

# OUT OF THE PAST

*Gay and Lesbian History*

*from 1869 to the  
Present*

*by Neil Miller*

1995

VINTAGE BOOKS

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## THE CLINTON YEARS

AT THE FIRST-EVER GAY INAUGURAL BALL, held at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., a crowd of seventeen hundred gays and lesbians—in tuxedos and evening dress—sang the “Star Spangled Banner.” The Great Seal of the United States, redesigned for the occasion with a pink triangle emblazoned over the American Eagle, gazed down from above the stage. On the flanking video screens, a Bill Clinton campaign speech on AIDS and gay rights warmed up the crowd. Lesbian pop singer k.d. lang leaned over the balcony and told the audience, “The best thing I ever did in my life was to come out.” The band struck up the Clinton campaign theme song, “Don’t Stop Thinkin’ About Tomorrow,” as red, white, and blue balloons fell from the ceiling. The crowd toasted the new president. It was a moment of hope and expectation. The Clinton era had begun.

The hope and expectation had started several months earlier, in May, just before the California primary, when candidate Clinton gave a speech to six hundred gay and lesbian activists in Los Angeles. David Mixner, gay political organizer, longtime friend of Clinton, and cochair of his California campaign, stood next to him on the stage. “I have a vision and you’re part of it,” Clinton told an enthralled audience. Declaring that “we don’t have a person to waste,” he promised an end to the U.S. military’s ban on homosexual servicemen and women; he also promised to appoint an AIDS czar and to initiate a Manhattan Project–like crash program to combat AIDS. He added:

*If I could, if I could wave my arm for those of you that are HIV positive and make it go away tomorrow, I would do it, so help me God I would. If I gave up my race for the White House and everything else, I would do that . . .*

The moment was captured on videotape and was played over and over in gay living rooms across the country over the next few months. At the Democratic National Convention in New York City,

there were 108 openly gay and lesbian delegates, alternates, and party officials. The party's platform called for an end to the ban on gays in the military and the passage of antidiscrimination legislation. **Bob Hattoy**, a gay man with AIDS, later to be a White House aide to Clinton, gave a moving, prime-time speech to the convention. In his acceptance address, Clinton mentioned gays as part of a list of groups that would find a place in the new administration. The gay and lesbian community had achieved a new legitimacy.

In contrast, before and during its convention in Houston, the Republican Party was making veiled and not-so-veiled appeals to antigay feeling. Representatives of gay and lesbian groups were barred from testifying at platform hearings. In his convention speech, Pat Buchanan, unsuccessful presidential candidate and longtime foe of gay rights, declared "religious war." Speaker after speaker extolled "family values," a term that, in GOP-speak, clearly excluded homosexuals. President George Bush asserted that homosexuality was not "normal." Vice President Dan Quayle questioned the suitability of gay and lesbian parents.

After the convention, the media reported that gay-bashing would be part of the GOP campaign strategy. "After Willie Horton Are Gays Next?" asked *Time* magazine, a reference to commercials about the furloughed black convict that the Bush campaign had used effectively to paint the Democrats as "soft on crime" in 1988. *The New York Times* quoted an unnamed senior Bush campaign official as saying, "When we talk about family values, part of it will be to point out that Clinton went out to California, had a fundraiser by the biggest gay group there and bought into their agenda." Yet, the gay-bashing campaign never occurred. Postconvention polls showed that the antigay rhetoric of the Houston convention didn't play well with large segments of the American public. And, curiously, Bush failed to make an issue of Clinton's promise to end the ban on gays in the military—an issue that could have given the Republicans some political mileage, especially in the socially conservative South.

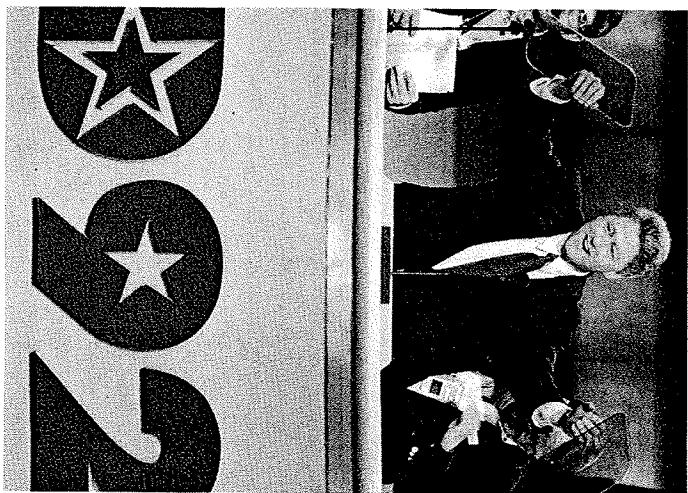
Even as the Republicans lowered the temperature of their antigay rhetoric, "no special rights" for homosexuals emerged as a major issue for the Religious Right. Christian fundamentalists and their allies attempted to overturn gay rights ordinances in Portland, Maine, and Tampa, Florida. They gathered enough signatures in the traditionally "live and let live" states of Oregon and Colorado to put referendum questions on the November ballot forbidding

the enactment of gay antidiscrimination protections. (The Oregon initiative went the furthest, labeling homosexuality as "abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse" and mandating that state-supported institutions—including schools and libraries—work actively to discourage such behavior.)

The combination of Clinton promises and the newest wave of backlash spurred the gay and lesbian community into action. As November neared, it appeared as if every apartment window in San Francisco's Castro district featured a Clinton-Gore placard. An estimated \$3 million in gay money flowed into the Clinton campaign. "The gay community is the new Jewish community," Rahm Emanuel, Clinton campaign national finance director, told *The New York Times*. "It's highly politicized, with fundamental health and civil rights concerns. And it contributes money. All that makes for a potent political force, indeed."

As Election Day neared, the media, traditionally leery of gay issues, began to take notice. *The New York Times Magazine* featured a cover article, "Gay Politics Goes Mainstream," written by openly gay political reporter Jeffrey Schmalz. On the Thursday before Election Day, the "CBS Evening News" aired a long feature on the gay and lesbian vote, estimating that five million gays and lesbians would go to the polls. For the first time in a national race, exit pollsters queried voters as to their sexual orientation. When the votes were counted, it was clear that the gay vote had gone overwhelmingly for Clinton. Exit polls done for Cable News Network and the three major networks found Clinton winning 72 percent of the gay vote (with Bush and third-party candidate Ross Perot splitting the remainder); other polls put Clinton's total at closer to 90 percent. It wasn't clear how many American voters were gay or lesbian. The figure of one in seven was bandied about by Clinton campaign officials, but in fact the Voter Research and Survey Group (VRS), which did research for the major networks, found only 2.4 percent of voters willing to identify themselves as homosexual or bisexual. Since many people are reluctant to disclose their homosexuality to an exit pollster, VRS director Murray Edelman suggested that 4 or 5 percent was probably a more accurate number.

The day after Clinton's election, *The New York Times* headlined GAY AREAS ARE JUBILANT OVER CLINTON. Reporter Jeffrey Schmalz's lead went: "After a bitter year in which homosexual issues figured in a presidential election for the first time, men and women took



Bill Clinton, the great gay hope, at the 1992 Democratic National Convention. (© Reuters/Bethmann)

to the street Tuesday night in gay enclaves like San Francisco and West Hollywood, weeping, dancing, and hugging to celebrate the victory of Gov. Bill Clinton." Gay spokespersons were exultant. Urvashi Vaid, former executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, proclaimed, "This is a rite of passage for the gay and lesbian movement. For the first time in our history, we're going to be full and open partners in the Government." And David Mixner told *The New York Times*, "I believe, thousands of my friends who wouldn't make it, who would die of AIDS, might make it now because Bill Clinton is President."

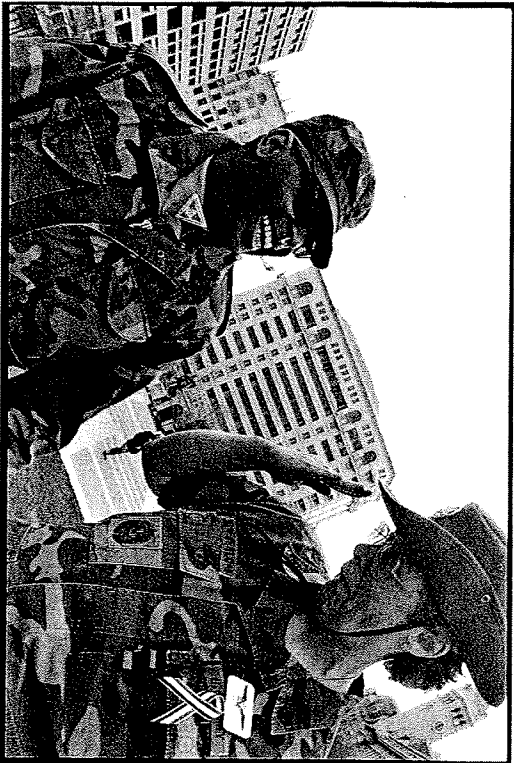
Other results that November Election Day provided less cause for celebration. While Oregon voters soundly defeated the antigay initiative in that state, Colorado's less harsh ballot measure passed by a narrow majority. Portland, Maine, rejected an effort to repeal its gay and lesbian rights ordinance, but a similar ordinance was overturned by voters in Tampa, Florida. The antigay forces were undaunted, however, with the Oregon Citizens' Alliance promising

to move town by town and county by county in that state to enact laws barring gay rights protections. Despite Clinton's victory, gay and lesbian rights remained a controversial, polarizing issue. Just how controversial and how polarizing was to become evident as Inauguration Day neared.

The issue of the U.S. military's policy of banning homosexuals had never been a major issue for the gay movement, even though some 80,000 gay men and women had been discharged since the ban was initiated in 1943. The challenges to military policy by armed forces personnel like Leonard Matlovich, Vernon "Copy" Berg, Miriam Ben-Shalom, and others in the 1970s and '80s made headlines in the gay press, of course. Yet perhaps because the gay movement had its roots in the antiwar New Left, perhaps because it was weakest in small towns and in the South—the region of the country from which the military draws its greatest number of recruits—the issue was never a top priority. Instead, largely symbolic issues like sodomy law repeal and gay rights legislation took center stage. Later, AIDS became the major concern, eclipsing most other issues.

But unlike with gay rights legislation or sodomy law repeal or AIDS funding, the perception was widespread that the ban on discrimination against homosexuals in the military could be overturned with the stroke of a pen—in this case, a presidential pen, by means of an executive order. Polls showed a majority of the American public supported ending the ban. Even George Bush's Defense Secretary Dick Cheney had described the ban as "a bit of an old chestnut." Military witch-hunts against gays and lesbians seemed particularly retrograde in a society where there was a growing degree of tolerance of homosexuality. Australia and Canada had just overturned their restrictions on gays and lesbians in the military, with no apparent ill effect. The Dutch Navy was about to launch a promotional campaign to encourage gay and lesbian recruits, featuring a brochure that showed two lesbian sailors in an onshore embrace.

Most important, increasing numbers of gay and lesbian service-people were coming out and challenging military policy: Joe Steffan, the U.S. Naval Academy midshipman ousted for being gay in 1987 just a few weeks before graduation; Tracy Thorne, the dashing "Top Gun", who came out on ABC's "Nightline"; Navy Petty Officer Keith Meinhold, who revealed his homosexuality on "World



Perry Watkins (left) and Miriam Ben-Shalom (right) were both involved in lengthy court battles challenging the ban on gays in the U.S. military. Although at his draft physical Watkins had checked “yes” to a question about “homosexual tendencies,” he successfully remained in the U.S. Army for sixteen years. After he was discharged, the Supreme Court reinstated him; however, his case did not contain the broad constitutional issues necessary to challenge the overall policy. Ben-Shalom, a drill sergeant in the army reserves, was honorably discharged in 1976 and successfully sued for reinstatement. Eventually, the high court upheld the army’s right to dismiss her. Watkins and Ben-Shalom are pictured at a 1993 rally in Washington, D.C. (© *Lina Palotta, Impact Visuals*)

News Tonight with Peter Jennings’; and Colonel Margarethe Cammermeyer, a twenty-eight-year veteran and chief nurse of the Washington State National Guard, who revealed she was a lesbian when she was being considered for the position of chief nurse for the entire National Guard of the United States. The armed forces were opposed to change, to be sure—but they were opposed to virtually any change. For Bill Clinton, lifting the ban through an executive order seemed the simplest way to pay his campaign debt to the gay community. It also was something he believed was right.

Candidate Clinton had first promised to lift the ban in October 1991, when asked about it by a student questioner at the John F.

Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Yet clearly he never expected that it would become the central issue—virtually the only issue—of the early days of his presidency. That is precisely what occurred. For the first ten days of the new administration, the issue that dominated the headlines was not the economy or health care: It was gays in the military. Before Clinton could issue his promised executive order, opposition mobilized. The Religious Right jammed the phone lines to the House and Senate; congressional mail overwhelmingly opposed overturning the ban (Senator John Glenn’s (D-Ohio) office reported letters running 10 to 1 against); national gay groups seemed immobilized. The popular General Colin Powell, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Senator Sam Nunn (D-Georgia), the powerful chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee whom Clinton had passed over for the post of Defense Secretary, led the charge against any change in policy.

Senators worried aloud about the effect of gays in the military on “unit cohesion,” about openly homosexual and heterosexual GIs sharing close quarters and showers. (The entire debate was conducted as if all gay service personnel were male.) Senator Bob Dole (R-Kansas) announced that Republicans would offer an amendment to affirm the existing policy. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) reportedly told then–Defense Secretary Les Aspin that the White House could count on no more than thirty votes in the Senate.

The new president temporized, trying to find a way out of the quandary. But the opposition continued to gain strength. Faced with having an executive order overturned in Congress, Clinton announced a compromise. The ban would remain in place for six months, while the Pentagon drafted a plan for an executive order that would end the ban and establish “rigorous standards regarding sexual conduct to be applied to all military personnel.” The formal discharge of homosexuals from the military would be halted, and new recruits would no longer be asked if they were homosexual. In the meantime, the military could continue discharge proceedings against avowed homosexuals; instead of being discharged, however, they would be put on unpaid “standby reserve.” At Clinton’s first presidential news conference—one entirely devoted to the military issue—he portrayed his action as “a dramatic step forward.” He added, “This compromise is not everything I would have hoped for, or everything that I have stood for, but it is plainly a substantial step in the right direction.”

Gays and lesbians—so jubilant in November when Clinton won—were stunned both by the intensity of the opposition and the new president's seeming lack of firmness. "Homosexuals Wake to See a Referendum: It's on Them" headlined *The New York Times*. Political analyst William Schneider told the *Times*, "I thought all along that the Willie Horton issue of the campaign would be gays and Clinton's support of gay rights. Well, instead of happening in the campaign, it has come true now." Meanwhile, intense feelings within the military were underscored when three Marine lance corporals stationed at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, were accused of dragging a gay man out of a gay bar and beating him, allegedly shouting, "Clinton must pay." The man, Grae Pridgen, said he suffered a fractured skull. (The marines were later acquitted.)

Unable to compete with the firestorm of opposition, gay and lesbian groups attempted to regroup. With seed money from David Geffen, the Hollywood producer, and Barry Diller, the entertainment mogul, an organization called the Campaign for Military Service (CMS) was established to lobby for repeal of the ban. Tom Stoddard, former director of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, the national gay legal organization, was named to head the new group.

Yet with six months to go before the Pentagon made a final decision on the matter, the initiative clearly lay with Sam Nunn and opponents of lifting the ban. Nunn was preparing to put forth a compromise of his own, dubbed "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," permitting homosexuals to remain in the military if they kept their sexual orientation private. Nunn announced that he would schedule Senate hearings, not just in Washington, but also at military bases around the country, where there was intense opposition. That did not augur well for the gay side. President Clinton, seeking to move the spotlight on to other issues, said little. In late March, responding to a question at a news conference, the president surprised all sides by stating that he might consider a proposal to segregate troops by sexual orientation. Bob Hattoy, the White House aide who had made a prime-time speech on AIDS at the Democratic National Convention, likened this idea to "restricting gays and lesbians to jobs as florists and hairdressers" in civilian life. Although the White House quickly retreated, the fact that the president would even entertain such a notion was indication that he was less than committed to his earlier, stated position.

The hopes of November were slipping away, and it was only March. Yet amid the widespread public discussion about gays in the military, a kind of seismic shift had occurred regarding gay issues in general. Suddenly, the subject of homosexuality—always relegated to the margins of American discourse, always treated warily in the media, if at all—had arrived at the center of American life. It was now a legitimate public issue and a recognized part of American society and culture. The "Gay Moment" had arrived. As journalist Andrew Kopkind (who coined the term) wrote in an article in *The Nation*:

*The gay moment is unavoidable. It fills the media, changes politics, saturates popular and elite culture. It is the stuff of everyday conversation and public discourse. Not for thirty years has a class of Americans endured the peculiar pain and exhilaration of having their civil rights and moral worth—their very humanness—debated at every level of public life. Lesbians and gay men today wake up to headlines alternately disputing their claim to equality under the law, supporting their right to family status, denying their desire, affirming their social identity. They fall asleep to TV talk shows where generals call them perverts, liberals plead for tolerance and politicians weigh their votes. "Gay invisibility," the social enforcement of the sexual closet, is hardly the problem anymore. Overexposure is becoming hazardous.*

*The New York Times*, which in the past had downplayed gay coverage (even refusing to use the word "gay"), now featured almost daily articles on various aspects of gay and lesbian life. *Times* reporter Jeffrey Schmalz provided extensive coverage of the gay movement and described his personal fight against AIDS in a Sunday "News of the Week in Review" piece. (See "Whatever Happened to AIDS," p. 545.) Gay *wunderkind* Andrew Sullivan became editor of *The New Republic*, arguably the most influential political magazine in the country. *Vanity Fair* ran an article on "The New Gay Power Elite," turning gay and lesbian activists into the stuff of celebrity profile. The newspapers were full of articles about discoveries of a possible biological basis for homosexuality—if it really



were biological, all the more reason why it couldn't be ignored and why antigay discrimination couldn't be tolerated.

Within the arts in particular, works by openly gay authors treating gay subjects were gaining attention and winning prizes, the latter being something unheard of previously. Paul Monette's memoir, *Becoming a Man*, won a National Book Award. Tony Kushner's play *Angels in America* was the recipient of a Pulitzer prize. Gay-cum-Jewish plays such as Larry Kramer's *The Destiny of Me* and William Finn's musical *Falsettos* became crossover hits on and off Broadway. These works all dealt with AIDS as well as gay issues, and this perhaps made them more palatable to mainstream audiences. As Kopkind noted, "The New York theater is now almost exclusively about gays, Jews, and blacks—with considerable overlap." Although Hollywood still remained wary of gay themes, an Irish import called *The Crying Game* proved one of the oddest gay love stories ever filmed—and one of the most successful. By year's end, the movie industry was stunned by the success of Jonathan Demme's *Philadelphia*, a film about a gay lawyer fired from his job because he has AIDS. Starring Tom Hanks and Denzel Washington, *Philadelphia* was the top-grossing movie in the country for several weeks. Hanks won an Oscar for Best Actor.

The "gay moment" culminated on April 25 with the long-planned Gay and Lesbian March on Washington. Unlike the two previous gay marches on the nation's capital in 1979 and 1987, this time there was extraordinary media attention: The public-affairs cable channel, C-Span, announced plans to broadcast the entire march and rally live. President Clinton declined to appear or speak by audio hookup, a sign of how much the White House feared his political standing had been eroded by his identification with gay rights. (He did send a letter of support, however, and met with gay leaders at the White House a few days before the event, in itself a first.) March organizers predicted a million people would attend.

And so, on April 25, they marched, hundreds of thousands of them, parading for six hours from the Ellipse, down Pennsylvania Avenue past the White House, and then on to the mall in front of the Capitol. If AIDS had dominated the 1987 march, this time, not surprisingly, it was the military: Among the marchers was Dorothy Hadjys, the mother of Allen Schindler, a gay sailor whose brutal murder by a shipmate the previous October had become a cause célèbre and symbol of hostility to gays within the military. Mrs.

Hadjys, who spoke at the rally afterward, marched surrounded by gay veterans in uniform.

One of the largest contingents came from Colorado, indication of the politicization of that state's gay community in the wake of the passage of the antigay referendum the previous fall (and the ensuing national boycott of the state). The Colorado marchers carried a massive banner that read "Under Siege" as well as a papier-mâché Statue of Liberty and scales of justice. AIDS was not entirely forgotten: ACT UP members lay down in front of the White House to focus attention on the issue, and the AIDS Quilt was displayed once again. A Lesbian Community Cancer Project group marched with placards featuring the names of lesbians who had died from breast cancer. Names held up included black lesbian writers, Audre Lorde and Pat Parker, and the comedian Pat Bond.

At the rally, California Representative Nancy Pelosi read a letter from President Clinton; there were scattered boos. David Mixner, Clinton friend and leader of the Lift-the-Ban campaign, told the throng, "Make no mistake, America. We won't compromise our freedom. We won't go back. We will win." Holly Near sang. Still, for all the anticipation, the rally largely lacked the big names of American politics or the entertainment world.

Although march organizers and the Park Police sparred over how many people were actually in attendance and some of the more X-rated aspects of the day received a full airing on C-Span, the march and rally received generally good notices from the media. Writing in *The New York Times*, Richard L. Berke noted in a page-one analysis that the march showed the general public "that gay America does have a face. And it was, in fact, a face that seemed rather well behaved and conventional, and that was the image that Americans saw on the evening news." The *Washington Post* columnist E. J. Dionne, Jr., praised the march as a "serious and sober celebration of liberty" and was struck by "the infinite variety of political organizations, singing ensembles, mutual aid societies and support groups that came together not to shock but to talk about freedom."

These views were echoed in the middle of the country as well. Under the headline WE WON'T COMPROMISE OUR FREEDOM, the *Chicago Tribune* featured two front-page color photos: One showed two men embracing in front of the AIDS Quilt; another provided an air view of the Mall thronged with people. For its part, the conservative *Memphis Commercial Appeal* headlined its front-page



story GAYS MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, ACCEPTANCE, and accompanied it with a large color photo of the ACT UP die-in in front of the White House. The newspaper pulled a quote from Torie Osborn, executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and displayed it prominently on the front page: "We are the new American refugees coming home from exile."

In fact, media coverage of the march was generally so favorable that two weeks later, *Washington Post* media critic Howard Kurtz was complaining that some of the more "flamboyant behavior and vulgar language" had actually been "bleached out" of most news accounts. This marked a complete turnaround from how most gay marches had been covered in the past (coverage that usually consisted of pictures of men in drag) and emphasized the media's eagerness to portray the gay movement as a mainstream political force.

Despite the positive coverage, it wasn't clear how much the march actually achieved. Richard Berke noted in his *New York Times* article that although the massive civil rights marches and anti-Vietnam rallies are "defined as significant occasions in modern history, there is little evidence that they created any immediate shifts in public or political opinion." He suspected the same would be true of this march. Openly gay U.S. Representative Barney Frank thought that the major impact of demonstrations of this sort was on the participants themselves. Frank was later to label the march a political failure because a relatively small number of participants went to Capitol Hill in the days that followed to lobby their senators and representatives to lift the ban. In fact, the march—planned long before the military ban became an issue—was never sure whether it wanted to be a giant gay and lesbian pride celebration or a show of political strength to force the president and Congress to lift the ban.

On the same day as the march, in Boston for a speech to the Newspaper Association of America, President Clinton said, "A lot of people think that I did a terrible political thing, and I know I paid a terrible political price for saying that I thought the time had come to end the categorical ban on gays and lesbians serving in our military service . . ."

The hearings held by Sam Nunn's Senate Armed Services Committee, beginning in late March, turned out to be reasoned, unemotional affairs in which academics talked abstractly about "unit

cohesion," and Chairman Nunn always referred to homosexuals, in a courtly manner, as "gays and lesbians." But Nunn was in charge, while the White House adopted a posture of public silence as it ostensibly waited for the Pentagon to come up with its final report, due on July 15. And Nunn had some tricks up his sleeve. When Armed Services Committee members paid a visit to the submarine *Montpelier* in Norfolk, Virginia, in early May, Nunn and Senator John Warner (R-Virginia) were pictured on the TV evening news talking earnestly to a group of sailors on their bunks in what appeared to be extraordinarily cramped sleeping conditions. The photo was a turning point of sorts: It lent dramatic credence to arguments that close quarters on ships and submarines might make the presence of homosexuals a problematic factor.

The most memorable moment of the hearings came when Marine Colonel Fred Peck, just back from Somalia, testified. Peck presented the usual arguments for retaining the ban—discipline, good order, and unit cohesion. Then he dropped a bombshell: "My son Scott is a homosexual, and I don't think there's any place for him in the military." The reason was not that Scott couldn't be a good soldier: In his father's view, the twenty-four-year-old college senior was "a recruiter's dream." Instead, the senior Peck was concerned for his son's safety. "I've spent twenty-seven years of my life in the military, and I know what it would be like for him if he went in," Peck continued. "And it would be hell. I would be very fearful that his life would be in jeopardy from his own troops." He loved his son and respected him. "I think he is a fine person," he said. It was moving and riveting testimony but it was curious reasoning. To *Washington Post* columnist William Raspberry, Peck was engaging in the time-honored tradition of blaming the victim. Raspberry wrote, "But fearing that a homosexual Marine would 'be in jeopardy from his own troops' . . . What sort of outfit have you devoted your life to, Colonel? And shouldn't you be trying to fix it?"

But as the clock ticked toward July 15 it was becoming plain that there wasn't going to be much of an effort to fix anything, except the politics of the situation. The best that the gays were likely to get was a version of Sam Nunn's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." One of the first to recognize this publicly was Representative Barney Frank. In mid-May, at a Washington news conference, the outspoken and openly gay Massachusetts congressman broke ranks with gay activists and proposed his own variation on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Frank's compromise was similar to Nunn's in that gays would

be allowed to remain in the military as long as they didn't reveal their sexual orientation while on duty. Frank's plan was more flexible than Nunn's, however, in that his proposal would permit service personnel to be openly gay off-base, without fear of investigation or reprisal. "My sense was that many members of Congress had already made up their minds on this," Frank told *Advocate* reporter Chris Bull. "The choice seemed to be whether we would get zero or offer some kind of a compromise that was more permissive than Nunn's. I think my proposal reopens the battle for us."

Although Frank was universally criticized by gay activists, his endorsement of compromise provided Clinton with some important political cover. The president could now bow to the reality that overturning the ban was politically impossible. A week after Frank's comments, Clinton indicated at a town meeting that he was amenable to some form of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell": "Most Americans believe if you don't ask and you don't say and you're not forced to confront it, people should be able to serve. . . . We are trying to work this out so that our country. . . does not appear to be endorsing a gay lifestyle. But we accept people as people and give them a chance to serve if they play by the rules."

Now the question was simple. Which version of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" would be approved: Sam Nunn's or Barney Frank's?

In the end, what the president and the Pentagon did approve was something closer to Nunn than to Frank, so much so that Frank repudiated the deal altogether. The final compromise struck to the basics of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell": It stated that recruits would not be asked their sexual orientation but homosexual servicepeople could not reveal it either. While gay soldiers would have to remain in the closet—and stay celibate—the witch-hunts of the past would end. Strict guidelines would make it difficult for officers to pursue accusations of homosexuality without strong evidence of repeated homosexual conduct or public affirmation. Simply being present at a gay bar or reading homosexual publications or even marching in a gay rights parade would not "provide a basis for initiating an investigation or serve as the basis for an administrative discharge under this policy." But the bottom line was that gay or lesbian GIs who revealed their homosexuality—either to a friend in the next bunk or to a national TV audience—would be discharged. The closet remained in force.

On July 19, Clinton made his announcement of the new policy before a friendly audience of military officers at the National De-

fense University at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C. He was flanked by General Colin Powell and the top commanders of the armed forces; there wasn't a single gay or lesbian representative present. Oddly enough, the president's speech was perhaps his most eloquent on the subject since he was elected, the one that seemed to best argue the case for the inclusion of homosexuals in the U.S. military. David Mixner summed up the reaction of many gays and lesbians: "This was one of those moments in anyone's presidency where he either hears a call to greatness or surrenders. He made no principled fight. He didn't address the nation until today, and that was to concede defeat."

But Senator Nunn still wasn't satisfied. He was determined to codify the policy into law, instead of leaving it as an executive order, which could theoretically be made more flexible at some future date without congressional approval. He introduced an amendment to the defense authorization bill that incorporated the compromise agreed to by Clinton and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The wily Nunn couldn't restrain himself from tinkering with the Clinton plan. His amendment added language that "persons who demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts" were "an unacceptable risk" for inclusion in the military. It also stated that the Secretary of Defense could, if he wished, reinstate the practice of asking recruits to disclose their sexual orientation. And it omitted language in the Clinton policy intended to curb military antigay witch-hunts. The White House insisted that these changes would have little impact. They declined to fight Nunn on these points, and Nunn's amendment passed both houses. The president signed it.

In the eyes of some, the codification of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" actually created a worse situation than what had prevailed before Clinton took office. In an op-ed piece that appeared in *The New York Times*, the Campaign for Military Service's Tom Stoddard called the final product "an utter capitulation to Mr. Nunn" that was "not consistent with Mr. Clinton's earlier stands." He contended that lesbians and gay men in the military were about to confront "the worst of all possibilities: an unprecedented declaration by Congress that they pose an 'unacceptable risk' to our national security. What's 'honorable' about that?"

Soon enough, the action moved to the judicial arena, where a number of cases of gay and lesbian military personnel came up for review. As the year came to a close, more and more judges were

ruling in favor of gay servicepeople. The issue was far from settled. The fate of gays and lesbians in the military was probably going to be decided where many had long thought it would be decided—not in Congress but in the courts.

## Voices from the Military Debate

FORMER SENATOR BARRY M. GOLDWATER

*(Republican presidential candidate, 1964)*

After more than 50 years in the military and politics, I am still amazed to see how upset people can get over nothing. Lifting the ban on gays in the military isn't exactly nothing, but it's pretty damned close....

When the facts lead to one conclusion, I say it's time to act, not to hide. The country and the military know that eventually the ban will be lifted. The only remaining questions are how much muck we will all be dragged through, and how many brave Americans like Tom Panizza and Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer will have their lives and careers destroyed in a senseless attempt to stall the inevitable....

I have served in the armed forces. I have flown more than 150 of the best fighter planes and bombers this country manufactured. I founded the Arizona National Guard. I chaired the Senate Armed Services Committee. And I think it's high time to pull the curtains on this charade of policy.

—from an op-ed piece in the *Washington Post National Weekly*, June 21, 1993

DOROTHY HADJYS (*mother of murdered gay sailor Allen Schindler*)

When I went to the funeral home the next day to view Allen's body, my minister tried to talk me out of going in and seeing him... He's been a minister for 34 years, and he's seen a lot of dead people. He had never seen a body destroyed the way Allen was destroyed

just by someone using his hands or feet. His whole face was caved in. His whole face was destroyed. He didn't look anything like my son whatsoever. And I, I wanted to hug him and kiss him, and I wasn't even sure it was my son."

—from a profile by Mark Schoofs in *The Advocate*, July 13, 1993

BOB ESENWEIN (*twenty-six-year navy veteran*)

We despise gays and all these people usurping the country.

—quoted in *The New York Times* at the Jacksonville, North Carolina, forum on gays in the military, March 25, 1993

JACKSONVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA, FORUM ON GAYS IN

THE MILITARY

"Is being old a sin?" asked the citizen who did not identify himself.

"No," the crowd yelled back.

"Is being handicapped a sin?" one man then asked.

"No!" the crowd screamed, louder this time.

"Is being homosexual a sin?" he came back.

"Yes!" roared the crowd, loudest of all.

—"Forum on Military's Gay Ban Starts, and Stays, Shriill," by Eric Schmitt, *The New York Times*, March 25, 1993

ANDREW SULLIVAN (*editor of The New Republic*)

Lifting the ban is essentially a conservative measure. It is not a radical attempt to remake society but a pragmatic effort to react to a change that is already taking place: the presence of openly gay people in the military. The values that gays in the military are espousing, patriotism and public service, are traditional values. And the effect that ending the ban could have on the gay community is to embolden the forces of responsibility and integration and weaken the impulses of victimology and despair.

—from a *New York Times* op-ed piece, February 9, 1993

TANYA DOMI (*retired lesbian army captain*)

These guys who operate multimillion-dollar aircraft and tanks are afraid somebody's going to hit on them. Maybe they'll understand how women feel all the time.

—quoted in *Newsweek*, June 21, 1993

URVASHI VAID (*lesbian and gay activist*)

The biggest myth about compromise is that it is mutual and consensual. In fact, compromise is the most coercive of strategies, and compromise is always a burden on the powerless.

—in *The Advocate*, June 29, 1993

JOSEPH ZUNIGA (*former Soldier of the Year for the 6th Army*)

This compromise ["Don't Ask, Don't Tell"] would work if we were dealing with automatons, but for human beings, not announcing one's sexual orientation isn't the simple request that proponents of this compromise believe. There is no on-off switch when dealing with human identity.

—from an op-ed piece in the *Washington Post*,  
May 18, 1993

SENATOR SAM NUNN (*chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee*)

He's [Clinton] focused on the discrimination aspect of it. I understand where he's coming from on that. I have my view. Mine is focused on the military side of it. . . . That's two different perspectives and you get two different answers.

—from a *Washington Post* profile, May 3, 1993

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“Whatever Happened to AIDS?”

In the two years before his death from AIDS at the age of thirty-nine, New York Times reporter Jeffrey Schmalz gave new prominence to gay and lesbian issues and AIDS in a newspaper that had traditionally been reticent in its coverage of both subjects.

He profiled other people with HIV, such as Farvin “Magic” Johnson, Larry Kramer, Bob Hattoy, Elizabeth Glaser, and Mary Fisher, and covered gay politics during the watershed period beginning with the Clinton campaign through the battle over homosexuals in the military. He also wrote a personal article in December 1992 for the “Week in Review” section that broke the long-standing rule that daily journalists rarely, if ever, refer to themselves in their work. “Now I see the world through the prism of AIDS,” he wrote. “I feel an obligation to write about it and an obligation to the newspaper to write what just about no other reporter in America can cover in quite the same way.”

Schmalz began his journalistic career as a night copy boy at the Times while a student at Columbia University. He covered the early years of the Guomo administration as the newspaper's Albany bureau chief and also served as Miami bureau chief, where he was so devoted to his job that he was famous for sleeping all night at his desk. He was the deputy national editor in December 1990 when he suffered a brain seizure at work that led to his AIDS diagnosis. At that point, he became open at the Times about his homosexuality and his illness and helped to transform the atmosphere both in the newsroom and on the news pages.

His final (and unfinished) article, “Whatever Happened to AIDS?” appeared in the Times Sunday Magazine on November 28, 1993, three weeks after his death. In what is part journalistic account and part personal statement, Schmalz expresses his growing despair that, despite two hundred thousand deaths in the United States and an estimated one million infections, AIDS is being forgotten.

ONCE AIDS WAS A HOT TOPIC in America—promising treatments on the horizon, intense media interest, a political battlefield. Now, 12 years after it was first recognized as a new disease, AIDS has become normalized, part of the landscape. It is at once everywhere and nowhere, the leading cause of death among young men nationwide, but little threat to the core of American political power, the white heterosexual suburbanite. No cure or vaccine is in sight. And what small treatment advances had been won are now crumbling. The world is moving on, uncaring, frustrated and bored, leaving by the roadside those of us who are infected and who can't help but wonder: *Whatever happened to AIDS?* . . .

The AIDS movement was built on grass-roots efforts. Now those efforts are in disarray. Many Act Up leaders have died. The group's very existence was based on the belief that AIDS could be cured quickly if only enough money and effort were thrown at it—something that now seems increasingly in doubt. Besides, it is hard to maintain attacks against a Government that is seeking big increases in AIDS spending. . . .

Anyone questioning how AIDS ranks as an issue among gay groups need only look to the march on Washington on April 25. Six years earlier, in 1987, a similar gay march had one overriding theme: AIDS. If there was a dominant theme last April, it was homosexuals in the military. To be sure, AIDS was an element of the march, but *just* an element. Speaker after speaker ignored it. . . . Increasingly, many homosexuals, especially those who test negative for HIV, do not want a disease to be what defines their community. . . .

What is to come a broadening of the gay agenda, however, is to others' desertion. "It's one thing for politicians to abandon AIDS," Kevin Frost, a TAG [Treatment Action Group] member, said. "But for our own community to abandon the issue. . . Who brought this issue of gays in the military out in the open? A couple of flashy queers with checkbooks. Well, what about AIDS?" . . .

In my interviews for this article and others, I always ask people with AIDS if they expect to die of the disease. One reason for that is a genuine reporter's curiosity; the answer is part of the profile of who they are. But I am also searching for hope for myself. Increasingly, the answers come back the same, even from the most optimistic of Act Up zealots: Yes, we will die of AIDS. . . .

I had such hope when I interviewed Bill Clinton about AIDS and gay issues for this magazine in August 1992. He spoke so eloquently

on AIDS. I really did see him as a white knight who might save me. How naive I was to think that one man could make that big a difference. At its core, the problem isn't a government; it's a virus. Still, in interviews with researchers and Administration officials, it was clear that we are talking from different planets. I need help now, not five years from now. Yet the urgency just wasn't there. Compassion and concern, yes; even sympathy. But urgency, no. I felt alone, abandoned, cheated. . . .

I usually say that my epitaph is not a phrase but the body of my work. I am writing it with each article, including this one. But actually, there is a phrase that I want shouted at my funeral and written on the memorial cards, a phrase that captures the mix of cynicism and despair that I feel right now and that I will almost certainly take to my grave: *Whatever happened to AIDS?*

## The Many Lives of Martina Navratilova

IN LATE AUGUST 1993 at Madison Square Garden in New York City, a fund-raising event called "A Gay and Lesbian Tribute to Martina" raised \$250,000. The proceeds were to benefit Gay Games IV, a gathering of an expected more than 10,000 gay and lesbian athletes to be held in New York on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion. Martina Navratilova, whose overpowering serve and stamina on the court had made her the nine-time winner of Wimbledon tennis singles titles and four-time U.S. Open champion, had thrust a relatively unknown gay athletic competition into the national spotlight.

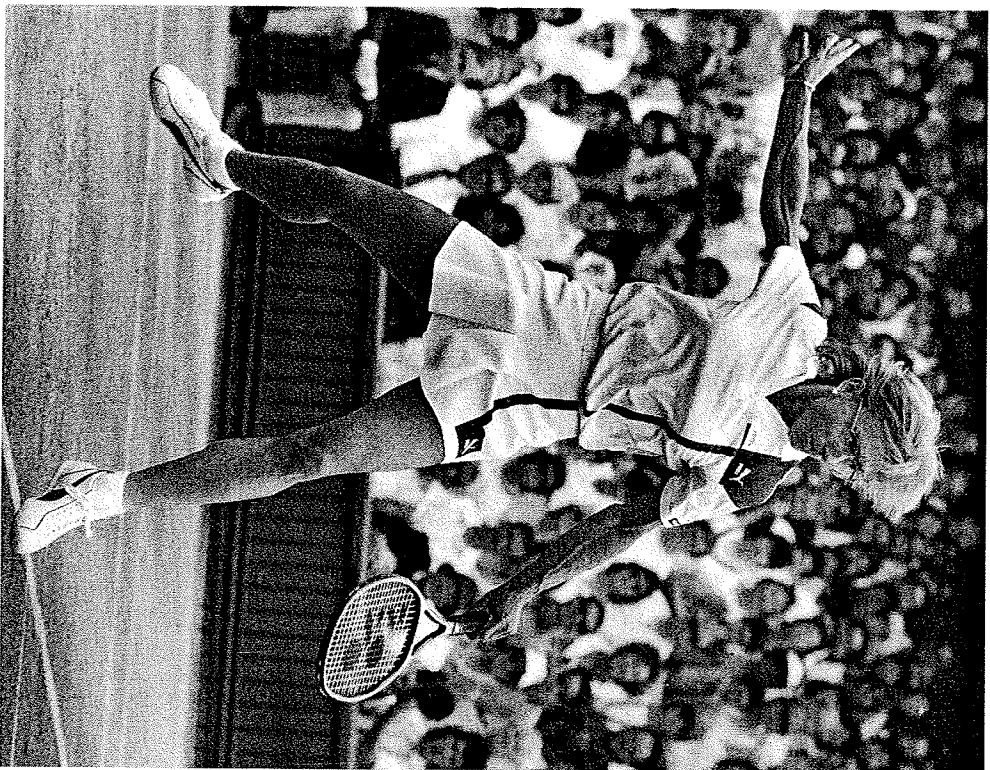
Suddenly, at age thirty-seven, America's top female athlete emerged as the nation's most famous (and most marketable) gay and lesbian activist. As a *New York Times* headline put it, IN THE TWILIGHT OF HER PROFESSIONAL TENNIS CAREER, MARTINA NAVRATILOVA STEPS FORWARD WITH A NEW MISSION: SERVING AS A VOICE FOR LESBIANS AND GAY MEN. She joined an American Civil Liberties Union lawsuit to overturn the new Colorado law banning the enactment of gay and lesbian rights ordinances. She threatened to move out of Aspen, Colorado, where she lived, unless the law was

repealed. Her name adorned a fund-raising mailing for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. She was one of the speakers at the 1993 March on Washington. When a reporter asked her why she was doing all this, she replied, "I've got to practice what I preach and this feels right."

Being a gay activist was a new role for Navratilova. For many years, as the most visible figure in women's tennis, she walked a delicate line. She wanted to be open about her sexuality, but at the same time she didn't want the sport to be tarred with the brush of lesbianism (any more than it was already). "The media thinks if you're a female athlete, you're automatically gay," Navratilova noted. "And if you're a male athlete, then obviously you're straight. I happen to be gay but 90 percent of the women on tour are not." In 1993, she was the only major sports figure in the United States who was out of the closet, an indication of just how taboo homosexuality remained in the world of sports. (Four-time Olympic gold medal-winning diver Greg Louganis came out at the Gay Games that same year.)

Navratilova had never particularly hidden her sexuality. It wasn't very long after she defected from her native Czechoslovakia to the United States in 1975 at age eighteen that she recognized her attraction to women. "Looking back to when I was sixteen or seventeen, I can see I had some crushes on some women players and didn't really know it. I just liked being with them. By the time I was eighteen I knew I always had these feelings," she wrote in *Martina*, her autobiography, published in 1985, at the height of her career. The fact that she was earning a phenomenal amount of money for an eighteen-year-old and was on her own—her parents were unable to leave Czechoslovakia—made it easier for her to follow her own sexual inclinations. She did characterize herself as bisexual at one time, although there is no sign she was ever involved with a man.

But Navratilova was a public figure—she was extremely young; she had defected from a Communist country; she was a terrific tennis player (winning Wimbledon for six consecutive years, from 1982 to 1987, and the Grand Slam sweeps in 1984) at a time when women's tennis had an extremely high profile. Her love life became fodder for the gossip columns, particularly in the British tabloids. First came her relationship with author Rita Mae Brown, who met her in 1979 when Brown was researching a Czech character for a novel she was writing. Brown was the most stimulating person



Martina Navratilova on the court. (© Reuters/Bethmann)



Navratilova had ever met, according to Navratilova's account. Brown also made it clear from the start that she didn't care whether or not Navratilova was a great tennis player; in fact, she rather disparaged sports. Navratilova had never met anyone like *that* before. The couple bought a house together in Charlottesville, Virginia, and a Rolls-Royce Silver Cloud II with a quote from Virgil—"Amor Vincet Omnia"—plastered on the side. But when her career began to founder in the early eighties, Navratilova broke off the relationship. (Brown got her revenge, portraying Navratilova as a temperamental Argentine tennis player in her satirical novel about the women's tennis circuit, *Sudden Death*.) Later, Navratilova's seven-year relationship with Judy Nelson ended in an acrimonious palimony suit. To add insult to injury, eventually Brown and Nelson became lovers, resulting in a gossipy feature in the *Washington Post*, headlined, TOUGH MATCH FOR MARTINA: RITA MAE BROWN AND JUDY NELSON WERE HER LOVERS. NOW THEY'RE LOVERS.

Over the years, the press—on the sports page, at least—handled her rather gingerly, a testament to both her athletic abilities and personal qualities. Still, Navratilova had to endure a number of antigay slights. She recalled one woman cheering for her archrival Chris Evert at the 1983 U.S. Open finals at Forest Hills with, "Come on, Chris, I want a real woman to win." That same year, Navratilova won three of four events in tennis's Grand Slam, but *Sports Illustrated* gave its Sportswoman of the Year award to track star Mary Decker. Navratilova thought she deserved it. She noted how the article portrayed Decker as someone who "badly needed to be protected and loved and supported" and featured a picture of Decker in the arms of her new boyfriend. Once Navratilova's sexuality became known, she became anathema to advertisers who might have otherwise paid her vast sums for endorsements.

By 1994, the year she announced her retirement, any lingering hostility had vanished, however. Still ranked number three in women's tennis, Navratilova was a kind of elder stateswoman who had finally gained the adulation of the crowds. Spectators would cheer when her name was announced, and she was amused that she would receive a standing ovation even for a mediocre shot. "Now I'm the home team everywhere I go," she said. When she lost her bid for her tenth Wimbledon title to Conchita Martinez, virtually the entire tennis world was devastated.

Perhaps it was the slights she had endured over the years that propelled Navratilova into the gay political arena. Or maybe it was

simply that at age thirty-seven, with those nine Wimbledon and four U.S. Open singles championships behind her, she didn't have anything to lose anymore. In any event, there she was at the Gay and Lesbian March on Washington, telling a crowd of hundreds of thousands of people, in one of the most heartfelt speeches of the day, "What our movement needs most, in my humble opinion, is for us to come out of the closet."

The fact that such a prominent sports figure was willing to be associated publicly with the gay and lesbian rights movement was an indication of the legitimacy the movement was achieving in the nineties. But despite the emphasis Navratilova put on coming out, it remained difficult for athletes who lacked her stature to follow in her footsteps—athletes who had more to lose and could easily be destroyed by hostile teammates and jeering crowds. Still, Navratilova's activism—and newfound adulation on the court—offered hope. As her mentor, Billie Jean King, put it, "One thing that I love about Martina is that she demands acceptance on equal terms for all of us. Not tolerance but acceptance. Because she is comfortable in her own skin, she helps all of us be more comfortable in ours."

## The Year of the Lesbian

NINETEEN NINETY-THREE WAS THE YEAR of the lesbian. The print media discovered lesbians: They made the covers of *Newsweek* and *New York* magazines; openly lesbian singer K.d. lang posed in a barber's chair, getting her face shaved by model Cindy Crawford, on the cover of *Vanity Fair*. Television discovered lesbians: A lesbian character played by the bisexual actress Sandra Bernhard became a regular on the top-rated sitcom "Roseanne." The U.S. Senate took note of them as well (although women were curiously absent from the gays in the military debate), spending three days discussing the sexual orientation of Roberta Achtenberg, Bill Clinton's openly lesbian nominee to be the Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. "Sometimes I think it's like the year of the woman squared," lesbian comic Kate



Clinton told *Newsweek*. "It's sort of like the year of the woman loving woman."

When asked by a *Washington Times* reporter if he would support the Achtenberg nomination, Senator Jesse Helms, scourge of gay rights, replied that he wouldn't do so "because she's a damn lesbian. I'm not going to put a lesbian in a position like that. If you want to call me a bigot, fine." The Achtenberg nomination was significant because it marked the first time a president had appointed an openly gay person to a position that required Senate confirmation.

Achtenberg herself was a natural choice to become the first openly gay person appointed to a high federal post. A forty-two-year-old San Francisco lawyer, she had been a law school dean and founded the Lesbian Rights Project, an organization that dealt with family and custody issues. She had run unsuccessfully for state assembly, and in 1990 was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Her lover, Mary Morgan, was a San Francisco Municipal Court justice, the first openly lesbian judge appointed in the United States. And Achtenberg had been an early supporter of Bill Clinton's presidential bid. But San Francisco politics are different than politics in most other places in the United States. One issue that Achtenberg championed while on the board of supervisors was an effort to pressure the Boy Scouts of America to reverse their policy banning openly gay scoutmasters.

If Jesse Helms didn't mind being labeled a bigot, most other legislators did. So a number of Republican senators used the Boy Scout issue as a way to derail Achtenberg's nomination, without appearing to oppose her simply because she was a lesbian. Senator Slade Gorton (R-Washington) accused her of having "crossed the line from advocacy to misuse of government power" by introducing a resolution into the board of supervisors suggesting that San Francisco withdraw \$6 million from the Bank of America because the bank had donated money to the Boy Scouts. Minority Leader Robert Dole characterized her as "a ringleader of an ideological crusade to remake the Boy Scouts in her image."

When Senator Barbara Boxer (D-California) contended that Achtenberg's critics were using the Boy Scout issue as "a smoke screen for disapproval of her private life," Jesse Helms was quick to respond. "She sure wasn't private when she was hugging and kissing in that homosexual parade in San Francisco," he said. The previous week, Helms had shown Republican colleagues a videotape that

featured Achtenberg and her lover riding in a car in the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Freedom Day parade.

In the midst of such arguments, Senator Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island) rose before the Senate on a Friday afternoon to announce that he had "a personal reason" for supporting Achtenberg. His daughter, Julia, was a lesbian, he declared; in fact, she was the head of Rhode Island's statewide Alliance for Gay and Lesbian Civil Rights. Pell told the senators that he didn't want to see his daughter "barred from a government job because of her orientation." It was believed to be the first time a senator had announced publicly that a member of his family was gay, certainly on the Senate floor. Pell's disclosure also provided a neat counterpoint to Marine Colonel Fred Peck's announcement before the Senate Armed Services Committee that his son Scott was gay and therefore should be kept out of the military. For her part, Julia Pell said she hadn't been told in advance of her father's speech. "I'm not surprised," she said. "He's very supportive of me."

On May 25, Achtenberg's nomination was confirmed by a 58-31 vote. First-term Senator Patty Murray (D-Washington) spoke for many when she said, "We're sitting here talking about the private life of an assistant secretary. This country is tired of people who view America as 'us' versus 'them.'" But it was more than just the private life of an assistant secretary that was at issue here. Achtenberg's confirmation had broken a barrier, one that would make it far easier for presidents to appoint openly gay people to high office in the years to come.

and how the great sex researcher conducted his interviews, I recommend Dr. Wordell Pomeroy's *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*. Eric Marcus's *Making History* provides an informative interview with Dr. Evelyn Hooker.

CHAPTER 18—THE AGE OF MCCARTHY: Nicholas von Hoffman's *Citizen Cohn* offers a damning (and gossipy) view of Roy Cohn. I also used the standard biographical works on McCarthy: Richard Rovere's *Senator Joe McCarthy* and Thomas Reeves's *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy*. For the effect of the McCarthy period on gays and lesbians, I recommend D'Emilio's *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, the most thorough account. Also helpful were back issues of ONE magazine.

CHAPTER 19—THE STRUGGLE FOR BRITISH LAW REFORM: Stephen Jeffrey-Poulter's *Peers, Queers, and Commons* offers a detailed account of the struggle for British law reform. I also found Noel Annan's *Our Age* helpful. Andrew Hodges's biography *Allen Turing* gives a good sense of Britain during the McCarthy era. For Australia in this period, see Garry Wotherspoon's book on Sydney, *City of the Plains*; for Canada's law reform struggle, see Gary Kinsman's *The Regulation of Sexuality*.

CHAPTER 20—THE OTHER SIDE OF THE 1950S: For a literary and biographical examination of the Beats, I recommend John Tyrell's *Naked Angels*. Barry Miles's *Allen Ginsberg* offers a good look at the Ginsberg-Olovsky relationship. The works of the Beats themselves—Kerouac's *On the Road*, Ginsberg's *Howl*, and Burroughs's *Naked Lunch*, among others—are, of course, essential. For a portrait of the Tangier expatriate subculture, Michelle Green's entertaining *The Dream at the End of the World* is the most thorough work so far. Millicent Dillon's biography of Jane Bowles, *A Little Original Sin*, offers another view.

CHAPTER 21—THE OTHER SIDE OF THE FIFTIES, PART II: Lapovsky and Kennedy's examination of the butch/femme subculture in Buffalo, New York, provides a truly fascinating anthropological look at that world. Faderman's *Odd Girls* and her essay "The Return of Butch and Femme" are also illuminating. For the point of view of a black lesbian and also of a woman who felt alienated from the prevailing butch-femme culture, see Audre Lorde's autobiography, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*. For a deeply felt but somewhat romanticized view of butch/femme mores and culture, Joan Nestle's *A Restricted Country* is essential. One still awaits a full-scale biography of Lorraine Hansberry that deals forthrightly with her lesbianism.

CHAPTER 22—THE HOMOPHILES: John D'Emilio's superb *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* is the definitive book on the gay movement of the 1950s and '60s. Eric Marcus's *Making History* offers a number of

interesting interviews with fifties and sixties gay and lesbian political figures, using an oral history approach. Katz contains a number of documents in this regard, as well as interviews with lesbian activists Barbara Gittings and Kay Tobin. Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin's *Lesbian Woman* provides an early view of the Daughters of Bilitis by that organization's founders.

CHAPTER 23—STONEWALL AND THE BIRTH OF GAY AND LESBIAN LIBERATION: There are a number of books on this heavily documented period. Martin Duberman's *Stonewall* (1993) provides a close look at the events surrounding the Stonewall riots and the lives of some of the people who participated in them. Donn Teal's *The Gay Militants* presents a detailed account of the first year of gay liberation; Sydney Abbott and Barbara Love's *Sappho Was a Right-On Woman* tells the lesbian side. Dennis Altman's *Homosexual* offers a thoughtful summary of the ideas behind the gay (male) liberation movement; the essays in *Lesbianism and the Women's Movement* do the same for lesbians. Toby Marotta's *The Politics of Homosexuality* takes the story further into the seventies. For the spirit of the early movement, I recommend Arthur Bell's *Dancing the Gay Lib Blues* and Kate Millett's autobiography *Flying*. The essays in *Karla Jay and Allen Young's Out of the Closet* offer a wide variety of perspectives. For the arrival of gay liberation in London, see Jeffrey Weeks's *Coming Out*. Barry D. Adam's *The Rise of a Lesbian and Gay Movement* puts the gay and lesbian liberation movement in an international perspective.

CHAPTER 24—THE 1970S: THE TIMES OF HARVEY MILK AND ANITA BRYANT: Randy Shilts's *The Mayor of Castro Street* offers an invaluable depiction of the rise of Harvey Milk and gay politics in San Francisco. For an up-close look at Milk, Moscone, and Dan White and the assassinations, I recommend Mike Weiss's *Double Play*. Shilts, in *Conduct Unbecoming*, offers a sympathetic look at military rights pioneer Leonard Matlovich; so does Matlovich's biography, *The Good Soldier*, written by Mike Hippler, with participation (and extensive quotes) from Matlovich. For Oliver Sipple, the man who saved President Ford's life, see Shilts's *The Mayor of Castro Street*.

CHAPTER 25—SEX AND MUSIC IN THE SEVENTIES: Edmund White's *States of Desire* offers a fascinating examination of gay male culture in the decade before AIDS. Dennis Altman's essays in *Coming Out in the Seventies* take a critical look at the effects of sexual liberation. But Andrew Holleran's novel, *Dancer from the Dance*, probably evokes the era better than any other work.

CHAPTER 26—LESBIAN NATION AND WOMEN'S MUSIC: Faderman's *Odd Girls* gives a good perspective on the period, while frequently

taking a critical stance. For the theoretics behind "Lesbian Nation," see Jill Johnston's book of the same name, Rina Mae Brown and Charlotte Bunch's essays, and Adrienne Rich's "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence." The material on women's music and its role in creating lesbian culture comes largely from interviews I conducted previously with singer Holly Near and Judy Dlugacz, head of Olivia Records.

CHAPTER 27—THE AGE OF AIDS: As with the years immediately following Stonewall, the Age of AIDS is probably the most documented period in contemporary U.S. gay history. Despite its biases, Randy Shilts's *And the Band Played On* remains the most valuable source on the early days of the epidemic. In view of the role that Larry Kramer played as the catalyst for so much of the decade's AIDS organizing, his collection of essays and speeches, *Reports from the Holocaust*, represents an important record. Frances Fitzgerald's *Cities on a Hill* offers a superb journalistic portrait of San Francisco during the early AIDS years; Andrew Holleran's essays in *Ground Zero* provide an inside look at gay New York City. Bruce Nussbaum's *Best Intentions* examines AIDS organizing and the politics of AIDS research. Michaelangelo Signorile's *Queer in America* portrays the radicalism of ACT UP and Queer Nation from the point of view of the leading proponent of "outing." Phyllis Burke's *Family Values* gives a West Coast perspective on Queer Nation. (Burke also provides an engaging account of lesbian parenthood.)

CHAPTER 28—COMMUNISM AND FASCISM: For a look at Communism in the Soviet Union and China and its effect on homosexuals, I drew on newspaper and magazine articles from sources ranging from *Christopher Street* to the *Washington Post*. Bret Hinsch's *Passions of the Cat Sleeve* explores same-sex love in ancient China, although it does not attempt to treat the modern period. For Cuba, Allen Young's *Gays Under the Cuban Revolution* is a good introduction. Cuban novelist Reinaldo Arenas's memoir, *Before Night Falls*, is a vital source, despite its violently anti-Castro tone. Extremely antagonistic to Castro but also important is the 1984 documentary film *Improper Conduct*. For Argentina, I made use of an essay on Argentine gay history by the eminent sociologist Juan José Schreli, as well as my own reportage in *Out in the World*.

CHAPTER 29—ENGLAND: THE BATTLE OVER CLAUSE 28: Once again, Stephen Jeffery-Poulter's *Peers, Queers, and Commons* documents the period most thoroughly. Peter Jenkins's book *Mrs. Thatcher's Revolution* gives a good picture of the general political background to Clause 28. For the South Africa section, I referred to Mark Gevisser and Edwin Cameron's anthology *Defiant Desire*, as well as my own interviews with Simon Nkoli.

CHAPTER 30—JAPAN: I made use of biographies of Yukio Mishima by Henry Scott-Stokes and John Nathan. Mishima's novel *Forbidden Colors* presents a portrait of gay life in 1950s Japan. For a look at Japanese attitudes toward same-sex love among males in the premodern period, see Gary Leupp's forthcoming *Male Colors*. For the more modern period, see my *Out in the World*.

CHAPTER 31—THE CLINTON YEARS: For my discussion of the battle over gays in the military, I used newspaper coverage, particularly *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, as well as magazines ranging from *Newsweek* to *The New Republic* to *The Advocate*. Andrew Kopkind's article "The Gay Moment," published in *The Nation*, provides a good account of the social and cultural changes that marked the first year of the Clinton presidency. For an analysis of gay political failures of the military battle, I recommend Chris Bull's article "And the Ban Played On," in *The Advocate*, and Mark Schoofs's piece, "No Quick Fix," in *Out*.