active in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Manaus, and Bahia (Rubio and Fernández 1992, 24–25) amidst a well-developed commercial gay scene. The decline of overt state-sanctioned violence against gay men and lesbians after the fall of Brazil's dictatorship has been replaced by a rise in violence committed by less easily identified perpetrators. The Grupo Gay de Bahia documented some 1,200 murders of gay people in the 1980s, including many men killed in AIDS-phobic attacks and

women killed by men as part of a larger pattern permitting male violence against insubordinate or "unfaithful" women (*ILGA Bulletin* 4/1991, 9–10; 5/1992, 17). Amnesty International reported the 1993 assassination of Renildo José dos Santos, an openly gay municipal councillor in the town of Coqueiro Seco in Alagoas. He appears to have been killed by the mayor, the mayor's father, and three military policemen.

Recent Argentine history shows a similar pattern. Leftists formed very small gay liberation groups from 1969 to 1973 (Green and Asis 1993, 5). The military dictatorship that came to power in 1976 revived the sweeping police powers left over from the 1950s Peronist dictatorship, and a series of police raids against gay bars from 1976 to 1978 closed down the commercial gay scene. With the instigation of the Roman Catholic Bishop of San Martín, more than 1,400 were detained in bar raids leading up to the 1978 world soccer match in Buenos Aires. Some 400 gay men "disappeared" during the "dirty war" conducted by the military dictatorship (Jauregui 1987, 169–72). In 1982 and 1983 the Comando Cóndor and Comando de Moralidad death squads exacted a wave of murders against gay men in the arts.

With the fall of the dictatorship, gay bars began to reopen, and a Comunidad Homosexual Argentina (CHA) was founded in 1984. CHA's first public event brought a contingent of a hundred people into a mass demonstration for justice after the dirty war (Jauregui 1987, 203). With undiminished police and church powers in the "democratic" period, bars have been subject to mass arrests of patrons in 1984, 1987, 1989, and 1990. CHA has found itself blocked in its pursuit of legal recognition in the courts, which means it has been unable to rent an office or open a bank account. When confronted with gay and lesbian activists abroad, President Carlos Menem promised to grant CHA legal recognition but has yet to do so (Freda 1992). The tabloid press published the names of eight executive committee and 35 other CHA members in 1990, resulting in a wave of dismissals. Despite this ongoing regime of repression, 300 turned out for CHA's gay pride day in Buenos Aires in 1992 (Wockner 1992c, 7).

The recent histories of Chile and Uruguay have paralleled Argentina. Military rule in Uruguay from 1973 to 1985 entailed police repression, bar raids, and "pink lists" (Miller 1992, 219). The gay and lesbian groups—Cotidiano Mujer, Homosexuales Unidos, and Movimiento Integración Homosexual, appeared only in the late 1980s (Rubio and Fernández 1992, 27). The removal of the Chilean dictator-

ship by referendum created an opening for the formation of the lesbian feminist group, Ayuquelén, in 1988 and a Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual in Santiago in 1991. Police raids in 1990 in Valparaiso netted 500 men whom police subjected to compulsory HIV tests.

In Colombia, gay studies groups held meetings in 1976 and two newspapers, *El Otro* and *Ventana Gay*, appeared sporadically from Medillín and Bogotá. The first public gay pride parade occurred in the capital in 1983, and a Colectivo de Orgullo Gay organized there in 1985, issuing a paper called *De Ambiente* (later *Urania*). In 1985 and 1986, death squads reportedly made up of off-duty police officers, murdered some 50 gay men in Cali (*ILGA Bulletin* 4/1987, 9). Amnesty International (1994) has reported many gay victims among the thousands murdered by Colombian death squads in the 1990s. Vigilantes killed eight gay men in Quito, Ecuador, in 1992. Police repression and a sodomy law have restricted above-ground gay organization to the AIDS group, SOGA, itself subject to police harassment. In Venezuela, Edgar Carrasco and Luis Alvarez produced *Entendido* in the early 1980s, attempting to organize around a large police raid on a Caracas disco in 1982. A Grupo Entendido is reportedly still active (Herrick 1984; Rubio and Fernández 1992, 27).

In 1983, the Grupo Autoconciencia Lesbianas y Feministas became active in Lima following a meeting of the Latin American Women's Conference and began to issue a newsletter, *Al Margen*. The Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MOHL), founded in 1985, has become the ILGA information coordinator for Latin America and its chairwoman, Rebeca Sevilla, became ILGA secretary-general in 1992. Peruvian gay men have been targeted and murdered by terrorist movements in the 1980s. Tupac Amaru forces murdered seven gay men in Tarapoto as part of a campaign against "homosexuals, prostitutes, thieves, and drug users," and Sendero Luminoso has been implicated in other deaths. Police, accompanied by television cameras, have staged repeated raids on lesbian and gay bars in the late 1980s and early 1990s, including the arrest of participants in an AIDS fundraiser in 1991 (Chauvin 1991). According to press reports, President Alberto Fujimori ordered the dismissal of 117 civil servants in 1993 because of their homosexuality (Tielman and Hammelburg 1993, 315).

A 1987 police raid in San José, Costa Rica, led to the founding of a gay response network and subsequent religious, church, and lesbian

groups (Alcázar 1991; Schifter 1989). San José hosted the second meeting of Latin American and Caribbean Lesbian Feminists (the first being in Cuernavaca, Mexico, in 1988) despite an uproar generated by the church, state, and press. A lesbian Colectivo Humanas came about as a result of the meeting. In Nicaragua, a gay and lesbian organization emerged out of a safer sex education project sponsored by the Sandinista Ministry of Health (Sorrell 1991), making its first public appearance among celebrants of the eleventh anniversary of the Sandinista revolution in 1990. The fall of the Sandinista government in 1990 in favor of a U.S.-sponsored coalition resulted in a 1992 law that criminalized homosexuality for the first time in Nicaraguan history.

In many Latin American societies, then, small urban gay and lesbian organizations have emerged against the odds to provide journals, AIDS support, and defense against state predation. The struggle to create even minimal space for gay and lesbian existence has often had to face very powerful reactionary coalitions composed of landholding elites, the Roman Catholic church, and the military. These coalitions have lengthy records of profound suspicion of social change and a virtually boundless willingness to attack those who would challenge inequality. Their power has frequently been consolidated and bolstered by U.S. military, economic, corporate, and mass media assistance. Their instruments of repression have included from time to time the army and police, as well as death squads and armed gangs. The history of gay and lesbian movements in Latin America is bound together with the larger history of democratic forces—such as movements of peasants, workers, students, and intellectuals—attempting to assert fundamental civil rights and economic justice against authoritarian and sometimes genocidal social institutions.

Asia and Africa

In Asia and Africa, gay and lesbian movement activity has been more sporadic. Among the diverse cultures of Indonesia, Polynesia, and the Philippines are rich local traditions of homosexuality linked with shamanism, the theater, transgenderism, and patron-client relationships. The concept of gay or lesbian identity is only one among many possibilities, and homosexually interested people may be organized under these alternate auspices. Nevertheless, Lambda Indonesia has existed since 1983 and counts groups in Jakarta, Kebumen, Denpasar, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. It has published *Gaya*

Nusantara since 1987 (Translation Group 1984; Anderson 1991, 21; Gayzette 102, 4). Similarly, a few small groups emerged in the Philippines during the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship and since (Fleras 1993). The destruction of aboriginal cultures in the Indonesian province of West Irian and in Papua New Guinea has been erasing the last surviving cultures where homosexuality has been expected of all males (Adam 1985a). Forestry conglomerates and Islamic and Roman Catholic proselytizers have wreaked havoc on the Asmat people in particular (Beveridge 1991).

In Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore, AIDS has given the impetus for group formation (Walderhaug 1991, 16). Thailand's reputation for open, socially accepted heterosexuality and homosexuality has attracted "sex tourists" from advanced capitalist countries, including Japan, thereby complicating local forms of same-sex eroticism with a commercial overlay (Jackson 1989; Miller 1992). Apart from raids on the commercial scene during a brief military dictatorship, the state has shown little interest in sexual regulation. In Singapore, on the other hand, police closed bars and forced homosexual men into HIV testing as part of a state policy to promote marriage and fertility among the Chinese middle class (Durand 1990).

Like Thailand, neither the state (Buddhist) religious institutions, nor public organizations have attempted to regulate homosexuality in Japan. Despite a very well developed gay and lesbian bar scene and commercial press, movement organization has been a comparatively late development. Apart from a short-lived attempt in the late 1960s, movement groups have not come about until the 1980s, with OCCUR, a Japan ILGA group, and the lesbian Regumi group in Tokyo, as well as groups in Osaka (Lunsing 1994).

With decriminalization in 1991, a small gay group has appeared in Hong Kong, as has a lesbian group in Taipei called Wo Men Zhi Jian. Within China, AIDS education prompted the state in 1993 to permit a short-lived gay support group in Beijing, called Man's World. It was closed by state authorities after a few months. In addition, a clandestine group in Suzhou contacted ILGA in 1992 (*ILGA Bulletin* 3/1992, 23; 4/1991, 21).

Reports of movement activity in India are very recent: the lesbian group, Sakhi, was formed in 1992 in New Delhi; people protested against police entrapment and arrests in a park in New Delhi; and *Bombay Dost*, a gay and lesbian journal, began publication. Only a few reports have filtered out from the theocratic state of Iran. In 1990, the

Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili reportedly called for the extermination of homosexuals over the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This was followed by reports of the execution of three men in Nahavand and two women in Langrood in 1990 and two more executions and 90 arrests in 1992 (Wockner 1991a, 1992a).

Small Asia-wide gay and lesbian conferences have been held in Tokyo, Bangkok, and Manila since the mid-1980s.

In South Africa, the Gay Association of South Africa came about in 1982 with a largely white membership. Its publication was banned by the white minority government of the day. Nonracial organizations emerged soon after with the Gay and Lesbian Organization of Witwatersrand (GLOW) in 1983 and the Organization of Lesbian and Gay Activists in Cape Town (OLGA) in 1987, both of which aligned themselves with the anti-apartheid struggle of the African National Congress. One of GLOW's leaders, Simon Nkoli (1988), endured four years of imprisonment from 1984 to 1988 before being acquitted of murder together with a group of others arrested at the same demonstration. With the easing of emergency powers by the Willem de Klerk administration, GLOW celebrated South Africa's first gay and lesbian pride march in Johannesburg with a turnout of 800. Two thousand appeared the following year (Wockner 1991b).

In the early 1990s, the first gay and lesbian organizations in other African countries have been identifying themselves to ILGA: Gentlemen Alliance in Lagos (1989), Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe in Harare (1990), and Afro Lesbian and Gay Club in Accra (1991). The Zimbabwean group was forced underground when Prime Minister Robert Mugabe denounced it in 1994.

Conclusion

In the advanced capitalist societies of the European Union, North America, Australia, and New Zealand, the gay and lesbian movement has come to be seen in liberal and leftist analyses as a movement in defense of minority rights. (Conservatives still tend to want to define movements of social change in terms of social "decay" or disorganization.) This view has been taken up in large part by recent theorists of the "new social movements," which were born (or reborn) in the 1960s and 1970s New Left era (Adam 1993b). There is certainly some truth in this position: the minority civil rights paradigm can be successfully used to make claims in liberal democratic societies, it is understood in civil society, and it has shaped the self-concepts and aspirations of gay men and lesbians themselves. While it is true at least for one historical moment and as an expression of one face of movement practice, it is too limited in its grasp of the larger implications of historical change. The gay and lesbian movement—like the feminist movement, black and Latino movements, environmentalist movement, and others—poses a challenge to the larger social organization of power that opposes center against periphery and dominant groups against the subordinate.

The degree to which these movements are successful is the degree to which power monopolies are undermined, destabilized, and reconstituted; their successes also transform the boundaries of *other*ness and thus reflect on their own identities and intentions. The minority paradigm separates homosexual desire into its own ghetto, the better to secure the hegemonies of heterosexism, patriarchy, white supremacy, capitalism, and so on. Yet inevitably the challenge posed by gay and lesbian groups—whether engaged inside institutional politics or

pressing from outside—is to contest difference and deny/defy power. The gay and lesbian movement, then, shares with other new social movements a democratic thrust of drawing disenfranchised populations into—while at the same time reordering—civil society and political processes; it differs from them in its particular promise to rehumanize the competitive and alienated relationships that separate men from men and women from women. Its effect in the longer term exceeds the boundaries of the liberal rhetoric of minority rights by affecting predominant ideas circulating through entire societies concerning gender equality, interpersonal intimacy, and individual authenticity.

New social movements theory typically postulates that popular mobilization in the current era has been characterized by a shift toward

- attempts to reverse economic and political "colonization" of the lifeworld,
- the mobilization of largely middle-class constituencies, and
- the rise of a new "cultural politics" oriented less to "bread-and-butter" issues than to questions of identity, rights, and autonomy. (Adam 1993b; forthcoming)

While its imagery of contemporary movement practice describes the evolution of the gay and lesbian movement toward "networks composed of a multiplicity of groups that are dispersed, fragmented, and submerged in everyday life" with "short-term and reversible commitment, multiple leadership, temporary and ad hoc organizational structures" (Melucci 1989, 60), this version of new social movements theory offers only partial applicability to gay and lesbian mobilization. Gay and lesbian organizations

- are not simply protective of existing life-styles but also innovative of new ways of living,
- remain fully engaged with the state in order to change traditional moral regulation,
- are much more than a middle class or first world mobilizations,
- vary widely in organizational form from the formal, federal model of Italy and Denmark to the spontaneism of OutRage and Queer Nation, and

- address virtually every sphere of life, including the workplace and labor unions, violence in the streets, housing and domestic arrangements, health and social services, organized religion, and cultural representations in mass media and education.

Nor is the gay and lesbian movement simply an example of "identity politics"—a claim that applies at most to its cultural nationalist face but not to the whole of gay and lesbian movement practice.

Indeed, cultural nationalism, whether in the form of cultural feminism or queer nationalism, has significant implications for the future of the movement. Cultural nationalism is an important, perhaps inevitable, moment in the empowerment of inferiorized people (Adam 1978; 1993b, 329). It is a process of self-affirmation and a rupturing of the silences enforced by dominant cultural traditions that withdraw the resources for developing the self as a subject in the world. It is also self-limiting and shortsighted in meeting the challenge of the larger social forces that determine the well-being of lesbians and gay men. To have an impact in reorganizing the structures of power requires alliances with other democratic movements, such as movements of women, workers, racial minorities, and environmentalists (all of which already include lesbian and gay members). The electoral strategies of openly gay/lesbian candidates are instructive in showing that other social constituencies can understand the common interests that they may share with gay people and help to realize them just as lesbians and gay men can work for social justice for other people. The larger objective of overcoming antigay oppression requires change to the larger system of power by

- pressing for workers' participation in managing the workplace in order to assert equitable criteria in hiring and advancement and to counter the arbitrary authority of individual employers;
- working for a perestroika of the mass media, which in many countries is well protected against state interference but which forwards a narrow ideological agenda favored by its moneyed and powerful owners (Herman and Chomsky 1988);
- challenging and participating in a wide range of state agencies that determine everything from the delivery of health services to policing;
- acting within democratically organized religious bodies to revalue gay and lesbian lives while acting to curb the power of antidemocratic churches;

- joining in local initiatives to control violence whether in households, the streets, or the state apparatus; and
- examining the internal organization of gay and lesbian communities, including the role of local bourgeoisies and the commercial scene, as well as the degree of representation of the diverse nature of the community in its own leadership.

So far there has been only minor awareness among people of the northern and western hemispheres of the struggles of lesbians and gay men in the developing world. To date the International Lesbian and Gay Association works with a tiny budget and a fragile network of volunteers in an attempt to monitor the status of gay people around the world. Gay men and lesbians in Argentina, Colombia, China, and many Islamic states, especially Iran, face often lethal organized assaults by the state and by unofficial death squads. As well, the international movement has yet to consider linkage with aboriginal movements to support indigenous cultures that institutionalize homosexual relationships but that have come under siege by modern entrepreneurs and missionaries. Indeed, the governments of the advanced, capitalist nations, especially the United States, often actively assist the perpetrators of violence against gay people. ILGA's twinning project between movement groups in the northern and western hemispheres and those in the southern hemisphere has taken the first step in advancing the safety of lesbians and gay men around the world. Yet international support remains largely a new frontier where the movements in Western countries have considerable potential to affect the foreign policy of their own governments and to influence others by taking up the tools developed by Amnesty International. Despite the press of local issues and meager resources to meet these demands, the challenge today is to offer support to gay and lesbian groups struggling for human rights around the world without imposing Western priorities or identities on them.

Notes

1. Origins of a Homosexual People

1. See Foucault 1980 on the development of knowledge in order to control.

2. This sections telescopes the great deal of family history better developed in Foreman 1977 and in the work of Philippe Ariès, Jean-Louis Flandrin, Lawrence Stone, Mark Poster, and others.

3. This section condenses several stages of capitalist development that are treated in more detail in Adam 1985b.

4. See Thompson 1980 on the British "counter-revolution."

2. Early Movements and Aspirations

1. This section is heavily indebted to the pioneering research of James Steakley (1975), John Lauritsen and David Thorstad (1974), and Hans-Georg Stümke and Rudi Finkler (1981).

2. See Fredrik Silverstolpe's forthcoming book, *Gay Stockholm, 1860–1960.*

3. The rendering of *Eigene* into English has caused translators headaches. Its closest approximations are "the special," "the particular," "the essential," "one's own."

4. For an incisive discussion of the implications of the Eulenberg affair, see Steakley 1983, 42–47, and Hull 1982.

5. My translation. Unfortunately, *"monstres sacrés"* loses much in translation.

6. Philip Dyer, "Origins," "World of Art," and "Widening Horizens," in Spender 1974, esp. 35, 67.

7. Bonnet 1981, 96–165, 207. Baudelaire had gone to trial, charged with obscenity for publishing poems with lesbian themes in *Les Fleurs du Mal.*

8. Much of this section is indebted to the fundamental work of Jeffrey Weeks.

9. F. B. Smith (1976) argues that the Labouchere Amendment was almost unintentional, having been slipped into an antiprostitution bill with almost no debate. This does not explain why the amendment would be seen as so "natural" that it did not occasion opposition.

10. Wilson 1974, 265, drawn from Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 20.

11. See Baritz 1960, 33, on the activities of the Ford Motor Company.

12. For an examination of coping strategies among subordinated peoples—some of which contribute to that subordination—see Adam 1987.

13. U.S. Senate, Committee on Naval Affairs, 1975, 11, 30; see Chauncey 1985 and Murphy 1988. The entrapment squad reported to the then Acting Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Roosevelt.

3. The Holocaust

1. Steakley 1975, 88; Isherwood 1976, 18; Kokula 1984; Bleuel 1974, 5; for the most complete history of this period see Stümke and Finkler 1981.

2. Personal communication from James Steakley.

3. See Abraham 1981; Blackbourn and Eley 1984; Dobkowski and Walliman 1983; Moore 1966; Hamilton 1982.

4. On Nazi ideologies of homosexuality, see Schilling 1983; Herzer 1985; Stümke and Finkler 1981; Block 1983; Mosse 1982; Steakley 1975.

5. Much of this was dramatized in Martin Sherman's 1980 play, *Bent.*

4. The Homophiles Start Over

1. Wallace's Progressive message clearly interested some gay people. F. O. Matthiessen made the seconding speech for Wallace's

nomination as presidential candidate at the party convention (Hyde 1978, 362), and Harry Hay toyed with the idea of a Bachelors for Wallace group to organize gay people (see Katz 1976, 408, and Timmons 1990, 135).

2. See Katz 1976, 586, 610, 639, 643–46, 651–52. The West German press took a similar line at this time, a direct inheritance of Nazi precepts. See Stümke and Finkler 1981, 373–86.

3. U.S. Senate, Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, Subcommittee on Investigations, 1975.

4. Weeks 1977, 159–61; Wildeblood 1955, esp. 35, 42, 46. For the antigay campaigns of the British press, see Pearce 1973.

5. For some of the personal stories about living through these times, see especially Katz 1976, chap. 2, and Adair and Adair 1978.

6. See also Christopher Isherwood's comments in Praunheim 1980, 32.

7. It should be noted, however, that the Community party itself was opposed to homosexuality in line with the Stalinist position, and Hay was obliged to leave the party to do his Mattachine work

8. Jacques Girard attributes the coining of the word to the Dutch activist de Arent Van Sunthorst in 1949. See Girard 1981, 49.

9. *Der Kreis* was the only prewar gay publication to survive into the 1950s, by publishing in Switzerland. In 1951 it was a trilingual journal with a circulation of 800.

10. See Martin and Lyon 1972, 238, for a defense of this policy.

11. See D'Emilio 1983, 177–80; Tytell 1976. Catharine Stimpson (1982–83) points out that the Beat style, like most of the New Left, contained no challenge to sexism.

12. On this new relationship with Peter Orlovsky, Ginsberg (1974) remarks,

> We made a vow to each other that he could own me, my mind and everything I knew, and my body; and I could own him and all he knew and his body; and that we would give each other ourselves, so that we possessed each other as property, to do everything we wanted sexually or intellectually, and in a sense explore each other until we reached the mystical "X" together, emerging two merged souls. We had the understanding that when our (my particularly) erotic desire was ultimately satisfied by being satiated (rather than denied), there would be a lessening of desire, grasp, holding on, craving and attachment; and that ultimately we would both be delivered free in heaven together. (23)

13. At its height the DOB included chapters in New Orleans, Reno, Portland, San Diego, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Melbourne, Australia. See Martin and Lyon 1972, 227.

5. Gay Liberation and Lesbian Feminism

1. On consciousness raising, see Altman 1971, 113; Teal 1971; Freeman 1975, 124–25; Evans 1979, 214–23; Breines 1982.

2. A branch of the COC was also founded in Antwerp in 1965 as the Belgische Vereiniging voor Sexuale Rechtvaardigheid COC (Maroey 1969). I am grateful for conversations with Rob Tielman, Judith Schuyf, Kim Friele, and Wenche Lowzow on the Netherlands and the Norwegian movements. They are, of course, not responsible for my interpretation.

3. Teal 1971, 58; Abbott and Love 1972, 116; Jay and Young 1972, 292–320 passim; Kokula 1975, 64, 72–79; Girard 1981, 103; García Gaudilla 1981, 45; Marotta 1981, 175–82; Thompson 1985, 58; Taylor and Whittier 1992, 108.

4. On the new masculinity, see Humphreys 1972a; Hocquenghem 1979, 67; Girard 1981, 115; White 1980; Blachford 1981; Marshall 1981. Renaud Camus (1981) put it this way: "Well, I like fake butch types better than real ones; the real ones are a pain in the ass. Besides, I like fakes. I like guys who look very male, physically, but who are actually very sweet and nice, and not aggressive at all" (108–109).

5. Harvey Fierstein's Broadway play *Torch Song Trilogy* wrestles with similar dilemmas.

6. On the sexual ghetto argument, see also Altman 1978; Dahmer 1978; Shiers 1978; Altman 1982.

6. The Rise of the New Right

1. See *Gay Community News* 5, no. 42 (1978): 1, and 5, no. 44 (1978): 1.

2. Castells argues that this development was mistakenly called "gentrification," a process whereby external capital "upgrades" a poor neighborhood, thereby displacing the local inhabitants for a profit to investors. Gay people, however, generally built their communities with little capital and through their own labor for their own use. See also "Gay Ghetto" in Levine 1979.

3. See Shilts 1982, 107; Weiss 1984, 77. See also the Academy Award–winning documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk*.

4. On coping strategies to persecution, see Adam 1978, chaps. 3–4.

5. The first two issues are discussed earlier. On the questions of workplace lesbianism, see the very interesting work of Beth Schneider (1984a and 1984b).

6. Burris 1983, 312–13. See also Zurcher and Kirkpatrick 1976, 260, on the social profile of crusaders against pornography.

7. See Ericson 1982, 91; Crawford 1980, 11–15; Young 1982, 128; Huntington and Kaplan 1982, 63; Himmelstein 1983.

8. On the capitalist state and media, see Parenti 1978; Herman and Chomsky 1988. On the social psychology of the New Right, see Hixson 1992.

9. Young 1982, 105, 132–34, 141; Liebman and Wuthnow 1983, 2; *Body Politic* 55 (1979): 16.

10. Young 1982, 141; on the complicity of the oppressed in their own oppression, see Adam 1978.

11. See news accounts in *Body Politic* 45 (1978): 9, and 46 (1978): 11; *Gay Community News* 6, no. 2 (1978): 11; Thompson 1985, 29; the film *Witches and Faggots—Dykes and Poofters*. I am also grateful for comments by Robert French.

7. Civil Rights and Electoral Politics

1. Girard 1981, 179–81, my translation. The Swedish RFSL once challenged the Swedish government to disavow the WHO classification by having gay people around the country stay home from work one day and call in saying they were "sick" with homosexuality.

2. For this section, see news reports in *Body Politic, Gay Community News*, and Pedersen 1985. I am also grateful for conversations with Wenche Lowzow and Kim Friele and for a copy of the parliamentary debates leading to passage of the law.

3. The International Gay Association met in Vienna in 1983 and in Helsinki in 1984 in solidarity with local movements.

4. The station has since evolved into Futur Génération, a consortium of gay, Italian, and other ethnic broadcasting groups sharing air time among themselves (Stempel 1989).

5. Cal Anderson in Washington, Karen Clark and Allan Spear in Minnesota, Susan Farnsworth and Dale McCormick in Maine,

Deborah Glick in New York, Glen Maxey in Texas, Gail Shibley in Oregon, Ron Squires in Vermont, Tammy Baldwin in Wisconsin and Liz Stefanics in New Mexico (Wockner 1992b, 14).

6. In West Hollywood, John Heilman, Steve Schulte, and Valerie Terrigno went to city hall; in Sydney, Craig Johnston, Brian McGahen, and Bill Hunt.

7. Raymond Blain in Montreal in 1986, Gordon Price in Vancouver in 1988, Glen Murray in Winnipeg in 1989, Kyle Rae in Toronto in 1991, and Michael Phair in Edmonton in 1992.

8. Queer Politics

1. On cross-cultural studies of pedophilia see Adam 1985a, Herdt 1984, Evans-Pritchard 1970, 'Abd Allah 1917.

2. For two very different views from within the movement, see Allen Ginsberg's (1974) characterization of man/boy love as "an exchange of nature-bounties. Older people gain vigor, refreshment, vitality, energy, hopefulness and cheerfulness from the attentions of the young; and the younger people gain gossip, experiences, advice, aid, comfort, wisdom, knowledge and teaching from their relation with the old" (16), and Michael Alhonte's (1981) critique of the tendency of older men to use money to assert dominance in relationships and to project their own ideas of "age-appropriate" behavior onto youth as "either the young, ingenuous protégé or the streetwise, butch, jock punk." Some, he concludes, "find me old enough to screw but not old enough to talk to" (157–58).

9. Coming Out around the World

1. The International Lesbian and Gay Association can be contacted at Antenne Rose & FWH, 81, rue Marché-au-charbon, B-1000 Bruxelles 1, Belgium. The International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission is at 1360 Mission Street, #200, San Francisco, CA 94103.

2. Austria, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United States have accepted at least one refugee fleeing antigay persecution in recent years (Tatchell 1992, 81; *ILGA Bulletin*, March 1992, 18).

3. In the ECOSOC Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, the following nations voted in favor of ILGA: France,

Greece, Ireland, Russia, Sweden, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Chile, and Cuba. Four voted against: Iraq, Lesotho, Oman, and the Sudan. Three abstained: Ethiopia, Libya, and the Philippines (*ILGA Bulletin*, March 1993, 5). In order to retain its status, the ILGA was forced to expel the North American Man-Boy Love Association from its membership following a threat by the U.S. delegation to withhold funding if the United Nations failed to do so.

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Weeks, Jeffrey. *Coming Out*. London: Quartet, 1977. The leading gay history of Great Britain, this book has been followed in an "unintended trilogy" by *Sex, Politics, and Society* and *Sexuality and Its Discontents*, which treat the social and theoretical histories of sexuality and its observers.

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The Author

Barry D. Adam is professor of sociology at the University of Windsor, Ontario, and the author of *The Survival of Domination* (1978). His research on the sociological construction of AIDS amd the personal strategies of people infected with HIV have devised for coping with these constructions will appear in *Experiencing HIV*, to be published by Columbia University Press.

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Great Brit… …ida, Scandinavia, Australia, and … …hich very little information about the activities of gay men and lesbians has been made available. In this global picture of the mobilization of homosexuals Adam identifies the critical factors that have given personal and historical subjectivity to desire, that have shaped the faces and territories of homosexual people, and that have generated homophobia and heterosexism.

Treating the sociological aspects of the rise of the gay and lesbian movement, Adam also looks at "new social movements" theory in relation to the gay and lesbian movement and cultural nationalism—whether in the form of cultural feminism or queer nationalism—which he considers an important, perhaps inevitable, moment in the empowerment of inferiorized people.

THE AUTHOR

Barry D. Adam is professor of sociology at the University of Windsor, Ontario, and the author of *The Survival of Domination* (1978) and the forthcoming *Experiencing HIV*, to be published by Columbia University Press.

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Barry Adam offers a concise and thorough introduction to the history of the lesbian and gay struggles of the twentieth century. . . . No other work provides such a wealth of information and insight in an accessible style that combines historical detail with sociological sophistication.

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