

REPORT OF THE PLATFORM-DIRECTIVES COMMITTEE

March 17, 1973

LaCrosse, Wisconsin

Co-Chairpersons: Jim Mulhern & Jim Wilbur
Secretary: Paul Jacobson

PREAMBLE: The Democratic Youth Caucus of Wisconsin should take action to realize the goals set in the platform. The State Executive Board is directed to lobby these issues at the State Legislature and other State Agencies. Steps should be taken to inform the public and arouse public support. Methods should be found and used to institute the goals of the platform outside of legislation.

STATE ISSUES

Consumer Affairs

1. Support standardization of packaging.
2. Support state-wide control of cable TV.
3. Support state regulation and licensing of mechanical and technical repairmen.
4. Support state-wide standardization of building codes.
5. Support formation of tenant unions and their right to strike.
6. Support cabinet level consumer affairs.
7. Support requiring gas stations to post prices.
8. Support requiring all stores to have lists of all base prices readily available on premises for consumers.

Environmental Issues

1. Support restrictions providing minimal use of packaging in commerce.
- 2.* Ban all non-returnable bottles and cans; require deposit on all beverage bottles and cans.
3. Ban all out-door advertising except at places of business.
4. Ban advertising by public utilities except when to benefit of consumer.
5. Support increased state aid to county governments to improve water quality.
6. Ban plasticized cups and plates at university campuses.
7. Oppose strip mining in any form in the State of Wisconsin.
8. Support restrictions on application of commercial agricultural fertilizers by waterways.
9. Revamp DNR to increase enforcement powers and separate tourist promotion and special interests.
10. Place restrictions as to location and size of landfill sites.
11. Support a five year ban of party permit for deer hunting in the State of Wisconsin.
12. Ban shooting on preserves.
13. Support stricter enforcement of laws protecting endangered species.
14. Require all state agencies and the legislature to use recycled paper.
15. Increase restrictions on recreational resorts, as to location, number, and size.
- ✓16. Support of funds being diverted from the State Highway Trust fund for local publicly owned transit systems.

- ✓17. Support further public research on alternative sources of energy with less impact on the environment than present system.
- ✓18. Support ban of gasoline boat motors on natural lakes less than 50 acres in size.
- ✓19. Support state legislation to provide loans to help fulfill pollution standards.
- 20. Urge support of standard reclamation regulation to be set by DNR in regards to open pit mining, including regulations regarding use of ecologically prime land for open pit use.

Health

- 1. Protect rights of women to determine question of abortion up to limits laid out in Supreme Court decision.
- 2. No age, marriage, or advertising restrictions on birth control.
- 3. No parental consent or notice for VD checks.
- ✓4. Legalization of use of marijuana and other physically non-addictive drugs as per California Initiative on 1972 ballot.
- 5. Support investigation of hospital procedures related to patient care and treatment.
- 6. Uniform system of fees for services rendered by doctors and health institutions.
- 7. Sell drugs by generic name and legalize public advertising of drug prices.
- 8. Support meaningful sex education programs in schools.
- ✓9. Support free sterilization on demand.
- 10. Support that the AMA be totally removed from the certification of Medical Schools.
- ✓11. Support treatment of addiction as an illness not a crime.
- ✓12. Support establishment of free clinics for addicts.
- 13. Support Kennedy-Griffiths Bill

Education

- 1. Support merger implementation allowing students to control student activity fee.
- 2. Support organized teacher's unions and their right to strike.
- 3. Enforcement of age of majority laws on campuses.
- 4. Free driver's education to all citizens over 16.
- 5. Standards of tuition rates within UW system comparable to present state technical institutes rates.
- 6. Support the establishment by the legislature of a state-wide criteria for the accreditation of free schools with input from existing free schools.
- 7. Support right of dorm students to determine their own life style.
- 8. Support banning of all aid to private and parochial schools.
- 9. Opposed specialized universities as it is against interdisciplinary curriculums that ensure students of a diversified education.
- 10. Opposition to tracking in the public education system in Wisconsin.
- 11. State support for education of retarded and handicapped.
- 12. Opposition to required physical education requirements requirements in high schools and universities.
- 13. Abolish legislative scholarships.
- 14. Reduce allowable athletic scholarships.
- 15. Support state-wide standard that age limit to attend high schools be 16.

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16. Support and lobby for Senate Bill 252, which deals with suspension in high schools.
17. Support of factual public drug education programs.
18. Support student participation in forming of curriculums.

Civil Liberties

- ✓ 1.* Endorse Equal Rights Amendment
2. Support governor's task force's recommendations for prison reform, including due process with all matters dealing within the prison.
3. Support present system for selection of judges.
4. Protect legal rights of prisoners in prison procedures.
5. Limit terms of police chiefs.
6. Standardization of conditions in all county jails.
7. Restore civil liberties to prisoners including voting rights and conjugal visitation by wives.
8. Support removal of non-violent crimes from record after going 7 years without another conviction, excluding traffic offenses.
9. Support complete banning of wire-tapping.
- 10.* Permission for students and parents to see all school records including IQ scores; also prohibit revealing educational records without permission of individual.
11. Prohibit teachers from seeing achievement or behavior records during first half of any semester.
12. Support allowance of individual's right to see files security corporations hold on them.
- ✓ 13. Support elimination of laws regarding morality.
14. Support opposition to all forms of censorship.
- ✓ 15. Opposition to expanded emergency powers of the governor; (support to lobby for Assembly Bill 196).
- 16.* Support to reaffirm the rights of newsmen--so they do not have to reveal their sources.
17. Support that gambling be legalized in Wisconsin, with government control and taxation.
- ✓ 18. Support for legalization of prostitution with government controlled health standards.
- 19.* Support the United Farm Workers Guild Brandy and Lettuce Boycotts.
- ✓ 20. Support the right to privacy including the right to examine at will and correct by legal procedures all government files.
- 21.* Opposition of legal oppression and discrimination directed towards and/or affecting homosexuals; public announcement of support of aims and goals of Gay Liberation Movement.
22. Support a ban on pay toilets.
- ✓ 23. Support incompatibility as grounds for divorce in Wisconsin, and oppose all divorce laws which discriminate according to sex.

National Issues

1. Support right to examine and correct FBI files held on an individual, by the individual.
2. Support the concept of youth fares.
3. Support health maintenance programs, administered by the government.
4. Support integration of schools in the United States with the use, when necessary, of bussing to achieve that integration.

5. Support exoneration of draft resisters and evaders, as per the 1972 War Resisters Exoneration Act.
6. Ban the SST in the United States.
7. No Sanguine anywhere, in any way, shape, or form.
8. Oppose proposed cuts by the Nixon Administration in Veterans Benefits.
9. Condemn the President for impounding funds already approved by Congress for Government Agencies.
10. Oppose dismantlement of OEO and the REA and REAP Programs.
11. Restructure agricultural benefits to aid only the small farmer.
12. Support restructuring of federal aid for interstate highway from 9-1 to 2-1, and the creation of a National Transit Authority financed by funds diverted from the Highway Trust Fund.
13. Support cuts in military spending in the defense budget by at least 15%.
14. Support that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should hold hearings for Indian Treaties, and that the Senate make a "full-scale" investigation of government treatment of Indians.
15. Support increased participation by the United States in United Nations activities.
16. Support election of the President by popular vote.
- ✓ 17. Support Veterans Benefits for Conscientious Objectors.
- ✓ 18. Opposition of the use of Executive privilege and classification of information.
19. Oppose any court martials or other legal proceedings against any POWs who engage in anti-war or peace activities while captive in Vietnam.
- ✓ 20. Support free radio and TV time for all presidential candidates listed on the general election ballot.
- ✓ 21. Support Congressional efforts to restore Reservation Status to the Menomonie Indians.
- ✓ 22. Support prevention of Military Surveillance of civilians.
- ✓ 23. Support exemption of postal employees from Hatch Act.
- ✓ 24. Support the goals of the American Indian Movement, and the removal of federal marshals from Wounded Knee.
25. Oppose the re-instatement of capital punishment.
- ✓ 26. Designate UN Day, October 24, as a National Holiday.
- ✓ 27. Support the Outlawing of the sale of handguns.
- ✓ 28. Support abolition of the Selective Service System.
- ✓ 29. Support mandatory publicizing of sources of funds of candidates for public office.
30. Support for legislation to stop the US from providing finance used for war or war materials to nations at war, unless the US has declared war on the opposing nation.
- ✓ 31. Support and encourage a congressional initiative to actively exercise their powers and stop the encroachment of the executive branch on congressional powers.
32. *Recognition of Wounded Knee as a sovereign state*
International
- ✓ 1. Support official recognition of Red China and Bangladesh.
- ✓ 2. Support normalization of relations with Cuba.
3. After 30 days Congressional approval is necessary to sustain commitment of troops by the President, outside of the United States.
4. Condemn and oppose all military aid and support given to Portugal, the last colonial power in the world.
5. Support the goals of the Irish Republican Army in their fight for independence in Northern Ireland.

6. Support US aid to North Vietnam to rebuild what we have destroyed, but oppose cut backs in domestic spending for this purpose.

*Issues in which the State Executive Board is especially directed to initiate action on to gain the goals as stated in the Platform.

Homosexual Groups Push Fight for Liberalized Morals Laws

LAT 1/24/72

BY DAVE SMITH
Times Staff Writer

In New York's Greenwich Village, police raided a homosexual bar in June of 1969.

Instead of screeching and whimpering, the enraged patrons roared into Christopher St. for a pitched battle with the vice squad, sparking protest rallies, a countrywide liberation movement, and anniversary parades in many cities marking the first "gay riot."

In Los Angeles, a coalition of homophile organizations picketed the Police Department demanding equal civil rights and an LAPD liaison officer to the "gay" community.

What has become of the love that dare not speak its name?

The answer lies in a Gay Lib slogan: "Out of the closets and into the streets."

And they evidently mean it.

Gay Libbers today are commanding public attention to freely admitted proclivities that the well-brought-up homosexual of yester-

year denied even to himself.

And though Police Chief Edward M. Davis has flatly rejected the demand for a liaison officer—because homosexual acts, liberal new morality notwithstanding, are still against the law—the "gay" demand and the chief's denial do not represent the beginning and end of "where it's at" for Los Angeles' "gay" community in 1972.

That is perhaps best exemplified by five homosexual men who are

Please Turn to Page 3, Col. 2



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Homosexuals Push Rights Battle

Continued from First Page

usually prominent in public demonstrations by the local "gay" community.

They are the Rev. Troy Perry, pastor of the homophile Metropolitan Community Church; Clifford Lettieri, president of the Homophile Effort for Legal Protection; Dave Glascock, president of the Gay Community Alliance, and John Platania and Don Kilhefner, codirectors of the Gay Community Services Center.

These organizations and a score of others—often with similar and overlapping functions—offer help of all kinds to both the overt and the covert homosexual who finds himself in trouble, either with society or within himself.

The mere creation of such groups, most within the past two or three years, indicates that under the surface and shot through all the empty spaces in the Establishment, Los Angeles' "gay" society is for the first time rapidly consolidating and organizing itself into a coherent culture.

The key to the new organizational zeal among homosexuals, according to Platania and Kilhefner, is a refusal to keep accepting the view that they are sick, perverted or "nature's mistakes," and a willingness to stand up and be counted for what they are and to demand equal treatment in society.

'Underwriting Morality'

"Psychiatrists and medical doctors have generally functioned as a repressive arm of society," Kilhefner said, "and whenever they claim to have discovered a quote-unquote cure for this quote-unquote disease, it usually has been aimed at underwriting the majority morality, which is mostly based on fear."

"We simply reject the notion that we're sick people. Studies have shown that human sexuality extends through a much, much broader range than just the old 'me-Tarzan-you-Jane' formula. No two people occupy the same exact place on the scale, and everybody has aspects of homosexuality and heterosexuality within himself, all through life."

"People who are at ease with themselves don't hate us—they're not personally threatened, so why should they? But people who feel a little closer to the edge are very threatened by what we represent. We're their hidden selves."

"By admitting our 'gayness' and living our own lives in our own way, we want to show people they have

nothing to fear, we aren't a threat, there's no need to take stands and make threats or jokes, but just live and enjoy it."

Kilhefner's view is not without some scientific support, although sex laws in Judeo-Christian cultures generally have stuck with the Old Testament definition of homosexuality as "an abomination."

The Bible and biology have been invoked on both sides of the dispute. But in recent years, many behavioral scientists have insisted that more men and women engage in sexual switching than once believed and that one's interest in the morals of others who appear sexually ambivalent or omnivorous is often a clue to one's own dissatisfaction or maladjustment.

Opinion of Therapist

Therapist George Weinberg wrote: "I would never consider a person healthy unless he had overcome his prejudice against homosexuality."

Two decades ago, Kinsey reported that about one-third of all adult American males and one-fifth of all

Six states thus far have modified their laws on the so-called "victimless crimes," either easing or abolishing laws on private conduct between consenting adults.

They are Connecticut, Colorado, Illinois, Idaho, Oregon and Florida. In another, Texas, the sodomy statute was recently declared unconstitutional.

Other states, including California, are said to be edging closer to eliminating or softening their old statutes on crimes without victims.

In the last session of California's Legislature, Assemblyman Willie L. Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco) introduced a bill that would have legalized any form of private sexual conduct between consenting adults of either sex.

The measure was defeated 26 to 41 in a session highlighted by impassioned readings of Scripture and a reminder by Frank Lanterman (R-Pasadena) that "the capital of California is Sacramento, not Sodom and Gomorrah."

Brown, who said he will reintroduce the bill, observed that "a lot of guys couldn't vote for it without committing political suicide in their districts."

Assemblyman Walter Karabian (D-Monterey Park), who backed the bill, argued that police are too often

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Whe



Homosexuals Pressing for Liberalized Laws

Continued from Third Page
becoming "peeping Toms" to find out whether consenting adults are violating the present law, when more manpower actually is needed to combat a rise in violent crimes.

And in a recent journal, two New York professors of sociology and government argued that there is "some relationship between the use of the criminal justice system to police our morals and its failure to protect our persons."

Speaking of victimless crimes involving sex, gambling and drugs, in which there is no injured party willing to testify for the prosecution, the professors say that police therefore must spend an inordi-

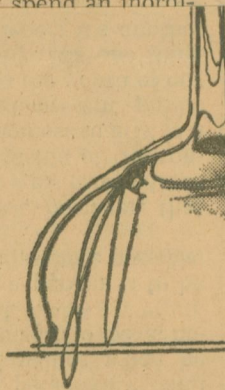
thing to be spreading the disease . . ."

And in a talk to lawyers in Beverly Hills two weeks ago, Davis said he believed there is no such thing as victimless crimes and that police should spend more rather than less manpower on such violations.

Aside from an occasional clash with Chief Davis—to which the Gay Libbers apply the maximum of dramatic flair—the Gay community also is involved in a number of social programs as staid and respectable as the Salvation Army.

There is a housing program — in inexpensive, rambling old rentals—for both men and women homosexuals who, through drugs, drink or estrangement from family need a temporary home in which to come to grips with themselves and get the strength to get moving again.

Platania spends most of his days driving from house to house, half a dozen at present, visiting the house managers and seeing what he can scrounge in money and furniture from more affluent friends of the "gay" community.



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PROPOSED 1972 GAY RIGHTS PLATFORM
Feb. 13, 1972

Common men in this country
Millions of gay Americans are subject to severe social, economic and legal oppression because of their sexual orientation.

We affirm the right of all persons to define and express their *sensibility* own ~~sexuality~~ and emotionality and *sexuality* to choose their own lifestyle, so long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others. We pledge an end to all social, economic and legal oppression of gay people.

Demand
We ~~urge~~ the repeal of all laws forbidding voluntary sex acts ~~involving consenting persons~~ in private.

Laws prohibiting loitering for the purpose of soliciting for a homosexual liaison are vague and ~~probably~~ unconstitutional. Nevertheless, they are frequently used as the legal cover for police entrapment of gay people.

Demand
We ~~urge~~ the repeal of all laws prohibiting solicitation for a voluntary private sexual liaison.

Prejudice and myth have led to widespread discrimination against gay people.

Demand
We ~~urge~~ the enactment of civil rights legislation which will prohibit discrimination because of sexual orientation, in employment, housing and public accommodations *+ public services.*

(more)

Chicago Gay Alliance - Political Action meeting Chicago Feb 13 1972

Demands
RECOMMENDATIONS:—

Federal:

1. Amend ^{all} the federal Civil Rights' Acts of 1965 and 1968 to prohibit discrimination ^{other legislation & government controls} because of one's sexual orientation in employment, housing and public accommodations ^{public service}.
2. Issuance by the President of an executive order prohibiting the military from excluding persons ^{who of their own volition} for reasons of their sexual orientation and from issuing less-than-honorable discharges ^{desire} and the upgrading to fully honorable of all such discharges previously issued, with retroactive benefits. ^{entrance into the armed forces}
3. Issuance by the President of an executive order prohibiting discrimination in the federal civil service because of sexual orientation, in hiring and promoting; and prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in security clearances.
4. Elimination of tax inequities victimizing single persons and same-sex couples.
5. Elimination of bars to the entry, immigration, and naturalization of homosexual ^{men and women} aliens.
6. Federal encouragement and support for sex education courses ^{prepared and taught by} presenting homosexuality as a valid, healthy preference and lifestyle ^{and} on par with heterosexuality. ^{qualify gay women & men} as a viable alternative to heterosexuality.
7. Appropriate executive orders, regulations, and legislation banning the compiling, maintenance, and dissemination of information on ^{and social and political activities} sexual preferences and behavior for dossiers and data banks. ^{individuals}
8. Federal funding of homosexual organizations designed to alleviate the problems encountered by homosexuals.

State:

1. All federal legislation and programs enumerated in Recommendations 1, 6, 7, and 8 above should be implemented at the state level where applicable.
2. Repeal of all state laws prohibiting private sexual acts involving consenting persons; equalization for homosexuals and heterosexuals of the enforcement of all laws.

3. Repeal all state laws prohibiting solicitation for private voluntary sexual liaisons and those laws prohibiting prostitution, both male and female.
4. Enactment of legislation prohibiting insurance companies and any other state-regulated enterprises from discriminating because of sexual orientation, in insurance and in bonding or any other prerequisite to employment or control of one's personal ~~demesnee~~
5. Child custody, adoption, visitation rights, and the like shall not be denied because of sexual orientation or marital status.
6. Repeal of all laws prohibiting transvestism.

7.

RECOMMENDED CRITERIA FOR ENDORSEMENT OF POLITICAL CANDIDATES BY GAY GROUPS

Candidates must ~~pledge in writing to~~ support the above platform.

They should be judged on past performance if they have had an opportunity in their past career to actively support any or all of the platform issues.

They must consistently mention gay rights in their speeches and literature.

They should have a declared gay person on their staffs as liaison to gays.

They must participate in gay activities such as Gay Pride Week events.

They must work for the election of gay candidates for convention delegate.

They must positively respond to specific local-issue questionnaires.

Candidates must not be allowed to divide the gay community.

BY DON OLESEN OF INSIGHT

HE LOVES TO SHOCK THE SYSTEM

LONG before he entered the Wisconsin Legislature in 1965, Rep. Lloyd A. Barbee was rattling the Milwaukee power structure, causing sulfurous smoke to pour from the ears of certain community leaders.

The Milwaukee Democrat is intense, slender, 46 and impeccably dressed when he walks Madison's marble halls. His manners are urbane. His speech does not merely flow; it cascades. Sentences stream out in a polished torrent, often changing course in midsentence, always a jump behind an agile mind.

Barbee is a lawyer with a doctor of laws degree from the University of Wisconsin — Madison. He began his legislative career clean shaven. Later, at the rise of the Black Power movement, he adopted a full beard and today favors a swooping, piratical looking mustache which, he says, his children endorse (Barbee is divorced).

He can be exceedingly tart of tongue with a gift for rolling invective (he recently accused an opponent of "pandering to the lowest common denominator of phony morality"). He delights in pricking the earnest pretensions and timidities of certain white liberals, who view him uneasily, as they would an Asian flu epidemic.

Above all, Rep. Barbee is a man who delights in outraging and shocking the system. This is not done in wayward whimsy, however, but generally for a purpose.

As a state NAACP leader in 1963, Barbee sent a quiver through white Milwaukee when he proposed bussing (among a number of other alternatives) as one way of improving a school system he considered segregated.

He underscored the point by leading a partial student boycott of Milwaukee schools in 1964 and a second a year later, when he got himself arrested. In 1965, Barbee filed suit in Federal Court here charging that the Milwaukee school system is segregated. He and volunteer helpers have put in hundreds of hours of research on the suit, still pending. The National Education Association recently donated \$10,000 and the services of a lawyer to help it along.

As Wisconsin's only black legislator, Barbee continues rattling skeletons and outraging public opinion with a gusher of controversial bills. He also has managed to get himself re-elected regularly from Milwaukee's solidly black 6th District.

Among 77 Barbee bills in the last session were those eliminating bars against hitchhiking, fortune telling, drugs,

gambling, prostitution and abortion; legalizing sexual activity (both "natural" and "unnatural") between consenting persons; limiting the term of Milwaukee's police chief; eliminating educational requirements for professional and skilled occupations; electing School Board members by wards instead of at large; repealing compulsory school attendance; teaching Afro-American, Indian and Chicano history in public schools; restricting outdoor advertising, and setting up a unicameral legislature in Wisconsin.

Many of these bills are aimed at his own constituency. Many are not, dealing with what Barbee calls the injustices dumped upon the "have-nots" of society.

The mortality rate of such unorthodox bills is high. The impact of a political maverick, however, cannot be measured solely in bills passed. He has won respect for his energy and ability, if not always for his ideas. He was a member of two powerful legislative bodies — Joint Finance Committee and the Board of Government Operations. And, sometimes, his causes do win.

His was the first state open housing bill and it did pass, though watered down. In February, the Legislature passed a bill repealing all exemptions to open housing; it was drafted by Barbee and others.

The US Supreme Court recently gave Barbee a belated vindication. It ruled that the Wisconsin Legislature ignored due process of law by jailing Father James E. Groppi for leading the welfare takeover of the Legislature in 1969. A Barbee bill requiring due process had failed to pass the same Legislature.

Not long ago, some of the lawmaker's more outrageous sounding bills on morality drew support from a thoughtful establishment source — a Citizens Study Committee on Offender Rehabilitation. It presented Gov. Lucey with recommendations to legalize noncommercial gambling and remove bars to prostitution and sexual acts ("perversion" included) between consenting adults.

And, in March, the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse recommended that all penalties be eliminated for the personal possession and private use of marijuana — a point Barbee has been making in Wisconsin since 1967.

If many of his ideas seem ahead of their time, Wisconsin's lone black legislator feels that changing times are beginning to catch up with some of his ideas. A tape recorded interview with Barbee follows.

Continued

'Half the crimes on the statue books have no business being crimes'

REP. Lloyd A. Barbee lives on the run, occasionally pausing for such frivolous matters as eating and sleeping. *Insight* caught up with the state legislator when he paused for a late supper. It was 9 p.m. Primed with an occasional question, Barbee kept up a rapid fire commentary while consuming a large plate of fried chicken, washed down with three cups of tea. It didn't slow his delivery a bit. Here are taped excerpts from the interview, held before the 1971 legislative session adjourned last month.

Mr. Barbee, is there a particular pattern to your legislative bills?

The way I see myself in the legislature is to advance legislation that I think will move Wisconsin into the 20th Century and get ready for the 21st. I see that as my way of challenging conventional wisdom, which is in my mind highly structured for the status quo and seems to leave out young people, and obviously blacks and the American Indians, and also some people who are just dissenters or eccentrics.

We must do something for people that I refer to as the "have-nots." I want to work for the have-nots having what the haves have, if they want it. In my mind there aren't many people who will speak up for those individuals.

So I take that as my positive approach. My negative approach, of course, is to repeal all of the laws that I think are interfering with what I think is a good society.

You've been quoted as saying that "the crime rate can be cut in half by eliminating the crimes."

I'm convinced that half the crimes on the statue books have no business being crimes anyway.

What do you mean by "good society"?

One in which government does

not adopt somebody's morality at the expense of another person's. By that I mean churches that insist that we should not have abortions because it is against their doctrine. That's perfectly all right for these churches to do so with their own members, but I do not see why the state should force people who are not religious at all to abide by somebody's antiquated notion of morality. For that reason I got into the abortion fight and my bill is different from others because it permits unrestricted abortions. This is the ideal form, which is nonstate involvement.

Your sexual morality bill would repeal present laws against adultery, fornication, abortion and sexual perversion, among other things. How long have you been introducing such legislation?

I've been introducing them through all the terms I've been in office, since 1965. Some people think that these are bills merely to liberate homosexuals. In my mind I believe they liberate heterosexuals, too, assuming the heterosexuals are 90% of the population of the state. A heterosexual who isn't married isn't supposed to have sex at all. If he is married, he is permitted to have only one kind of sex, that results in offspring. All oral and anal copulation is completely outlawed. This is what I call the state being in the bedroom.

What you're proposing, I gather, is sexual freedom between consenting adults?

Not consenting "adults," it's really consenting parties. [Barbee's bill would lower the age of consent from 18 to 14.] This is my theory. In our civil law we say that anyone 14 or over has to consent to being adopted, or having a guardian. Now you can argue about when puberty really begins but most people quibble between 12 or 13 or maybe 14. In

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my mind sexual activity for most people begins at 14 and this is where I differ from anybody in the country. I take 14 as the age of consent.

Since you say "consenting" parties you obviously don't sanction rape?

Nobody can argue that seriously because I'm not legalizing any rape in that bill.

What about incest?

I thought once of eliminating the incest penalties altogether. I had a big argument with some lawmakers when I was at a conference of black elected officials and I was advancing my arguments [on sexual behavior]. They were saying I must be a swinging legislator.

In the process I mentioned that incest was good enough for the kings and queens so it had to be good enough for the common people and that therefore I wanted to redress that imbalance and some of them reacted like typical middle class whites would react. So I have reduced the penalties for incest in my bill [from the present 10 years to one year].

A serious minded body, the Citizens Study Committee on Offender Rehabilitation, recently proposed dropping a lot of the state laws against gambling, prostitution, sexual misconduct and the like. Aren't these things you were proposing years ago when people were calling you a crackpot and a nut?

Yes. Of course, I believe that those things are not as radical as some of my opponents have indicated. There are some people who look at legislation as being the art of the possible but they tend to start from such a low level of bargaining that their type of politics becomes the art of realistic appeasement.

In other words, you think legislators give in too early and too fast?

You don't compromise on principle, you can only compromise

on the methods of implementation. When the methods start merging with the principle, something's wrong.

When did you first introduce the bill to legalize marijuana?

I think in my second term — that would be 1967. I have a bill now that would legalize drugs, all drugs. I'm not at all persuaded that people who use even hard drugs necessarily die as early as people say, or that they are a menace to society.

What about the claim that heroin users turn to robbery and burglary to support their addiction?

That's because we keep the Mafia and organized crime in business by overpricing adulterated and even poisonous substances. We should legalize drugs. In addition to that we should put drugs under the Pure Food and Drug Act. And I think the states should be involved by seeing that the quality is good and that the price is reasonable.

What about the problem of physical addiction?

I think people of a certain age have a right to abuse their bodies and their minds. And if we educate people not to use it, or to use it with real moderation, and we regulate the purity of the substances and we regulate price — actually, what I'd like to do with the drug thing is have the state take over the dispensation of drugs, as some states now do with liquor sales.

I seem to recall that you opposed the motorcycle helmet law on somewhat similar grounds — that what people do to themselves is their own business.

Most of the people who ride motorcycles, they want their hair to fly in the breeze and if their brains get splattered, then their brains get splattered. That's their own risk to take. That shocked a lot of my liberal people because they thought I was for

Continued

'I don't like the idea of the legislature becoming hysterical, as it tends to do'

regulating things because I'm for fair housing.

Maybe you're really a conservative?

My kids keep telling me, "You're really a joke, you're not at all radical." I don't like the idea of the legislature becoming hysterical, as it tends to do, in order to do something that they think is popular in terms of morality. I tend to be conservative that way. I've seen so many things done in the legislature just on hysterical popular demand.

In January, the US Supreme Court unanimously held that the Wisconsin Legislature violated due process of law when it jailed Father James E. Groppi for contempt of the Assembly in 1969. You had a bill on that subject, didn't you?

I'm the only person to introduce legislation in the past couple of years to not permit the legislature to convict anybody for contempt without giving them a

hearing. We almost got it passed except for some Democrats who thought it was not to their interest to correct the situation.

One of your bills would eliminate educational requirements for people who want to be doctors, dentists, nurses, lawyers, architects, engineers, plumbers, barbers and the like. Why?

The theory is quite simple. If you're going to give a license to a professional or a skilled person and, as part of getting that license, they must pass an examination given by a board set up to test their qualification, then it seems to me you should not also require the applicant to go to school a certain number of years, or have a high school diploma plus a college degree plus a professional school degree.

There are some people who are very talented but they have not gone through the hothouse business of getting degrees and diplomas. In addition I'm concerned about the have-nots, the people

Continued

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'If they can draft men for Vietnam, they can draft then for work in their own communities'

in my district that can't really read and write very well. But give them an oral test and they can pass it without any problems, testing those same basic skills.

You have two bills in this session on the Milwaukee Police Department. One would limit the chief to a four year term, not an indefinite tenure as at present. The other would set up a civilian department under a civilian chief. It could even draft young men for police duty.

If they can draft men for two year terms in Vietnam, they can draft them for work in their own communities. I am a very strong believer that the head of the police department be a civilian. We insist that this be so in our armed forces — that the president [as commander in chief] be a civilian. I really think we should not permit a line policeman to become a chief. And I require psychological screening [of policemen] because we do have far too many masochists and sadists.

What about the four year limit for the chief?

I think that four years is the term most officeholders have. I think four years is a good time. It's long enough for a mayor, it's long enough for police chief.

Then there's your bid to legalize prostitution, with women and houses licensed by the state to protect public health and safety. Last year, I'm told, you were interviewed on a Green Bay radio station. The interviewer asked you, "Would you want your daughter to be a prostitute?" What did you tell the man?

Well, my thought was that if my daughter chose to enter that old profession there really wasn't very much I could do about it anyway and it really wasn't a matter of my consent. I said if

she chose to go, I would not look down on her because, I understand, there are many women who are married who put on a prostitution act.

What about your proposed constitutional amendment to legalize gambling?

There was a time when I was not for legalizing it but I changed my mind after seeing how the poor blacks are picked up in Milwaukee for doing nothing that the Eagles and others aren't doing.

In the first place, the state constitution has no business getting into gambling. I would rather take it out of the constitution and let the legislature and the people of the state decide what kind of gambling we ought to have. I really think that commercial gambling isn't harmful if the state regulates it.

You had a bill to replace our present Senate and Assembly with a unicameral, or one house, legislature. Why?

I feel very strongly that a state of this size does not need two houses. I don't think states really have sovereignty, that the national government has it. I believe that states do not need the checks and balances of two houses any more than a city like Philadelphia, which started out with a bicameral council. It's perfectly clear to anyone who knows anything about local government that Wisconsin could administer its government much cheaper and more efficiently [under a unicameral legislature].

You've had unicameral bills in several sessions. What's happened to them?

They've been defeated every time; I have had my fourth defeat. I think the unicameral idea is going to wait awhile, partly because a lot of us want to stay in office.

1

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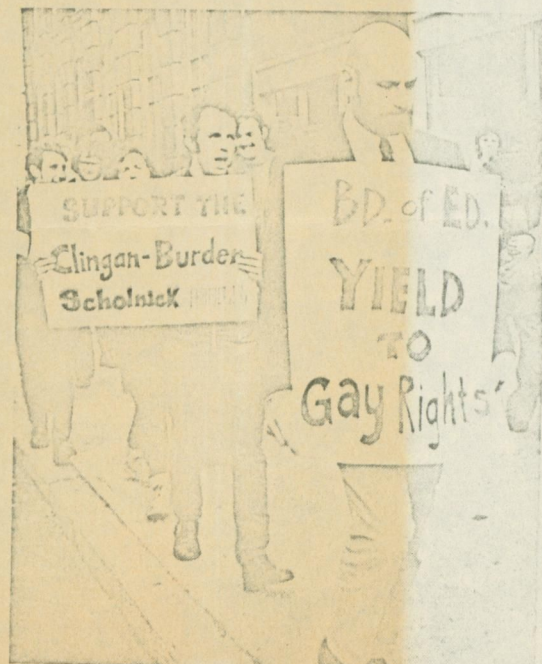
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o Newsweek, February 26, 1973

Farenthold: Uncharted course

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Too Much: In the end, they heeded her call. Nobody walked out. The Republican caucus resolved to support a broad range of women's issues subscribed to by most of those present. The critical issue of organizational structure was hashed out, and the caucus raised enough money in Houston, said staff member Doris Meissner, to wipe out nearly all of an \$18,000 debt that included salaries owed to staffers since last April. Finally, the convention drafted as its new chairwoman Texas's own Frances (Sissy) Farenthold, former state representative, 1972 gubernatorial candidate and an also-ran for the Democratic Vice Presidential nomination. "I've lived through too much not to take up this challenge," she said. "In 1968 I had to run in Texas as a non-woman. In 1972, I could run just as a person ... It's an uncharted course."

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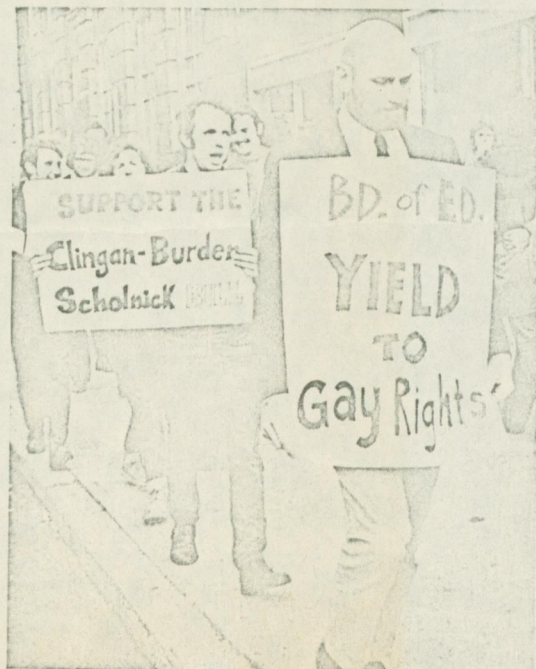
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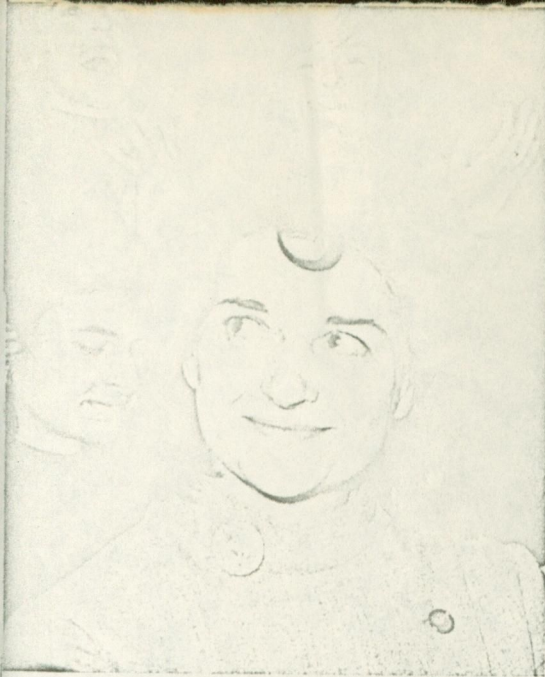
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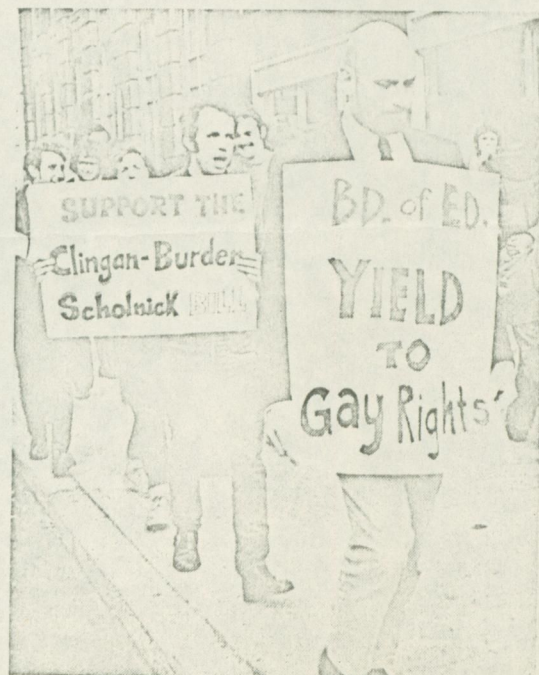
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Gay picket line: The pols are watching

NEW YORK MATTACHINE-- 59 CHRISTOPHER STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 691-1066

PRESS RELEASE

JULY 12, 1972

GAYS PROTEST CONVENTION LIES

The following telegram was sent today at 10:15 A.M. to Senator George McGovern and his staff, and all major media reporters in Miami Beach:

On behalf of 20 million homosexuals in America we insist on an apology for the spurious comments made by delegate Kathleen Wilch in the rebuttal by the Democratic National Convention Platform Committee of the homosexual minority plank presentation.

Miss Wilch's statements were a tissue of lies and an attempt to refute them was even made on the floor by the New Jersey delegation. Although the chair denied that delegation an opportunity to speak, the obvious falsehoods and almost slanderous indictments of homosexuals everywhere were clearly heard and exposed as such on national television.

The allegations made by this representative of the Democratic Party were unfair, misleading, and severely damaging to the efforts toward civil rights and anti-discrimination legislation sought by all homosexuals.

There is no room in America or American politics for expedient lies, especially when those lies denigrate the life style of millions of your potential electors. Homosexuals are not child molesters, prostitutes, pimps, panderers or violators of the Mann Act any more than heterosexuals are, despite the lies Miss Wilch told the American people and the Democratic Convention.

Despite our disappointment at the Convention's decision, however outrageously wrongly they were advised, to deny our bid for dignity and human rights, we are determined to act with pride and decency. We trust you will do the same and repudiate the ill-advised words Miss Wilch spoke to the nation you seek to lead.

/s/ Don Goodwin
Pres: New York Mattachine
Spokesperson New York State
Coalition of Gay Organizations

/s/ Rich Wandel
Pres: New York GAA
Gay Activists Alliance

Copies have been sent to:

Yvonne Burke - Co-chairmen of the Platform Committee
Richard Neustadt -
Chairpeople of N. Y. State Delegation
Mayor John Lindsay
Lawrence O'Brien

For further information contact: John Hood 242-6297



The Tenderloin 'queens' demonstrated outside the Hotel Hyland on Taylor street

Drag Queens Protest Tenderloin Housing Pinch

By Maitland Zane

A dozen drag queens and their sympathizers picketed a Tenderloin hotel yesterday to protest alleged police harassment and "housing discrimination" directed at "TVs and TS's" — transvestites and transsexuals.

The mid-day demonstration at the Hotel Hyland at 111 Taylor street was led by a controversial gay activist, the Rev. Ray Broshears.

An influx of old people displaced by the Yerba Buena Center project is "drying up" the housing supply for men who affect women's clothes or who are having sex change operations, he said.

RESULT

The result is that many drag queens have either left the shabby district or are bunched up in the few — perhaps — Tenderloin flea-bagst hat still accept them.

One demonstrator, Michele, said he was one of 33 drag queens evicted from the Hyland after the lease changed hands on August 1. Michele is about 60 years old and a welfare recipient. He says he now lives in another Tenderloin hotel.

"Mike, the guy who took over the lease, told us to clean the hotel up," said Workmen.

A large number of "undesirables" were asked to leave last month "because of their actions and their talk and the persons they came in with," he said.

Most of the residents are

now "seniors" and welfare cases.

TRICKS

Workman claimed he wasn't prejudiced against homosexuals, but did object to drag queens bringing home tricks (customers) at all hours of the day and night.

"I would allow them in the hotel as long as they would behave themselves," he said.

The hotel's new leaseholder, Mike, declined to give his last name.

"I would never allow any prostitution in the building, either homosexual whores or

female whores," he said. "At the suggestion of the policemen on the beat I asked that certain people be removed from the premises. These were people with records as long as your arm. They would bring drunks in, beat them up and take their money."

Broshears, runs a counseling service for drag queens called Helping Hands, a couple of blocks away at 225 Turk street.

He estimated there are at least 210 transsexuals and 400 transvestites living in the Tenderloin.

THE CHICAGO STRATEGY SESSION FOR THE 1972 ELECTIONS

Armitage Avenue Methodist Church, February 12-13, 1972

OFFICIAL MINUTES

Prepared by Steve Hoglund, Washington, D.C., Secretary, and Tom Koberstein, Minneapolis, Secretary.

[NOTE: Comments should be addressed to Steve Hoglund, 1703 Harvard, NW, Washington DC.]

A. SUMMARY -- INCLUDING RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

More than 100 delegates, representing gay organizations from coast to coast, met in Chicago, February 12-13, to discuss ways in which gays could publicize gay demands, and bring about some of them, through the electoral campaigns of 1972.

The Chicago Strategy Session was co-hosted by the Chicago and New York Gay Activist Alliances. During the Session, several rebellions took place against the alleged East Coast axis, which was said to control the Session.

The Chicago conclave was arranged at the behest of groups meeting in Madison, Wisconsin a few months earlier, who felt the time was ripe for a *national* political meeting of gay activists. At the Madison convention, delegates urged that local disputes between and among gay organizations be subordinated to *unified* political activity against the common oppressor: straight society.

Chicago was selected as the site for the first national gay political convention, due to its centrality for interested gay groups.

At the Chicago Strategy Session, delegates passed a motion introduced by Guy Charles (representing the Los Angeles ADVOCATE) that designated San Diego and Washington, D.C., as "regional headquarters" to plan further strategy for coordinating a "gay presence" at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions, respectively.

[It was subsequently arranged that a committee of the Washington, D.C. GAA, designated the "National Coalition of Gay Organizations (NCGO) -- Democratic Convention," would host a national planning convention May 5-7 in Washington, D.C., to which all interested gay groups were invited.]

On Saturday, the delegates at the Chicago Strategy Session passed the following resolutions:

(1) "At this time, the National Gay Conference on Election Strategy shall endorse no candidate for political office."

(2) "That a telegram be sent to Lawrence O'Brien, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee," which read as follows: 'A nationally-representative conference of Gay organizations, meeting in Chicago, February 12, 1972, voted to inform the Democratic National Committee that every State delegation to the Democratic Convention in Miami Beach which does not contain declared homosexuals accounting for 10% of the membership of each State's delegation will be challenged under all applicable laws, regulations and procedures including a challenge in the Federal courts.'

(3) "This Convention supports a demonstration at the Republican National Convention in San Diego and effective installation of delegates at the Democratic Convention in Miami."

(4) "That the Chicago Strategy Session endorse legal measures against the States of New York, Illinois, California, Ohio, Minnesota, and Texas, if the delegations of these States to the Democratic Convention do not contain at least 10% gay representation."

(5) That the Chicago Conference support street actions by gay people in Miami."

(6) "That all substantive motions of the conference be transmitted to the media tonight."

(6) "That the conference devote . . . 30 minutes to discussion of guidelines for possible future endorsement [of candidates]; that at the end of the discussion, the matter of developing guidelines, in the form of basic gay issues, be referred to a committee."

(7) "That a telegram be sent to all political parties holding national conventions in 1972, as follows: 'A nationally-representative conference of gay organizations, meeting in Chicago on February 12, 1972, voted to inform both the Democratic and Republican national parties that every delegation to the national conventions to be held in Miami and San Diego which does not contain within its membership at least 10% declared homosexuals (the percentage of the general populace everywhere) will be challenged under all applicable laws, regulations, and procedures, and will take the matter to the courts if necessary.'"

The six business resolutions adopted on Sunday are listed at the top of page 11, below.

On Sunday, the delegates to the Chicago Strategy Session adopted the following "Gay Rights Platform in the United States," by a recorded vote of 38 to 7, with one abstention.*

"Millions of Gay women and men in this country are subject to severe social, economic, psychological and legal oppression because of their sexual orientation.

"We affirm the right of all persons to define and express their own sensibility, emotionality and sexuality, and to choose their own lifestyle, so long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others. We pledge an end to all social, economic and legal oppression of Gay women and men.

"We demand the repeal of all laws forbidding voluntary sex acts involving consenting persons in private.

"Laws prohibiting loitering for the purpose of soliciting for a homosexual liaison are vague and unconstitutional. Nevertheless, they are frequently used as the legal cover for police entrapment of Gay women and men.

We demand the repeal of all laws prohibiting solicitation for a voluntary private sexual liaison.

"Prejudice and myth have led to widespread discrimination against Gay women and men.

We demand the enactment of civil rights legislation which will prohibit discrimination because of sexual orientation in employment, housing, public accommodations and public services.

DEMANDS:

FEDERAL:

1. Amend all federal Civil Rights Acts, other legislation and government controls, to prohibit discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodations and public services, because of one's sexual orientation.
2. Issuance by the President of an executive order prohibiting the military from excluding for reasons of their sexual orientation persons who of their own volition desire entrance into the Armed Services; and from issuing less-than-fully-honorable discharges for homosexuality; and the upgrading to fully honorable all such discharges previously issued, with retroactive benefits.
3. Issuance by the President of an executive order prohibiting discrimination in the federal civil service because of sexual orientation, in hiring and promoting; and prohibiting discriminations against Gay women and men.
4. Elimination of tax inequities victimizing single persons and same-sex couples.
5. Elimination of bars to the entry, immigration and naturalization of Gay aliens.
6. Federal encouragement and support for sex education courses, prepared and taught by qualified Gay women and men, presenting homosexuality as a valid, healthy preference, lifestyle, and as a viable alternative to heterosexuality.
7. Appropriate executive orders, regulations and legislation banning the compiling, maintenance and dissemination of information on an individual's sexual preferences, behavior, and social and political activities for dossiers and data banks, and ordering the immediate destruction of all such data.
8. Federal funding of aid projects for social and political activities of Gay women's and men's organizations designed to alleviate the problems encountered by Gay women and men which are engendered by an oppressive sexist society.
9. Immediate release of all Gay women and men now incarcerated in detention centers, prisons and mental institutions because of sexual offense charges relating to victimless crimes or sexual orientation; and that adequate compensation be made for the physical and mental duress encountered and that all existing records relating to the incarceration be immediately expunged.

STATE:

1. All federal legislation and programs enumerated in Demands 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9, above should be implemented at the State level wherever applicable.
2. Repeal of all State laws prohibiting private sexual acts involving consenting persons equalization for homosexuals and heterosexuals for enforcement of all laws.
3. Repeal of all State laws prohibiting solicitation for private voluntary sexual liaisons and laws prohibiting prostitution, both male and female.
4. Enactment of legislation prohibiting insurance companies and other State-regulated enterprises from discriminating because of sexual orientation, in insurance and in bonding or any other prerequisite to employment or control of one's personal demesne.
5. Enactment of legislation so that child custody, adoption, visitation rights, foster parenthood, and the like shall not be denied because of sexual orientation or marital status.
6. Repeal of all laws prohibiting transvestism and cross dressing.
7. Repeal of all laws governing the age of sexual consent.
8. Repeal of all legislative provisions that restrict the sex or number of persons entering into a marriage unit and extension of legal benefits of marriage to all persons who cohabit, regardless of sex or numbers."

* Debate on the provisions, plus a minority statement, are contained in later pages.

B. THE SATURDAY SESSION: AGENDA & DISCUSSION

The following agenda, suggested by the Chicago Gay Alliance and the New York Gay Activists Alliance, shaped the discussions on Saturday:

- 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon: 1. Discussion and adoption of Agenda.
2. Confronting candidates [included address by Dr. Spock].
3. Legislation: Local: State: Federal.
4. Endorsing Candidates
- 12:30 - 1:30 p.m.: LUNCH [Actual time to be determined by the delegates]
- 1:30 - 6:30 p.m.: 1. National Conventions:
A. Which Gay groups will coordinate which conventions.
B. Platforms:
(1) Hearings: State and Federal.
(2) Minority roles.
C. Getting delegates elected and/or appointed:
(1) Running Gay candidates.
(2) Party rules in different States.
D. Protests and Demonstrations.
2. Media coverage and usage.
3. Open forum for any and all topics.

John Abney (Chicago Gay Alliance) opened the morning session at 9:30 a.m., by calling for election of a temporary chairman and secretary for the morning. John Abney was nominated as temporary chairman and elected by unanimous vote. Steven Heglund (Washington, D.C.) volunteered to serve as secretary and was appointed by Abney with the acclamation of the delegates.

The Agenda was adopted by unanimous vote, with two additions (in brackets, above).

Welcoming delegates to the Strategy Session, Abney spoke of the genesis for the meeting: at an earlier conference in Madison, Wisconsin, delegates deemed the time ripe for a national political meeting of gay activists, that local disputes between and within gay groups had to be subordinated for the sake of unified action against the common oppressor, straight society. Chicago was selected as the site of a planning conference for late winter, and Washington was envisaged as the site of a subsequent convention, organized more thoroughly, to be held in mid-spring.

Abney then introduced Rich Wandel (New York Gay Activists Alliance) as co-host of the Strategy Session. Wandel related the efforts of New York GAA to further gay demands during the 1972 political campaigns. A "Questionnaire for Prominent Political Figures" was prepared and presented personally to leading candidates or their Washington staffs. The questionnaire listed 13 gay demands and called for a 'yes' or 'no' indication of support for each one. [A copy of the questionnaire is incorporated, en toto, at the end of these minutes.]

Only two active Presidential candidates, Eugene McCarthy and Benjamin Spock, responded immediately, supporting all 13 demands, Wandel said. Shirley Chisholm, who had previously gone on record in support of gay rights, seemed to stall in returning the completed questionnaire. Yet she had responded to a question in Buffalo, put forward by a member of the Mattachine Society there, with extended strong remarks in support of gay civil rights. [At the close of the afternoon session, delegates heard a tape recording of those remarks, and applauded wildly. But a New York delegate pointed out that Chisholm's campaign manager, a member of the New York City Council, had been among those who voted down Intro 475, a bill designed to accord rights in housing and employment to gays in New York City.]

Paul McCloskey's response had been, on the whole, satisfactory -- except for 'no' answers to questions 10 and 13, relating to the Armed Forces. George McGovern, Wandel continued, initially supported Intro 475, through a statement made by one of his campaign aides. The questionnaire was returned with "good answers," Wandel noted, but signed not by the Senator, but by an aide in a covering letter. Subsequently, aides retracted support for the gay demands in the questionnaire: in a "bland statement," they pointed out that McGovern's name did not appear on the questionnaire. More recently, however, at a New York State Convention, called to endorse the McGovern candidacy, gay pressure did elicit a strong statement from his headquarters on behalf of gay civil rights.

Hubert Humphrey and Vance Hartke have so far refused to respond to any questions about gay rights, Wandel indicated. Edmund Muskie likewise refuses any comments whatever. Privately, Muskie seems utterly bewildered by gay political activity, Wandel surmised, and remains sheltered by his aides from witnessing it.

Wandel spoke at length about John Lindsay, citing the varied methods by which the New York GAA has sought to force Lindsay's support. [NOTE: These methods were later discussed as guidelines for other gay groups seeking to publicize and promote gay rights during 1972.] At first, Wandel said, Lindsay had refused to answer any questions about gay issues. So GAA 'zapped' the mayor several times, embarrassing him publicly. Noteworthy among these 'zaps' was a \$100-a-plate testimonial dinner, to which 6000 persons had been invited, here a half dozen gays disrupted the occasion with loud questions of the mayor. A few wealthy 'closet' gays had purchased the tickets for the GAA 'zappers,' and Lindsay couldn't afford the repercussions of having them bodily removed.

Finally, Lindsay did come out in support of Intro 475, but did nothing to gain its

passage in the City Council. Yet after its defeat, Lindsay issued a Personnel Directive ostensibly granting gays the same employment rights which Intro 475 sought. But Lindsay's Directive spoke of "private (sexual) acts," Wandel pointed out, making it a hollow victory for gays; no gay would be fired if he stayed "in the closet," and kept his employer unaware of his sexual activity. The Directive seemed designed to split the gay community, Wandel charged, and in response GAA "lapped" Radio City Music Hall, staged a sit-in in the mayor's office -- at one point chaining a woman member to Lindsay's desk. The effect of all these "aps" has been to make Lindsay run scared in his quest for the Democratic Presidential nomination, for he can count on similar gay pressure in all parts of the country he visits, concluded Wandel.

Even candidates noted for their liberalism came out in support of gay rights *only* after constant, consistent pressure had been applied by gays and gay groups, Wandel noted.

Chairman John Abney opened discussion to item 2 on the morning Agenda: "Confronting Candidates." He called for general discussion on the question, How can gays most effectively force candidates to speak out, on every occasion, on the topic of gay civil rights?

Morty Manford (Gay People at Columbia University) suggested that gays be informed of positions of ALL the candidates, in order to select the best tactic to use when a particular candidate comes to a local gathering. The disparity between a candidate's general position on civil rights and his view of gay demands should be highlighted.

Rich Wandel suggested that the delegates speak on ideology and tactics.

Jim Stavely (GAA Long Island) announced that his group would seek to embarrass by any means candidates who appeared on Long Island.

Howard Langhorn (GAA Philadelphia) asked whether more than a mere picket line could have effectively zapped Humphrey when he came to Philadelphia to campaign.

Mike McPherson (GAA New York) replied by citing some of the ways GAA had zapped Lindsay, emphasizing in particular its presence at the fund-raising dinner.

Rich Wandel elaborated: "The gay movement has the potential for being the most insidious of all [movements]; we're everywhere." Even "closet" gays can help, he suggested, citing the six \$100-a-plate tickets provided GAA members for zapping the Lindsay dinner. On another occasion, gays infiltrated a journalism class visiting the mayor; gays also used a Queen's College Rally group as a "cover" for rushing into Lindsay's office. Use sexist attitudes against candidates who hold them, Wandel concluded, citing the awkwardness of removing the woman GAA member who was locked to the mayor's desk.

Morty Manford pointed out that gay activism has a two-fold effect: on the candidate and on other gays. Gays who are isolated may come to see, for the first time, the oppression under which they exist on a day to day basis. "The media must be exploited to the fullest extent," he urged, stating that the impact on gays was every bit as important as the effect on political candidates.

Steve Bell (GLF, San Diego) asked what contact had been made with GOP candidates.

Wandel replied that Nixon was too isolated by his staff to be reached; the one Agnew "zap" planned, at a Boy Scout gathering, did not come off.

Ernie Reaugh (Tri-Cities GLF) urged the delegates to focus on *one* objective: making gay rights a *visible issue* -- whether that meant electing or defeating a particular candidate was not as important. Taking part in the political process, Reaugh argued, is just a tactic used to raise and publicize gay rights. Accordingly, confrontations and "zaps," favored by GAA New York, are but examples of a wide range of possible means to the objective. Let all candidates "see a gay presence" wherever they campaign, he urged.

Rich Wandel agreed, pointing out that it was still important to prod Spock and McCarthy with questions, even though both gave full support when questioned on gay rights. Repeat the questions again and again and again, Wandel urged.

A delegate from the Gay People's Union in Milwaukee suggested that underground papers, by and large sympathetic to gay rights, be used in heightening awareness of gay demands. Another delegate complained that the straight media are unresponsive to gay issues and questioned all delegates about what to do.

Guy Charles (L.A. Advocate) urged the groups in attendance to involve more and more gays in their activities. The "hard core" simply isn't enough to carry off the type of plans being formulated. He faulted the straight press for the lack of information about the ongoing gay struggle, citing the biased coverage of the Intro 475 hearings: the press reported only the negative arguments raised. Cultivate "media relations," Charles urged, and work personally with people in the media. Help straights destroy their stereotypes, realize the justice of gay demands. Keep pressuring the media to be responsive to news of gay activities.

Mike McPherson seconded the preceding statements and gave an example of changing attitudes caused by gay pressure. A woman member of the New York City Council initially refused to support gay rights, claiming it wasn't her problem -- yet she had no trouble dealing with Black rights. After constant intimidation and harassment from gays, she reversed her position: now she'll put her name on anything dealing with gay rights. McPherson closed with a plea that delegates focus on their *local* councils.

Ron Alheim (Tri-Cities GAA) urged gays to get to as many campaign speaking engagements as possible, where candidates are appearing, and to insist on press coverage.

Morty Manford urged unanimity in purpose by all gays in the election campaigns.

Mike Christianson (Michigan State GLF) referred to a local ordinance now coming to a vote in the Lansing City Council. "Anyone in a community can introduce an ordinance," he said, and urged such a tactic to make more *concrete* the issue of gay civil rights. Don't merely ask abstract questions of the straight community, he stressed, be *specific*!

At this point, Chairman Abney interrupted general debate so that Dr. Benjamin Spock, Presidential Candidate of the People's Party, could address the delegates. [Spock's address had been delayed in hopes that reporters would show up. None did.] Abney called on Morris Kight (L.A. Gay Services Center), veteran gay activist, to formally introduce Dr. Spock. Kight sketched Spock's life of "consciousness-raising": founding the "permissive society," in his role as a noted pediatrician; leading the literati into the streets in opposition to the Vietnam war and the Draft; taking up the banner of the People's Party.

Dr. Spock's address focussed on the growth and goals of the People's Party, incorporating an appeal to the delegates, and gays in general, to join the Party for the sake of furthering gay civil rights.

Spock freely admitted that his Party currently seeks not electoral success but grass roots growth, by calling attention to specific issues in areas of the US where there are no local parties under the umbrella of the national People's Party. He spelled out the five planks of the Party: (1) Vietnam; (2) Sexism (here gay rights were included); (3) Economic; (4) Health; 5) Education. He devoted the bulk of his speech to the third plank, calling for the break-up of industries into neighborhood units controlled by consumers and workers, as well as managers, and for production only of those goods and services that directly contribute to "human welfare."

John Abney asked how the focus on *neighborhood* controls could benefit gays, normally scattered throughout metropolitan areas. Spock had no idea -- other than urging gays to join the Party and help write its programs.

Jeff Orth (GAA Columbus) asked what kinds of discussion gays would find within the Party if they joined. Will gays have to fight the group first? Spock replied that Party attitudes vary from locale to locale, conceding he couldn't answer the question.

A New Jersey gay delegate asked whether there was a People's Party in his State, and one of Spock's campaign aides replied that one was in formation. Another question about the ballot status of the Party brought the answer that it would vary from State to State: so far, the Party had succeeded in getting onto ballots in five States.

Jim Fourrat (Purple Star Tribe, New York) re-focussed Jeff Orth's earlier question: Given the conditions gays face, is it right for them to work for a party whose basic stance is heterosexual? Perhaps gays and straights are currently on two different "class" levels and should stay apart politically. Besides, Fourrat continued, straights would be in the majority in any neighborhood where gays might participate.

Spock replied that he couldn't guarantee anything but offered two reasons why gays could trust the People's Party: (1) The Party believes all people to be equally worthy -- whence the notion of neighborhood organization, on a face-to-face basis. (2) The Gay Caucus is the largest single group within the Party.

Chuck Avery, Executive Secretary of the People's Party, and hitherto active as a gay in gay movements, added that many gays aren't correctly informed about the People's Party. He said he left gay liberation for radical politics in order to bring more gays "out of the closet." "I'm beginning to wonder," Avery mused aloud, "whether there are any straight people in the Party."

Asked about specific points of the Party platform, Spock referred to the leaflets which had been available to the delegates. [For copies of programs and positions, write: People's Party, 1404 M. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.]

Steve Hoglund (Washington, D.C.) asked Spock if his reference to "sexual inclination" signalled a weakening in his support for gay rights. Would Spock endorse "sexual expression" by gays as well? Spock said he would.

Morty Manford, claiming it would be destructive to the gay community if Nixon were re-elected, demanded reassurance from Spock that his Party would not, in effect, deprive the Democratic Party of a winning campaign.

Spock replied that the policies of the two major parties were virtually the same. "If you're always voting for the lesser evil," he warned, "you'll always be voting for evil. Join us in trying to change the direction of the country before it's too late."

Would Spock raise gay issues all over the country, regardless of the audience? Asked Ron Alheim. Spock said yes. Ray West (Detroit Gay Activists) demanded more specific statements of support, and Chuck Lamont (Chicago Gay Alliance) asked if Spock would support legislation affirming gay lifestyles, not merely negating anti-gay practices. Lamont proposed that Spock support gays as foster parents, for example.

Spock hesitated, searching for an answer. He admitted that he had never considered the issue of gay foster parents and that his training had left him with the belief that a child needed a father AND a mother. In principle, he could support a gay as a foster parent, though he would want to have a long personal talk with any gay who sought to adopt a child.

Dr. Spock sat down to prolonged standing applause, following a brief period of heckling from Jim Fourrat of the Purple Star Tribe, who accused Spock of being a "politician" like all the others in fielding questions from the delegates. After unanimously voting to continue discussions and postpone the lunch break, delegates defeated by a vote of 36-27 a motion by Jim Fourrat to discuss Spock's address and how it had affected gay delegates.

Chairman Abney opened Agenda Item 3 for debate: "Legislation: Local; State; Federal."

Delegates spent much time arguing on the best way of discussing the topic. On a voice vote the assembly voted down dispensing with parliamentary procedure in favor of an unstructured rap session. Robert's Rules would still apply. After further argument, the assembly passed a motion that there would be no exclusion of tape recordings or reporters; one delegate had urged such restrictions in order to preserve free speech and gay unity. The Chair was asked whether the intent of the Agenda item was to discuss changing laws, broadly speaking, or to focus on specific items of legislation. One delegate urged that each level of government be considered separately, since gays faced different problems at each one. A motion that *methodology* be considered in the discussion of legislation at each level passed by a voice vote.

Morris Kight objected. Methodology was not useful for the L.A. contingent, since local legislation was pre-empted by State laws and since there were important *administrative procedures*, not laws, which discriminated against gays.

Mike McPherson said that GAA Long Island was opposed to *federal* legislation on gay issues: it takes too long and wastes time. He conceded, though, that since 1972 is an election year, now might be the only time for action on such laws. He suggested that Sen. Kennedy's staff was looking into the feasibility of co-sponsoring federal legislation.

Kight replied that there is no body of national law dealing with homosexuality as an offense. National anti-gay discrimination is contained in administrative procedures, such as the military codes, which require Congressional resolutions to amend.

Frank Kameny (Washington, D.C.) suggested how gays press for legislative changes. Let legislators have time to study a particular issue, but set a time limit for them and keep after them to meet it. If nothing happens, THEN use confrontation tactics. But it's time gays stop begging for crumbs from straight politicians. "It's time to get out and get ourselves elected," he demanded. Let's raise our own legislation. Meanwhile, when legislative hearings are held, he concluded, make damn sure you get to them.

A woman delegate (Student Homophile League, Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey) agreed with Kameny in principle, but argued that gays still don't have the calibre of people to make successful politicians. Thus, gay tactics must, for now, center on *presentation* of legislation, plus the necessary related tactics to see that the legislation is passed.

Jim Fourrat agreed with Kameny but argued for a two-pronged approach: (1) violence and (2) voting strength, noting that the second is possible only where gays cluster together in large urban ghettos.

Ernie Beaugh, replying to Kight's last remark, argued that gays can press for other things before going after the sodomy laws.

Paul Kuntzler (GAA, Washington DC) pointed out that the 7-5 committee vote against Intro 475 in New York should be counted a success not a failure: we lay the groundwork, just by getting five votes on our side, and the measure will eventually pass. Just look at the slow progress on civil rights legislation for Blacks, he suggested.

Alan Vick (Gay People's Alliance, GWU, Washington, DC) argued that as few as 5 to 10 gays acting together could be more effective in publicizing gay oppression than several dozen unorganized gays.

Ray West told how Detroit Gay Activists had found that Michigan's sodomy law hadn't been used against gays for over 30 years, except in cases of forcible rape. Accordingly, DGA is attacking the accosting and soliciting laws in Michigan, for they are "the knife in the throat of our community." Confront the officials, West said, and they won't enforce those laws.

Rich Wandel insisted that more follow through and preparation are needed, regardless of which law, or level, is attacked. Even if most anti-gay laws are State statutes, it's a good idea to press for an amendment in the federal civil rights law specifying removal of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. This helps "to put the cards on the line" in terms of specific gay demands. Keep two points in mind, Wandel continued: (1) you can't judge a politician by what he says, but only by what he does; (2) what they have done for gays is not important, but what they are GOING to do. To give approval on the basis of past action alone is to get enmeshed in the very system that is smothering us, Wandel warned. We must act "semi-system" even as we use the system to get what gays demand.

Leslie Brown (GPA, Washington DC) refocused the legislative issue to include the problems foreigners face with immigration laws: homosexuals can be barred from citizenship or, after gaining citizenship they can be deported.

Ron Alheim reminded the delegates that seven bills were being introduced in New York and said he would send copies to delegates to help them frame similar bills in their areas. The mere introduction of such bills poses a *threat* to legislators, who finally recognize "There are gays in the boonies, too." Get gays to zap legislators from rural areas as well as urban ones, Alheim urged, and have gays send individual hand-written letters.

At 1:05 p.m. time had run out for discussion of Agenda item 3, and the Chair adjourned the meeting until after lunch. Most delegates gathered at the "5th Peg Club".

At 2:05 Chairman Abney reconvened the Session and asked the consent of the group to pass the Chair to Rich Wandel, by pre-arrangement. A majority voted against this proposal, and three names were added to Wandel's for the post. On the first ballot, the results were: Rich Wandel = 33; Annette Palaez = 13; Ray West = 6; Diane Gosier = 10. On the run-off ballot, Annette Palaez was elected, with 38 votes to Wandel's 33.

Chairman Palaez opened the nominations for secretary. Ron Alheim nominated Steve Hoglund, who was re-elected by acclamation.

Running far behind schedule, the Session turned to Item 4: "Endorsing Candidates."

For several minutes, there was animated debate on the agenda item itself, with some delegates objecting to any discussion of endorsement at all, and others questioning whether the item meant Presidential candidates only, or all candidates for political office. Several delegates indicated that the constitutions of their groups precluded them from endorsing anyone at the Session, for the groups themselves could not endorse. Chuck Avery argued that the delegates were here as a group and their votes would not commit their groups to any endorsement given. One delegate suggested that a subsequent gay conference might be the proper place to endorse a Presidential candidate. Ron Alheim noted that the conference had not heard enough about all the candidates anyway and demanded that information on candidates' programs be collected and circulated among gay groups. Morty Manford objected to the whole discussion: "I don't know what a candidate would do in the future with our endorsement. They owe us," he argued. "We don't owe them."

On a motion by Philip Rodriguez (GAA Philadelphia), the delegates adopted Resolution 1 [See above, page 1.] There was only one negative vote.

While avoiding endorsement, delegates sought to record their desire to confront political candidates with gay issues. After some discussion, a motion was passed: "That the conference devote the following 30 minutes to discussion of guidelines for possible future endorsement of candidates that at the end of the discussion, the matter of developing guidelines, in the form of basic gay issues, be referred to a committee."

Dahl Maryland (Gay Political Activists, Minneapolis) objected that the Strategy Session had so far failed to do anything of substance.

Frank Kameny rose to provide some background on gay support of candidates in the past. Some West Coast groups changed their constitutions so that they could endorse and actively aid a candidate's campaign. When those candidates lost, however, gay groups who had made endorsements were looked on as adversaries, causing severe problems in the aftermath. Still, it was true that gay activism had elected some sympathetic candidates, such as the current sheriff of San Francisco.

Rita Sanchez (City College, Chicago) spoke of her triple oppression -- female, gay and Black -- and urged the delegates to distrust political parties and take to the streets.

Steve Bell (GLF, San Diego) countered the accepted notion of how endorsements worked. After the San Diego GLF endorsed a local candidate, the other candidates came asking GLF for support. Endorsement does not necessarily restrict gay options; it may, in fact, increase them and spread the message of gay demands.

Ernie Reaugh urged again that all discussion be related to the number one issue at the Session, which he termed "to make gay rights a viable issue in this election year."

Paul Kuntzler, a decade-long gay activist, spoke of the "incredible progress" made in Washington DC. "To him, the biggest issue was the changing composition of the Supreme Court. To say that there was no difference between a GOP and a Democratic candidate is to say "that there is no difference between a Harold Carswell and a Ramsey Clark."

Rich Wandel suggested that the question of endorsement turns on what gay goals are. Endorsing someone makes you totalling part of the political game. Would the result be simply to replace one of *them* with one of *us*, he asked, and still be at the bottom of the pile? Rather, gays stand for changing the structure of the society, so there is no bottom.

Ron Alheim pointed out how the McGovern Rules had opened up the Democratic Party to possibilities for gay impact. GLF Tri-Cities would be striving to get gay delegates to local New York conventions, and to press the ACLU to take to court any delegations that did not include a gay contingent of 10%, based on Kinsey estimates of the total gay population.

At Alheim's urging, the delegates adopted Resolution 2 [See above, page 1].

Alheim further spoke to the issue of nominating a gay candidate for President. The Democratic Convention Rules provide that a person may be placed in nomination provided that he has the written support of at least 50 delegates. "Why not raise the issue [of gay rights] in every boob tube in the world?" Alheim proposed. "The world will note that gay people are human beings." Nominating procedures, plus time for seconding speeches, would provide sustained media coverage for 30 minutes or more, livening a boring convention.

Jim Fourrat agreed that it was important to run gay delegates but argued that the most important issue was raising gay consciousness in individuals, so that when they vote, they will vote "gay." Move at all levels, he advised, but realize that the most important level, in reaching hidden gays, is the streets. Make them see the oppression.

Fourrat asserted further, to a hushed assembly, that Rehnquist, while in the Justice Department, had supervised the preparation of a report dealing with sexual minorities. It was to be used by the Administration, at some later date, to unite the silent (straight) majority against gays, used as "symbols of the decadence we are in."

Bob Jasper (GLF San Diego) objected that the delegates had been side-tracking the entire question of endorsement.

Ray West rose to say that DGA had come up with several criteria for judging candidates, including: (1) Would they repeal anti-gay legislation? Which laws? (2) Would they accord full civil rights to gays? What positive laws would they support to do so? (3) Would they carry the issue of gay civil rights throughout their campaigns and speak to it every time they made a speech?

John Abney, noting that he had been in the movement for 3 years, deplored the signs of ego-ripping and moral superiority which he saw in evidence among the delegates. Instead of hearing arguments that one way is right and the others wrong, he called upon delegates to realize that they could do all kinds of things to promote gay rights.

It was now 3:35, and the discussion, as pre-arranged, came to an end.

For twenty five minutes, the Chair accepted nominations from the Floor for the committee charged with drawing up the "Guidelines for Endorsement." Lengthy hassles over the number, and composition, of the committee were finally resolved by a declaration of the Chair, upon protest by several delegates, that the committee be entirely voluntary. Members of a Black gay liberation group in Chicago, not registered at the Session, felt they were being discriminated against by not being allowed to join in the discussions. By acclamation, the delegates deemed them members in full standing and welcomed their participation on the Floor, and in committee.

[Secretary's note: The informal committee met Saturday evening, at the headquarters of the Chicago Gay Alliance, and drafted proposals for what became the "Gay Rights Platform in the United States," as adopted by the Session on Sunday. See page 2, above.]

At 4 p.m., the Chairperson opened up discussion on Item 1 of the afternoon's Agenda: "National Conventions." Delegates accepted Frank Kameny's suggestion that each of the four sections under the heading be accorded 20 minutes of discussion.

"A. Which Gay Groups will coordinate which conventions."

Steve Bell (GLF, San Diego) asked that delegates wishing to come to San Diego let his group know so that all arrangements, including accommodations, could be arranged.

Morris Kight spoke in favor of a gay confrontation of the Nixon Administration, in San Diego. He suggested two measures: (1) a convention of minorities called to adopt a freedom platform, if only to embarrass the GOP delegates (2) "Expose '72" in San Diego, with gay lifers active in raising consciousness levels.

Jim Fourrat protested. "We should not be there [in San Diego] as part of any coalition. We cannot allow ourselves to be used again."

Shifting the discussion to the Democratic Convention, Ron Alheim repeated his proposal that delegations be taken to court if they are not representative of gays in their States. At the least he urged, let there be a minority report at the Convention, so that gays may be heard in protest of their lack of representation.

Presently the Chairperson, under severe pressure from unfamiliar parliamentary procedures and suffering from an illness, relinquished the Chair to Rich Wandel.

Wandel spoke of the gay groups that had begun to spring up in the Miami area, but warned that none was prepared to organize a gay presence at the Democratic Convention. He suggested that groups in Washington DC supervise the planning for the Convention, as they were the nearest, best-organized to do so.

Morris Kight spoke of general campaign issues -- Vietnam, the draft, the economy, etc. -- and asked how gays should relate to the causes of *other* movements.

In reply, a Minneapolis delegate cited his one-issue group, Gay House, and urged that the conference devote itself to just the issue of gay rights.

People's Party delegate Charles Avery objected, pointing out from his experience in Los Angeles that separatism and one-issue campaigns had lost for gay candidates, as well as for candidates sympathetic to gays. No single-issue group should dictate that issue to the whole country. Sensing discontent among the delegates, Avery continued by noting that the head of the Miami People's Party is gay, that the Party is applying for permits for all groups, including gays, to demonstrate at the Democratic Convention.

Steve Bell noted the cooperation among gay groups in San Diego, aimed at a "convention coalition" in time for the GOP Convention.

Guy Charles noted that many organizations are one-issue groups, like it or not. Miami is our most viable opportunity, perhaps the only one, to be on the inside and be seen. Street support is fine, but Miami, unlike other cities, does not give gays the same chance to be visible and effective in demonstrations. Charles asked that the group enact a resolution supporting his idea, and the delegates passed Resolution 3 [See page 1, above], with but one negative vote recorded.

"B. Platforms: (1) Hearings: State and Federal; (2) Minority Roles."

Frank Kameny pointed out that Washington DC gay groups were already working on items B and C of the afternoon agenda. He reported on plans to run gay candidates in 3 of Washington's eight wards, through the Reform Democrats opposed to the Fauntroy slate. [Secretary's note: The results in Washington: 3 delegates, 2 alternates elected to run on the Reform Democratic slate for the Democratic Convention.]

Chuck Avery suggested that the platform most acceptable to gays was that of the People's Party, noting the specific planks directed toward gayrights.

Jim McPherson urged delegates to find out how platform resolutions were developed in the Democratic Party in their States. He spoke of hearings in New York State and of the efforts of gays in New York to determine platform wording, including gay demands.

Ron Alheim announced the meeting of the New Democratic Coalition in New York City February 26, bringing together delegates from nine East Coast States, plus D.C.

After some heated discussion, delegates voted 38-26 to instruct the committee already authorized to develop guidelines for endorsement to draft a gay rights platform as well. Phil Shay (Kansas City Gay Alliance) urged the committee not to forget other oppressed groups when drafting the platform.

After brief discussion, delegates passed Resolution 4 [See above, page 1]. Item 1C. was now under discussion: "Getting delegates elected and/or appointed."

Delegates then discussed wording of a telegram which would be sent to all parties holding national conventions in 1972. Resolution 7 was duly passed [See above, page 1].

The Session then turned to Item D: "Protests and Demonstrations," and it was generally agreed that sufficient discussion had already been given to this topic.

Chuck Avery announced that the national Chairman of the People's Party had formally invited a gay delegation to the People's Party Convention, which would probably be held in Miami after the close of the Democratic Convention. Such a delegation, he cautioned, would have to be representative of gays, by region, all across the US.

David Spéro (Madison, Wisconsin) moved that the Session support street actions by gay people in Miami (Resolution 5), and it was done unanimously. During discussion on the motion, attention was focussed on the practicality of getting onto the isthmus and the beach. One delegate pointed out that McCarthy and his supporters might walk out of the Democratic Convention to set up a fourth party, and that gays should ready their own tactics to respond appropriately to such a move.

Delegates next discussed strategy for a gay demonstration in each convention city. What provisions would be made for arrests, bail bonds, etc.? San Diego GLF offered to provide parade and other permits wherever possible. But the main point brought out was that gays would have to be "taking care of ourselves" in both cities.

"2. Media Coverage and Usage."

Guy Charles spoke to the next agenda topic, insisting that it was up to every part of the country to help get things set up. Discussing the need to bombard the media with press releases on important gay gatherings and activities, Charles urged gays to make their doings sound bigger and more important than they may seem to you. Resolution 6 was introduced and passed by acclamation.

Barbara Beckman (Radicalesbians, Chicago) indicated that she had been assigned the task of getting media coverage of the Chicago Strategy Session. All the wire services had been contacted, she said, apologizing for the fact that no reporters had appeared. She traced the absence to the continuing blackout on gay news since Gay Pride Week last summer.

Dave Christian (Gay House, Minneapolis) suggested that delegates zap the wire services for not covering the conference.

Guy Charles proposed instead that all delegates make as many separate calls that night to papers and wire services, saying, "There was a gay convention in Chicago today. Where were you?"

Barbara Beckman reminded the delegates that the media had also been invited to a press conference on Sunday, at 1 p.m., and expressed the hope that the calls Charles suggested might bring media coverage of part of the Session tomorrow. She then repeated her earlier demand that delegates hear the tape of Shirley Chisholm's remarks on gay liberation, and the Chair acceded to her request.

After brief announcements, the Saturday Session came to a close. It was agreed that the Sunday Session would continue the work of the convention, addressing itself primarily to the platform items that were to be developed by the committee that evening.

C. THE SUNDAY SESSION AGENDA & DISCUSSION

As originally planned, the Agenda for Sunday was to be: "1. National Coordination. 2. A second gay Conference? 3. Summary." Most of the time, however, was spent in amending and adopting the "Gay Rights Platform" [Page 2, above].

Under the Chairmanship of Ernie Reaugh (GLF, Tri-Cities), delegates selected Tom Koberstein (Minneapolis) to record the minutes as secretary, in the absence of Steve Hoglund, who had to depart earlier for Washington.

In debate on the Gay Rights Platform, the following major changes were made in the committee's version:

- "Gay" was to be printed with a capital 'g' wherever it appeared.
- "gay people" was replaced with "Gay women and men."
- the verb "demand" replaced "urge" wherever used.

In debate on the Federal Demands, the following major changes were made in the committee's version:

- "Recommendations" was stricken and "Demands" substituted.
- In Demand #1, "public services" as added.
- Objections, by a large minority of delegates, to inclusion of Demand #2, relating to the Armed Forces, while deflected by a majority of delegates, led to preparation of a minority report [see below].
- In Demand #6, the phrase "on par with heterosexuality" was stricken and replaced with "and as a viable alternative to heterosexuality."
- In Demand #6, delegates insisted that sex education courses on homosexuality be "prepared and taught by qualified Gay women and men," by adding this phrase.
- John Abney requested to go on record as being in opposition to Demand #6 because of this insertion.

In Demand #7, "social and political activities" was added, as was the phrase, "and ordering the immediate destruction of all such existing data."

In Demand #8, "homosexual organizations" was replaced with the phrase, "aid projects for social and political activities of Gay women's and men's organizations." Also, the phrase "the problems encountered by homosexuals" was changed to read: "the problems encountered by Gay women and men which are engendered by an oppressive sexist society."

In debate on the State Demands, the following major changes were made in the committee's version:

- In Demand #5, "foster parenthood" was added.
- In Demand #6, "cross-dressing" was added.

Although adopted by a vote of 32-24, without amendment, Demand #7 proved so controversial that the following delegates requested their votes to go on record. FOR: Rich Wandel and Mike McPherson (GAA, New York). AGAINST: Jim Fouratt (Purple Star Tribe), University of Chicago Gay Liberation, Bob Johnson (GAA, Washington DC), Bill Leubrie (GLF,ampaign-Urbana), GLF, San Diego, Alan Henderson (Mattachine Society, New York City), PRO Toledo, Gay Community Alliance (Kansas City, MO), H.O.P.E. Chicago, John Abney (Chicago Gay Alliance), Michael Bergeron (Advocates of Gay Action, Chicago), Notre Dame and South Bend Gay Alliance, Allan Vick (Gay People's Alliance, Washington DC), Michael Christianson (GLM, Michigan State University), Greg Payne (Gay House, Minneapolis), Joseph Raphael (Gay Liberator Collective, Chicago), John E. Gilum (Chicago Gay Catholics). ABSTAINING: Frank Kameny (Mattachine Society, Washington, DC).

Voting on the entire Gay Rights Platform and Demands, as amended, the delegates passed it with 33 for, 7 opposed, and 1 abstaining.

An "Anti-Imperialist Plank" introduced by Morris Kight brought charges that it was out of place at this conference. In rebuttal, it was argued that issues of Blackness, femaleness, and imperialist oppression are germane to gay issues in that they too deal with the lack of the right to self-determination. A motion to accept the plank as part of the Gay Rights Platform was defeated (19 in favor, 22 opposed, 3 abstaining), but delegates unanimously voted to accept it as a minority report, on a motion by John Abney.

"That the United States has been quietly seized by highly paid agents engaging in protection and serving the enormous, almost untaxed profits of a vast burgeoning industrial complex. That this complex is supported by a world-wide military complex engaged in the business of guaranteeing these almost untaxed profits. That the domestic police establishment is in the business of protecting those interests and not protecting and serving the people. And that we as Gay peoples within this country oppose this since it affects us very directly as Gay people.

"That in the pursuit of our world-wide imperialist stance, the United States has installed dictators in numbers of countries around the world who seek self-determination for their own peoples. That we have established industrial control in many countries of the world almost making those countries colonies of the United States. That the United States has over 2000 military bases around the world designed to protect those dictatorships and those governments not respecting the rights of self-determination of their own people. We as Gay peoples within this country oppose this since it affects us as Gays too.

"Moreover, our government in Washington has become totally unresponsive to the needs of all peoples. It has assisted in the institutionalism of racism. It has assisted in the institution of institutionalized sexism. It has by its benign neglect of the very old, assisted in the institutionalism of ageism. It has because of its encouragement of inadequate education, assisted in the exploitation of the very young. Because our government has reversed the priorities from the people, it has, among other things, caused this country to have one of the worst health care programs in the world. Because the government is protecting and serving the interests of the imperial class, the poverty class in the country is increasing -- not decreasing. And that we as Gay people, since we have a stake in all those things, oppose these policies.

"It would not be enough just to oppose, we should in all cases offer a positive response; and our positive responses are as follows:

"That the United States be immediately ordered to dismantle its world-wide military-industrial-police complex. And that all police agencies operating outside the United States in the behalf of that industrial complex be ordered to come home.

"Beyond that that power in the United States be once and for all returned to the people and to the person and to do that, we would say that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights must once again be activated, and made viable, and have life breathed into them. And to do that we would suggest that the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives demand immediately a Constitutional recovery of their power as the elected representatives of the people.

"We also demand that all personal power be returned to the people for the self-determination of their own destinies and their own existences."

Alan Vick, John Maybauer, and Marty Manfred requested that their position as abstainers on this plank be included in the minutes.

Guy Charles requested that a telegram sent to the Strategy Session by John Lindsay be included in the minutes.

"THE BATTLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR HOMOSEXUALS IS AN IMPORTANT ONE AND DESERVES OPEN RECOGNITION AND FULL DISCUSSION BY ALL AMERICANS. I HAVE VIGOROUSLY SUPPORTED THE GAY COMMUNITY OF NEW YORK CITY IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO BRING ABOUT PASSAGE OF ANTI-DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION THROUGH THE CITY COUNCIL. IN NEW YORK WE HAVE ISSUED AN INTERI PERSONNEL ORDER TO INSURE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY TO HOMOSEXUALS. I WILL CONTINUE TO ACTIVELY SUPPORT THE GOALS OF THIS NATION'S GAY COMMUNITY, BOTH IN NEW YORK CITY, AND IN MY CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY. JOHN V LINDSAY.

Proceeding to the Agenda topics, delegates adopted the following motions dealing with Item 1, "National Coordination."

1. "That two regional headquarters be established, and that the sites for these headquarters be San Diego and Washington D.C., the latter, until such time as an organization can be created in Miami."
2. "That a steering committee of regional representatives, comprising one female and one male from each of five regions, be created to report to their respective headquarters, either San Diego or Washington DC. The five regions shall be: East, Southeast, Midwest, Southwest, and Northwest."
3. "That each gay organization contribute \$50.00, of which \$25.00 will be sent to San Diego and \$25.00 to Washington/Miami for the creation of a treasury in each of these cities, to be used for the security of Gay women and Gay men who will be attending the conventions." [As interpreted, this includes the cost of all convention preparations.]
4. "That each delegate attending this conference receive a list of all Gay organizations and a complete transcript of all motions and proceedings of the Strategy Session."
5. "That each Gay organization in the United States receive a copy of these proceedings."

Turning to the second item on the Sunday agenda, "A Second Gay Conference?" delegates passed a sixth, and final, resolution:

6. "That we hold another National Gay Conference in Minneapolis on Labor Day Weekend 1972, after nominations of all party candidates have been made."

With passage of this resolution, the Strategy Session was adjourned.

[Note: the scheduled press conference was cancelled for lack of media representatives. The sole outside reporter was a correspondent for Women's Year Daily.]

== Respectfull drafted in final form and submitted by Steve Hoglund ==

* * * * *

APPENDIX: "Questionnaire for Prominent Political Figures" prepared by Gay Activists Alliance of New York:

"This questionnaire is being sent to you and to other prominent political figures by the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) of New York City. Would you please fill it out in its entirety and return it in the enclosed, stamped and self-addressed envelope. . . If you have questions concerning the questionnaire or wish to discuss any topic with us, please feel free to telephone . . .

Although GAA does not endorse any individual, political party, or candidate, we do inform the gay community of positions taken by them (or their refusal to take a position) on issues of interest to gay people. Your response or lack of response to this Questionnaire will receive maximum publicity in both the gay and straight press.

1. Will you support a fair employment law which prohibits private or public employers from all discrimination against employees or prospective employees solely on the basis of sexual orientation?

2. Will you support legislation ending income-tax discrimination against single persons?

3. Will you support the revocation of the tax-exempt status of institutions which defame homosexuals and lobby against them merely because of their sexual orientation?

4. Will you work to end governmental collection of data on the sexual preferences of individuals?

5. Will you support legislation to end the discrimination against homosexuals practiced by insurance and bonding companies?

6. Will you support legislation banning discrimination in housing on the basis of sexual orientation?

7. Will you support legislation banning discrimination in public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation?

8. Will you personally attend the next Gay Liberation Day March (held the last Sunday in June in New York City)?

IF YOU WERE ELECTED PRESIDENT . . .

9. Would you immediately issue an executive order banning employment discrimination in the Federal government on the basis of sexual orientation?

10. Would you immediately issue an executive order banning discrimination in the Armed Forces on the basis of sexual orientation?

11. Would you immediately issue an executive order banning discrimination against aliens by the Immigration & Naturalization Service on the basis of sexual orientation?

12. Would you support an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968 banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation?

13. Would you issue an executive order restoring full veteran's rights to all individuals previously given less than honorable discharges for consensual sodomy?

"Additional remarks... [Signature authorizes GAA NYC to release contents...]"



CANADA

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER • CABINET DU PREMIER MINISTRE

O t t a w a,
K1A 0A2,
March 30, 1972.

Mr. J.C. Sullivan,
Toronto 18, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

Please accept this acknowledgement for your letter of March 16 concerning homosexuality in Canada.

You are mistaken in your assumption that the changes affected in the Criminal Code with regard to this were extended to 'legalize' it for any age. The fact is, people who are practicing homosexuals are not considered to be criminals, and therefore should not have to be affected by the Criminal Code. What these changes did was to differentiate between the concepts of sin and crime.

You might be interested in reading the following remarks made by the Prime Minister on morality:

My whole position on morality versus criminality is that the criminal law should not be used to express the morality of any one group, religious or pressure groups, or others. The criminal law is not made to punish sin, it is meant to prevent or deter from anti-social conduct.

Your own comments on this subject have been carefully noted, Mr. Sullivan. I hope this helps to allay some of the anxiety you feel.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Alan Lawless,
Correspondence Secretary.

Dear People,

On January 13th, 1971 the University of Toronto Homophile Association wrote to Otto Lang the former Minister of Manpower and Immigration protesting certain clauses in the Immigration Act and requesting their exclusion from this Act.

All we received in return was the usual "thank you for your interest but..." A similar demand was included in the brief presented to the Federal Government this summer by all the Homophile Associations across Canada. This time there was no reply forthcoming. Now we believe the revised Immigration Act is to be presented to Parliament this spring with no changes in the pertinent clauses. Homosexuals are still to be denied Immigration or deported for an unpopular minority characteristic. Apparently these clauses are being retained due to the paucity of petitions requesting a change. Thus it is imperative that all of us write our Members of Parliament and Brice Mackasey, the new Minister of Manpower and Immigration bringing these articles to their attention and demanding that they, as our representatives, call for repeal of these clauses. At the moment one American in Canada is under order of deportation for merely being honest and acknowledging his homosexuality to an Immigration Officer. If the rights of one individual are protected, it is a step forward in the protection of the rights of all in Canada.

We call upon all those who support full civil rights for homosexuals to help in this campaign. Any prejudicial law structure is a threat to the rights of Canadian citizens, regardless of sexuality. By denying Immigration to homosexuals our government is in fact saying homosexuals are not worthy to be Canadian citizens.

Protest this insult to all Canadian homosexuals. Write your M.P.'s Brice Mackasey and Prime Minister Trudeau now. A just society must also be just for homosexuals.

University of Toronto Homophile Association

University of Toronto Homophile Association,
12 Hart House Circle,
SAC Office,
University of Toronto,
Toronto 5, Ontario

Abridged copy of a letter to the Hon. John Turner, Minister of Justice
and to the Hon. Q'tto Minister of Manpower and Immigration.
Dated: January 13th, 1971.

Dear Sir,

I have been informed that the government is in the process of making certain revisions to the Immigration Act (R.S.C. 1952, c. 325). I would like to suggest certain essential revisions in this act which specifically refer to homosexuality.

Paragraphs (e) and (f) of Section 5 of that act read:

No person... shall be admitted to Canada if he is a member of the following classes of persons:

(e) prostitutes, homosexuals or persons living on the avails of prostitution or homosexuality, pimps, or persons coming to Canada for these or any other immoral purposes.

(f) persons who attempt to bring into Canada or procure prostitutes or other persons for the purpose of prostitution, homosexual or other immoral purposes.

Subsection (I) of Section 19 reads:

Where he has knowledge thereof, the clerk or secretary of a municipality in Canada in which a person hereinafter described resides or may be, an immigration officer or constable or other peace officer shall send a written report to the Director, with full particulars concerning (e) any person, other than a Canadian citizen or a person with Canadian domicile, who

(i) practises, assists in the practice of or shares in the avails of prostitution or homosexuality. ...

The moral philosophy behind the relevant paragraphs of the Act places homosexuals on the same level as prostitutes and pimps. The writers of the Act obviously felt that the homosexual is by nature an immoral person and should thus be excluded from immigration to Canada. This has been a prejudice widespread in this society, deriving from traditional Judaeo-Christian morality, but in the end has as much rational basis as a racist's quoting the bible against miscegenation. There is much literature on the positive morality of homosexuality (I especially refer you to Chapters XI and XIII of Wainwright Churchill's Homosexual Behaviour Among Males. Hawthorn Books, 1967), however I shall merely cite one statement from

Towards a Quaker View of Sex (Friends Home Service Committee, 1964).

Surely it is the nature and quality of a relationship that matters; one must not judge it by its outward appearance but by its inner worth. Homosexual affection can be as selfless as heterosexual affection, and therefore we cannot see that it is in some way morally worse... Further we see no reason why the physical nature of a sexual act should be the criterion by which the question whether or not it is moral should be decided. An act which expresses true affection between two individuals and gives pleasure to them both, does not seem to us to be sinful by reason alone of the fact that it is homosexual. The same criteria seem to us to apply whether a relationship is heterosexual or homosexual.

Homosexuals are not per se immoral persons, merely an unpopular minority group and to maintain this exclusive immigration policy would be as moral and logical as to exclude interracial couples due to prejudice in Canada against miscegenation.

Above all, however, it is the Criminal Law Amendment Act that denies legal support to these clauses of the Immigration Act. By removing the criminal penalty for gross indecency and buggery between consenting adults in private that state has denied its role in determining the morality of private sexual acts. Just as the Department of Justice has retreated past the bedroom door, so must the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Persons engaging in homosexual sex are no longer automatically breaking Canadian statutes, so the continued policy of exclusion of homosexual immigrants from Canada cannot be supported on legal grounds.

I feel it is imperative that all references to homosexuals and homosexualism be removed from the Immigration Act. This does not mean that the Immigration Department is denied the tools to exclude male homosexual prostitutes or pimps living on the avails of male homosexual prostitution. While I recognize that due to the strange anomalies of Canadian law, a prostitute can only be a female, the phrase "prostitution or other immoral purposes" can refer to either male or female prostitutes. No reference to homosexualism is necessary to cover such an instance.

It is necessary that homosexual immigrants be granted equal rights with all others coming to Canada, something even homosexual Canadians have been denied too long. There is no reason for the continued exclusion of a minority group which includes many of Canada's most valued citizens. It is for these reasons that the following motion was passed by the members of the University of Toronto Homophile Association.

The University of Toronto Homophile Association calls upon the Government of Canada to amend the Immigration Act so as to omit all references to homosexuals or homosexuality and, through its agents, to determine the suitability of an immigrant's application regardless of sexuality.

I hope that the present government which began the legal changes needed to grant the homosexual equal rights in Canada will institute the above amendments to the Immigration Act. I would appreciate your comments concerning these proposed changes.

Thanking you in advance for your consideration and hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

Yours truly,

Charles C. Hill, Chairman
University of Toronto Homophile Association

new york **MATTACHINE**

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July 18, 1972

TO OUR BOARD OF ADVISORS:

At about 4:30 AM on July 12, 1972, at the Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach, several minority planks were proposed to the platform. The planks at issue concerning homosexuals were actually very mild and only a beginning step in the correction of injustices that have been heaped on us for generations.

Nevertheless, twenty-one year old Mrs. Kathy Wilch went into a tirade of lies about how this would give homosexuals a license to molest children and even to violate the Mann "White Slavery" Act.

Mattachine and others were so incensed about this testimony that telegrams of protest were sent to Senator McGovern and his staff--with copies to most of the major newscasters. A copy of this telegram is enclosed.

As you know, the planks were turned down. Though this might have been politically expedient, it does not justify the slanderous lies put on the air by Mrs. Wilch. We urge all of the members of our Board of Advisors to write or telegraph any Democrats of influence whom you may know and protest this slander from Mrs. Wilch.

Sincerely yours,
Mattachine, Inc.

BY: Don Goodwin, Pres.

P.S. In case you haven't heard, Mattachine has moved to 59 Christopher Street. New stationery with the up-to-date Board of Advisors will be ready shortly.



Serving all needs of all homosexuals