

Homophobia: North Carolina Election Battle

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GayCommunity News
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STRAIGHT AIDS PANIC



"Heterosexual" AIDS cases climb to an astonishing 59 (out of a U.S. total of nearly 8000). Sexual transmission is alleged, although no one is quite sure how it works. (What do they do in bed, anyway?) Panic breaks loose.



CLASS STRUGGLE!

TO ALL THOSE WHO IN AND OUT OF PRISON FIGHT AGAINST THEIR BONDAGE (Alexander Berkman, Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist).



Thanks for finding some use for my poems and for the idea about a penpal. Here's a bit about myself. I'm in my 20s, enjoy reading, writing letters and poetry, music and drawing. I'd like to get a book of poetry published. I'm interested in the preservation of forests and other natural places. I also like to collect postcards. Thanks again. Tracy KALLENBERG, Bandyup Women's Prison, PO Box 600, Guildford, 6055, West Australia.

I am looking for a black or white gay female to write to, prisoner or free world. I'm 29, black, active, like animals, roller skating and shooting pool. I also like very freaky women. If interested write June NATHAN, 17497, PO Box 209, Orient OH 43146.



GCN GAY AND LESBIAN PRISONER PROJECT

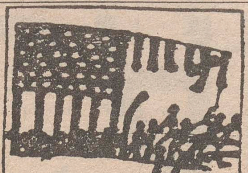
We send free papers, books (when they are donated and when money for postage is donated) and run free penpal ads. (There's sometimes a long waiting list because of limited space.) Little by little as we get more volunteer labor power we'll be looking for other ways to support lesbians and gay men behind bars. If you can help with your time or a contribution (of money or paperbacks), please send to Gay and Lesbian Prisoner Project, c/o GCN, 167 Tremont St., 5th Fl., Boston, MA 02111. Thanks!

I was lying on my bed in my cell and all I could feel was the wind and it made me write a very short poem. Well, here it is:
*I feel the wind blow against my skin,
 It's a very cold feeling that comes
 Through the bars and under the door.
 There's no way out, but the wind escapes.
 If only I could become the wind,
 I'd find my freedom once again.*

This is my first poem I ever wrote. I guess once you're in prison, times change along with your feelings. Could you please put my name in your penpal ads. Gena SPERO, Box 99, Framingham, MA 01701.

INSIDE/OUT seeks socially relevant fiction and poetry dealing with real human concerns, prison and others as well. Incarcerated writers receive \$20 for published poems, short stories or art work. Please type if possible or print neatly and enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope with submissions weighing more than an ounce. Allow 6 weeks for response. ALL PRISONERS SUBMITTING WORK ARE AUTOMATICALLY PLACED ON THE SUBSCRIPTION LIST!!! Write: Inside/Out, GPO Box 1185, NYC 10016.

RADICAL TEACHER, a publication of radical politics and education, is FREE to prisoners. Write: Radical Teacher, PO Box 102, Cambridge, MA 02142.



Prisoners Seeking Friends

WHAT ARTISTS AND PRISONERS HAVE IN COMMON IS THAT BOTH KNOW WHAT IT MEANS TO BE FREE. James Baldwin



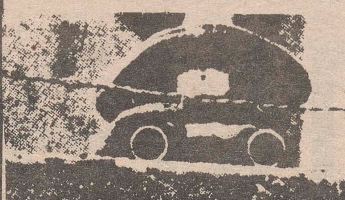
GCN's Prisoner Project needs to hear about abuses of the penpal space, both by insiders and outsiders. Please drop us a line and keep us up to date on what's working and what's not. Thanks.



I would truly love to have a few penpals. I love to cook and have complete training and experience in the laundry and dry cleaning business. The enclosed pic of me in my female clothes (from before coming in here) is the only one I have so please have a look and send it back to me. Thank you. Charles STRAWN, 41115, Box 2, Lansing KS 66043.

I've desperately been trying to hook-up with a transvestite in the Attica region who shares my interests (magic, the occult), someone who can see me as a business prospect as well as a lover (I have several unpublished books available.) Paul COPPOLLA, 75A1884, Box 149, Attica NY 14011.

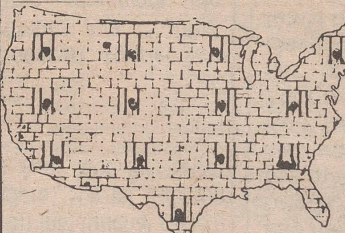
Tall, skinny, bubble butt, lonely. Please I want someone to love me anyway you want but love me. Omar HASSAN, 48843-1L7, 818 Jefferson Ave, Moundsville WV 26041.



Got your sample and love it! Please feel free to place me on your penpal list and to send me any extra books in any category. I will be more than happy to write you about my experiences here and in the overall political view and also my personal one. Thomas M. HENRY, 81A-4477, Box 307, Beacon NY 12508.

26 yr old Romantic slave boy seeking the ultimate He-Man to fulfill our fantasy (plus more!). Melvin NEWNUM, 153788, PO Box 779, Marquette MI 49855.

TV would love to correspond with you. I'm 1/2 Ital. 1/2 Indian, long smooth legs, hot firm hips, big thick cock, looking for a friend and perhaps lover. NO GAMES PLEASE. I'm into sewing, knitting, growing flowers, camping and sweet love. Write me soon for possible lasting lover forever. Jay W. PITZER, 49372-4M5, 818 Jefferson Ave, Moundsville WV 26041.



Hello out there! Lightly the soul of my youth has taken flight; give me heart touched with all that lives; my interest is with a beautiful heart that makes a beautiful thought, that makes a beautiful face. If your constant love is better than life itself, then you're the one I want! (Rose) Ronald SMITH, C-08074 Rm 5106, PO Box 8101, San Luis Obispo CA 93409.

I read GCN and as much gay literature as I can get (not much) because it helps me deal with my self and the everyday B.S. around here. I lost my last lover when I came here and now my head is screwed back on and I'm looking forward to getting out and loving someone. I would like to hear from anyone who chooses to write and exchange words or experiences or gay literature. Gregg P. LEVENDOSKI, 091911 (581), PO Box 1500, Cross City FL 32628.

I'm willing to try anything kinky. You can fuck me up my ass and I will lick you clean if you like. Let's make love anyway you want it. Write sexy letter for fast answer. Larry STEVENS, 49277-2B7, NH Max, 818 Jefferson Ave, Moundsville WV 26041.



To all of you who have written, I have "moved"! New address: Jamie CONE, 277249-R2D7, PO Box 900, Shelton WA 98584. I would love to hear from all people who are in or out of prison. I am looking for my friends to write soon.

I wish to correspond with sincere individuals. Some of my interests are staying in shape, reading, writing, art, the outdoors, music, movies and enjoying life. David HAMMER, 97392, PO Box 97, McAlester OK 74502.

I have been reading your paper which I receive from a friend who cells in the next block. I find it full of helpful information. I would really appreciate it if you can help me to find someone to write. Bobby LOWE, 163-750, PO Box 45699, Lucasville OH 45699.

Just a small donation enclosed (stamps). I would like a penpal if possible. I alone in the world. Need a few young guys to help me run a small business when I get out (soon). John H. SCHNUG, PO Box 2, Lansing KS 66043.

Sincere, warm and caring person. Looking for the same for a one-on-one meaningful relationship. Like sports, music, books. Pete SHAW, 180-199, Box 57, Marion OH 43302.

Warm, caring person needs letters from same. Enjoys bodybuilding and art. Please write. Dale BROWN, 164-458, Box 57, Marion OH 43302.

Interested in music, conversation, exercise, intelligent people, theater, travel; handsome man seeks friendship. Randy WELCH, 86246, Camp J Gar 4L8, Angola LA 70712.



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Boston Rights Bill: Still Just a Good Idea

"Today we can move forward in insuring that all residents of the city will be treated with respect and dignity in their daily lives and livelihood."

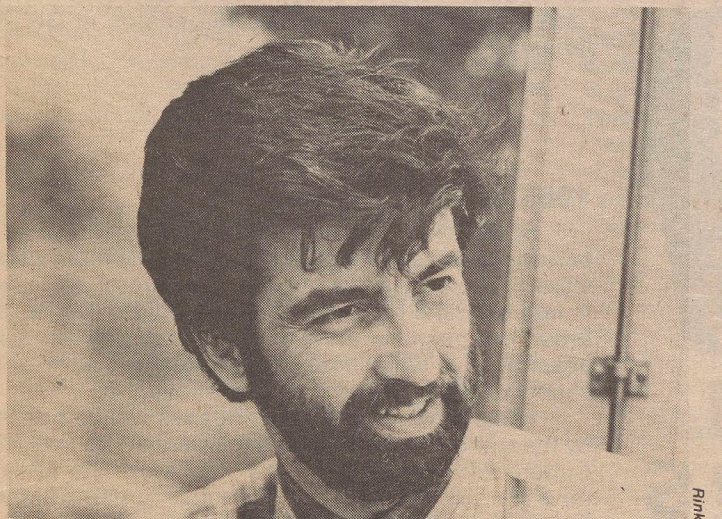
— Mayor Ray Flynn, July 12, 1984, in a statement on Boston's human rights ordinance which he signed into law the previous day.

By Sue Hyde

BOSTON — Six and a half months after Mayor Ray Flynn signed into law a comprehensive human rights ordinance protecting gay men and lesbians and others from discrimination, Boston's anti-discrimination ordinance remains just a good idea. Flynn has yet to appoint the seven-member

rule petition was not necessary to make endorsement possible since suits would be filed in the district court. So, the real stumbling block to enforcement remains the lack of a commission, not the lack of a home rule petition.

Scondras told GCN, "This is not a legal problem; this is a practical problem. The purpose of the commission is to establish a body which pays attention to complaints.... We need the commission." Scondras has been meeting with aides to Mayor Flynn, to urge a speedier process for human rights commission appointments. He told GCN he may also schedule a meeting with Flynn to discuss the commission of lack thereof.



David Scondras

commission charged with investigating complaints of discrimination, nor has he taken the necessary steps to appropriate funds for the commission's budget so that an executive director and staff can be hired.

The products of months of work by a number of attorneys and civil rights organizations, the ordinance sailed through City Council last June 26 on a 12-1 vote. Sponsoring Councillor David Scondras called the near-unanimous vote "astonishing." And though some councillors tried unsuccessfully to hobble it with amendments on its way to Flynn's desk, the ordinance signed into law on July 11 was essentially the same one approved by the council.

In addition to the creation of the human rights commission, the ordinance prohibits discrimination in public and private employment, credit and services on the basis of "race, color, sex, age, religious creed, disability, national origin, ancestry, sexual orientation, marital status, prior psychiatric treatment, military status or source of income."

The commission is empowered to conduct investigations into complaints and then to determine whether probable cause of discrimination exists. The first step in enforcement would be an attempt at mediation between the parties in dispute. Failing that, the commission would hold public hearings and, if discrimination were found, bring suit in district court seeking an injunction or civil damages.

In order to levy fines against a violator of the human rights ordinance, the commission would first have to be given permission by the state legislature to do so. Permission is granted in the form of a home rule petition. Efforts to enact a home rule petition have stalled, but at the time he filed the human rights ordinance, David Scondras pointed out that a home

Fred Mandel, who worked on the ordinance since its inception and co-drafted the measure with attorney Holly Ladd and others, said in a phone interview, "I'm very concerned that we are six months down the pike and there is no commission formed. I'm very concerned that the complaints are not being investigated or taken care of.... Justice delayed is justice denied."

Lindsey Weld, assistant director of Neighborhood Services, has collected resumes and scheduled interviews with prospective commissioners, as well as conducted outreach to community groups to solicit resumes. Weld said she is still accepting resumes, but that "we're nearing the end of the search process."

When interviews are completed, Weld and Neil Sullivan, also involved in the hiring and appointments process for boards and commissions, will compile a list of recommended candidates. From this list, Flynn is to select the seven unpaid commissioners.

Weld described the process as "not unlike any job search," and said she doesn't think the appointment process for the human rights commission has taken longer than that for any other commission. "We take it seriously," she told GCN. "We interview the candidates and think about the groups as a whole, how people will work together and so on. We've talked to a lot of people about who should be on it.... Seeking input from people is what's taking a lot of time." Weld estimated the commission would be named "within a few weeks."

Several people contacted by GCN echoed Weld's observation concerning the time required to complete effective community outreach.

Michael Colantuono, vice-chair of the Boston Lesbian/Gay Political Alliance (BLGPA) and the former chair of that group's

mayoral appointments project, said this slow and careful selection process is the style of the Flynn administration. He said that, in general, he believes Flynn's appointments have been good ones. "It's not a bad trade-off — slow process for good appointments."

But Colantuono, as chair of the group's political action committee, plans to make the human rights commission a high priority of the committee. "We've got to think about ways to get a commission and a budget." The BLGPA political action committee will have its first meeting of the year on February 7 at 7:30 p.m. Call 720-6033 for location and more information.

Even with the soothing words from inside the Flynn administration, two questions remain unresolved. Does Flynn care if "all residents of the city are treated with respect and dignity?" And for those who are not afforded respectful and dignified treatment, what do they do if they have a complaint?

One man who works at City Hall but declined to be named in this article, said, "This is not a priority for the mayor. If he cared about it, it would be happening by now. If he cared about it, not even his budget problems would get in

the way."

Mandel said, "From the information I get, he cares about this a lot and I have no reason to doubt that. Other issues have taken his energy — rent control and both revenue packages ... I think in terms of priorities, the economic issues have been in the forefront."

Mandel described a tension which he says exists between the people for whom the commission is a high priority and those for whom it is not, a tension between the people on the inside of the administration and those on the outside. "For whatever reason, the mayor hasn't completed [work on the commission]. For those of us who care about it and worked on it, all the words in the world won't convince us that something has been done until something is done."

Until a commission is appointed and funded, people whose discrimination complaints fall under no other advocacy agency's jurisdiction — gay men, lesbians, ex-mental patients, and physically disabled persons — are forced to piece together solutions to problems. Since the law was signed in July, at least one dozen complaints from gay people have been lodged in the offices of agencies and individuals in Boston dealing with

such concerns, including David Scondras' office; Ann Maguire, the mayor's liaison to the gay and lesbian community; and Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD). Complaints have either been referred to other agencies, such as the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination and the city's Licensing Board, when appropriate. In some cases, the problems were resolved without outside intervention.

Kevin Cathcart, executive director of GLAD, noted the chilling effect caused by the lack of a commission. "I'm convinced that there are more cases of discrimination, but the lack of a body to which they can be reported prevents people from coming forward."

Kevin McFadden, a member of the BLGPA steering committee, put it this way: "It's apparent there's a lack of commitment on the part of the Mayor and City Hall to fulfill the City Council mandate to create the human rights commission. The lesbian and gay community is most adversely affected by this. Our needs are not met; our access to City Hall is limited by the lack of a commission."

Florida Fires Workers Who Have AIDS

By Christine Guilfoyle

BROWARD COUNTY, FL — Florida's Broward County has adopted a policy which forbids persons with AIDS from working for the county government. The policy, adopted when a local dermatologist refused to "guarantee 100 per cent" that AIDS could not be spread through social contact, has resulted in the firing of two employees who have AIDS.

The employees, Todd Shuttleworth, 31, a junior budget analyst, and Don Fanus, 47, a mail clerk at the public library, have decided to fight the policy.

The policy was developed by Floyd Johnson, the county administrator, along with the county's attorney, Noel Pfeffer. Neither Johnson nor Pfeffer would comment on the policy to GCN. Pfeffer's office also refused to confirm the policy's existence. However, the lawyer for the two men, Larry Corman, told GCN, "They do have a policy. I have a copy [of it]."

Corman said both men are currently involved in administrative appeals, although Shuttleworth has expressed a willingness to pursue the matter through the courts, if necessary.

Although the county claims it consulted medical authorities in the formulation of the non-employment policy, only Peter Babinski, MD, a dermatologist who has treated approximately fifteen men with Kaposi's Sarcoma (KS), has been named publicly. The county points to Babinski's statements as the underpinning for the policy, but Babinski himself opposes firing people with AIDS. He recently told the Miami Herald, "There is no risk that we can see of people catching [AIDS] in the workplace."

Corman said he has obtained affidavits in support of his clients from AIDS experts in Florida and from across the country, including the American Public Health Association,

New York physician Joseph Sonnabend and Margaret Fischl of the University of Miami. Corman said he is also pursuing a letter of support from the federal Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and expects a letter of support from former assistant secretary of Health and Human Services, Edward Brandt. The National Gay Task Force (NGTF) is providing help in obtaining further letters of support.

Nancy Langer, a spokesperson for Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, which is providing advice and expertise, said Florida's chief epidemiologist, Jeffrey Sacks, was quoted in the Miami Herald as saying, "To fire an employee because he/she has AIDS is in my opinion utterly deplorable and completely unjustifiable medically ... I think the county would be hard pressed to find any reputable AIDS expert in the country who would support such an action."

Margaret Fischl, considered by many to be the local AIDS expert, told the Herald that the county had not consulted her in this matter and she is opposed to both the firings and the policy.

Against the grain of current medical knowledge, both Johnson and Pfeffer have maintained that AIDS may be spread via casual social contact. Corman, in commenting on their request for iron clad guarantees, said, "Nobody is 100 per cent certain about very much in this life."

Corman is concerned about the possible ripple effect the county's stance may have on other employers. "Can you imagine how a private employer will feel if he has a person with AIDS working for him and the government has [an official] policy of discrimination?" Jeff Levi, of the Washington office of NGTF, told GCN that the federal government has no formal policy to protect persons with AIDS but he said he knows some federal employees have AIDS

and have continued working.

Corman, who has been retained by the ACLU in Shuttleworth's case and is handling Fanus' case as a private attorney, expressed optimism about both men's cases and said, "The county needs to point to scientific evidence, reasonable evidence, [that AIDS] is communicated through social contact."

Stephen Ansolabehere, a cooperating attorney with Boston's Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD) told GCN, "The [legal] burden is on the person who is trying to restrict or limit somebody from doing something. It's not up to the person with AIDS to prove he is not at risk. The burden is on the employer." Ansolabehere also said federal statutes protecting the handicapped would likely apply. He added that some states have statutes which could protect people with AIDS under these circumstances. Such is the case in New York currently but other states are less clear since the matter has not been litigated.

Corman said Fanus, who was fired on December 31, first decided not to pursue the matter, then changed his mind. Both men will exhaust their administrative appeals before going to court.

When Shuttleworth was first fired, he began his appeal process without a lawyer, although he did obtain advice from the local ACLU. He was denied his first appeal by the county's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. However, Corman said the lack of an active attorney may have hurt Shuttleworth who, he said, did not present medical evidence regarding transmissibility at the hearing. "I don't consider it a loss," said Corman, who also believes Fanus has a better chance when he appears before the commission. "We assume we will win. I can't believe the administrative agency will uphold the county."

— filed from Boston

News Notes

quote of the week

"It doesn't even enter my mind about this being a prejudiced thing. I cannot even relate being an Indian or Negro or handicapped with that. It [homosexuality] is a moral issue and young people shouldn't be exposed to this."

— from Jean Cabral, one of 150 people who protested and eventually managed to cancel "Tolerance Day" at Madison High School, Madison, ME, as reported in the *Boston Globe*

questi romani!

ROME — "The world's first homosexual museum" has been opened on the Pope's turf, according to the *International Gay Association*. Its goal is to "reflect the reality which exists but which is hidden with lies," says museum director Massimo Censoli.

The most recent exhibit included approximately 1,000 lesbian and gay postcards. The next scheduled show will focus on gay Italian film director, Pier Paolo Pasolini. The museum also intends to exhibit literature and documents describing lesbian and gay life.

fatto fuori

TURIN, ITALY — Fuori, the Italian Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement, has requested investigation by the European Parliament of a Turin police register of gay men and lesbians, according to the *International Gay Association*. The request was prompted by the discovery of a police file on a young gay man who was murdered last October. The police admit they had the man's name on register although he had no criminal record. Homosexuality has been legal in Italy since 1889.

In the petition to the Parliament, Fuori provides proof of registration of other gay men and lesbians by Turin police. The Parliament had previously recommended to the governments of European countries that they "destroy any special register of homosexuals and [stop] any practice of registration in relation to homosexuals by any public authority."

The matter is currently under examination by the Juridical Commission of the Parliament.

lesbians and gay men against apartheid

WASHINGTON, DC — About 85 lesbians and gay men and their supporters protested South Africa's apartheid government on January 13, according to the *Washington Blade*. The march to the South African Embassy, sponsored by Black and White Men Together, Sapphire Sapphos and the D.C. Coalition of Black Gay Men and Women, was called to demonstrate that gays are opposed to apartheid as an "intolerable form of oppression," said James Mercer, an organizer of the protest.

Michelle Parkerson, lesbian poet and filmmaker, addressed the protesters, noting that lesbians and gay men have an obligation to link their civil rights struggle with the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Gil Gerard, Executive Director of the National Coalition of Black Gays, called for a boycott of all South African products and services to pressure the government to end its racist policies.

cardiac arrest or police bashing?

NEW YORK — In the wake of a congressional hearing on racist police brutality here, a new grand jury is examining charges that white city police murdered a young Black man and were protected by the City Chief Medical Examiner, according to the *New York Times*.

Michael Stewart had been "taken into custody" last September by three white officers who accused him of writing graffiti in the subway. According to sources, he was on his way home from a gay bar. When Stewart arrived at Bellevue Hospital hours later, he had been hogtied, was covered with bruises and other wounds, and was no longer breathing. The autopsy performed by Examiner Elliott Gross at Stewart's death 13 days later claimed "There was no evidence of physical injury resulting or contributing to death.... The cause of death is cardiac arrest pending further study."

Dr. Gross's autopsy report is "an outrageous statement — it's called a blatant lie," said Dr. Robert Wolf, one of the Stewart family's doctors. Pathologists in the medical examiner's office make the same charge.

New York Mayor Edward Koch has also ordered an investigation into allegations against Dr. Gross, who has stepped aside temporarily from his duty.

new board for national coalition of black gays

WASHINGTON, DC — The National Coalition of Black Gays (NCBG) has concluded their three-month search and announced the election of seven women and two men as members of the board of directors until general elections are held in November 1985, according to the *Oregon Eagle*.

The new members are: Audre Lorde, poet and writer; Marlena Goldie Mason, political activist; Michelle Parkerson, filmmaker and writer; Luvenia Pinson, political activist; Clifton Roberson, president of the D.C. Coalition of Black Gay Men and Women; Gwendolyn Rogers, anti-war, lesbian-feminist and anti-racist organizer; Rev. Minure Saunders, co-chair of the Illinois Lesbian and Gay Task Force; Barbara Smith, feminist writer and a founding member of Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press; and Dan Weddo, a professor of International Studies and contributor to *Habari Daftari*. There are now 13 board members.



political asylum demand

BOSTON — Three hundred people, including many from the lesbian and gay community, demonstrated downtown on January 24 to demand asylum for Central American refugees, according to the *Boston Globe*. Carrying posters and candles, the group marched from Park St. to the federal John F. Kennedy Building to the newly opened immigration detention center in the North End.

Protestors called for a congressional investigation into the denials of asylum and urged passage of a bill sponsored by Rep. Joseph Moakley (D-Mass) to put a moratorium on deportations of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees.

In January, federal agents indicted 16 sanctuary leaders from Texas and Arizona on charges of helping to harbor illegal immigrants from Central America. The charges were based on information gathered by undercover agents with hidden microphones. A Justice Department official was quoted as saying the sanctuary leaders will be treated "just like any smugglers."

Activists in the sanctuary movement pledge to continue aiding refugees escaping death squads and political persecution no matter what.

baltimore bars charged with discrimination

BALTIMORE — A group of Black and white lesbians and gay men has filed a suit against two gay bars for racial discrimination, according to the *National Alliance*. Project Unity, a coalition of members from Black and White Men Together (BWMT), the Metropolitan Community Church, and the Black Lesbian and Gay Coalition are requesting \$8 million in damages from the Porthole and the Torch, bars that asked three picture IDs from Black people at the door, and required no identification from white people.

In the pre-trial proceedings, bar owners and their attorneys have subpoenaed BWMT's membership list and have filed a countersuit. In addition, Baltimore's Community Relations Commission and the Liquor Board, both of which had substantiated the finding of Project Unity, have recently withdrawn their support. The Liquor Board now claims that discrimination did not take place and the Commission employee who had participated in tests at the bars has left the agency. To date, she has not offered to testify.

Despite these set-backs, Project Unity believes it will win the suit.

don't stop now

BROCKTON, MA — Over 100 people demonstrated outside the Goddard Medical Associates on January 25 to protest the facility's week-old decision to stop performing abortions, according to the *Boston Globe*. Goddard has been picketed by anti-abortion groups daily for over a year and a bomb threat was received three weeks ago.

Many protestors said they were demonstrating both to show their opposition to clinic bombings and harassment, and to Goddard's acquiescence to intimidation. Rachel Tedesco, speaking for a coalition of groups, said, "...we feel terrorists shouldn't be able to dictate to doctors what they do."

say cheese

MINNEAPOLIS, MN — The editor of the GLC Voice, a gay/lesbian newspaper in this city, was held by plainclothes cop for nearly an hour after he photographed the police outside a gay bar, according to the *Philadelphia Gay News*. The vice squad officers released editor Tim Campbell with a warning not to publish the pictures. Officers told Campbell, "We'll come after you with a complaint."

Campbell, who says three other Minneapolis papers have published photos of vice officers in the last year — none of which were charged with any crime for doing so — printed the photos in GLC's January 7 issue.

1985 artists brigades

BOSTON — Two working brigades of visual and performing artists are being organized for three-week visits to Nicaragua this summer. One group will leave in late May and the other in early August. The visual artists will paint murals with Nicaraguan painters and possibly give workshops. Performers will work in a variety of settings and give workshops.

While in Nicaragua, the brigades will be hosted by the Ministry of Culture and the Centers for Popular Culture (one branch of the Ministry). Day-to-day itinerary will be planned by these organizations. Some Spanish will be necessary. Costs include airfare and around \$100 to \$200 worth of additional expenses. All members of the group are expected to participate in organizing the trip and in fundraising to cover the costs of necessary materials.

If interested, contact: Arts for a New Nicaragua, 439 Washington St. #4, Brookline, MA 02146 or call (617) 738-9719.

third world gay male anthology

NEW YORK — Gay men of color from around the world are invited to submit work for an anthology of Black and Third World gay male writing. The book will include both poetry and prose (fiction and non-fiction) and will be published by The Crossing Press. Isaac Jackson is the editor.

The anthology will explore the ways race, ethnicity, and racism shape the perceptions of gay men of color — of themselves and of their sexual orientation.

Visual artists are also invited to send photographs and drawings (in black and white only).

Work cannot be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. The deadline for submissions is April 30, 1985. Send to: Isaac Jackson, Third World Gay Male Anthology, P.O. Box 1513, New York, NY 10009.

second oldest lesbian bar evicted

NEW YORK — Ariel, the second oldest lesbian bar in New York, was evicted the first week of January, according to the *New York Native*. The bar had been involved in a dispute with the landlord over what appear to be specious charges of excessive noise.

The landlord, Agnes Broche, has owned the building for forty years. In 1947, she opened a bar herself. From 1950 she leased the premises, which became a men's bar, Gionni's, followed by three women's bars: Casa Maria, Silhouette, and Ariel. The location has become a landmark as the site of lesbian and gay bars for 34 years.

Broche started eviction proceedings against Ariel's last February, claiming the bar blasted music until all hours. Prior to the landlord's action, Ariel had received no complaints about noise. Broche refused to negotiate and has already leased the space to a shoe store.

Ariel's owners are now looking for a new place. For further information about Ariel's location, contact SAGE, 208 West 13th St., NY, NY 10011 or call (212) 741-2247.

Racism and sexism obscure research

Heterosexual AIDS Panic: A Queer Paradigm

By Cindy Patton

"Heterosexual" AIDS cases climb to an astonishing 59 (out of a U.S. total of nearly 8000). Sexual transmission is alleged, although no one is quite sure how it works. (What do they do in bed, anyway?) Panic breaks loose. San Francisco (with only four of these "victims") issues "safe sex" guidelines for heterosexuals. The Boston *Globe* announced in a January 20 editorial that AIDS is a "national health emergency unprecedented in modern times" which requires "a unified federal battle plan." I try to wake up from what seems like a bad Monty Python skit.

* * *

Okay. Heterosexuals have AIDS. This comes as no surprise to researchers and activists who have been working with straight people who have AIDS. Although researchers are unclear about the exact modes of transmission in heterosexuals who do not show any other risk factors, there is no reason to believe that AIDS would not make a few forays across the sacred "at risk" group lines.

What makes "Heterosexual AIDS" of interest to the media is a tiny number of cases where men claim to have gotten AIDS from prostitutes, and where otherwise "innocent" women have apparently gotten AIDS from bisexual male lovers. The research on these odd cases is interesting and may well shed light on factors related to any sexual transmission of AIDS. The efficiency of HTLV-III as a primary agent as well as the range or nature of co-factors may be better understood by looking more closely at a whole range of anomalous cases. Scientific research often works by looking at the exceptions, where a smaller number of possible factors are present.

But the really interesting aspect of the heterosexual AIDS panic is the racism, sexism, and homophobia latent in the research and societal reaction.

I imagine the Moral Majority riding into town scooping up prostitutes, homosexuals, and anyone else who looks like they've had sex this year.

For starters, "heterosexual" in this case applies to "normal" people outside of the risk categories, give or take a few prostitutes. The heterosexual Haitians and IV-drug users (who some researchers want to reconsider as possible candidates for sexual transmission) are not counted as heterosexuals here. After all, they are drug addicts, and Black and, thus, not real, true heterosexuals who are white and live in nuclear families.

The researchers are also quick to note that almost all of the 59 supposes cases of heterosexual transmission were promiscuous, engaged in (yuck!) anal sex, or "visited" prostitutes.

These new cases are so terrifying to the general public, and therefore worthy of the otherwise disdainful *Globe* and *Times* precisely because they reach deep into the fear of sexuality. As much as the public screams in horror at homosexual acts, people are fascinated and terrified at the thought that their own sexual acts and those of their partners might be perverted, too.

When Ms. average american realizes that her boyfriend may have been gay or bisexual, and Mr. average american realizes that his favorite prostitute may have other customers with unsavory germs, we have the making of a heterosexual AIDS panic. The numbers of scientific theories only rationalize the panic that nice people in the suburbs might really have hidden perversion, and therefore be able to get a "gay" disease.

The odd cases

Scientists often look at the unusual cases to try to find answers to complex problems. In one sense, we can applaud the rapid release of funds to study the heterosexual cases. On the other hand, it's hard not to feel a little insulted when gay activists have been crying for research and support funds for almost four years.

Actually, gay activists who have been following the AIDS research have also been more than a little curious about the supposed heterosexual cases. But until very recently, these cases were all women, and since nice women don't know anything about sex and prostitutes know too much, very little attention was paid to what kind of sexual activity they might be engaged in.

The alleged female-to-male cases drew attention because there was already quiet fear that such a route was possible. For some time now, researchers have believed that in the Zairean cases, homosexuality and IV drug use do not play an important role. AIDS is evenly distributed among men and women and is presumed, based on "cluster" analyses, to be heterosexually transmitted. (Cluster analyses look at the sexual partners of a person with AIDS or someone who has been the partner of a lot of people who get AIDS. This is the "sex chain" type of analysis that came under fire about two years ago when an epidemiologic survey "followed" one man who was supposed to have transmitted AIDS to a cluster of partners. Since no one knows exactly how AIDS is transmitted, nor what co-factors are necessary for AIDS to become full-blown, these types of studies are problematic.)

With the exception of the New York *Native*, which has been most helpful in keeping up with the flood of AIDS research despite other problems it may have, no one got very bent out of shape about these findings. After all, these were African cases and there was some suspicion that African AIDS might be different because of unclean living conditions or exotic ritual sacrifices. Only now are extensive studies under way to determine how extensive AIDS may be in Zaire. Based on preliminary survey data, some scientists

believe that the caseload in Zaire may be higher than that in San Francisco or New York. The enormity of health care delivery problems in "developing" nations coupled with racism exacerbates attempts to study AIDS in Zaire, much less treat it.

No one in the U.S. is particularly anxious to put up the required sums of money for research, and neither the citizens nor government could afford to pay for tests or a possible future vaccine. With no large and lucrative market to tap, the medical capitalists prefer to look the other way.

The first inkling that the heterosexual transmission might become of concern in the U.S. occurred last year. A New Haven prostitute made national news when she was confined to a hospital as a condition of her parole on a drug-related charge. She was rumored to have AIDS.

Named and filmed, harassed by the media and the police, she did, in fact, turn out to have AIDS and died recently, no thanks to the authorities who attempted to confine her and prevent her from "spreading AIDS."

At that time, and still, no one has documented or can even convincingly explain how a woman might transmit AIDS to a man. But that has not stopped wide speculation and incorrect reporting on the nature of "heterosexual" AIDS transmission. The Boston *Globe's* January 20 editorial baldly states that AIDS has moved into the general population "in partners of prostitutes with the disease." Only the barest evidence even supports this idea, and even there we must raise several questions.

The cases referred to involve a number of servicemen who claim to have gotten AIDS from prostitutes in far-flung places like Germany and Turkey. Now, no one says that they absolutely didn't, but a lot of researchers have doubts. Epidemiologists say many men will claim to have gotten venereal diseases from prostitutes — unnamed women who, of course, can't be tracked down — rather than face the repercussions of admitting homosexual acts. With the recent decision against Dronenberg (where gays were held not to have a right to privacy concerning their sexual preference) any military man in his right mind who thought he might have AIDS would not admit to engaging in gay sex. If a military man with AIDS were discharged for homosexuality, he would lose his medical benefits and be thrown into the already overtaxed and maze-like system of public welfare.

Disregarding for the moment the direction in which AIDS goes in heterosexual cases under study, the base-line social assumptions are clear: heterosexual AIDS, like homosexual AIDS, is linked with anal sex and promiscuity.

Anal sex

Anal sex, the "last taboo" according to a popular punk/rap song ("88 lines about 44 women") is an increasing concern in the straight world, if porno magazines and women's supermarket rags are an index of popular taste. In addition, AIDS has splattered anal sex in the public eye.

Safe sex guidelines for gay men include warnings to avoid "anal receptive sex," as well as admonitions against exchanging the elusive "bodily fluids." The new heterosexual guidelines issued in San Francisco share this advice with heterosexuals, but something is amiss here. If gay men who get fucked are believed to be at greater risk, shouldn't the heterosexual guidelines express concern about women who get fucked anally?

Somehow the hysteria concerns men who will get AIDS from anal intercourse with prostitutes. I was told by a researcher (though whether there is actually a study on the topic, I can't verify) that men will have anal sex with prostitutes but not with their wives. Or perhaps their wives won't let them. (Remember, nice girls don't. You have to pay to get the "last taboo.") This magic may have a scientific explanation, but so far I haven't heard why gay men get AIDS from being fucked, but straight men get AIDS from anal fucking.

If gay men who get fucked are believed to be at greater risk, shouldn't the heterosexual guidelines express concern about women who get fucked anally?

No one seems to be going out talking about safe sex with prostitutes, even though the only conclusive heterosexual data would make you conclude that prostitutes, not their tricks, are clearly at risk. The media can conveniently avoid this obvious conclusion by claiming that prostitutes also use drugs, and therefore got AIDS through that route. Or from bisexual men. Or from Haitian men. Or from anywhere but heterosexual family men.

This is a tired old story: in virtually every effort to end prostitution except the efforts by prostitutes themselves to reform the terms of their labor agreement, the overriding concern has been germs. Prostitutes seem to magically grow germs, as if by parthenogenesis. No one worries about prostitutes getting diseases, only that they will pass them on to men who will in turn take them back to their nice middle-class wives. Prostitutes are never considered the "victims" of germs, only carriers.

The only real concern about heterosexual women expressed in the media is "the plight of women who may not know if a male sex partner is, or has been bisexual." (*Globe*) The assumption that San Francisco has been taken over by homosexuality blames the gay community for polluting the women-folk for the straight men.

Promiscuity

Taking a look at sexual practice and figuring ways to decrease one's possible exposure makes a great deal of sense

when we are confronted with a disease that is apparently sexually transmissible, but has no known preventions or cures. But it is also wise to look behind the statistics to make sure that we are getting good studies.

Taking a look at sexual practice and figuring ways to decrease one's possible exposure makes a great deal of sense.

Epidemiologists Carol Vance and John Martin, in their article in November's *American Psychologist*, point out that every sex researcher from Kinsey to Masters and Johnson has encountered difficulty in obtaining reliable numbers on sexual contact. In a society that deals in cultural stereotypes of studs and whores, virgins and innocents, it is not surprising that people's self-image might interfere with accurate reporting.

Woody Allen's *Annie Hall* is much to the point here. In a particularly appreciated scene, Woody is complaining to his psychiatrist that Diane Keaton never wants to have sex. "How often do you have sex?" the psychiatrist asks. "Oh, three or four times a week at most," replies Allen. Cut to Diane Keaton at her psychiatrist's, complaining that Woody is obsessed with sex, wants to have sex all the time. "How often do you have sex?", inquires her psychiatrist. "Oh, three or four times a week."

Scientists attempt to sort out these perceptual differences, but studies are still unreliable. Those surveyed often do not understand what "contact" means. What if you have anonymous sex six times a week and have sex with your long-term lover five times in the same week? Is that eleven contacts or seven? Some studies even sort out this problem by asking about *number of partners*, but then jerking off your buddy gets counted the same as fisting your lover. The anonymous (i.e., promiscuous) contacts might be "safe sex," while the repeated sexual practice with a single partner could be "unsafe."

Even if the specific acts are broken down (and we're getting into hour number two of checking boxes), people often have a hard time remembering their sexual activity unless dealing with a recent and discrete period. A survey will often ask for figures from the previous month, then multiply by 12 without discovering that you were in a full body cast for six of those months and then made up for it in a week.

Vance and Martin note another problem with retrospective analysis of sexual patterns in a case in which a person has been diagnosed with AIDS or ARC (as was true in the much-quoted 1982 Morin study linking promiscuity and AIDS). There may be a tendency for diagnosed people to overrate their sexual encounters in the belief that promiscuity is the cause of AIDS, thereby explaining or rationalizing their illness. Conversely, at risk but well men may underestimate their sexual behavior in order to convince themselves that they won't get AIDS.

Attempts to demonstrate that Zairean and Haitian cases are due to the "natural" promiscuity of Blacks, or due to mysterious sacrificial rituals, must be exposed as racist.

The Queer Paradigm

A striking conclusion is drawn from the heterosexual cases: rather than challenging the idea that AIDS is a "gay disease," the cases confirm the idea that AIDS is related to deviant sex. In order to fully grasp the articulation of sexism and racism within the homophobic view of AIDS, we have to understand the existence of a "queer paradigm" which links a wide range of stereotypes about sexuality. A suspicious fascination with hidden but powerful sexuality links Haitians, Africans, prostitutes, and gay men, and makes it possible for society to believe that "normal" heterosexuals only get AIDS when they venture into that danger zone.

The most striking evidence appears in the double talk about this new category of "heterosexuals," promiscuous and anally inclined though they may be. Much like the myth of predatory gays and lesbians or dark-skinned people with irresistible sexual charms, the underlying message is that heterosexuals don't normally do these things unless they are exposed to these exotic sexual elements.

No one was surprised that Zaireans and Haitians might have higher incidences of non-homosexual, non-IV drug transmitted AIDS, because Blacks are stereotyped as more sexually active than are whites. In the cases of Haitians still residing in Haiti and the Zaireans, researchers imagine that bloody ritual sacrifices may also be related to AIDS. They conjecture that anal intercourse is the method of choice in these countries where birth control is not very accessible. No researcher seems to imagine that anal intercourse might actually be fun.

The New York *Times* of January 22 reported on a newly funded study to look at "foreigners," including missionaries living in Zaire, to see if they show signs of exposure to AIDS. The study proposed investigating whether there might be an insect vector (i.e., some bug bites a person with AIDS, then bites someone else, as in malaria). One wonders where there is a box to check which says, "I had sex with a Zairean," or whether it is assumed that these paragons of Christian sacrifice only have intercourse with their own. This would certainly be an astonishing assumption given the history of colonization of land and bodies.

Continued on page 6

GCN Editorial

Black History Month

February is Black History month, and there's been some talk around the offices of *GCN* about how and why this is of particular significance to us at this point in our own history. In the course of putting out a weekly newspaper we are caught up in the short-term deadlines and stories, crises and conflicts, rarely stepping back to look at ourselves in relation to history. We are now in the middle of a decade characterized by repression and backlash, halfway through the tenure of a president who zealously pursues policies damaging to Blacks of any sexual preference and gay people of any color. With progressive movements floundering and momentarily unable to respond effectively, it helps to remember that changes do occur and courageous actions do count. It's a good time for the long view.

From its inception around 1920 as "Negro History Week" (planned to fall in the week containing Frederick Douglass's and Abraham Lincoln's birthdays), the events and festivities of Black History Month have presented to U.S. people of all races a rich cultural tradition that goes under-acknowledged the rest of the year, underlining a tradition of resistance, courage and strength. Lesbians and gay men in the Boston area are lucky to have a wide range of cultural offerings to choose from this year. Those of us who are white can appreciate the opportunity to partake of experiences which our largely segregated lives otherwise deprive us of. (See special Black History Month calendar on inside back page of this issue, or call the Boston African American National Historic Site at (617) 223-0058 for a more comprehensive listing.)

The U.S. gay and lesbian population is multi-racial, as is our movement in its better moments. A policy recently passed unanimously at *GCN* makes anti-racist and multi-racial work a primary goal and focus here at the paper. The policy includes an affirmative action plan, a significant increase in news and features coverage of particular interest to gay men and lesbians of color, and a commitment by our all-white staff and predominantly white membership to go through whatever structural, political and emotional changes it takes to make these a reality. We celebrate Black History Month to reaffirm our commitment to fighting racism and also in acknowledgement of those in our movement who are Black

and must straddle two movements, fighting the racism of the gay community along with heterosexism both in white institutions and in communities of color.

If Black lesbians and gay men have a particular gut investment and attachment to Black history, the rest of us are missing something if we can't connect to that history in our own guts as well. Our movement's roots are intertwined with the movements for Black civil rights and Black power, movements which carved out the contexts, the language, the emotional, legal and strategic footprints for lesbians and gay men to follow in. And when Black women in those movements spoke up against sexism, raising issues of power, sex and gender, they in a sense fired the first shots of the women's and the subsequent gay/lesbian liberation struggles. As these struggles have evolved, the activism and theoretical work of Black lesbians have remained central.

The Black, feminist and gay movements have continued to ride in tandem throughout the 1970s and early '80s. Many of us here in Boston were excited and hopeful when the idea of a "rainbow coalition," including a visible gay and lesbian "color," briefly came to life in Mel King's 1983 campaign for mayor, though we were divided over the strategic decision of the Jesse Jackson campaign to lead the Rainbow into the Democratic Party shortly thereafter.

Black activists are now regrouping and strategizing in the face of economic, political and legal setbacks. We understand the need for autonomous organizing among Black people and other people of color, inside and outside the gay movement, and fully support this work. We know that the specific hardships and realities of people of color, gay or not, are different from the experiences of white people. Black history is full of lessons about tremendous passion and courage and intelligence, against tremendous odds and despite incalculable loss. In these troubled times the *GCN* staff honors the survivors and again resolves to rid ourselves of the racism which sabotages alliances with friends against our common enemies, bigotry and exploitation.

Editorials reflect the opinions of the paid GCN staff.

Community Voices

when women
perpetrate incest

Dear *GCN*:

Thank you for the attention paid to the subject of Men and Incest in the article by that name in the Jan. 12 issue. Such attention is tremendously valuable for men who are incest survivors, allies of incest survivors, or both, not only for the information, but for confirmation against the denial of a very special kind of circumstance and experience, one which has a great deal to do with feelings of powerlessness and rage later in life.

It is well and good that our general knowledge and concept of adultism, defined as the systematic oppression and mistreatment of young people by distressed adults, is being more and more understood. It is a tremendously important step in stopping abuse. But even more, understanding adultism is the key to understanding how all oppressions work, as adultism is the model from which all other oppressions arise. What is more important for each of us than respect for our very individual dignity and integrity? None of us deserves any less from the moment of our birth.

As much as I appreciate your tackling the subject of Men and Incest, and particularly what Jim Ferreira had to say, I want you and your readers to know, contrary to the complete lack of acknowledgement in your article, there are many of us men who experienced incest with female perpetrators. While your article helped to demolish one myth, that incest victims and survivors are generically female, it helped to build another — that perpetrators are generically male. It simply isn't so, particularly if one includes, as one must, the very young and infants who, after all, are very knowing, intelligent, and aware. Should not the experience of incest via female perpetrators be studied as one possible source of the misogyny with which so many men (gay, bisexual, or heterosexual) are afflicted?

I have had the good fortune to meet with several other wonderful men who shared the experience of female-perpetrated incest. (I am sure there are women too.) Absolute knowledge of what happened (in spite of a great many people not wanting to hear it, not encouraging disclosure) and absolute pride in ourselves is what makes us incest survivors and not incest victims.

With joy and pride,
Andrew Magee
Pelham, MA

monogamy a
radical choice?

Dear *GCN*:

Donna Turley's article on the Sex Forum sponsored by the Black Rose anarchist collective has me somewhat perturbed and in a quandary, where she reports on Anne Kotel's presentation on monogamy as a controversial form of sexuality.

I am surprised at Turley's criticism of the audience for not questioning Kotel further on her presentation, claiming that it did not because it couldn't take women's sexual selves seriously, and then herself, turning around and panning Kotel's stance on the subject of monogamy! I didn't feel *she* took Kotel seriously at all!

Turley says that she thought it was ironic that a heterosexual woman argued in favor of monogamy because it is "a subject whose promotion has been traditionally assigned to women whose economic means of existence has been bound by marriage and the family," as Turley puts it. I agree that heterosexual monogamy is usually not offered as a choice among many other and varied choices for a woman to make. But Kotel clearly shows that she is not in a monogamous relationship for *that* reason! Turley quotes Kotel thus: "...discovering who...you want to be...or the way you want to live is being radical...in your approach even if your way of living...partially resembles traditional forms." Turley heard it, wrote it down and yet she brushes the possible truth of it aside. Would Turley have criticized Beryl Hoffstein if she had discussed "Butch-femme sexuality as an Expression of Lesbianism" because it appears to be anti-feminist due to its role-playing characteristics?

I think Kotel is correct when she says people may pursue non-monogamy if "they seek peer approval in the radical subculture." Choosing monogamous behavior, *not in spite of* peer pressure, but because one knows it is what one truly wants, is a valid option.

Is Turley offering us a new "institutional paradigm of sex" as she puts it, to prevent people from exploring their "potentially rich fantasies"? I don't feel that discouraging people from exploring where they will be in line with anarchistic thought.

Sincerely,
Beth Walsh
Somerville, MA

to write or
not to write

Dear *GCN*,

These next few lines are placed in our wonderful paper, *Gay Community News*, for all to read just how lonesome it does get behind fences, walls and bars.

One of the main reasons for writing this little piece is that I want to bring to the attention of our people on the outside that a lot of us to be able to gain early release have to have somewhere to live, and to work, before we are able to get out into the community. Mainly a place to live. If not, we have to stay locked up until the State can no longer keep us. Then we are let out to do what has to be done, to live.

I am not complaining that I haven't made any new friends through the mails. But it would be nice if more people from the outside would let us know that we are wanted and cared for. That would bring a little ray of sunshine into otherwise bleak lives. If it wasn't for the folks that write each other from other prisons (if they are able to write other inmates!), this subhuman life would really be the pits. It is hard enough to do the state's bidding and get harrassed from the straight population and staff, without having to sit here day in and day out waiting to hear words of welcome and wanting from people.

And I might also add that if you do write someone and become friends, don't just stop writing to the person, flatly. That hurts, badly. For the prisoner doesn't know if he has said something wrong or not and when he keeps looking for a letter from a friend and it doesn't come, that is a drag. And the person is left thinking he is not worthy of caring.

And those of you inside that place ads in *GCN*, find out if the prison where you are at allows other inmates to write. I have written a few not knowing that they cannot accept letters from other prisoners, and that too is a let down.

So with that said, I will close here and say to my friends and my future friends, take time and sit down and drop one of us a line or two. You may be glad you did.

James R. Cone (Jamie)
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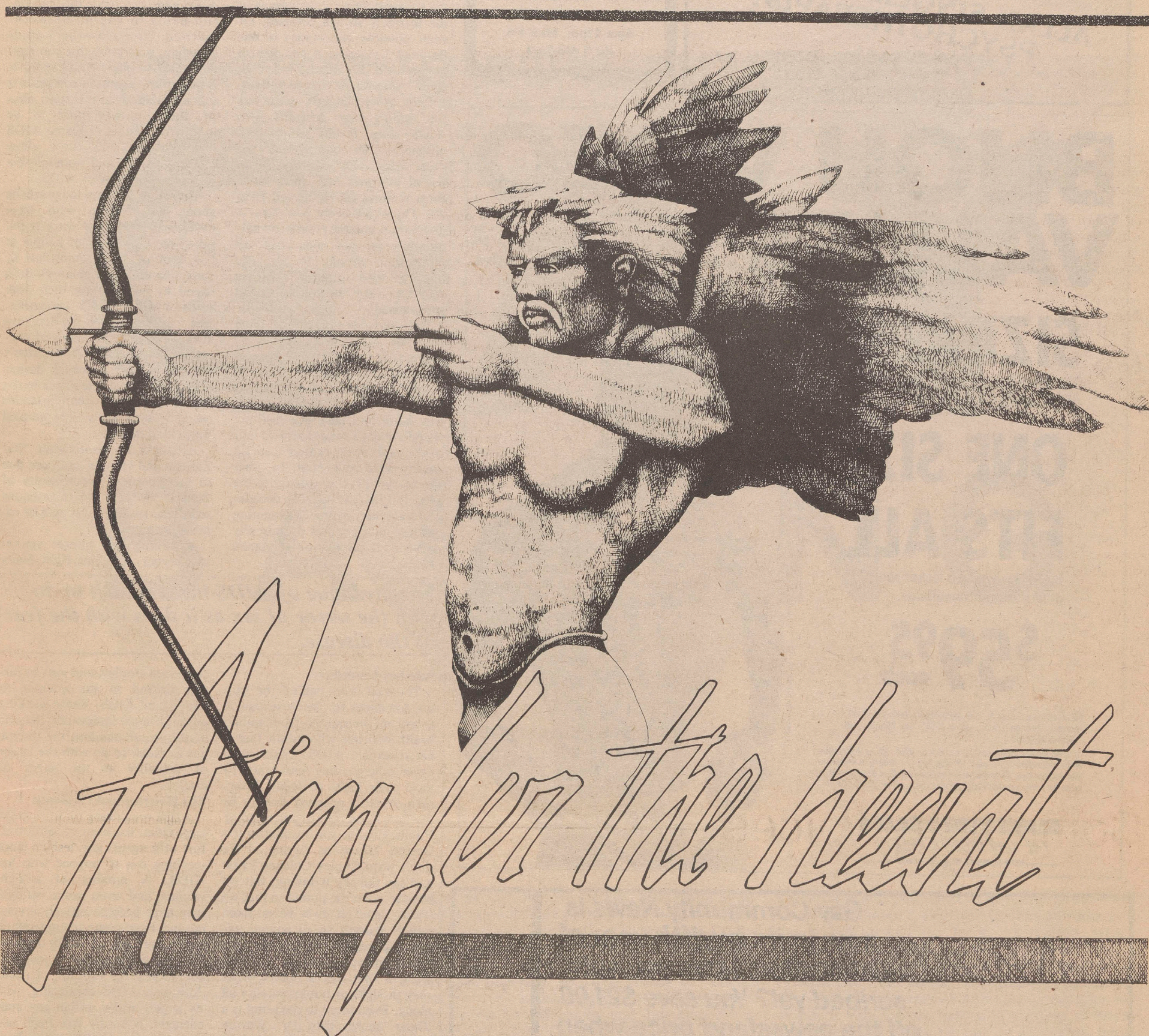
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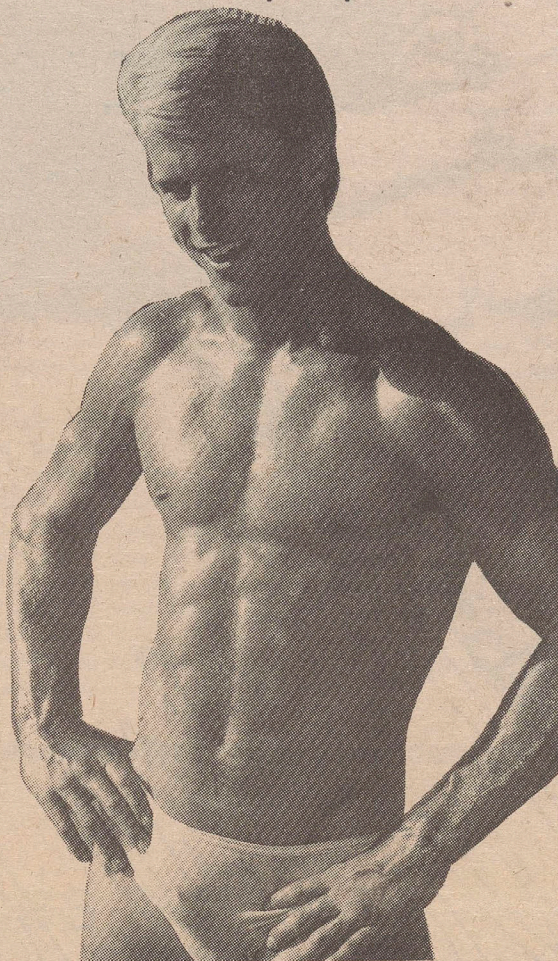
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Panic

Continued from page 3

A final note in the article says that AIDS seems more common in the formerly French colonies than the formerly British colonies. Of what possible importance is this finding? I suppose it lets British buggers off the hook, but then again, what about French active?

Even more blatantly racist was the finding that Africans with AIDS were (even) more promiscuous than their controls — those with AIDS showed 30-40 sexual contacts per year, while those without AIDS showed 10 to 20. These relatively low figures don't even compare with the new numbers for gay men, but are more than enough to convince people who already believe Africans are mysterious and supersexual.

But the most difficult problem with the sexual stereotyping by race is that researchers who are so sure that certain races or classes of people have sex in certain ways overlook other important factors. The notorious Tuskegee Institute syphilis study found that over half of the cases in the remote Georgia county were congenital. In other words, syphilis was endemic to the area. But this did not stop decades of researchers from commenting on the amorality and promiscuity of the black population of Macon County.

ultimately found to play in AIDS, the idea that there is a link between AIDS and sex outside the man-on-top-penis-in-vagina-between-married (to-each-other)-adult paradigm is certainly the common denominator in the AIDS panic. It is important to reiterate that sex is a good thing, even if certain ways of doing it may need to be modified. You can't blame AIDS on sex, and you can't allow racism, sexism, and homophobia to flourish because of AIDS.

There is an attempt to ignore the some 400 women who have developed AIDS (IV drug users, prostitutes, partners of people in risk groups, and, rumor has it, even a handful of lesbian IV drug users) by fragmenting their concerns into the other categories. The special problems women have always faced in the hands of doctors are exacerbated in AIDS. Men's fear of women's sexual desires obscures the real role of sex in the "heterosexual" transmission cases; women are simply blamed for getting AIDS.

Attempts to demonstrate that Zairean and Haitian cases are due to the "natural" promiscuity of Blacks, or due to mysterious sacrificial rituals, must also be exposed as racist.

Believing in these sexual stereotypes does not right badly

The mystique of AIDS has as much to do with the terror of sex as it does with the fear of the disease.

Safe Sex Guidelines

The real issue behind the safe sex guidelines for heterosexuals is found in the quotes from public health officials who admit that a heterosexual AIDS crisis may never emerge, but who want to have their asses covered. Silverman, recently resigned director of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, was quoted in the Boston *Globe* as saying, "We don't want to play Chicken Little and say the sky is falling, but we have to warn the public so that we don't regret it two years from now." I don't recall anyone expressing regret toward the gay community; instead, it was claimed that AIDS proved what they thought of homosexuality all along. Even more to the point is a *Times* quote from Dr. Warren Johnson, of Cornell Medical Center: "What harm have you done by properly explaining that problem now compared to being tight lipped?"

While I wait for that "proper explanation," I imagine the Moral Majority riding into town scooping up prostitutes, homosexuals, and anyone else who looks like they've had sex this year. Issuing recommendations and pursuing community education about safe sex practices is extremely important. But claiming that 59 unexplained cases constitute proof of heterosexual transmission is tantamount to unleashing the right wing on gays and other "queers," including heterosexuals who enjoy more than one partner and like to take it up the ass.

Important civil rights are at stake in how safe sex guidelines are interpreted and enforced. The gay community had the visibility and strength to raise issues when AIDS names were released between agencies and when confidentiality in research was not up to snuff. Who will stand up for prostitutes, who are in special danger because they live in legal jeopardy and are women? The New Haven case and other instances of harassment of prostitutes alleged to have AIDS proves how easy it will be to round up prostitutes on any old charge, and then force them to submit to testing as a condition of release. If health agents are successful in these efforts, then round-ups of at least some gay men on legal or other pretexts can't be far behind. Regardless of what role sex is

conceived studies, and puts us farther behind in the attempt to understand AIDS. Those working on AIDS must understand that the mystique surrounding the disease has as much to do with the terror of sexuality as the terror of disease.

The Heterosexual Challenge

AIDS organizing, at least in the large cities, has been a coalition effort with mostly gay/lesbian labor reaching out to anyone who has AIDS. A number of straight women and even some straight men have become actively involved and have come to understand the importance of AIDS organizing as a gay community response to sweeping social attack. Although AIDS organizing, with its largely white, urban gay male clientele, is hardly free from sexism or racism, AIDS groups have worked successfully with heterosexuals, Third World gay and non-gay people, prostitutes, children, and IV-drug users with AIDS. The response to the insulting "examination" of heterosexuals with AIDS in the mainstream press must not be used as an excuse to shun either the heterosexual people with AIDS or the heterosexuals who have worked alongside us all along in our struggle for self-determination in a difficult and often unsympathetic system.

The real challenge of the "heterosexual panic" is to place blame where it belongs: with institutional heterosexism and with instances of anti-gay behavior or attitudes. As we fight AIDS-phobia, we must also combat the homophobia, racism and sexism that obscure research and make AIDS a priority issue only when it hits the nice white men who might bring it from prostitutes back home.

It's important that everyone learn the most accurate and up-to-date information about AIDS. To find out what the gay community is doing about safe-sex guidelines, call the Boston AIDS Action Line at 536-7733.

Correction

In last week's story about John McBride's will, GCN neglected to mention that National Gay Rights Advocates (NGRA) is also helping to defend the will by paying for legal services.

GAY BAITING

By Mab Segrest

Media billed the 1984 Senate race between North Carolina's two-term governor Jim Hunt and its senior senator Jesse Helms as second in national importance only to the race for the presidency. It was a match of New South versus Old. It brought the governor's formidable political machine and his blend of fiscal conservatism with moderation on social issues, up against the two-term senator whose Congressional Club has brought sophisticated New Right fundraising and electioneering to Old Right agendas of racism, anti-labor, anti-feminism and anti-Semitism. The stakes were high for both men: chances at national office in 1988. It turned out to be the most expensive senate race in U.S. history, with Helms spending \$15.6 million and Hunt, \$9.1 million.

It also became the dirtiest race in the country, and in North Carolina history. Race-baiting was an old tactic for Helms. In 1984 he opened some rallies singing "Dixie," railed against the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, and whipped up a backlash of white fundamentalist voters to counter Jesse Jackson's voter registration drives. In 1984 Helms added gay-baiting to his repertoire. "In the current race, homosexuals have supplanted communists [as a source of demagogic appeal]," commented editor Claude Sitton of the *Raleigh News and Observer* (N&O).

On November 6, Helms won his third term as U.S. Senator from North Carolina. A close look at the '84 election here has much to show lesbians and gay men about gay-baiting as an election tactic, especially in more conservative regions where gay people are not so concentrated as in metropolitan gay meccas.

My experience as a gay citizen of this state has raised many specific questions, such as: What is the relationship between rabid homophobes and politicians who will use materials provided by hate-

mongers as part of their election strategies? What are the arguments being offered by the New Right, and how can we counter them? How do we show the relationship between homophobic language and homophobic violence? How do gay men and lesbians work together on such issues as "crimes against nature" legislation when we experience sexual repression differently, and thus have differing agendas? How do we coordinate "inside" strategies — working with political party officials and hierarchies — with "outside" strategies such as demonstrations, petitions, and other forms of grassroots organizing?

Pre-84: The Stage is Set

What happened in North Carolina this year was a classic backlash to advances made by a progressive movement. In the 40 years since World War II, gay men and lesbians have established ourselves as a minority movement with documented complaints about police harassment, discrimination in jobs and housing, and bigoted violence; and with a clearer understanding of the stereotypes of ourselves as sinful/diseased/criminal that have been propagated by institutions of church, medicine, and law. In 1980 this movement influenced mainstream party politics when the platform of the national Democratic Party included a call for an end to discrimination based on sexual orientation.

But if homosexuals gained significant political victories in the context of and with the example of progressive movements such as the Black struggle for civil rights, there was also a backlash building to all these movements. The backlash to gay organizing in this state was part of a larger backlash in the 1984 election. As *Washington Post* columnist Samuel Popkin phrased it: "White men don't vote Democratic."

The Fourth District Democratic Convention in 1982 brought these forces into conflict in North

Carolina. Annalease Marcus Kennedy of the North Carolina Women's Political Caucus introduced a gay rights resolution to a convention which, because of congressional redistricting, for the first time joined rural and conservative Chatham County with two more urban and progressive counties. Chatham County farmer and real estate man Bob Windsor vehemently protested a group of liberal resolutions, including the one on gay rights, which passed 60-40, carrying even Chatham County. "It was an utter humiliation for a very proud man," said Joe Herzenberg, gay activist and former town councilmember from Chapel Hill.

Soon after that, Windsor began publishing his own newspaper, *The Landmark*. As the senate race approached and Hunt took on Helms, Windsor made clear his allegiance to the Republicans, especially to Helms, and he took on the job of monitoring gay and lesbian politics. He approached the task with the zeal of a crusading voyeur.

Meanwhile, the North Carolina Criminal Code was in the process of revision after forty-one years. Still on the books was General Statute 14-177: "If any person shall commit the crime against nature, with mankind or beast, he shall be punished as a class H felon." The North Carolina Human Rights Fund, a Raleigh-based gay group, set as part of its agenda repeal of this statute.

Freedom's Defense, the publication of the North Carolina College Republicans, sounded themes in January of 1983 that Republicans would elaborate on the 1984 elections. "Democrats Show Colors in Embrace of 'Gay Crusade,'" read the headline of an article written by the magazine's editor, Thomas Paul DeWitt. It could have been called Republicans Show Colors at Beginning of Anti-Gay Crusade. The Congressional Club's financial records show that it paid DeWitt \$215.84 in December of 1982, the month before the article appeared.

Continued on next page

Anatomy of an Election

Continued from previous page

Unlike Windsor, whose style would emerge as if directly from the New Right Id, DeWitt attempted snide intellectual arguments, *cum* William Buckley. Homosexuals are not a legitimate minority, he argued, "in a class with other minorities who seek civil rights.... Homosexuals wear the shroud of libertarianism as though they are being overtly prosecuted, denied their civil rights" in the same manner as Blacks or women. "They portray themselves as victims simply because the American majority does not accept their lifestyle." He quotes columnist Joseph Sobran that it is permissible for society to express its "disapproval of homosexual behavior in housing and employment." Besides, he argues, "The Constitution currently guarantees basic rights for all Americans."

DeWitt also raises the argument of public versus private issues. He believes that liberalism "spurns personal responsibility, an element of which is the ability to preserve the sanctity of private matters." Irresponsible homosexuals violate this sanctity by their "craving for the public eye to be focused on their sexuality." The source, he suggests, is an "abnormal preoccupation with one's sexual identity" and a "no less perverse need to force the views of a pronounced minority on an unwilling body politic." Mr. DeWitt here ignores that homosexuals did not write the "Crimes Against Nature" (CAN) statute that made public policy of the private matter of consensual sex between adults. By leaving out that piece of information, he can move on to place blame — on the victim. "The point is that homosexuals are inviting opposition, even persecution, by making a public issue of a private matter."

If Mr. DeWitt begs several questions (what makes a minority "legitimate" if discrimination and persecution do not? why does the constitution not protect "basic rights" of housing and employment for gay people?), he at least makes an attempt at a rational approach to the question. As far as I can tell, he is the last North Carolina Republican to do so.

Homophobic violence is not new in North Carolina. But recently there have been efforts to document it. In the six months prior to 1984, *The Front Page*, a gay newspaper for the Carolinas and Virginia, carried stories of three attacks on gay men:

July 1983, Brunswick County, N.C. — After luring a gay man out onto a deserted side road, four men attacked him. One of them pointed a gun through the windshield and said, "Faggot, you have taken your last ride." He pulled the trigger as the victim floored his car, avoiding the bullet by inches. His car crashed into an embankment, and the men pulled him out and beat him until he ran away and hid in a tree for the rest of the night.

August 29, Brunswick County — In a similar incident, a 23-year-old gay man was invited to a party, then led to a deserted road where he was shot at, struck on the head, beaten unconscious, and robbed.

November 4, 1983, Norfolk, Virginia — a well-known and well-respected member of the gay community was beaten to death with a blunt instrument, and his body inflicted with multiple stab wounds.

Neither *The Front Page* nor the Human Rights Fund reported violence against lesbians in the state, perhaps because both organizations are predominantly male, and lesbians refer anti-lesbian violence to feminist groups such as rape crisis centers, if to anyone. According to the National Gay Task Force Violence Project, 1682 incidents of harassments, threats and attacks against lesbians and gay men were reported during the first eight months of 1983. Politicians in North Carolina did not know — or perhaps care — how their words might feed this homophobic violence.

Of Homophobes and Politicos: The Republicans

The dynamo driving the homophobic crusade in 1984 was *Landmark* editor, Bob Windsor. None

of the Republican candidates or officials in the state would match him for vehemence or fervor; but they would use him, sometimes as they disowned his most publicly repudiated activities. From January to November, the homophobic sewage he pumped from his newspaper was increasingly mainstreamed by the Republican Party.

"Who is Bob Windsor, and Why is He Saying All Those Terrible Things?" asked a headline in a February *Front Page*. The editor, Jim Baxter, went through old *Landmarks* and reprinted excerpts in which, "week after week, Windsor reveals himself as...a person uncomfortable with his own lack of 'manhood.'"

I am not very macho but most folks know I am not afraid of a fight. Sometimes life overwhelms me and I just need someone to hold me close.... I could be a scared little boy again. The standard placed on a real man I could never meet. (5/12/83).

When I am in a crowd a man's name is mentioned and I say, 'I love that guy.' I look around and see an eyebrow raised sort of funny and a head turns to someone and I chuckle inside me because this man is a real macho man and macho men do not love a lot of men as well as women.... I can make you a long list of just the men that I have and still love where I have lived. (7/19/83).

In various issues he writes at great lengths about the North Carolina politicians he has hugged; for instance, the lieutenant governor who helped kill the ERA repeatedly in the state legislature — "We cried and he whispered something to me. I don't know what." On the whole, Windsor shows such a love for his own sex that the "faggots" he villifies might have cause to wonder.

His attitude toward heterosexuality is one of will and duty. "The only purpose we have on this earth after we have fulfilled our duty to perpetuate the race is to glorify God in our job," he wrote, explaining his work on *The Landmark*. "We are held accountable for the path we choose," he wrote, indicating perhaps some choice he had made about his own sexuality. "You are held accountable for your sins and your shortcomings in the eyes of God."

When it came to sex, Windsor was not so much puritan as voyeur:

Since economic necessity required me to cancel my subscription to *Playboy* and *Penthouse* I sometimes conjure up the sex life of some prominent person and all I can say is I am amazed at their stamina and endurance and the variety of their bag of tricks. (8/10/83)

Windsor's business interests seem to have followed his sexual interests. He owns buildings leased to the management of two Orange County massage parlors, one of them fifty feet from *The Landmark* office.

The bigotry in Windsor's language was unrestrained. In his January article he used the words "faggot," "pervert," "deviates," and "queers." He advocated that people who "suffer from the mental disease called homosexuality" should not be allowed to "associate with and teach [or] abuse our children or other citizens" — moving rapidly from the stereotype of homosexual-as-child-molester to imply that gay people should not be allowed to associate with any other citizens.

Lightning Brown, one of the most active members of the Lesbian/Gay Democrats, precinct leader of part of Chapel Hill, and member of the Democratic State Executive Committee, became an increasing target of Windsor's attack. "Lightning Brown Went to New York," read a headline in *The Landmark* on March 29. It recounted the itinerary of Brown's trip, to whom he talked, and what they said and did. "Lightning Brown and his roommate Joe Herzenberg may have heart attacks when they read this paper and realize that the little elves of Big Bad Bobby have infiltrated even the Gay community to get their innermost secrets.... I even know about your phone calls." In another article in the



same issue, "Society of Child Molesters Organized in Chapel Hill," Windsor announced that two gay men were organizing a branch of the North American Man/Boy Love Association. Brown had attended a workshop with one of the men and praised a book he had written, so Windsor hurried to conclude:

The faggots and perverts who have now become political in this state and nation and who have aligned themselves with Jim Hunt...are not just consenting adults who do their thing in the privacy of their bedroom and otherwise live a normal life. They want us to accept as normal their sinful and illegal life style which includes all sorts of sexual acts.

As *The Landmark* acquired more vehemence and viciousness, a boycott developed that cut its advertising by a third. Several lesbians from Triangle Area Lesbian Feminists (TALF) sent a "Dear Gentle Advertiser" letter informing advertisers of the bigotry in Windsor's publication and asking that they withdraw financial support. According to Brown it was a successful boycott: the drop in advertisers also kept the paper out of Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh, except at state buildings, since advertisers also served as drop points. Windsor retaliated in August by threatening to print names and addresses of individuals and advertisers connected with local gay publications. It was at this

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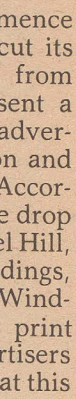
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A group of gay men, lesbians and one minister met during the monthly meeting of Chapel Hill NOW. We felt the need for a gay/lesbian strategy independent of either party. We decided that if Windsor printed names, we would hold a press conference to denounce his tactics and bigotry, with support from as many straight organizations as we could muster, from NARAL and the Institute for Southern Studies, to the Sierra Club. When Wind-

The Front Page in December ran the account of the murder trial of Robert Moyer, describing how a young heterosexual thug in January of '84 tied down the gay man, tortured him, then slit his throat. In January *The Front Page* reported on a growing New Right anti-pornography campaign in

So what do we do from here? It seems clear that the Moral Majority and the Congressional Club will use our mere presence here, exaggerate and distort it, whatever we do; laying low is not an option. I think we need more formal networking to share information and perhaps begin to solve the problem of authority and voice. We need to develop a more coherent strategy, with input from all elements of the gay/lesbian community in the state, both for dealing with the press and with the population at large. We can't expect to go to the legislature and get positive results from politicians if we have not educated their constituencies. We need to make it clear to our heterosexual allies that all progressive politics suffer when any bigotry runs rampant; that

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too much "don't rock the boat" means the boat rots underneath you. Lesbian feminists in the state are going to have to do some fast thinking on issues of pornography and censorship and our relationship to the sexual repression of gay men. Gay/lesbian activists need to commit ourselves unambivalently, whether within electoral party politics or beyond them, to our own power — our "kiss of life."

Babbling in page after page, Windsor sounded to us more than a little crazy down on his farm — but with a methodical madness, and to a wide audience. When a member of the Lesbian/Gay Democrats called *The Landmark* office, he was given a circulation figure for the paper of 18,000. Papers were dumped at the state capitol, and a free subscription went to every member of Congress. In July the Raleigh *N&O* reported that the Republican Party had bought at least 12,000 copies of the "free" paper for redistribution.

In March, State Republican Chairman David Flaherty announced the Republican campaign strategy, sounding like a cleaned-up version of Windsor:

One of the things we're going to make an issue [of] to get people to vote for us this year...is to establish that, hey, who's supporting the Democrats? We'll show the Jesse Jacksons, we'll show the gay rights, we'll show the Bella Abzugs, and we'll show the special interest groups.... You see, the Democrats can't run an ad against our special interest groups — pro-prayer, pro-life, Moral Majority. You can't throw rocks at those. We can throw rocks at the gays, at the liberals, at the labor unions. (Wilmington Star, 3/12)

If student editor Paul DeWitt had earlier shown concern about separating gay rights from those rights of "legitimate minorities," here Flaherty showed how little concern the state Republican Party had for any minorities, even those "legitimate" ones that would increasingly be tarred in state and national elections as "special interest groups." And while the state Republican Chairman advocated "throwing rocks" at gay people, there were four attacks on gay men that spring, three of them murders, two of the victims Black men.

By May 28 the *N&O* reported a Gallup Poll showing Hunt and Helms running neck and neck. In June the Republicans started mainstreaming Windsor's campaign. Flaherty held a press conference on June 7 accusing Hunt of gay connections because U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas had sponsored both a fund-raising dinner for Hunt in Boston and the gay rights bill in the senate; because gay people had supposedly bought 100 of 700 tickets to a Hunt

other topics, homosexuality [had] gotten off easily," wrote *The Front Page*. In speaking engagements with Jerry Falwell, Helms had mentioned only abortion, letting Falwell go on to attack on other issues. It's interesting to note that the Congressional Club had helped fund Helms' friend Bob Bauman, New Right congressman who was charged with soliciting sex with a teenage male in 1980.



Jim Hunt

Flaherty had said that Hunt could not "throw rocks" at his Moral Majority constituency. But by summer Hunt's campaign had found a target for its own rock-throwing: Helms's connection to El Salvador's right-wing leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, associated with the death squads that have killed over 30,000 civilians in that country. The *Albuquerque Journal* had reported that aides from Helms's office had traveled to San Salvador in 1981 to help set up D'Aubuisson's Arena Party, modeling it on the Republican Party in the U.S. As Helms worked to picture Hunt as a "Mondale liberal," Hunt set out to picture Helms as a leader of the Radical Right more interested in that extreme agenda than in the people or the problems of North Carolina.

During this crucial juncture in the campaign,

Is Jim Hunt homosexual? Is Jim Hunt bi-sexual? Is he AC and DC? Has he kept a deep dark secret in his political closet all of his adult life?... He has a pre-occupation with dress and appearances. He has the prettiest manicured fingernails you have ever seen. He wears a hair spray that keeps his hair so rigid that it would break before it would bend. At social events like a cocktail party he flits around with his catty chit-chat just like one of the girls.

Windsor raved for paragraphs, asking why Hunt had never served in the military and declaring that the governor was not Windsor's "kind of a man." (Apparently Helms was: the page carried a picture of Helms with his arm around Windsor and the caption, "Jesse Helms is Mighty Good Hugging").

The *News and Observer* decided to play the story big and ran a front-page head, "Pro-Helms newspaper publishes rumor that Hunt had gay lover." When Hunt threatened to sue, Windsor consulted God and decided to retract. He explained that the story had been his reaction to Hunt's ads about death squads; that he had been so upset, lost so much sleep, that he decided to write a story just as "unfounded." It was Republican Chairman Flaherty who had identified the strategy of "throwing rocks" at gay people, and so it was the gay issue with which Windsor retaliated when Hunt threw rocks at Helms's right-wing connections.

By mid-October Helms's press spokesman Claude Allen replied to the charges of Helms's connection with fascists, "We could do the same with the queers [and the Democrats]." The Democrats could have pointed out that gay people in North Carolina were being killed, while death squads in El Salvador were killing people, not exactly a logical balance. But none were concerned, or knew how, to make that point. Helms repudiated Windsor's charges against Hunt as "preposterous" and "repugnant and unfair" to a family man; and he announced that his campaign was withdrawing advertising from *The Landmark*. (The issue under consideration had carried 1½ pages.) But Helms did not repudiate Windsor's support. Flaherty said he preferred *The Landmark* to the *News and Observer*. Republicans continued to carry ads in Windsor's paper. Regardless of the physical relationship between the *Landmark* and the Republicans, Windsor had succeeded in generating suggestions Helms would later use to draw blood in his debates with Hunt.

By September Helms brought his anti-gay attacks out of his campaign fund appeals and more directly into his campaign. On September 9, speaking in a Charlotte Baptist church, Helms attacked the Democrats as people "who contend that pornography and homosexuality are private matters — beyond the reach of society." Helms later responded in *The Landmark* to the inquiry of a Lumberton minister about his stand on homosexuality, affirming that he agreed with the "religious and legal tradition" that viewed homosexuality as a "perversion and a crime." He found the homosexual movement a "threat to the morals of our young people" and to "the ability of our population to reproduce itself," thus "jeopardizing the very survival of the nation."

In three of the four September debates between Hunt and Helms, gay issues lurked beneath the surface. Three times Helms mentioned Hunt's support

Continued on next page

And while the state Republican Chairman advocated "throwing rocks" at gay people, there were four attacks on gay men that spring, three of them murders, two of the victims Black men.

fundraiser in New York; and because Hunt had taken no stand on the "crimes against nature" law. The next day a rich, rightwing Republican financed a full-page ad in the *N&O* carrying a replica of the January *Landmark* story with the head, "Governor Hunt, Did You, Or Did You Not, Accept a \$79,000 Contribution from Gay Activists?"

During this time, Helms remained in the background. "Compared to his diatribes on some

Landmark editor Windsor made his most sensational move. He accused Hunt not just of gay support, but of having had a lover who "was a pretty young boy." Windsor did it in his classic, crazy fashion, citing as his sources unnamed individuals giving unsubstantiated stories that Hunt had a homosexual relationship in college and that he had had "a call girl for his secretary." But the main attack was on Hunt's "manhood":

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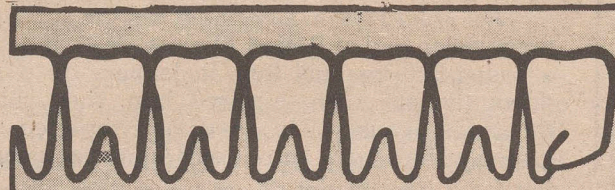
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for the last few years, it's also been the best. Even when they didn't know how to fix everything, they never cheated anybody or covered up. So, over the years, they kept learning new makes and new techniques, and now can repair about anything. Their specialty is still the prepollution equipment on Dodge Darts and Plymouth Valiants, those classics of reliability. But they're ready for anything and did most of the work on the antique vehicles for the movie "The Brinks Job."

(Reprinted from Real Paper, "Best of Boston," Fall 1980)

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Continued from previous page

from "Lightning Brown, Joe Herzenberg, and Virginia Apuzzo" in response to Hunt's complaints about Helms's raising huge sums of money from contributors outside the state. In the third debate the sharpest exchange came when Helms taunted Hunt, "What war did you fight in?" Hunt was stung and reacted with visible anger and defensiveness that Helms had "questioned his patriotism." It was not his "patriotism" but his "manhood" under attack; it was the same charge Windsor had raised when he accused the governor of being effeminate. Media "experts" and pollsters concluded that Helms won the third debate, and that Hunt had lost the momentum from his strong performance in the first contest. His angry, defensive reaction to the question indicates that Windsor's calling him a faggot got to him, and perhaps influenced his move to the Right on gay issues.

And why did Helms bring up gay activists three times but never explain his references? It was probably because homophobia remained a stronger issue when it operated subliminally, with its negative emotional content intensified and unchallenged by reasonable replies. This subliminal damage was what Republican homophobia did to the entire Hunt campaign. The Democrats at the state level never named the anti-gay bigotry for what it was, or countered it clearly, apparently hoping not to rock the boat too much and thus to make it through the election. But the Democrats' boat sank anyway.

The Democrats: Human Rights, But Quietly

And what were the Democrats doing all this time? The Lesbian and Gay Democrats' Club managed its gay rights plank through precinct, county, and district conventions, educating party members and gaining support. At the state convention there were also victories, but the party's response was equivocal.

On June 2, district conventions convened, and the Fourth District passed the gay resolution and elected Joe Herzenberg as a delegate to the national convention in San Francisco. He had the backing of the AFL-CIO, the North Carolina Association of Educators, and NOW. Lightning Brown addressed the convention, sharing his experiences of the past six months with "the campaign of lies and filth directed against myself and other members of our party and citizens of our district."

These attacks have been a difficult and depressing experience. Immediately, my reactions to them were fear and shame: fear that these lies might cause me to lose my livelihood; shame out of the distressful thought that these smears might embarrass my friends, or might somehow discredit me before my neighbors who elected me to serve them in my precinct.... Because of numerous expressions of decency, support and understanding which have been forthcoming from friends, neighbors, and family, my fears were unrealized, my shame was ungrounded, and this trial has, in the end, made me stronger and more determined.

Brown went on to connect the assaults on his dignity to the crimes against nature statute which "presents a pervasive and permanent threat to the strength, dignity, and identity of gay people." He

also laid the rising incidence of anti-gay violence at the door of the Republican Party: "In order to solidify the foundation of its politics of fear and shame, the Republican campaign of insult and slander has abetted violence against the gay community."

Windsor's reaction was predictably vitriolic: "Faggots Dominate Fourth District Convention," the headline read. "The faggots worked the crowd like maggots in a manure pile.... Lightning Brown sashayed up to the mike with his pretty little ear bob on.... It would have turned your stomach to hear that faggot whine."

None of the Republican candidates would match Windsor for vehemence or fervor; but they would use him, sometimes as they disowned his most publicly repudiated activities. From January to November, the homophobic bilge he pumped from his newspaper was increasingly mainstreamed by the Republican Party.

At the state Democratic Convention on June 16, gay Democrats won a surprising victory. The Platform Committee decided to add "sexual orientation" to the section of the platform that advocated "fair representation for all citizens," and the amendment passed by a voice vote with strong support. Brown made a well-received speech attacking Republicans on family issues such as "maiming nutrition [programs], dismantling programs against child abuse, plunging unprecedented numbers of bread-winning mothers and fathers into unemployment." Later Brown commented, "Frankly, I had not expected it to pass. I had only hoped for the opportunity to speak to the convention about these issues." He went on to call it a "very courageous



Jerry Falwell and Jesse Helms

stand" by the party, one that showed their "depth of commitment to fairness. (TFP, 7/10/84) Yet the Democrats' courage proved shaky. When reporters pressed Al Adams, chair of the Platform Committee, about whether the amendment amounted to a gay rights plank, he responded, "That's for you to decide." (Durham Morning Herald, 6/7/84)

The Candidate: Liberal to the Core

If work with party regulars brought some

positive results, Hunt's stand in the end proved less rewarding. During the summer Hunt's campaign reacted ambivalently to the "charges" leveled against it of gay support. His aides "reacted sharply" to the press's questions that his campaign was "tied to homosexual advocacy groups." Hunt's campaign co-director called the tactic "guilt by association," never clarifying exactly where the "guilt" originated. (N&O, 6/7/84) Likewise, when Windsor had accused Hunt in flagrantly homophobic language of being "effeminate," the Democratic leaders from all over the state who rushed to defend him from the "scurrilous,"

"derogatory," and "despicable" charges never stated clearly that the bigotry was the despicable thing, not the possibility that the governor was not 100% macho or heterosexual. (N&O, 7/8/84)

The N&O played up both Windsor's charges and the Democrats' outraged replies. But when the Human Rights Fund held a press conference to protest that there was no guilt in being gay, the N&O ran it as a small story on a back page. One lesson of the election was that when a public institution was "charged" with having gay people working within it, its leaders would rush to defend the institution, not the queers, and this instinct would be amplified by the press.

This liberal defensiveness happened again when anonymous letter-writers threatened to publish names of gay faculty members at the University of North Carolina. President Friday made a strong and positive statement to the university's Board of Governors (prompted by a delegation of gay Chapel Hillians) that the university must be "assertive to the rights of faculty members to be free of abuse," as reported in *Lambda*, the publication of the UNC gay student group. But state newspapers reported that Friday denounced the "vile, vulgar attack on the University of North Carolina" and forwarded the letter to the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI), which focused its attention on investigating the potential threat to Hunt and — of all people — Helms. In a story in the Greensboro News and Record, Friday commented in response to reporters' questions that the university supported the laws of the state which still prohibit homosexual acts. "If someone wants to make a charge of a violation of the law, all they have to do is write to me and sign their complaint," the article ended. The Durham Morning Herald carried the story with the head, "UNC Seeks SBI Probe of 'Gay Threat.'" (10/20/84)

"Where do you stand, Jim?" was Helms's most telling campaign slogan, and with gay rights as with other issues, Hunt gave him plenty of ambivalent material. Steve Schewel commented in The North Carolina Independent, "When [Hunt] does take a

Continued on next page

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Continued from previous page

stand that might have political liabilities, he often qualifies it until there's barely any position left at all." Without speaking out clearly for gay rights, Schewel remarked, Hunt left the voters "empty handed." The closest Hunt ever actually came to support for gay rights were general comments on "kindness" and "fairness." In response to questions raised by Republican Flaherty in his June press conference about Hunt's support for equal employment for homosexuals, Hunt replied, "Everybody ought to be treated fairly."

But in September and October as the campaign entered its final, heated phase, the Religious Right pushed Hunt to articulate his opposition to gay issues. In a letter to *The Robesonian*, newspaper of rural Robeson County, Hunt "set the record straight" (so to speak) in response to a "whisper campaign in local churches":

I do not support, and have never supported, granting minority status to homosexuals. I oppose S430 and, indeed, any other legislation pending before Congress, which would give special status to homosexuals. I believe such efforts to be unwarranted federal intrusions into matters best left to communities to decide. I do not support any planks in the Democratic platform, state or national, which might result in giving special privileges and rights to homosexuals. As a Christian and a parent I cannot condone homosexuality.

In what could be seen as another last-minute play for conservative votes, in the month before the election Hunt refused to grant pardon to Velma Barfield, the death-row inmate in North Carolina with the best chance for clemency. The state executed her five days before the election. When Helms pushed Hunt, "Where do you stand?" Hunt made it increasingly clear that he stood to the right. Beyond the borders of North Carolina, Hunt often looked, and probably tried to look, more liberal than he did to his own constituency.

The sharpest exchange came when Helms taunted Hunt, "What war did you fight in?" Hunt was stung and reacted with visible anger and defensiveness that Helms had "questioned his patriotism." It was not his "patriotism," but his "manhood" under attack.

Our Response: The Kiss of Death, or Gay Power?

The gay and lesbian community in North Carolina responded to the backlash in various ways. We were, I would say, unprepared for its intensity. In an atmosphere charged with big bucks, high political stakes, and the religious fervor of the New Right, we took the brunt of the scapegoating.

Different strategies emerged in an atmosphere of growing concern, some planned, others more improvisational.

Brown and Herzenberg, targets for backlash with their high profiles as Democratic Party activists, stressed working closely with the Democratic hierarchy. As a member of the

The closest Hunt ever actually came to support for gay rights were general comments on "kindness" and "fairness."



A pro-Helms button sums up the '84 election in North Carolina.

300-person Democratic State Executive Committee, Brown described his strategy as educating people by his presence in a party process more "quilting bee than debating society." Within this context party workers presented with the chance to make a choice for gay rights often did so. When Brown spoke for gay issues at each level of the party process, he did so obviously as a Democrat to other Democrats, explaining why gay rights were important to the party. He refused to let the Republicans

lack of response to the most strident gay-baiting. "It takes awhile to acquire a vocabulary about gay issues without stumbling all over yourself. It is linguistically loaded because the language has been preempted by jokes and insults. Many people [in the Democratic Party] had a willingness but the inability to carry it out. Few people except gay people

knew how to answer it. But it was not judged politically impossible for gay people to be the ones to answer." When asked, "judged by whom?" Brown clarified what had been an underlying ambivalence throughout the campaign. "Well, there's the idea by both heterosexuals and gay people that gay support will be the 'kiss of death' for candidates." This kiss-of-death fear put gay activists in a double bind. They could organize up to a point, but when the backlash escalated beyond anyone's expectations, the advice we got from politicians, and even allies, was "Don't rock the boat."

This double bind influenced other strategies, too. The editor of the gay *Front Page* and planners of the North Carolina Lesbian/Gay Conference in the spring of 1984 set about organizing gay Republicans. Conference planners invited Bob Bauman to keynote. He refused, as did a long string of gay Republicans, until California Assemblyman Frank Arcchiazzi agreed to come. During the summer *The Front Page* solicited letters from gay Republicans explaining why they were voting for Reagan or Helms. The week before the election *The Front Page* printed a special election issue with the head "Gays for Jesse?" and dumped it, Windsor-like, all over the state capitol grounds. Their stated strategy was to show that gay rights was not a partisan issue, that the gay vote was not monolithic, and that neither state party had a strong record for homosexual rights. Brown explained, "I have the greatest respect for any gay Republicans who would stand up and do what we're doing. The gay community suffers when so little open debate occurs."

But the double bind also produced a double message. "I don't think there is any such thing as a gay vote," *Front Page* editor Baxter explained to the *News and Observer* the week before he urged North Carolina gay people to vote Democratic as if their lives depended on it. In some places *The Front Page* election issue was interpreted as an endorsement for Helms, which the Helms camp could easily disclaim as a "hoax." Given Helms's New Right record, he was thoroughly inoculated against any gay "kiss of death."

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(617) 889-4347

LITTLE BEAR AND COM-
PANY
(617) 296-1770

TRAVEL

FOREX TRAVEL
76 Arlington St.
Boston Park Plaza
482-2900

NOBSCOTT TRAVEL
AND SHUTTLE SERVICE
795 Water St.
Framingham, MA 01701
(617) 877-2278
(617)235-2040

WOMEN

NEW WORDS BOOKSTORE
186 Hampshire St.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 876-5310

WOMENCRAFTS, INC.
P.O. Box 190
373 Commercial St.
Provincetown, MA 02657

WOMEN'S BARS

SOMEWHERE/ELSE
295 Franklin St.
Boston, MA
423-7730

This guide provides a listing of gay/lesbian owned, staffed, or supportive businesses and services. To have your business or service listed (for only \$100.00 per year) call 426-4469.

CALENDAR

February 3 to February 13

3 sunday

Southern New Hampshire — Hiking/Cross-country skiing with the Chiltern Mountain Club. Info: Bob, 282-9192.

Andover — Les Ballets Trockadero De Monte Carlo in performance; an all-male troupe presenting parodies of classical ballet. J. Everett Collins Center for the Performing Arts. \$12 & \$14. Info: 470-1905.

Lincoln — X-Country Skiing at Lincoln Land Trust. Beginners welcome. Ski rental available. Sponsored by Wild Women of Daughters of Bilitis. 10AM. Info: Cindy, 491-4612 eves.

Cambridge — *She's Nobody's Baby* and *Choosing Children*. Radcliffe's Women Facing Challenges film series; Science Center B, Harvard Univ. 3PM. \$2. Info: 495-8140.

Cambridge — Older Women's League, discussion group on aging (will continue for 5 sessions); Women's Center, 46 Pleasant St., Central Sq.; 6:30-8PM (brown bag supper, 6PM); Info: Diana, 787-3562.



Joseph Adams and Barry Tubb in *Consenting Adult*

4 monday

Boston — *Consenting Adult*, the made-for-television movie about coming out; ABC-TV at 9PM. Stars Marlo Thomas, Martin Sheen & Barry Tubb.

5 tuesday

Cambridge — "Self Suggestion and New Year's Resolutions," with Blair Johnson & Marie DeVincents, hypnotologists. 8PM. \$1. 1151 Mass. Ave., Old Cambridge Baptist Church. All women welcome. Info: 661-3633.

Boston — Rainbow Coalition Gay & Lesbian Constituency general meeting. 7:30PM. All welcome. Info: Ken, 354-2697.

Cambridge — Cambridge Lesbian & Gay Alliance annual meeting with David Scondras discussing South Africa and the gay/lesbian movement; Rindge and Latin High School, Broadway St.; 7:30PM.

6 wednesday

Boston — Entrapment Monitoring Group with guest Ann Maguire, to discuss police harassment of gay men and lesbians. 7:30PM, 600 Washington St., Suite 219. Info: Stewart Landers, 547-0295.

7 thursday

Boston — Lesbian & Gay Pride Committee meeting; Hill House on Joy St. 7PM. All welcome. Info: 889-4777 or P.O. Box 8916, Boston. 02114.

Black History Month February 1985

Beacon Hill — Out of Africa exhibit; Doric Hall, State House; Mon-Fri., 10AM-4PM; Info: 223-0058.

Framingham — An Independent Woman: the Art and Life of Meta Warrick Fuller; sculptures, photos, letters, poetry and text by Harriet Forte Kennedy; Danforth Museum. Info: 620-0050 (Through Feb. 22).

Downtown — A Revolution in the Minds of the People, a history of Revolutionary Boston through the eyes of Blacks, women and working people of the time; For ages 9-12; Old South Meeting House, 310 Washington St; 3-5PM; Reservations: 482-6439.

Copley Square — Boston Afro-American Artists: paintings, sculpture and handicrafts; Boston Public Library; 9AM-5PM; Info: 536-5400.

Downtown — Of Phyllis Wheatley: Ode to an Early American Black Poet; Old South Meeting House, 310 Washington St; 10AM-4PM; Info: 482-6439.

South End — Black Images: Past, Present and Future, an exhibit on institutional racism and positive Black leaders; Harriet Tubman House, 566 Columbus Ave; Mon-Fri, 9AM-6PM. Info: 536-2842.

2 saturday

Boston — Casselbury and Dupree in concert at Mass College of Art, 8PM. Tickets \$7.50 Info: 547-1378.

5 tuesday

Cambridge — Nikki Giovanni reading from recent work; MIT Student Center; 7:30PM. Info: 253-2701.

7 thursday

Downtown — History of School Desegregation in Boston, a lecture by Robert Hayden; Old South Meeting House, 310 Washington St; 12:15PM; Info: 482-6439.

8 friday

Roxbury — Film tour of Harlem Jazz Clubs from the '30s and '40s; Parker Hill Branch, Boston Public Library, 1497 Tremont St; 9:30AM.

South End — Gospel concert; Harriet Tubman House, 566 Columbus Ave; 7:30PM; \$5 adults, \$2.50 children and seniors; Info: 536-2842.

11 monday

Roxbury — Karen Fields, author of *Lemon Swamp and Other Places*, reading and discussion; Dudley Branch, Boston Public Library, 65 Warren St; 6PM.

10 sunday

Fenway — Paule Marshall, author of *Brown Girl/Brownstones*, lecture and reading; Museum of Fine Arts, Huntington Ave; 3PM.

12 tuesday

South End — Unity Through Creativity, an ethnic dance ensemble; Harriet Tubman House, 566 Columbus Ave; 11AM. Info: 536-2842.

Boston — Gay Community News always needs help on production night when articles are proofread and pasted up. If you've done proofreading or layout and would like to volunteer, stop by 167 Tremont St. 5th Floor (5-8pm for proofing, 7:30-11pm for layout). Come help out GCN and read tomorrow's news today.

Cambridge — "Living Out of the Closet," a discussion sponsored by Daughters of Bilitis. 8PM. \$1. 1151 Mass. Ave., Old Cambridge Baptist Church. All women welcome. Info: 661-3633.

Haverhill — (GALLYNS) Gay and Lesbian Liberated Youth of the North Shore rap group open to 14-22 year-olds. Info: Larry 373-7618, or PO Box 1803, Haverhill, MA 01830.

8 friday

Boston — GCN VOLUNTEER NIGHT!!! Come help send out the paper to our subscribers. Refreshments and good times. Come anytime after 6PM to 167 Tremont Street, 5th Floor (near Boylston and Park Street "T" stops). If the door is locked, buzz us on the GCN intercom located outside the front door.

Boston — NOW Lesbian Rights Task Force potluck dinner. Newcomers welcome. 7PM. Info: 661-6015.

9 saturday

Cambridge — Tropical get-away cruise dance sponsored by Amethyst Women. 9PM-1AM, YWCA, 7 Temple St., Central Sq. Drug- and alcohol-free. Childcare provided. \$4, more or less.

Cambridge — Lesbian Singles; Daughters of Bilitis, 1151 Mass. Ave., Old Cambridge Baptist Church. 8PM. All women welcome. \$1. Info: 661-3633.

Boston — Valentines' Potluck for women sponsored by Daughters of Bilitis. 7:30PM. \$3 donation. Bring your favorite hearty dish! Info: 661-3633.

Boston — Love and Intimacy in the AIDS Years: a safe sex forum sponsored by the AIDS Action Committee. 1-4:30PM, Boston High School auditorium, 123 Arlington St. Free. Interpreted for the hearing impaired. Info: AIDS Action Line, 536-7733.

10 sunday

Boston — Liturgy in Celebration of Women sponsored by Dignity (lesbian and gay Catholics). Arlington Street Church basement, corner of Arlington and Boylston. 5:30PM. Everyone welcome.

Boston — Black Women, Black Men Together: Our Struggle Continues; a Black Men's Association forum. 558 Mass. Ave. 5PM. \$2. Info: 353-0719 or 782-0408.

Cambridge — Black & White Men Together membership meeting & discussion; Philips Brooks House, Harvard Yard. 1-5PM. Info: 536-1160.

Brookline — Potluck get-together of BBANGL (Brookline/Brighton Area Neighborhood Gays & Lesbians). Info: 734-9616.

11 monday

Cambridge — Black & White Men Together: "Resisting Racism Discussion Group." 8PM. Info: 536-1160.

12 tuesday

Cambridge — "Coming Out: Substance Abuse," a discussion with Teri Freeman of G.L.C.S.; Daughters of Bilitis, 1151 Mass. Ave., Old Cambridge Baptist Church. All women welcome. 8PM. \$1. Info: 661-3633.

13 wednesday

Boston — Lesbian/Gay Community Networking Breakfast, 8AM at Club Cafe, 209 Columbus Ave. Sponsored by Boston Lesbian/Gay Political Alliance and Mass. Gay Political Caucus. All are welcome.

Notes

consenting adult

On Monday, February 4, at 9 p.m. ABC is scheduled to air *Consenting Adult*, a made-for-TV movie based on the novel by Laura Hobson about a young man and his family's confronting his homosexuality. Given the paucity of gay themes on television, this is a fairly exciting prospect. I only wish we were in for a better show.

Consenting Adult is in some ways a conscientious movie. Jeff (Barry Tubb), like nearly all TV faggots, is handsome, bright, masculine, and likeable. He is a pre-med student and the champion swimmer at his college. His parents, Ken (Martin Sheen) and Tess (Marlo Thomas), seem to be running down a list of Negative Reactions Parents Have; I think the only response they leave out is the religious one. Tess worries that it's her "fault," that she spoiled Jeff or was over-protective. Ken says it's sick, unnatural, and selfish. (Selfish?) He mourns the loss of someone to carry on the family name. He remembers a gay man who worked for him who hanged himself. He worries about AIDS.

Unfortunately, *Consenting Adult* is not so conscientious about realism. For example, there's Jeff's conversion to gay pride. In the first part of the movie he's a virgin, but finally allows himself to be picked up at a bus stop and has sex (we infer) in the back seat of a car. Soon thereafter, he declares to his parents that he's not sick, that he's stopped going to the shrink they hoped would "cure" him, and that he accepts himself. All this from one furtive fuck? This change from self-loathing to self-acceptance would be much easier to swallow had Jeff been shown joining a gay group on campus, making a gay friend, having a serious relationship — even reading a good book on the subject.

After Jeff's declaration of independence, yet another unrealistic thing happens. He refuses to take any more parental money; yet a mere two months or so later, we see him happily living with another blond, handsome pre-med student in a lovely apartment. It's hard to believe someone barely out of the closet can find the man of his dreams so fast, or that two struggling students can afford such a nice apartment.

As for the acting in *Consenting Adult*, Marlo Thomas is appealing and quite good. Martin Sheen's character is hard to get hold of — sometimes he's a back-slapping, guffawing car salesman, and sometimes a sensitive, tortured soul. Barry Tubb is pretty bad at first but gets better as the movie goes along.

Consenting Adult seems to be trying not to offend either its straight or gay audience. There are a couple of stirring scenes, such as when Jeff defends two men being queer-bashed at the college bar, but overall, it plays things too safe. The male-male love scenes go no further than a half-hug or a hand on the shoulder. (You see more homoerotic contact than that on a football field.) Jeff's sister, his most accepting family member, says she wouldn't choose to have a gay brother, although she loves him anyway. His brother-in-law says Jeff's sexuality is nobody's business, which seems perilously close to the "OK, but don't flaunt it" attitude of many heterosexuals.

To sum up, *Consenting Adult* is probably worth watching, if only because it's not every day a TV movie is made about gay people. But don't expect too much. As long as groups like the Moral Majority have power, I doubt TV will be going out on much of a limb for us.

— Sally Jordan

Calendar compiled by Miranda Kolbe

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS