

come out!

25c

a liberation forum for the gay community



love each other love
ourselves love each
other love ourselves

**LESBIANS
UNITE!**

photos E. Bedoz

GAY LIBERATION FORUM

VOL 1 NO 7 NEW YORK DEC-JAN 1970 35c OUTSIDE NYC

Vol 1, #7, front page

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LIST OF
GAY AND WOMEN'S
PERIODICALS

Ain't I A Woman
Publications Collective
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Iowa City, Iowa 52240

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Cambridge, Mass 02138

Come Out!
509 E. 5th St.
New York, N.Y. 10009

Detroit N Liberator
Box 631-A
Detroit, Michigan 48203

Chicago Newsletter
2650 N. Orchard
Chicago, Ill.

Gay Sunshine
c/o Box 4089
Berkley, Calif. 94704

Great Speckled Bird
Box 54495
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

The Griffin
c/o Kalos
P.O. Box 522
Hartford, Conn. 06101

Ann Arbor GLF
c/o Jim Toy
722 Arbor St.
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48110

Berkley GLF
c/o Box 4089
Berkley, Calif. 94704

Berkley Gay Women's Lib
2828 Benvue Ave.
Berkley, Calif.

Boston GLF
c/o Stan Tilloston
2036 Mass. Ave.
Cambridge, Mass. 02140

Chicago GLF
746 Beldon St.
Chicago, Ill. 60614

Cornell SHL
24 Willard Straight Hall
Cornell Univ.
Ithaca, N.Y.

Detroit GLF
31 King St.
Detroit, Mich. 48203

Feminists in the Arts
c/o Women's Center
36 W. 22nd St.
New York, N.Y. 10011

WOMEN AND GAY
ORGANIZATIONS

Florida State GLF
607 East Park, Apt 1
Tallahassee, Fla.

Los Angeles GLF
Box 17715
Los Angeles, Calif. 90004

Milwaukee GLF
Box 5457
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53211

New Haven GLF
c/o Hartford's Other Voice
Box 936
Hartford, Conn. 06101

New York GLF
Open Meetings Sunday Night
8 P.M. at 300 9th Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Washington GLF
c/o Washington Peace Center
2111 Florida N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20014

Portland GLF
c/o Karl Simon
2440 S.E. Main St.
Portland, Oregon 97214

Philadelphia GLF
c/o 320 South St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Radicalesbians
c/o Women's Center
36 W. 22nd St.
New York, N.Y. 10011

Radical Feminists
P.O. Box 612
New York, N.Y. 10011

Red Butterfly
Box 3445
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10011

Sacramento GLF
1317 24th St., Apt. 4
Sacramento, Calif. 95819

San Diego GLF
Box 2882
San Diego, Calif. 92112

San Francisco GLF
330 Grove St.
San Francisco, Calif.

San Jose GLF
1771 Ocala Ave.
San Jose, Calif.

Seattle GLF
Helix House 1242
15 Ave. E
Seattle, Washington

Third World Gay Revolution
c/o Alternate University
530 6th Avenue
New York, N.Y.

It Ain't Me Babe
c/o W.L. Offire
2398 Bancroft Avenue
Berkley, Calif. 94704

The Ladder
Box 5025
Washington Station
Reno, Nevada 89503

New York Feminist
2000 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10023

Off Our Backs
2318 Asmead Place
N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Pedestal
c/o Vancouver W.L.
307 W. Broadway
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada

Rat
241 E. 14th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

Up From Under
339 Lafayette Street.
New York, N.Y. 10012

Women's Monthly
c/o Media Women
Box 1592
New York, N.Y. 10001

photo Diana Davies



COME OUT!
SELECTIONS FROM THE
RADICAL GAY LIBERATION
NEWSPAPER

Anthologized by the COME OUT!
collective, this pamphlet con-
tains articles and graphics from
the first four issues. A vibrant
introduction to the concepts
of sexual self-determination and
the freedom of non-stereotyped,
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GAY LIBERATION POSTER
Sisters and brothers on a "let go" mandala. Photograph
by Peter Hujar, mandala by Suzanne BeVier, design by
Su Negrin. Red-orange and purple on soft gold. 17 x 22;
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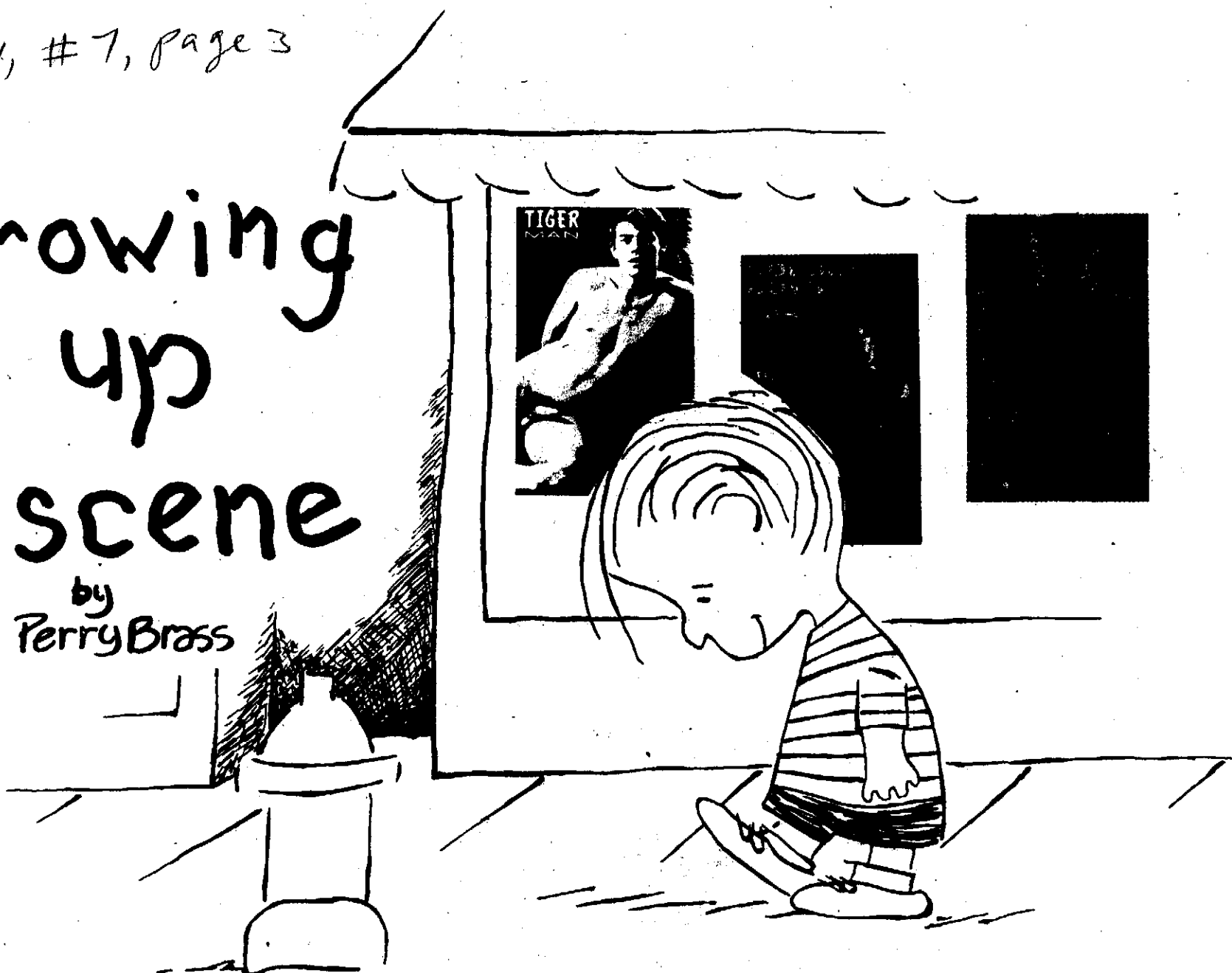
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Vol 1, # 7, Page 3

Growing up up obscene

by
Perry Brass



We all grew up obscene. Obscenity is in the mind of the beholder. I grew up in an obscene society when the old world of the 1950's was meeting the new world of the 1960's. I don't really remember the 1950's. My father died in 1958 when I was eleven. I don't remember Eisenhower. All I remember of the 1950's was at the end of it my father died. But then where I grew up there was no time, except possibly after the War, either World War II or the Civil War, most probably the Civil War. But I grew up in an obscene society in which it was considered normal that blacks sat in the back of the bus and no one was homosexual, at least one I knew because the people I knew were too good to be that way. I was first made aware of homosexuality when I was twelve and one of my classmates called me a queer. I thought that meant anyone who had been ostracized from society and since I already thought my society was worth toilet paper, I readily agreed that I was a queer. I didn't come out until I was sixteen. The man who brought me out told me that homosexuality was like magic and most people were afraid of magic because they couldn't understand any other forces in their lives except hatred.

The first time I saw the Beatles was in 1963 or 1964. I was watching television at the homes of some "friends". We had just had a discussion about "integration". It had been suggested by the son of one of the rabbis in our town that as Southern Jews the best way we could help the "Negro" was being kinder to our

"Schvartzas" (maids). Then when it was time for Ed Sullivan, the high point of Sunday night, some one turned on the box and I saw the Beatles for the first time. One of the boys present, who was in the Air Force and was dating a girl from a good Jewish family, saw them and said they looked like the queers on Market Street in San Francisco. I decided to go to San Francisco as soon as I could. I had to go through one more year of obscenity at the University of Georgia before I could split. The high point of that year was discovering that liberals didn't like "queers" any more than rednecks. I also discovered that if you told people exactly what they wanted to know, they thought you were alright. I rated high enough in my dormitory masculinity tests by calling women "cunts". I played sadistic tricks on the few people I allowed myself to get close to. I got drunk with my best friend so that we could kiss each other and blame it on being too drunk to know what we were doing.

I did not begin to grow up until I left. I lived in downtown Los Angeles for a while and made \$1.40 an hour working for a department store. The job lasted for about five weeks when I was laid off for lack of business. I had to hustle to make money. The men who picked me up used to lecture me on the degradation of hustling. They paid me anyway. They asked me how could I sell my body; I asked them how they could try to buy my youth. I hated them and I knew they got the best of the

bargain. But I felt and have always felt that I was a fugitive from an obscene society and fugitives must make a way, however they can.

When I came to New York, I started working in advertising. I still called women cunts so that the other "men" I worked around would think I liked women. I discovered what real male prostitution was— working for something you hated to keep going in a society that used you and then spit you out when you were no longer useful to it. I got fired a lot. "Gee, you're a sweet guy and we think you're really creative but right now we can't use your type"...in other words, go home and be a starving artist.

I am still growing up, the obscenity still continues. A gallery owner in the Village told me last weekend that he couldn't sell my work ; it was too depressing. I would have to do more positive happy things for the "public". Work that didn't deal with real things—who wants to have Viet Nam in their living room? I told him I'd rather go back to working in advertising first or maybe go back to hustling. Montovani music was playing in the back room of his shop. He was very pleasant. He told me he couldn't afford for his shop to become a museum. Why should it, when he was already?

When I try to sell 'Come Out' on the streets, a lot of people walk past me, titter, and tell me "I've come out a long time ago!", then they walk on. I'm sure this is not the last obscenity I will encounter in my life.

COMMIES FREAK OUT PINKO QUEERS

3.

On Wednesday, October 14, eight GLF'ers (four women and four men) went to the Federal Courthouse to demonstrate in support of Angela Davis, a sister who was being arraigned inside. When they arrived, two picket lines had already been formed — one under the banner of the Communist Party, and one consisting of Third World people.

Since the GLFers were white, they could not march under the Third World banners; nor did they wish to march under the Communist Party banner. One of them, Deni, went home and made a banner out of a sheet and shoe polish. It read, "Gay Liberation Front Women." The GLFers took the banner and then tried to join the line headed by the Communist Party.

A C.P. representative informed them that they couldn't march with that banner. When asked why, he said it wasn't relevant. Deni said it was women supporting a woman, and hadn't the C.P. ever heard of women's liberation. The C.P. representative told her that it wasn't relevant to the working class; and Ronnie,

another gay sister, pointed out that gay people were definitely a part of the working class.

The C.P. representative then fell back on the capitalist principle of ownership and said that it was the Party's picket line, and that GLF members could march under the C.P. banner, but couldn't bring the GLF banner onto the line. Then some straight sisters came over from the line and said, "Are you here to support Angela Davis?" The GLFers shouted, "Yes, Right On!" And the sisters replied, "Come on the line and open your banner."

The Communist Party members then physically blocked the gay people, or tried to, repeating, "You can't get on the line with that banner." And the GLFers asked, "If we get on and open it, what are you going to do? Call the pigs?" The Communists replied, "Yes, if we have to."

The Communists then started yelling, "Gay red-baiting," and the gay brothers shouted, "Gay-baiting." Soon the crowd picked up the chant, "Gay-baiting,

gay-baiting."

Ronnie said, "We know that you're the only group on the left that doesn't recognize gay liberation." The C.P. representative sneered, "We're the only group on the left that has any sense." He then said that he would have to go and speak to someone for permission for the gays to carry their banner, but our brothers and sisters said that they weren't waiting for anyone's permission, and with the support of everyone else on the line, they opened up their banner.

The Communists made a final attempt to control the demonstration — they ran off and got a huge banner reading "Communist Party — U.S.A." and marched right in front of the gays, blocking off the gay banner whenever photographers appeared.

The march went on for two hours. When the chant of "Black, black power to the black, black people" was raised, the GLFers inserted "Gay power" after "Woman power" and the YAWF and other groups picked it up. The Communist Party freaked out every time.



Ellen Broidy

In any specific action there are people with varying shades of political belief. They are held together for the moment by whatever urgency each feels (as an individual) that the action warrants. Hence, what is lacking in most actions is a sense of community or of commitment beyond the immediate instance. While it is true that the primary reason for entering an action (or to use the rhetoric, "putting your body on the line") is increasingly becoming a personal one (whether it be another, Women's Lib, Gay Lib, etc.) the base upon which any action rests must be revolution — a commitment to a total revolutionary ideal, a new way. This kind of commitment would bring about this much needed sense of community — knowing that whatever the action, those with you are of the same mind, that the enemy is common to all, whether in the face of imperialism, racism, or sexism.

Gay Student Liberation of NYU, along with members of the NYU Liberation Front and people from the Gay community, attempted an action at Weinstein Subcellar. Not against this particular concrete steel and glass structure, but against the entire oppressive structure of NYU. Part of the reason we succeeded and part of the reason we failed is closely tied into ideas of revolution and community. The Gay person in this society, thanks to law, religion, medieval morality, etc. has been isolated and set apart from other people. To one so alienated, "community" can be a frightening thing. No Gay is fully programmed to trust. On the other hand, the straight student, radical and revolutionary as she or he might be, still has a way to go in dealing with the

with segments of the population neither could understand (and here I'm speaking not only of the street transvestites, but of the attitudes of certain Black students who insisted that the University remove these moral decadents). Our isolation from each other and our fear of each other worked against us. The inability to convince the great majority of the students at Weinstein to support us (let alone help us) was demoralizing and while standing against the form, with the pigs in a row on University Place, I realized the full extent of our defeat. We had failed to make those students overcome conditioning, fear, and superstition. We had failed to make them see that our struggle is their struggle. And

twofold issue of oppression: "How am I oppressed?" "How do I oppress others?" There is, of course, the element of uncertainty here — it's not too likely that a middle class white will wake up one morning and discover her/himself Black or Puerto Rican or in a Jordanian refugee camp. The same assurances are not possible with regard to homosexuality. And in as much as we are all products, to a certain extent, of our conditioning, this can be menacing as hell. So in an effort to build community we are faced with these two hard facts. Gays fear people (and rightly so), and non-Gays fear Gays. I've never heard of a working unit constructed of parts fearing each other.

As individuals we seem to have identified the enemy. We have yet to locate our allies. We sat in the subcellar of Weinstein in closed little pockets. Gays were told not to over-react when they confronted a straight with his sexist remark. Straights and Gays alike were confronted

the reason is simple enough. We were Gay and Gay is alien, strange and sick — just ask your parents.

But victory or defeat in this situation deserves a different interpretation. Homosexuals are not supposed to be out in the street demanding anything. We are supposed to fear visibility and content ourselves with the benign neglect of the authorities. And whether it's twenty or two hundred Gays in the street, openly proclaiming their homosexuality, openly defying stereotypes, this is victory. This is homosexuals banding together, recognizing a community, being seen and heard and proud.

The occupation, which lasted for seven days, and was abruptly ended by NYU's new policy of TPF first, nothing later, was only a beginning. The entire issue of NYU and community has far-reaching possibilities. Gays need not stand alone on this. The System, represented so beautifully by Hester and his crew, oppresses without regard to race, creed or sex. Our problem is not in defining and seeing the enemy — it's in building a revolutionary community — where no part of that community need ever be questioned on the validity of their struggle. We must raise our consciousness to the point where white middle class straight revolutionaries refrain from building hierarchies of oppression — sitting in judgment about who is more oppressed than who. Sexism is a vicious condition and unlike the other "isms" of oppression, the oppressed too often becomes the oppressor. All revolutionaries stand outside the System — are an affront to this Society. The sooner we learn that we are all Gay, the sooner the battle can really begin.

4

NEWS: Tallahassee GLF

Hiram Ruiz

What is Gay Liberation? It is me telling the truth; it is telling you the truth NOW: homosexuality is the CAPACITY to love someone of the same sex. Forget all the crap about "causes" (no one knows and we don't care), "cures" (there aren't any, thank god), and "problems." The only problem is society's anti-homosexual propaganda and the oppression it has produced. The aim of the Gay Liberation Movement is to fight oppression of homosexuals and all the other minority groups. We will do so by whatever productive means which exist or can be devised.

These are familiar sounding words to most of you. They parallel comments which your communities have been exposed to for some time now. But there are those to whom these words would be a great shock. They can then strike at the very foundation of an entire uptight community.

The above statement marked a breakthrough in the Gay Liberation Movement because it was read not in New York, or Los Angeles or Chicago, but in Tallahassee, Florida on the campus of Florida State University. Gay Liberation Fronts have been spreading across the Northeast, West and Midwest. Now the movement has made an inroad in the Deep South...one which we hope will lead the way for expansion into our neighboring universities: the Universities of Florida, Georgia, Miami, Alabama, Emory University, Jacksonville University, etc.

The reactions to GLF's appearance in Tallahassee have been quick and sharp. On May 5, the Front was recognized by the Student Senate, yet was still banned from using campus facilities by the administration. Ads began to appear in the FSU paper "The Flambeau," announcing the formation of GLF and activities it was sponsoring.

"The undersigned employees of Florida State University are alarmed and dismayed by the appearance in the current issue of the FSU student newspaper an advertisement entitled 'Gay Liberation Is Here.' This advertisement boldly proclaims homosexuality as a way of life that should receive total acceptance and asserts that homosexuals are wonderful people who are a part of a great movement serving the best interests of mankind." (RIGHT ON!)

The above text appeared in a letter to the Flambeau editor soon afterwards. It went on to say that GLF was "dangerous to the welfare of all citizens...The strongest authorized action should be taken against all persons who played a part in the publication (of the ad)."

We had now had a taste of the university's reaction. It was expected, of course, but still a burner. Even the GLF was surprised, though, when circulars appeared on campus which stated "Realizing that any denial of sexual self-determination is an infringement of basic human rights. Tallahassee Women's Liberation and the Malcolm X United Liberation Front extend their full support to Tallahassee Gay Liberation Front."

There was no stopping us now. The campus was covered with GLF posters stating our philosophy and purpose. Meetings grew from 7 people two months ago to 50 people two weeks ago. We were offered spots on the campus radio as well as the underground newspaper "Amazing Grace." News about us filtered down through the state...until, on June 4, it hit the front page of every major newspaper in the state: "END 'GAY FRONT' FSU CHIEF URGED"...."State Representative John W. Jordan Wednesday urged Florida State University President Stanley Marshall to take action against a new campus group called the Gay Liberation Front. The West Palm Beach Republican commended Marshall for denying the group use of university facilities but said he should take quick administrative action against it."

Jordan's statements were lauded by many of the local rednecks — but there were those who saw the move for what it was, irresponsible politicking at the expense of the university.

"After reading the articles carried by most of the state newspapers quoting representative Jordan, urging you to take a stand against recognition of the Gay Liberation Front, I felt compelled...to express my views on student government. We in Student Government feel very strongly about academic freedom, and about the right of members of the university community to express their views...This has been essential to our American form of democracy, and those rights cannot, and should not, be infringed upon."

These statements were included in communications directed at President Marshall and presented to both him and Rep. Jordan. An offer was also made to both men by the Student Government to arrange meetings with GLF members. Neither man accepted the gracious invitation.

Tallahassee is a freaky scene. "The Killing of Sister George" never played here. It's next to impossible to get a copy of even the L.A. Free Press. There are no Gay bars (some of us have never even seen one). Yet, a lot of very together kids have managed to pull off something which has drawn the attention of the whole state. From this uptight little Southern town, 20 miles from the Georgia border, has come the impetus which we hope will soon see the spread of the Gay Lib Movement into the larger areas, most notably Atlanta and Miami.

We have awakened to the truth. We have ended that quest for a false security which has prevented us from facing the real issues. NOW is a new thing. Where once there was frustration, cynicism and oppressor-sucking, NOW there is the power of being what we are with joy, with optimism, and with respect.

GY GAY YOUTH

Gay Youth is a new group consisting of both male and female gays under the age of twenty-one. Our aim is both political and social (with an accent on social). We wish to bring together young Gay people who have so far been out of touch with the gay community and gay life in general, as well as all young gays.

Our recruiting policy will be executed within the gay community, in the press, in the high schools and wherever young people congregate. In conjunction with this policy, for purposes of education, we will speak at any gathering to which we are invited.

Our meetings are held every Sunday night at 7:00 P.M. at Alternate University, 530 6th Avenue, New York City. Phone: 982-9874.

An important part of our general meetings is a consciousness-raising session, in which we discuss our life styles and views on gay life. (Our first session, for example, dealt with our problems in handling our parents, and the question of how frank we ought to be with them.)

Most important of all, our group gives a chance for young gay people to make gay friends their own age, and to meet people in similar situations.

Our first achievements were our dances, held for the entire gay community. We now plan a national Gay Youth newspaper to keep the different chapters of Gay Youth in touch with one another. Chapters of Gay Youth are being formed in:

Detroit — contact Tony Russomanno thru GLF Detroit

Philadelphia — contact Basil O'Brien thru GLF Philadelphia

Tampa — contact Danny Weeks thru GLF Tampa

Ann Arbor — contact Tony Russomanno thru GLF Detroit

If your city is not on this list and you would like more information on GY or would like to start a GY in your city, call (212) 982-9874, or write:

GAY YOUTH
c/o Alternate U.
530 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10011



RED BUTTERFLY

The Red Butterfly recognizes that the United States is fit for many purposes, but it is not fit to live in.

The Red Butterfly is part of the Gay Liberation movement. We are an organization of men and women working towards an end to oppression of homosexuals.

We Stand opposed to imperialism, capitalism, racism, sexism — We advocate a free and democratic socialist society striving for communism.

The Red Butterfly supports the peoples of Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America — all oppressed people everywhere in their battles against imperialism and for socialism.

We support the Black Panthers, Women's Liberation, the liberation movements of Chicanos, Latins, and native Americans, and all oppressed peoples.

We stand prepared to work for and with everyone fighting oppression — everyone engaged in the struggle.

We insist upon an end to the oppression of homosexuals. We demand to be treated as equals, as indeed we ARE equal.

The Red Butterfly is also engaged in research and writing projects. We welcome your interest and participation. For further information, pamphlets, etc. write:

The Red Butterfly
Box 3445
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

We are setting up chapters across the country; if you would like to join or start a chapter in your area, write to us for further information.

5.



photo E Bedoz



S.T.A.R.

STREET TRANSVESTITE ACTION REVOLUTIONARIES



ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW MEN'S CAUCUS IN NYGLF

After much discussion and debate, thirty-nine male members of GLF New York formed a new men's caucus. Each man in the caucus belongs to one of five men's consciousness-raising groups, and each group will be represented at general Sunday night meetings by one of its members, who will speak for the other men of his group.

At the November 22 Sunday night meeting, one of the five representatives read the following statement:

There will be no more Wednesday night men's meetings. It has been the consensus of the last three men's meetings that the basis of men's politics in GLF should evolve from the men getting together in consciousness-raising groups to understand our common oppression as Gay men and to determine how best to deal with it.

Therefore, we have established a men's caucus made up of representatives from consciousness-raising groups, with each group sending one representative to express the consensus of his group. We suggest that any men not now in a consciousness-raising group attend the orientation meeting on Wednesday at 8:00 P.M. at 336 W. 95th Street, Apt. 23.

Men in the caucus feel that a tighter structure based on consciousness-raising groups will alter the balance of power in GLF so that it will become more difficult for the men of GLF to dominate the women and transvestites. From its early beginnings, GLF has been plagued by the mere presence of so many males, especially at Sunday meetings. The caucus, by reducing the number of men who may actively participate in general meetings, should serve to equalize the different constituencies in GLF.

Another chronic GLF problem is ego-tripping by individuals who have a tendency to monopolize general meetings, often in a very disruptive manner. Most of our NYGLF superstars are men. The caucus, by confronting these men and by allowing the group representatives only a short term of office, should be helpful in eliminating this counter-revolutionary form of individualism.

In its attempts at the solution of some of these more obvious practical difficulties of GLF, the new men's caucus can also bring about something much more important and much more beautiful; namely, brotherhood.

Many GLF men believe that we can, through consciousness-raising, grow closer to one another in a new shared understanding of our common oppression as Gay people. By opening ourselves up, letting it all hang out, bleeding inside each other's wounds, by laughing and crying and talking and fucking, we of the men's caucus will GROW into a united front actively working toward the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT NYU

For those interested in furthering the struggle for the NYU Gay Community demands presented during the height of the Weinstein battle last September, the issue is dormant but far from dead. Gay Lib has been subverting the NYU Liberation Front (the major campus activist organization) ever since their consciousness deficiency proved them incapable of effectively backing us at Weinstein. So far we've assisted in bringing out a few members. incited the women into operating autonomously from the men until they get it together about their male chauvinism, and started men's meetings to help the men find an identity that is more than "straight, white, male oppressor." NYULF meetings are every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M.

GSL has been getting together in political consciousness-raising groups in order to study the Gay students' special situation, and they have been following that up with bi-weekly meetings to decide how best to deal with the conclusions reached in the different groups. If interested, you can ask for Tom Mohan at the "Brittany," 55 E. 10th Street, Apt. 1108, (473-2583).

Also, two short announcements:

1. On Sunday, December 6, at 1:00 P.M. there will be a meeting at the above address to decide on the curriculum for Gay Studies which Hester has shown some interest in co-opting for the good name of "academic impartiality." Following this at 3:00 P.M., we will hold our regular NYU Gay Community meeting.

2. Some Gay people may be interested in a Monday, December 7, action against Union Carbide at the Washington Square campus. This demonstration will offer positive alternatives to imperialist corporate recruiters. If interested, attend the regular NYULF meetings or stop by Bob and Ken's at 180 Avenue B, Apt. 4R.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM COME OUT

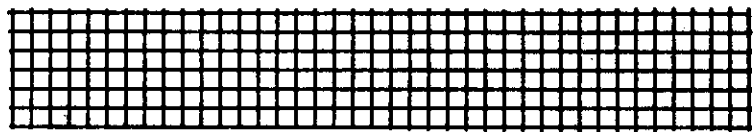
Gay Night at Alternate University marches on!! Alternate University is at 69 W. 14th Street on the northeast corner of 14th and Sixth Ave. Gay Night is our night to use and structure as we want, to relate ourselves to the whole thing of being gay. We will have every Friday night from 6 o'clock until about 11:30 until the present Fall term ends. The last official Gay Night will be Friday Dec. 13, but it may be possible to have between-term Gay Nights for three weeks after that and then it will be up to us and AU to continue. Monetarily speaking, Gay Night is totally free!!

COME OUT! finally has a new post office box. If your service from us has been difficult, please bear with us and remember we are living in hard times. We've had

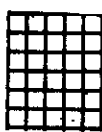
about three changes of address in the past few months but finally the U.S. Males have allowed us to have a box of our own. It is Box 233, Times Square Station, 340 West 42nd Street, New York N.Y. 10036. Please send all contributions, letters, subscription info, kevetches and gripes to COME OUT! at that address.

At this point there is some difference as to who and what is GLF and who and what is COME OUT! COMEOUT! is, as our cover has said for the past several issues, a liberation forum for the gay community. The radical gay community. It is published by a growing, open collective of gay women and men, and we hope it represents the growth of the gay liberation movement which is no longer exclusively represented by the name GLF. COME OUT! originated as an autonomous cell of GLF and some members of the collective will continue to relate to the Gay Liberation Front, so that we are not completely breaking our ties with GLF but are opening ourselves to the whole gay liberation movement in New York and, we hope, throughout the country. COME-OUT! desperately needs people to work on the work collective, to submit articles, to relate to the whole job of putting out a paper with the highest consciousness we can possibly have. We also DESPERATELY need a PLACE OF OUR OWN in which to meet regularly. If you have a good-sized empty room, a basement, a part of a store or any meeting place, please call 581-2639 and let us know. Any information about COME OUT! can be gotten by calling the 95th Street Men's Collective at 864-6487 or Perry Brass at 581-2639. So please come and help us get a paper out.

Our most sincere apology to Steve Rose, a very fine photographer, who was kind enough to allow us the use of pictures in the last issue of COME OUT! (pp. 3,4,5) and whom we editorialized without giving him a chance to be confronted. The collective felt his pictures were male chauvinistic because of an exclusion of women in them. Women did significantly take part in both the 42nd Street March on August 29th and the action in the Village that took place afterwards. For several reasons (some of them purely design and graphic) Steve did not submit photos with women to us, and we were simply not together enough to confront him on this. Then we put an editorial comment in the paper without giving him a chance to speak. We apologize deeply for doing this and hope that we have raised consciousness on many levels (our own certainly, too) about this. The first level being that COME OUT! is a forum and we must not exclude a male photographer from this forum; the second is that women must not be excluded from the experience of our politics any more than we will allow any homosexuals of either sex to be. We hope that this was another incidence of our growing as a collective and in growing there will always be some mistakes made.



COMMUNITY CENTER



DEAR SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

For over a year gay women and men have been working towards getting a gay community center; free space where gay people could come together in a human atmosphere. Having previously been forced to meet each other only on the streets or in exploitative Mafia bars has colored all our relationships. We need a place where we can meet each other as people, not as sex objects. A place to dance in. A place to hold classes in things we'll need to survive and grow: karate, theatre, crafts, discussion groups, history of gay oppression. We need a place to provide services for the gay community: legal, medical, housing, jobs, a gay switchboard. A free food program, day care for children. We need to have space in which to start to understand the things which keep us apart: sexism, racism, loneliness, fear. We need to discover what we can become as fully actualized gay people. We've never had a place to try it before.

BUT THE POSSIBILITY IS HERE!! We've found a large loft in the heart of the Gay ghetto, the West Village. We need money now to help make our dreams come true. Your help will be fantastically appreciated! The future begins in the present.

Please make checks and money orders payable to:

Gay Community Center
P.O. Box 40
Village Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

(Also in the next few weeks we'll be needing donations of paint, furniture, tools and WORKERS!!)

"Paranoia is a state of heightened awareness. Most people are persecuted beyond their wildest delusions. Those who feel at ease are blind. Depression is the result of intolerable alienation and deprivation. Violent anger is a healthy reaction to oppression. Drug abuse is taught to children by their alcoholic, nicotinic, aspirinic, caffeinic elders. Schizophrenia is an experience saner than normality — in this mad world. . . . Power to the people!"

from RADICAL PSYCHIATRY-MANIFESTO
by claude steiner
as quoted in The Radical Therapist
Vol. 1 & 2

6.

FREE MEDICAL CLINIC

St. Mark's Clinic
44 St. Mark's Place
Mon. - Fri., 6 P.M. - 10 P.M. Evenings call: 533 - 9500
Blood tests, treatment of social and other diseases, also emergency care after gay demonstrations.
Anonymity guaranteed.

FREE DENTAL CLINIC

70 St. Mark's Place
(The Green Door at Street Level)
Mon., Weds., Thurs., 6 P.M. - 10 P.M.



130 W. 3rd Street

Vol 1, #7, page 6

five notes on collective living

photo by: Ellen Bedoz

This article was written by the GLF Men's Collective to present our ideas about living together.

I
Experiments with collectives have been very much a part of the Gay Liberation Front in the past year and with good reason. Any group which calls itself radical and revolutionary must concern itself with providing an alternative way for people to live and work together than the competitive, role-oriented model which heterosexual, capitalist society offers us. The chief "virtue" in our society is individualism through which a person continually perceives what is to his or her own advantage at the expense of others and fights for the money and power to attain it. It is the institutionalized individualism in our society which leads to the oppression of every powerless group: homosexuals, women, third world people, etc. A functional alternative to individualism is collectivism.

A Collective is a group of people who organize around a common purpose and agree to function collectively in order to attain it. Collective functioning involves the idea that within the group there are no leaders and all strive to participate as equals. Every idea and feeling that arises in the group is brought forth and shared. No decisions are made until the whole group has talked the matter out long enough until there is an agreement reached among everyone as to what to do. Criticism is an essential part of a collective. It is the responsibility of the group to continually evaluate how it is functioning. Criticism of the group or individuals within that group is never allowed to go on in private but is always brought forth in the presence of everyone. The responsibility of an individual in a collective is to continually strive to see what is to the advantage of the group (which includes herself or himself). When a collective lives together it becomes a much greater challenge because it enters into every area of life.

II.

Our collective has been functioning dynamically for the last three and a half months, and often I ask myself what internal or external bond holds us together. To me the answer is obvious that it's because of consciousness-raising, which is the process of evolving a politics by talking about our oppression as gay men in this sexist, male chauvinist society, and through my entrance into Femmes Against Sexism. This is a consciousness-raising as well as an action group designed to deal with the oppression of femme males as well as with the hypocrisy of the "straight" homosexual man; his need to come off as straight in order to feel less pressured in this sexist society, but thereby suppressing the femme side of his personality. In my nine months in GLF I always noticed that the women were more together than the men. By "together" I mean there was less fighting with one another, and the women did not have the need to compete as the men did, therefore feeling more solidarity with their sisters.

The men who make up the 95th Street collective are mostly femme males. I feel that by virtue of being femme males we have the ability to love one another and have stronger emotional bonds than the "straight" homosexuals. When ideas are in conflict in the collective we do not compete to see whose idea is best, but we collectively search for a solution that meets all of our needs. When a member of the collective is hurt, we are sensitive to the other's personal pain. There is no need to hide our pain as so many men do in order to uphold the masculine image which our society forces on males. We express pain as well as the love and the anger which run rampant in us.

As long as we let the femme in us come through, our collective will continue functioning as a whole, not as one "man" competing against another. I feel our collective has much to offer as an example to men who are still handicapped by a masculine image that is slowly dying, and which women and femme men feel is oppressive to us.

III.

My entrance into the GLF men's living collective was the direct result of five months of consciousness-raising. Through this group experience with my gay brothers, I learned to identify with and trust other gay men. This eased the pain I had felt as an isolated, lonely, "sick" man. Simultaneously, I developed a furious anger against this sexist society which was so oppressive to me as a gay male and as a gay male and as a femme. Thus I became increasingly active in gay liberation.



Collective living was the natural next step. A living collective provided the maximum politically productive use of my energies, but even more important was the opportunity it provided for an alternative life style. We strive to create an environment where we are equal, where no one is oppressed. We give each the love and support we need to accept criticism and change. Each of us have grown and flowered at an amazing rate since entering the collective. I have particularly come out in this environment, expressing ever more freely my feelings and ideas. I have gained immensely in strength and confidence, recognizing always that our strength is in the collective, not the individual, and that our struggle as gay revolutionaries is to smash sexism.

IV.

People who wish to form a communal collective should keep in mind that a full commitment to collective living is a must from the start. At the same time, people must be very patient with themselves and each other. We are all encumbered with all kinds of irrational habits and petty hang-ups. Some of us are shy about sex or nudity or expressing our emotions. Some of us smoke too much, or have developed little rituals about sleeping or eating or going to the bathroom.

Only when we feel a collective or personal need to get rid of these habits can we begin to observe them. And when we do so, we need to be able to trust our sisters and brothers to give us the support and love that makes them unnecessary. For this reason, a collective should never make rules governing individual behavior unless everyone is certain they can support this or that rule. If everyone can support a certain idea, it is probably not really necessary to make it into some kind of law, anyway. What a collective really decides turns out to be a plan of action.

If people carry out the plan and it succeeds, all well and good. If they do not, or if the plan fails, a group self-criticism is in order to find out why people were unable to carry out the plan, or why it maybe wasn't such a good plan in the first place.

Everything a collective decides is always subject to change, just as what an individual decides is always subject to change. But living in a collective situation, we must always maintain the respect for our sisters and brothers that will cause us to change collective decisions together, and not individually.

V.

After observing the collective living situation for two weeks I decided that no other life style could offer so much or could be so challenging, rewarding and valuable. Beginning the third week as a member of this collective I have encountered many frustrations and difficulties. But I am more and more aware of a new strength and positiveness that comes from the support and understanding my collective brothers have offered.

I realize now how difficult it is to make the change from an individualistic consciousness to a collective one. Yet with each obstacle I approach, I find I have not only my own strength (which would not be enough), but the strength and aid of my four collective brothers. And when an obstacle has been surmounted, I have a genuine sense of something important gained through the experience.

The realization that I have made a commitment to these brothers, and that they have made the same commitment to me is something that makes itself apparent in every situation. And that feeling of commitment each day becomes less burdensome, and more of a fulfillment and a pleasure. For anything I have to give up, (and I've given up nothing that was really essential, at all), I gain something more satisfying and meaningful.

There are still a great many things I have to struggle with in making the adaptations necessary in bettering my life style. But the knowledge that I am not alone in my struggle makes the problems seem much less overwhelming. I can't see that I have anything to lose in effecting this change, and hopefully, will be able not only to gain, but to give more fully as a person.

An open letter to my sisters, in the hope that we will not have to wait 5,000 more years for liberation:

The women's movement is being co-opted, exploited, ripped-off, patronized, seduced and raped. Some of us have begun to notice the ways in which our movement is being killed with seeming kindness: others are bewildered at what seems to be the apparent ingratitude of a few sisters at the attention paid to us by various male groups. The following consists of my own impressions and analyses; if you agree with me, please send in your thoughts and information c/o this newspaper.

Subversion from the Right

I trust that the appointment of two women generals by the Nation's Number One Football Fan will convince few women that our demands are being met. Unfortunately some sisters are listening to the mealy-mouthed statements of male politicians, as exemplified in N.O.W.'s recent "Meet-the-Candidates" night at Fordham University (a Roman Catholic institution, dedicated to the maintenance of the Church, the abolition of abortion and the perpetuation of women's suffering for the greater glory of a male god). Entering the penthouse in a "Lavender Menace" T-shirt, I came upon a roomfull of well-dressed men and women, sipping sangria and eating canapes. Twenty of the candidates were male and one was female. She was the candidate of the Liberal Party against Marchi, running on Staten Island — an obvious sacrifice candidate who admitted she was running because she was bored with life as a housewife and schoolteacher, and couldn't find anything better to do on Staten Island.

A male candidate was walking around with a women's liberation button. I ripped it off his fat lapel after he referred to some women activists as "girls." Another male candidate, after purchasing a copy of COME OUT from me, suggested that I get my hair done and go find a nice Jewish boy.

The canapes were about as inspiring as the candidates, but they did fill an otherwise supperless stomach.

I suggested to some women present that working to elect an all-male slate of candidates might not be the best road to women's liberation. "Yes," one replied, "but they're all we've got right now."

All? Don't we have millions of women, hands, feet, minds, teeth, guns, pens, printing presses, cameras, lungs, eyes and ears? We have all of these organs — but we seem to lack heart. Every woman must know intellectually that no male politician will give her liberation — but very few people, male or female, are willing to face the fact that they must do it themselves. It is easier to delude yourself by setting up a Hero, a Liberator, and pretending that this Big Daddy will give you what you need. But liberation is an adult thing, and as such cannot be given to us like a Christmas present. We must take it ourselves, instead of "letting George do it."

Or Georgina. Georgina is the Women's Liberation Media Star. Many of us have watched her ascent into the heavens with an increasing incidence of ulcers and migraine; meanwhile, we struggle to get our groups together, working quietly at the day-care centers, on the mimeo machine, in consciousness-raising groups.

Generally a college-educated, white, well-heeled woman, a woman who knows a great deal about publicity and publishing but who never has the time for consciousness raising, she is prone to make apologetic statements to the male press, prone to waste her time arguing with Hugh Hefner or Dick Cavett when she could be organizing women. "I have a wonderful relationship with my husband," says one, denying her lesbian relationships in *Life* magazine — when only a week before, she brought tears to the eyes of gay women with the stories of her ill-fated lesbian affairs.

Another media star, at the Women's Strike on August 26th, sings a tune of "We want to walk hand in hand with men." "Men are not the enemy — we ourselves are the enemy," says that same woman who gave gay sisters in the movement what was then a derogatory name, "The Lavender Menace"; and who, on a Boston TV show, called us "man-hating harpies". Methinks the lady doth protest too much.

If the truth be known, these stars of the white male media are motivated partly by the desire for fame and fortune, and partly by a desperate need for male approval. They so despise their sisters — and themselves — that they can't imagine a woman's movement so strong it doesn't have to ask Daddy for money, for air time, or a pat on the head. They haven't got time for consciousness raising because they can't imagine learning anything useful from other women's experiences.

These media stars, carefully coiffed and lathered with foundation makeup, claim to represent all women. In actuality, they are ripping off all women. Example: one woman claimed to be organizing prostitutes in the Times Square area. Her only contact with them was to tape some interviews which she plans to use in her next book.

These women will betray us when the cock crows.

Margaret Mead, who wrote some earth-shaking books in the 1930's and has served as an apologist for the establishment ever since, was recently asked if she thought the women's liberation movement will succeed. "If the media doesn't kill it," she replied. I agree with her.

SUBVERSION

Visions of Madison Avenue atrocities float past my eyes: "Be liberated — wear the light new Womanform bra." "Drive a Pantherette — the sexiest, swiftest car for the liberated woman — from General Motors." "Liberate your breath with Listerine — and catch a liberated man."

Don't be surprised if you see Georgina shilling for Proctor & Gamble in the near future. If large numbers of women are going to passively depend on a few stars to liberate them, instead of getting themselves together to do it, the movement will surely fail.

... And from the Left

Subversion from the left is a more serious matter. It will eventually dawn on large numbers of women that they cannot obtain liberation under the present social structure — that free abortion on demand must evolve into free medical care and child-care centers, which must evolve into socialist institutions. Having come to the realization that a considerable degree of socialism is necessary to our liberation, they must turn leftward — down a path strewn with booby traps laid by male-dominated leftist groups and the male-oriented women who front for these groups.

The male-oriented women have long since been alienated from America, but still desperately crave approval from the male left. They must prove that they are as "revolutionary" as men — the underlying assumption being that men are naturally revolutionary, particularly if they are non-white. Many of these women are college-educated; women who found that the only men who would let them use their intellect at all were left-wing males, women who could not relate at all to apolitical sisters because they despised "woman talk". They cannot conceive of the notion that women can liberate themselves, and so they place the fate of women's liberation in the most male-oriented political groups in the country. What touching naivete!

We need hard-working women like these, but they expend their energy on every other cause but women's liberation, heatedly justifying any male chauvinism which appears in any male they consider oppressed. If a working class or non-white male assaults them on the street, it has to be understood that he is just acting out of his oppression. If a working class or middle class white woman is afraid to send her children to be bussed into Harlem, she is "reactionary," "racist," or "stupid." The male-oriented political woman has no patience with the mistakes of her own sex, but she is all full of pity and liberalism for the worst male chauvinist. A few words of kindness, a statement of support of women's liberation in an otherwise male-chauvinist party line is enough to bring tears of gratitude to these women's eyes.

A woman can spend her whole life getting one man's foot off another man's neck and still remain on the bottom of the heap herself.

The right wing says, "If you women want to be liberated, you will have to be drafted."

The left wing says, "If you women want to be liberated, you must pick up the gun and fight alongside of us."

In other words, the only liberation we are being offered is the right to be cannon fodder. The right to fight in men's causes, taking orders from men, in situations which they define and direct. We have seen the posters depicting the woman revolutionary with a baby slung over her back and a gun in her hand. We must bear revolutionary babies. No male revolutionary is ever depicted carrying the baby. It might slow him down in battle. Well, you know we always do two jobs and get paid for half a job, if we get paid at all.

I say if we want to be liberated, we must pick up the gun and turn it on the men who are issuing all these orders, the very men who are telling us that we must follow them, obey them, in order to get our liberation.

Hurrah for the Vanguard Party

The Black Panther Party is the vanguard of the revolution. The Black Panther Party, according to Huey P. Newton, its Supreme Commander, intends to level the earth in order to prepare the way for the flowering of Black Manhood.

The Black Panther Party, a "people's democratic" organization, has never elected any of its officers, nor called a party congress in order to debate policy, nor permitted any deviation by any of its members from the official party line.

The Black Panther Party tells us that our function is to bear revolutionary babies. Their statement at the so-called "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention", where they heavily oppressed those sisters who attended, was that women's liberation is "right on" — that a crash program must be instituted to give women control of the technology which is relevant to our needs, i.e., child care.

Obviously, nothing else is relevant to our needs. After the revolution, the Black Panther Party will presumably retain control over agriculture, housing, medicine (except for gynecology), transportation, the military, manufacturing, education, communications, and some brand-new version of the OGPU.

Any white person who criticizes the Black Panther Party is a racist pig.

Why is the Black Panther Party considered the "vanguard" of the revolution anyway? Why was Huey Newton's patronizing statement on Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation received with such touching gratitude? Why did some gay people walk so tall after receiving Good Huey's seal of approval, as if their needs could not be considered valid, nor they revolutionary, unless the Black Panther Party approved of them?

The Black Panthers are being shot at. This is not, in itself, a sufficient qualification for being a revolutionary. They are attempting to defend themselves with guns. This is again not sufficient. The Plains Indians were in the same position a century ago, and no one calls them revolutionaries. People are not revolutionary because they are under attack or engaged in self-defense; they are revolutionary only if they are consistently fighting for the liberation of all people.

The Black Panthers might even be revolutionary with regard to black males. With regard to other males, their attitude is liberal, and with regard to women, it is indistinguishable from the attitude of the German Nazi Party, which also demanded increased baby production.

It is my conviction that the reason gay males were fairly well treated at the Convention was that they simply asked to be allowed to be gay and to fight alongside the Panthers. Women asked for "that amount of control of all production and industry that would ensure one hundred percent control over our own destinies." In short, women asked for real power, and the Panthers freaked out.

For women to allow their energies to be diverted in support of a group that wishes to restrict them to the old baby-making function is masochistic, guilt-liberal bullshit. Those energies could be expended on projects which would benefit the Women's Movement — day care centers, clinics, a women's liberation school with courses in technology and self defense, a women's publishing company. All these require workers and money. Yet the biggest fund-raising drive I have seen in the women's movement was the drive to raise bail for Joan Bird. The slogans were everywhere — "free our sister, free ourselves." "No one is free until everyone is free." Perhaps these slogans are true in some ultimate sense. They basically appeal to liberals who wish to hide their liberalism behind radical rhetoric.

Our resources are limited. To spend all that energy and time to raise \$100,000 for one woman who is then supposed to "free" us when she steps out of jail in return for our dollar contribution, to spend all that on a woman whose Party affiliation requires unquestioning obedience to the Supreme Commander (male) — is that the way to make

8.

a woman's revolution? The Black Panthers can't be our paid mercenaries — we have to liberate ourselves and fight in our own cause.

Why not admit it, the purpose of that campaign was to prove to the Black Panthers that we in Women's Liberation aren't racists. As if we could ever prove it, because we are racists by definition. And there they've got us — we will always be giving money, proving our worth, sewing shirts for soldiers, until we stop taking this bullshit and organize a revolutionary women's movement.

The Socialist Worker's Party

The Socialist Worker's Party is highly attractive to male-oriented women who have swallowed the line that a socialist revolution will automatically bring about the liberation of women. Any careful examination of the status of women in nations that have already gone socialist will give the lie to this pleasant fantasy. In such nations, women's roles are defined by men, and restrictions on political activity make it much more difficult for women to achieve liberation. When the Party decides that an increase in population is desirable, heroic mother medals are awarded. When women are needed in the factories, heroic working-woman medals are minted. When women are needed to nurse soldiers, as in the USSR after the Second World War, the medical profession is opened to them — at least on the lower levels.

The Socialist Worker's Party, whose membership is 75% male and whose leadership is almost entirely male, has moved with frightening success to infiltrate and take over

Male Orientation in Women's Groups

This subversion and co-optation of the women's movement by the male-oriented left would not be possible if so many women were not male-oriented, and if the left were not so full of liberal tendencies. Women have a difficult time in getting rid of the need for male approval, particularly straight women. They find it almost impossible to put their own needs first, tending to act as if women's needs are trivial. This is compounded by a tendency to see men as simultaneously strong and weak — too strong for poor weak women to successfully fight them, and too weak in their dear little egos for us to criticize them in any way.

Since men are always getting into fights, and since they present every situation as a life-or-death crisis (or carefully engineer such a crisis), for us to take time out to criticize them or demand that they change their behavior is pure sabotage. They haven't got the time for trivial gabble about women's problems. Our job is to relate to their struggles.

For example, women took over a male-dominated newspaper — RAT — and have been running it for eight months. A look at a recent issue (as of this writing) is an example of the continuing inability of some women to relate to their own needs. It is my impression, having worked on RAT, that while many of the women on it are happy working with other women on a paper where they are allowed to run it themselves, they can't get it together enough to publish something which isn't basically a report on the doings of the male movement.

No successful male revolutionary has felt it incumbent upon him to refrain from criticism of other left-wing groups whose principles or actions seemed contrary to the interests of oppressed people.

The fear to criticize other left-wing groups results in wishy-washy, vague politics, and an uncritical acceptance of behavior which can be actually counter-revolutionary. It destroys any attempt to organize a movement around sound ideological principles, permits oppression to flourish within the movement, alienates potential converts, and saps the spirit of women who would otherwise be willing workers for our liberation.

This fear, at least among whites, springs out of guilt politics and a martyr-like attitude, an attitude which says that if you haven't been hit by a billy club or killed a cop or bombed a building, you're not good enough.

If you're white, your ideas are useless, and the best thing you can do with your life is to sacrifice it in the struggle to destroy honky culture and allow the emergence of a black nation. This idea was presented to me and passionately defended by a sister who is now underground. Another white sister informed me that as a white person, I am necessarily a racist (I agree to that definition), and that I am like all other white people including her. We all hate non-white people to the extent that we will all commit any atrocity whatsoever in order to defend our white skin privileges, including torture and genocide. As a working class lesbian one generation removed from Dachau, I find such politics unspeakably funny. I could die laughing.

What is a Revolutionary?

We seem to confuse people who are fighting simply to end their own oppression — regardless of what happens to other people — with genuine revolutionaries.

I believe that the true revolutionary is a person working, in whatever capacity — as a soldier or a distributor of leaflets or a worker in a day care center — to end all forms of oppression. She (he) does not fear criticism from comrades, because she recognizes the limitations of her own experience and wishes to broaden her understanding of all forms of oppression in order to struggle more successfully against them.

She struggles for understanding and pays attention to an idea rather than to the source of the idea. An idea is not correct simply because it issues from the mouth of Mao or Che or any other leader.

A person is not automatically defined as a revolutionary simply because she is poor, female, black, or a member of any other group by the circumstances of her birth. She is

defined by her conduct, by the manner in which she relates to people. If she demonstrates a willingness to liberate her own group while attempting to oppress other groups, or if she judges a person's politics by the circumstances of their birth or occupation, she is simply engaged in a struggle for power for her own faction, not engaged in revolution.

At the present time, almost all males are only too willing to oppress women while they issue a few patronizing statements about women's liberation. They have no standard of humanity — only a standard of manhood, and that standard is the cock and the gun. They show almost no willingness to deal with their own sexism or their own liberalism towards so-called radicals who practice sexism, that is, who oppress women and gay men. Nor are they particularly interested in examining the autocratic structures of their own groups and the ways in which they oppress each other.

It is obviously necessary — has always been necessary — for there to be a strong, separate women's movement whose members are dedicated to struggle for their own liberation and the liberation of all people; women who will band together in strength and not run too quickly to form alliances with oppressive men; women with self-respect who will not be diverted into being female auxiliaries and fund-raising organizations for male power structures.

It is necessary for such a movement to have a principled, coherent ideology, and to cast out of its ranks opportunists who are seeking approval and favors from the Establishment, as well as women who are willing to sell themselves short in order to gain radical credentials with male groups. It is necessary for such a movement to have within it skilled political economists, because the United States is in an economic situation unlike any other nation past or present, and this is not the place for a revolution modeled after those which have occurred in agrarian societies. We have a lot to figure out before we can move intelligently.

Since women have been oppressed longer than any other group in history, men have a very heavy investment in continuing to oppress us. Their very sense of "manhood" is defined by their continuing to oppress us. As a result, such a movement will be attacked viciously from both the right and the left, and attempts at subversion will continue. Our only hope will be a clear understanding of what must be done in order to make a woman's revolution.

We must have control of all the avenues of power in accordance with our numbers — that means 51% control of everything! All power to the sisters! Forward to the World-Wide Women's Revolution!

subversion in the woman's movement

Martha Shelley

sections of the women's movement. They have moved full-time workers into the women's centers of New York, Boston, Baltimore and Los Angeles, attempting to take over jobs, moving in SWP literature and moving out feminist literature. Check it out sister, if you live in these cities.

The SWP has a policy of infiltration, which is described in their handbook — a handbook issued only to loyal party members. I am attempting to get hold of this handbook, which was described to me by a disillusioned ex-SWP woman, and will publish it as soon as possible.

The SWP is also backing the Equal Rights Amendment, a deceptive piece of legislation which will strip away protections from working women. So this is a Socialist Worker's Party?

At the Women's Strike in New York, control of the speakers platform was in the hands of Ruthann Miller, a long-time member of the SWP. A lesbian, who was attempting to tell her sisters in Bryant Park about the pig harassment coming down on gay women in the streets, had to get permission to speak from Ruthann — since the Socialist Worker's Party has a long term policy of expelling gay people from its membership, our gay sister found this a humiliating experience.

SWP has considered gay people to be counter-revolutionaries and a "danger" to the party. Seems like it's bad enough to be called a Commie without being called a Commie Pinko Queer to boot. Some of the expelled gay people are now in Gay Liberation Front; and sadly enough, some of them are wistfully trying to get SWP to change its mind and readmit them now that they have proved they can be "revolutionary." Maybe Huey's seal of approval will cause the SWP to have a change of heart.

It's difficult to place one's faith in a so-called vanguard — whether it's a black vanguard or a white vanguard — when the members can't think for themselves, when they can't even notice your oppression until it is spelled out in blood on the streets and cleared by the Central Committee.

The front and rear cover of the issue are pictures of two women who are guerilla warriors in male-dominated movements, Angela Davis and Lella Khaled. Nothing new about that — women fighting for male causes goes back as far as Judith, who in the Old Testament, entered the camp of the enemy (some other Semitic tribe) and slew their general in his sleep. As I recollect, that didn't do much to liberate Jewish women.

A great deal of coverage is expended on the Panthers and on the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention", with no mention of the way women were fucked over at that convention. The *right on* to the Panthers is automatic by now. The Women's Strike of August 26 is covered without any attempt to distinguish between liberal and radical politics, without any attempt to take a feminist stance against the cooptation by various socialist groups as well as various establishment groups. A great deal of coverage consists of a *right on* to bombings, rip-offs, various forms of violence, without any analysis of what constitutes random violence and what constitutes revolutionary violent action.

The following issue contains a lengthy article on Korea. For some months now, the Panther Party has been extolling Kim Il Sung and the Korean Communist Party. I'm glad to see that RAT has finally caught up. The RAT interviewer asked the people who visited Korea what happens to homosexuals over there. *Who knows? That doesn't relate to Korea or the Korean culture. There are no homosexuals in Korea. Anyway, why should anyone want to embarrass the Koreans by asking such a question? What straight person would think to ask? They might think I was queer...*

Liberalism on the Left

The unwillingness of left-wing groups, particularly women's groups, to engage in criticism and analysis of political groups and events stems from a kind of liberalism which says that anything left-wing is good, and that public criticism of a left-wing group can only do harm to the movement.

GLF WOMEN

GLF women welcome all women. In meetings and activities we maintain a flexible way of doing things to encompass our sisters of different social, economic, racial, religious, and political interests, and to permit individual freedom in actions and activities, both inside and outside of GLF.

We provide an opportunity for women to relate to other women — through political activities and community social activities, beginning with dances and moving out to new forms of socializing and communicating with our sisters.

Gay Liberation Front was the first group in New York to come together specifically to fight homosexual oppression. GLF Women, a caucus of GLF, are lesbian activists fighting oppression on two fronts: As homosexuals, we work with our gay brothers to fight oppression based on society's exclusion of individuals who love members of the same sex. As women, we work with Women's Liberation to fight the oppression of all women.

Our strongest common denominator and greatest oppression lies with society's injustice against us as homosexuals. We are discriminated against as women, but lesbians who live openly are fired from jobs, expelled from schools, banished from their homes, and even beaten. Lesbians who hide and escape open hostility, suffer equal oppression through psychic damage caused by their fear and guilt. With this understanding, we focus on Gay Liberation, giving priority to gay issues and gay problems. We are part of the revolution of all oppressed people, but we cannot allow the lesbians issue to be an afterthought.

GLF Women are dedicated to changing attitudes, institutions, and laws that oppress lesbians, using all or any methods from reform to revolution. Actions and consciousness-raising achieve this goal. Gay Liberation is a movement and a state of mind challenging history's basic legal and social assumptions about homosexuality. Openly proclaiming ourselves lesbians is a revolutionary act and a threat to the prevailing society, which excludes people who live outside the norm. We work for a common understanding among all people that lesbianism is the most complete and fulfilling relationship with another woman and a valid life style.

Gay consciousness-raising is a primary interest:

(1) So that our lesbian sisters understand our oppression and fight against it. To be effective the lesbian movement must be a grass roots effort. We denounce the fact that society's rewards and privileges are only given to us when we hide and split our identity. We encourage self-determination and will work for changes in the lesbian self-image, as well as in society, to permit the "coming out" of each gay woman into society as a lesbian. The new self-image or "gay consciousness" refers to our sense of pride, unity, life style and community.

(2) Raising consciousness of people in all movements, so that they become aware of their sexism.

(3) Raising the consciousness of our sisters active in Women's Liberation to openly acknowledge and actively support lesbians, with the attitude of solidarity and not reciprocity. We denounce the use of the word lesbian to divide us from our sisters who should be united with us in our common struggle for the liberation of all women. We feel that the core oppression of women is the lesbian's oppression and the ultimate liberation of women is through the liberation of lesbians. Real freedom for lesbians will mean the end of all oppressive relationships based on male dominance and the compulsion women feel to seek male approval and support.

Women's Liberation groups must undertake consciousness-raising on lesbianism. They must accept among their leadership admitted and publicly known lesbians. They must make explicit their acceptance of the lesbian life style now implicit in their analysis.

a) Feminists speak of rejecting role-playing, but fail to see the pressures in society during children's formative years to love men over women.

b) They say that women should be free to govern their own bodies, but fail to grant the freedom of sexual preference.

c) They denounce stereotyped male and female attitudes and characteristics, but fail to accept as natural the so-called masculine female and so-called feminine male.

d) They talk about being independent of men, but do not see that the lesbian life style is the ultimate form of independence.

e) They talk of love among women, but do not include physical expression of that love.

(4) Education of the public to recognize homosexuals as an oppressed minority and to destroy stereotyped images based on and perpetuated by society's hostility. To fight prejudice with reason and love. "Gay is Good." Sexuality is basic to all human beings, and homosexuality is as natural as heterosexuality. To teach children from the earliest years about homosexuality without bias. To effect change, we advocate an open media policy, with media defined as lectures, demonstrations, leaflets, consciousness-raising, dances, and rapping in bars, as well as the press.

GAY LIBERATION FRONT WOMEN MEET SUNDAYS, 6-8 P.M., BEFORE GLF GENERAL MEETING, Community Center, 300 Ninth Avenue, New York.

RADICALESBIANS

10.

The radical lesbian movement is growing and changing; coalescing would probably be the best word. Lesbians from Gay Liberation Front, Women's Liberation, the bars and the closets are beginning to get it together. Many women have been meeting informally, but regularly, for several months as a group, now called Radicalesbians.

It began during the dreary months of a dying winter. A nucleus of GLF women, with a growing woman's consciousness, began to feel the need for an all-woman's GLF dance. We had previously been working and attending the GLF dances which were overwhelmingly male. The oppressive ambience of a simulated gay men's bar...an overcrowded, dimly lit room, where packed together subway rush hour style, most human contact was limited to groping and dryfucking. Earlier attempts by both men and women at encouraging group dancing and space for conversation were nullified by the "pack 'em in" attitude of the GLF men running the dances. And there were so many men, that the women were lost to each other in a sea of spaced-out men. It was intolerable to most women, but we put up with it, hoping it would change. Finally, when it was obvious it was only getting worse as the weather grew warmer, we decided to have an all-women's dance. The first dance was so successful, it has been followed by several more. An environment of women rapping, drinking, dancing...relating with fluidity and grace, is beautiful. And most important, to plan and set up these dances we had to meet and work together...weekly meetings of GLF women became routine. This provided a fine opportunity to work collectively and get to know one another.

Simultaneously with this, something else was happening. Some GLF women together with independent women from the Women's Liberation Movement had formed a consciousness-raising group. Out of our meetings, two things developed: the writing of the paper, "Woman Identified Woman" and a plan to confront the upcoming Congress to Unite Women with the issue they had been avoiding for so long — Lesbianism (that old lavender menace). The Lavender Menace action is history now...we stole the show and had an audience of 400 women relating to lesbianism as it affects the women's movement. This was followed up by two days of workshops attended by over 200 women.

Our resolutions (we hope) became part of the report of the conference. WOMEN'S LIBERATION IS A LESBIAN PLOT...WE ARE ALL LESBIANS!!!

But the aftermath of the Congress coup is not so well known. We called for consciousness raising groups and 50 interested women met our call. Four groups were set up, new women from the Congress action and Lavender Menace participating in each group. Many of the women in these groups were straight women who wanted to confront the issue of lesbianism and perhaps the lesbian in themselves. But a very large majority of these women turned out to be active lesbians, latent lesbians, closet lesbians, one-beautiful-experience lesbians, freaked-out lesbians, spaced-out lesbians... from the ranks of women's liberation, they responded.

After having related for months and years to the broader women's issues at the sacrifice of their own identity, these women were ready now to come out, to use their own energies to meet the needs of a lesbian community, and to see that the concepts of primary value and commitment between women, developed in the paper "Woman-Identified Woman," were dealt with by the women's liberation movement. These sisters started coming to our weekly GLF women meetings and as the word spread through the grapevine, more and more unaffiliated women began attending these meetings.

Finally, the various groups of women had so thoroughly merged that the name GLF women seemed inappropriate... it was obvious we were an independent, autonomous group and while some women in the group continued to relate to GLF, there were many from the ranks of Women's Liberation who felt that they could not affiliate with a male-dominated organization that was in large part sexist. We decided to drop the name GLF women (we recently chose the name Radicalesbians) and begin our own treasury to relate to the needs of our sisters. The money was taken from the GLF community center fund...that portion that had been contributed by the many women who had attended GLF dances...enough to fund our first independent dance.

So a movement of radical revolutionary gay women has organically coalesced; not artificially out of rhetorical political necessity, but through the natural flow of our experience and changes in consciousness...

The trip will probably be difficult but extremely rewarding. Our priorities differ. Some sisters feel themselves to be an arm of the Woman's Liberation Movement...feel that the struggle is between women and male supremacy, and experience their primary identity as women (with a difference). Others feel themselves to be in close affiliation with GLF, continue to relate to GLF and view the struggle primarily as one between homosexuals and heterosexuals. Still others see their position as unique...a struggle against sexism whatever its guise. Some women have not shaped or articulated their politics...they only know that they like to be together with their sisters and want to help. With these differences we have been meeting and working together, respecting if not always loving each other.

We hope our policy and ideology will assume the shape of our collective needs. We are against hierarchical structures because as women we have experienced firsthand that hierarchy is a fixed status system (those with power and privilege, i.e. men, assume leadership and use it to perpetuate their advantage). We want an organization that encourages growth and fluidity. Therefore, we do not have "leaders." We experiment with forms that promote the participation of everyone in decision-making and actions. Some of these are consensus (sense of the meeting) instead of the vote, the lot system of assigning responsibilities, and a preference for meeting and rapping with small groups of women, rather than speaking at them in auditoriums and lecture halls. The quality of our exchanges with women is more important to us than reaching large numbers with stale rhetoric. We believe that we must live by revolutionary forms while we struggle against sexism, racism, and imperialism; that part of the revolution is our anti-authoritarian life style; that the revolution is process not goal. Small action-oriented collectives seems to be the direction in which we are headed.

It is important to Radicalesbians that sisters in the N.Y. area join us in our struggle. Lesbians whose lives are a struggle against the straight patriarchal supremacy; women who desire revolutionary primary relationships with other women, relationships that offer strength, support and solidarity, are radical lesbians. Join us in the struggle to smash sexism.

GAY SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL
Radicalesbians

Lesbianatics

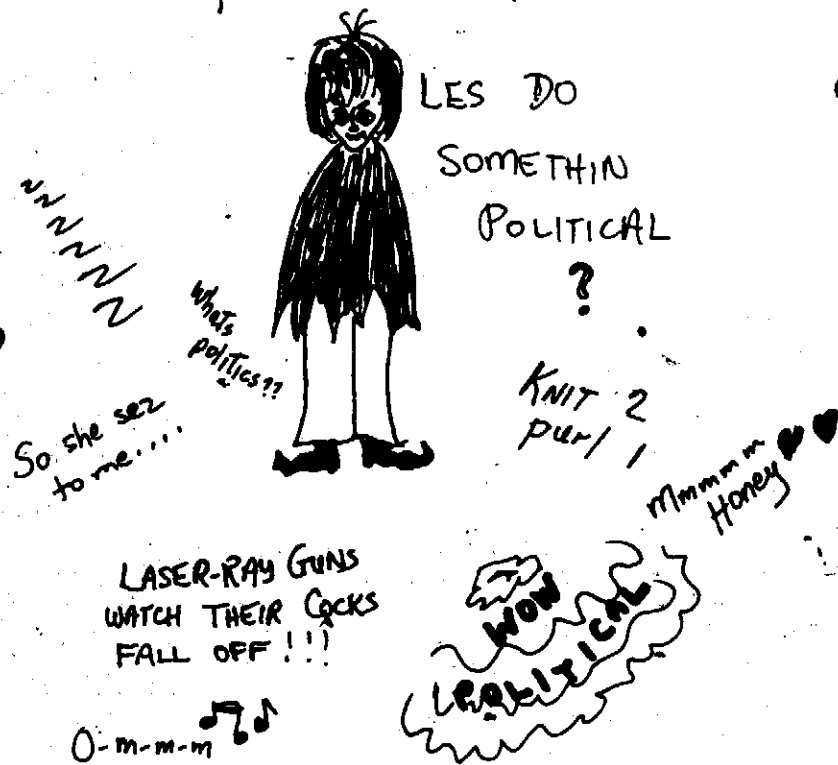
by E. Bedoz

11.

① SOUNDS OF A HEAVY POLITICAL MEETING OF RADICAL RADISHES

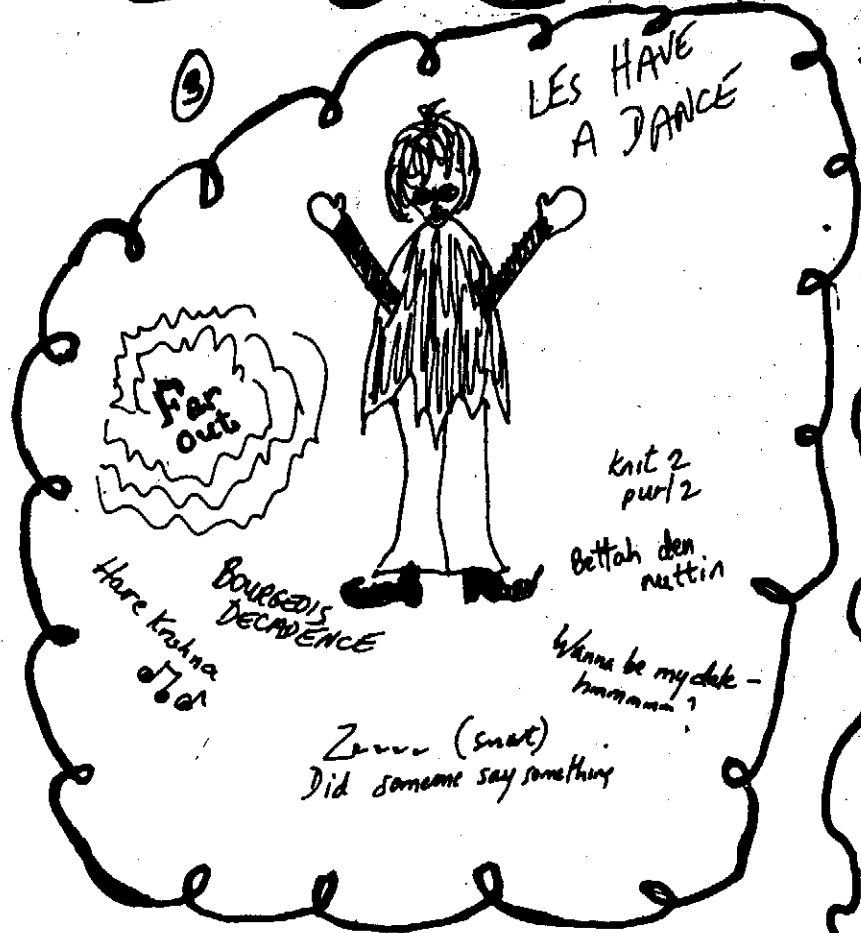


② ROOTABAGA McDYKE Wakes from a catatonic stupor that passes for political wisdom.



③

LES HAVE A DANCE



④ EVERYONE WORKS



⑤ THE DANCE



⑥ ACROSS TOWN...



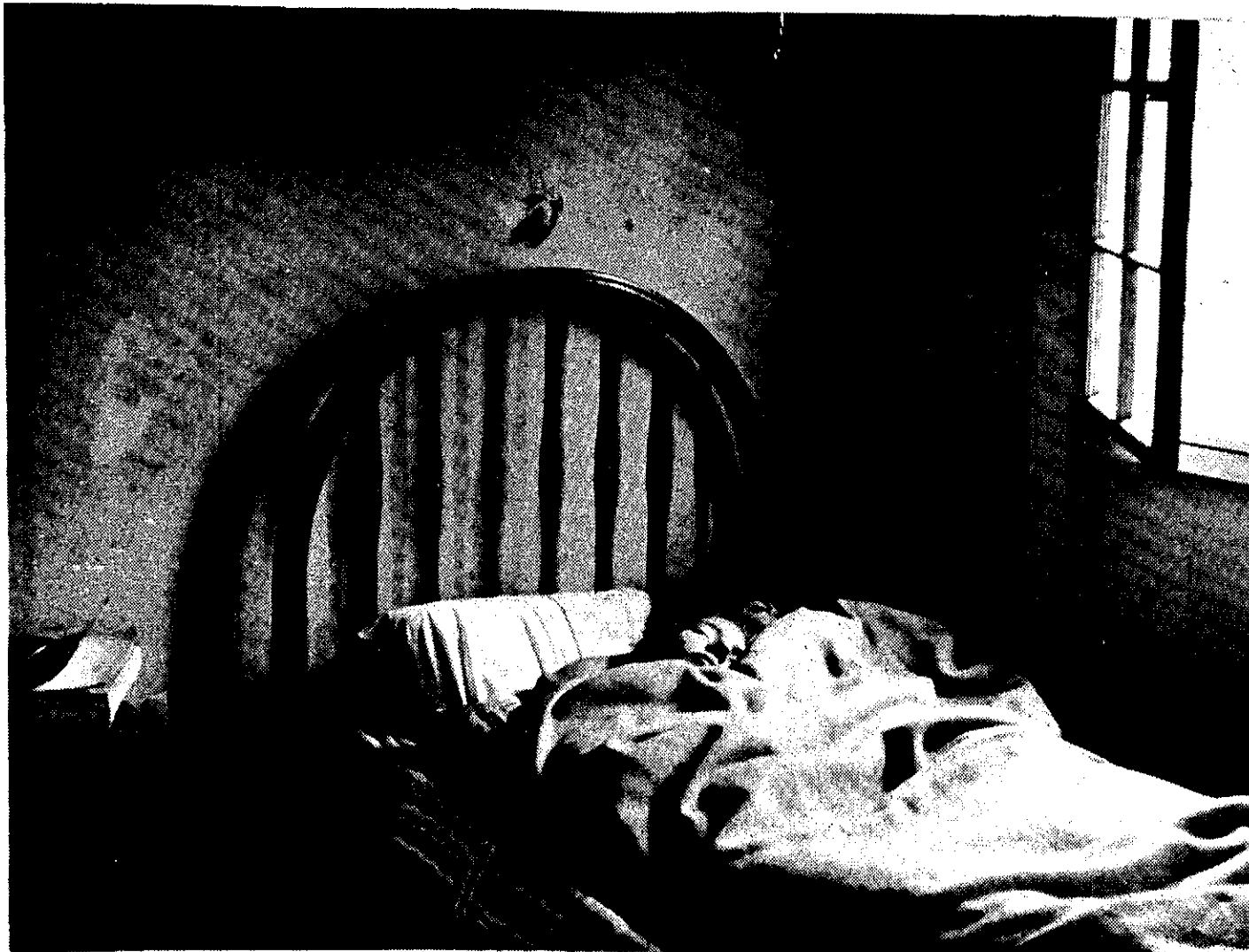


photo by Donna Gottschalk

12.

limerick, Pa. oct. 24 -25, 1970



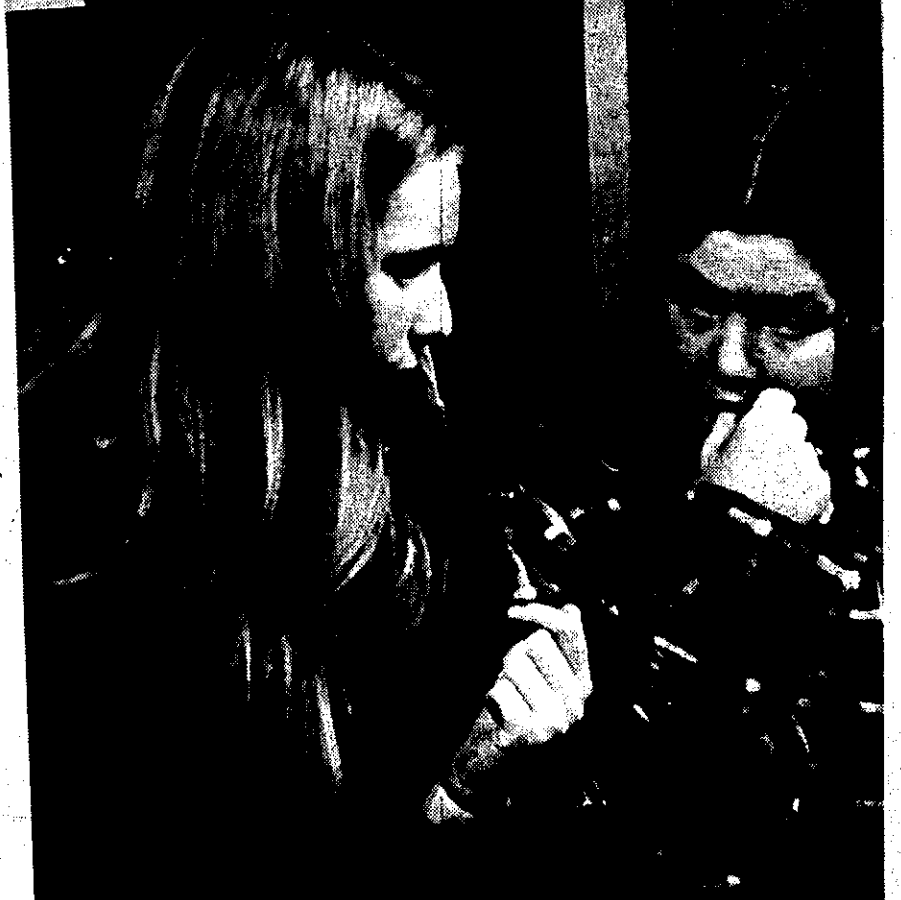
photos by Ellen Bedoz

REVOLUTIONARY WOMENS WEEKEND

13.



love each other love
ourselves love each
other love ourselves
**LESBIANS
UNITE!**



photos this page: Ellen Bedoz & Donna Gottschalk

some thought after a Gay Woman's Lib Meeting - Sue Katz

Sex is an institution. In an oppressive society like Amerika, it reflects the same ideology as other major institutions. It is goal-orientated, profit-& productivity orientated. It is a prescribed system, with a series of correct & building activities aimed toward the production of a single goal: climax.

It's also a drag. For women, in a culture based on our oppression, heterosexual sex is a product we have had to turn out. To encourage us we are given two minutes of this, a few minutes of that, a couple minutes at something else... all aimed towards the Great Penetration and the Big Come.

There is a great pressure to have an orgasm. Sex without orgasm is a failure, it's a drag, it's incomplete, and very sad. (Just like marriage is not real until it is "consummated".) Because of phallic imperialism built upon Freud's ignorance of the female body, orgasm is supposed to come from intercourse. That's just terrific for boys, but since our orgasm-producing organ is the clitoris, external to the vagina-contradicting capitalistic sexist physiology - many women don't produce the appropriate orgasm thru heterosexuality. By that criteria, they are frigid.

I'm a lesbian. A lot of people can't figure out "what we do", how we make love without a penis around for the final consummation. A lot of boys have these ideas of dildoes and bananas. Sex as an institution is so totally tied up with the penis and it's goal that boys assume there must be some poor substitute for their noble item.

I always hated sex with men. The pressure of the goal, the rigidity of the process and ends was always totally unsatisfactory. When ever I heard the word "sex", all those shitty experiences I had with men came to mind. I cannot separate the "sex" from the phallic tyranny I suffered from for so many years.

For me, coming out meant an end to sex. It's dead and gone in my life. I reject that institution totally. Sex means oppression, it means exploitation. It serves the needs of boys. It has little to do with pleasure for the great mass of oppressed people: women.

Physical contact and feelings have taken a new liberatory form. And we call that SENSUALITY. The women's movement in general, especially at the beginning, and gay feminism now is a fantastically sensual experience for me. I love my body and the bodies of my sisters. Physicality is now a creative non-institutionalized experience. It is touching and rubbing and cuddling and fondness. It is holding and rocking and kissing and licking. It's only goal is only goal is closeness and pleasure. It does not exist for the Big Orgasm. It exists for feeling nice. Our sensuality may or may not include

climax. If it does include genital experience, that may or may not be the beginning or the ending of the experience. It may be anywhere, or nowhere. To make good love with women, I don't want to have to "produce" anything. Except pleasure. And that can be at any level or any form. The sensuality I feel has transformed my politics, has solved the contradiction between my mind and my body because the energies for our feminist revolution are the same as the energies of our love for women. When we feel good about someone we may sleep together. That could mean a lot of things from hugs to climax to cuddling to being very close but not touching. If we feel good in a group we may have a pajama party, which would be called an "orgy" inside the institution of adult sex. That could be a genital thing or not. We are free to act without pressure. I refuse to feel like I must make a decision about whether to "put out" or not. There is no such thing as putting out among us. There is no set physical goal to our sensuality. There is no sex.

The whole language is oppressive. It is white male-oriented and a way of being physical that can only draw up very bad memories for a lot of us. We must use it only in referring to that oppressive institution, not to any new forms we are developing. Having sex means accepting a set of criteria for "success" that we did not set up and develop among ourselves.

Sensuality is formless and amorphous. It can grow and expand as we feel it. It is shared by everyone involved. It isn't something one puts out for another. Sex with boys was like doing alienated labor, so that the one with power could make good profit off of my surplus labor. Sensuality with women is a collective experience growing out of our struggle.

Smashing the notion of sex, getting away from these concepts so intimately tied up with the penis, helps us destroy roles. One thing we realized in my close group of gay feminists is that the word "lover" doesn't describe anything for us anymore very much. It is very hard to tell who is who's lover, because that is a condition determined by genital contact in our society. But among us, we have a very brazen set-up. I don't sleep with the same woman every night. I might cuddle with one sister tonight because we were together and felt close and I might crash on some mattress with a bunch of women tomorrow because we all danced together half the night. If your lover is someone you feel emotional and physical attractions to and where there is some kind of mutual commitment, then we are surely the biggest group of floozies in town. It's so wonderful. Without that kind of exclusive coupling sex and lovers breeds, people cannot fall into traditional roles so easily. Because each time you

sleep with someone you have to make the decision that time. Monogamy takes away free will. It becomes an institutionalized habit to sleep together regularly and there is not usually a fresh decision each time. Amongst us, our getting together is dependent on the reality of the present, not on the promises of before.

Sensuality is something that can be very collective. Sex is private and tense. Sensuality is something you want your best friends to feel and act on with your other best friends. Sex is something you want power and territorial rights over. Sex is localized in the pants and limited by that. Sensuality is all over and grows always. Sex is pinpointed in the pants because the penis is there and the penis is, if not the material source, the material basis for power in Amerika. If you don't have capital you get fucked over by those who do. Unless you attach yourself to someone who has it so that you can serve them in exchange for protection. (known as marriage). Sperm is coin. And that whole system of exchange necessarily excludes us as lesbians.

We can't pretend that those few flaps of skin that make up the masculine apparatus are just a few objective ectodermal gatherings. That stuff is the proof of a right to have access to privilege. Some boys reject that privilege, but they always have the possibility of whipping it out in an emergency and asserting their privilege.

We are building a revolution which isn't based on such drivel. And we must have a new language and aesthetic to describe it. Lesbianism is not a sexual perversion: it has nothing to do with sex. It is not another way to "do it": it is a whole other way to have contact. Sex is a phallic term and we are involved in building a humane world. It's like when people talk about being bisexual; it blows my mind. It's like saying that if you have an apple and an orange, you have two apples because they're both fruits.

Heterosexuality and lesbianism are two forms of physical contact. But that's as far as the similarity goes. I sleep with women, make love with women, am a woman, a lesbian. But I don't have sex with anyone. If I had sex, I could have it with a boy, but that would be a whole other trip from what I am feeling about my gay sensuality. It would be another experience, not a different form of gay sensuality. I would be reentering an institution the structure of which is inherently oppressive to me although particular experiences might be of reasonable fun. But radical lesbian sensuality is a form which I myself am helping create. It is not an institution existing outside of me, like sex is. It IS me, us, as it comes out of our new consciousness.

14. in w w w

LOVE&LIFE&LOVE&LIFE&LOVE&LIFE&LOVE

GAY COMMUNITY CELEBRATION OF LOVE & LIFE

December 24th

Candle light march assembling at

Sheridan Square 8:30

ending with communal fest at the new

COMMUNITY CENTER 130 west 3rd St.

BRING FOOD TO SHARE & love

BELIEVE

we believed the myths
and believed and believed and believed,
but now I can believe no longer
and I only believe in you and you
must believe in me.
every moment of my life I
must now stand on a precipice
and watch what is happening below—
watch the games and societies
where I no longer live.
the theatre has begun, I
walk down the street and confront
the audience who still put me in
the old myths.

Perry Brass

I listen for your knocking in my sleep
(I would gladly trade sleep for your presence)
I listen closely.
come with your quick, brown eyes
and your black hair like a slow thick waterfall
with secrets I'd like to know.

The wind soft in trees
gentle thoughts of you.
I listen closely.

MARLENE
Elling

GAY MAN IN PHILADELPHIA

Many of the ten thousand people, who gathered in Philadelphia over Labor Day weekend to attend the plenary session of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, were Gay sisters and brothers, both Third World and White, working in the movement. Unfortunately, not all of them had come out. But there were those of us who had gone specifically to relate to the Lesbian or Male Homosexual workshops, realizing the importance of Gay Liberation in the struggle to create a new humane society for all people.

I was there with some twenty of my gay brothers from Gay Liberation New York. We arrived late Friday afternoon at the Church of the Advocate and were searched for weapons before entering the courtyard. We had to wait quite a while to register while folding chairs were being passed into the church hall where movies were to be shown early in the evening.

After registration, I got into the food line for a plate of fried chicken, peas, salad, bread and a cup of orange drink. Then I began the long wait for housing; Philadelphia GLF had promised to find a place where all the gay men could be together. I looked through current issues of the Plain Dealer and Free Press, two Philadelphia underground papers being distributed free; both had articles on Gay Lib. We had a long wait. Finally, around ten o'clock, we had a place to stay and transportation to get there. A couple of Black Panthers drove four of us to the large house in Germantown that was to be used by GLF men.

Saturday morning we went to Temple University to hear the keynote by Michael Tabor, one of the New York Panther 21. It took a long time to get into the gym because each person, who passed through one of the four doors that were open, was carefully frisked. At noon, the place was just beginning to fill up and there were still a lot more people waiting outside.

I recognized some of the Gay sisters from New York and went to sit with them. As we were waiting for the speaker, a man sitting a few rows behind us suddenly jumped up and started screaming at the women. "Get out of here, you freaks!" I didn't understand what was going on at first. He shouted even louder. "Get away from here, you sex freaks!" We all got up and turned around. One of the Panther security guards standing nearby told him to sit down and be quiet. The man looked freaked-out and continued shouting. Three Panthers grabbed the man and he was told to sit down or leave. Soon after that, both he and his group left.

The Gay sisters went across to the other side of the gym to meet another group of women. I thought they were coming back but that was the last time I saw them that weekend.

The morning program was four hours late in starting. When Tabor finished speaking, it was already way past the time scheduled for lunch. An announcement was made that the afternoon workshops were being cancelled

and everyone was urged to return to the gym by six for the speech by Huey P. Newton and a Third World sister at eight that evening.

The Gay men at the gym decided to go to the Germantown Presbyterian Church to eat and when we got there we found the Male Homosexual workshop in progress. Most of the men there had not attended the keynote session and were unaware of the cancellation. The group continued with its work but recessed early to allow people enough time to back to Temple for the evening program. Before leaving, it was decided that we would all stay in the church for the remainder of the weekend.

A crowd estimated at fifteen thousand, which included many people from the surrounding community not directly involved in the plenary, came to McGonigle Hall for Huey's speech but less than half that number could be accommodated in the gym. I stood outside for two and a half hours, squeezed, pushed, jostled until I left disappointed at not being able to get in.

As I lay awake on the floor of the church that night, I thought about the day which seemed like such a waste. A continuation of the endless waiting that began the day before. Riding back and forth in cramped cars and vans. Someone has told me that the Monday session was being cancelled. I couldn't imagine how we would accomplish three days of work in the one day remaining. I was ready to leave Philadelphia. I felt that we were being used, that it was just a Black Panther rally, that we were merely there to show support for the Panthers rather than to struggle with proposals for a new Constitution. I was tired, cold and hungry, but somehow I managed to get a couple of hours sleep, using my fist as a pillow.

The workshop for Male Homosexuals resumed Sunday morning after breakfast on the grass behind the Presbyterian church. It was a beautiful, sunny day. First, the statement of the Third World caucus was read and discussed. Then each proposal presented the previous day was carefully considered and all reformist measures were eliminated.

There was a rumor that two of our people had been picked up by the pigs. Someone called the police station and verified the story. We got hold of a lawyer and started to send a small delegation down to the station but were told we should wait. The two were released after a long period of questioning and returned while the workshop was still meeting.

Afeni Shakur, another of the Panther 21, came to talk to us about her own involvement in the revolutionary struggle. She spoke of her desire to live quietly on a farm with lots of grass and trees, something she could not do knowing that her people were oppressed. When Bobby Hutton was killed, she did not feel like being strong; she was hurt by his death and wanted to withdraw from that sorrow. And when Fred Hampton was murdered by the police, she did not feel

like being strong but had to in order to survive. She talked about the changes within the Black Panther Party, how it had gone from a local self-defense organization to an international organization concerned with the struggle of all oppressed people around the world.

Reports from each of the workshops were read at the Temple University gym that night. While people were filling up the place, the brothers from Gay Liberation Front started chanting, "GAY POWER TO THE GAY PEOPLE! BLACK POWER TO THE BLACK PEOPLE! RED POWER TO THE RED PEOPLE! WOMANPOWER TO THE WOMEN PEOPLE! CHILDREN POWER TO THE CHILDREN PEOPLE..." "HO-HO HOMOSEXUAL! THE RULING CLASS IS INEFFECTUAL!" "POWER TO THE PEOPLE!" There were about sixty of us and our spirits were very high.

As I listened to the proposals from each workshop, I regained the hope I had had when I had first arrived in Philadelphia. What I heard was what this country could be so that all the people would be guaranteed the fullest life possible. I was elated. There were moments when I was moved to tears. Yet this was only the beginning step toward the eventual writing of a new Constitution.

When Steve, a Third World brother from Philadelphia GLF, stepped to the podium, we cheered. When he said he was from the Male Homosexual workshop, there were snickers from various parts of the gym. But our report was enthusiastically applauded. I think many people were surprised at our demands.

The representative for the workshop on the control and use of the military and police referred only to men in his report. One lone woman called out, "and women!" Again he referred to men and we joined the chant, "AND WOMEN, AND WOMEN, AND WOMEN!" He continued reading the report in a shaky voice. When he started to say men, he corrected himself, substituting a more general term which included both sexes. The crowd cheered.

The final meeting of the plenary session was held Monday afternoon at the Church of the Advocate. The chairman asked for additional proposals for the Constitution. A woman from Women's Liberation and a Gay brother from GLF both read statements which called attention to the absence of a Lesbian report, regretting the walk-out of the sisters and urging the inclusion of Gay women as an necessary part of a new Constitution. A long line of people waited their turn to announce proposals which they felt had been left out. The chairman remarked, "This is going to be the longest Constitution in the world!" He may be right, but it may well be that a lengthy document will be necessary to insure the rights of ALL people.

The next Constitutional meeting will be in Washington over Thanksgiving. Results in forthcoming articles.

WE DEMAND:

All power to the people! The revolution will not be complete until all men are free to express their love for one another sexually. We affirm the sexuality of our love. The social institution which prevents us all from expressing our total revolutionary love we define as sexism. Sexism is a belief or practice that the sex or sexual orientation of human beings gives to some the right to certain privileges, powers or roles, while denying to others their full potential. Within the context of our society, sexism is primarily manifested through male supremacy and heterosexual chauvinism. Since in the short run sexism benefits certain persons or groups, in the long run it cannot serve all people and prevents the forming of complete social consciousness among straight men. Sexism is irrational, unjust and counter-revolutionary. Sexism prevents the revolutionary solidarity of the people. We demand that the struggle against sexism be acknowledged as an essential part of the revolutionary struggle. We demand that all revolutionaries deal individually and collectively with their own sexism. We recognize as a vanguard revolutionary action the Huey P. Newton statement on gay and women's liberation. We recognize the Black Panther Party as being the vanguard of the people's revolution in Amerikkka. No revolution without us! An army of lovers cannot lose!

WE DEMAND:

1. The right to be gay, any time, any place.
2. The right to free physiological change and modification of sex upon demand.

3. The right of free dress and adornment.
4. That all modes of human sexual self-expression deserve protection of the law, and social sanction.
5. Every child's right to develop in a non-sexist, non-possessive atmosphere, which is the responsibility of all people to create.
6. That a free educational system present the entire range of human sexuality, without advocating any one form or style.
7. That language be modified so that no gender take priority.
8. That the judicial system be run by the people through the people's courts; that all people be tried by members of their peer group.
9. That gays be represented in all governmental and community institutions.
10. That organized religions be condemned for aiding in the genocide of gay people, and enjoined from teaching hatred and superstition.
11. That psychiatry and psychology be enjoined from advocating a preference for any form of sexuality, and the enforcement of that preference by shock treatment, brainwashing, imprisonment, etc.
12. The abolition of the nuclear family because it perpetuates the false categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality.
13. The immediate release of and reparations for gay and other political prisoners from prisons and mental institutions; the support of gay political prisoners for all other political prisoners.
14. That gays determine the destinies of their own communities.

15. That all gay people share equally the labor and products of society.
16. That technology be used to liberate all peoples of the world from drudgery.
17. The full participation of gays in the people's revolutionary army.
18. Finally, the end of domination of one person by another.

Of noticable absence at the Session were our Gay Sisters without whom there could be NO true people's constitution. The next day that abuse was at least recognized, if not corrected, by the gay men and the straight women there through the following statements: MALE HOMOSEXUALS: The Lesbian Workshop did not address the People's Constitutional Convention as scheduled. Therefore, the Male Homosexual Workshop summons the attention of all participating workshops to the fact that the Plenary Session is incomplete without the inclusion of a position paper from our sisters. WOMEN: The demands of the gay sisters were not read from the platform last (Sunday) night. The new constitution cannot be complete without these demands. The Radical Lesbians were excluded and ignored at the Workshop on Self-Determination for Women. We feel we have let ourselves and our sisters down. In the past and here at the conference, the women's movement has not recognized that the struggle of gay women is our struggle — all women's struggle. All women must be free to love one another. Free our sisters, free ourselves. Power to the People.

third world gay revolution.

THIRD WORLD GAY REVOLUTION

16 Point Platform and Program drafted November 11, 1970, to supersede the 13 Point Platform drafted September 9, 1970.

Our straight sisters and brothers must recognize and support that we, third world gay women and men, are equal in every way within the revolutionary ranks.

We each organize our people about different issues, but our struggles are the same against oppression, and we will defeat it together — Once we understand these struggles, and gain a love for our sisters and brothers involved in these struggles, we must learn how best to become involved in them.

The struggles of the peoples of the world are our fight as well; their victories are our victories and our victories are theirs. Our freedom will come only with their freedom.

Together, not alone, we must explore how we view ourselves, and analyze the assumptions behind our self-identity — We can then begin to crack the barriers of our varying illnesses, our passivity, sexual chauvinism, in essence, our inability to unabashedly love each other, to live, fight, and if necessary, die for the people of the earth.

As we begin to understand our place in this international revolution, and join with others in this understanding, we must develop the skills necessary to destroy the forces of repression and exploitation, so as to make it possible for a new woman and man to evolve in a society based on communal love.

While we understand that in the United States our main enemy is the socio-economic-political system of capitalism and the people who make profits off our sufferings, fights and divisions, we also recognize that we must struggle against any totalitarian, authoritarian, sex-controlled, repressive, irrational, reactionary, fascist government or government machine.

What We Want:

What We Believe:

1. We want the right of self-determination for all third world and gay people, as well as control of the destinies of our communities.

We believe that third world and gay people cannot be free until we are able to determine our own destinies. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

2. We want the right of self-determination over the use of our bodies: The right to be gay, anytime, anyplace; The right to free physiological change and modification of sex on demand; The right to free dress and adornment.

We believe that these are human rights which must be defended with our bodies being put on the line. The system as it now exists denies these basic human rights by implementing forced heterosexuality. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

3. We want liberation for all women: We want free and safe birth control information and devices on demand. We want free 24 hour child care centers controlled by those who need and use them. We want a redefinition of education and motivation (especially for third world women) towards broader educational opportunities without limitations because of sex. We want truthful teaching of women's history. We want an end to hiring practices which make women and national minorities

1. a readily available source of cheap labor
2. confined to mind-rotting jobs under the worst conditions.

We believe that the struggles of all oppressed groups under any form of government which does not meet the true needs of its people will eventually result in the overthrow of that government. The struggle for liberation of women is a struggle to be waged by all peoples. We must also struggle within ourselves and within our various movements to end this oldest form of oppression and its foundation — male chauvinism. We cannot develop a truly liberating form of socialism unless we fight these tendencies. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

4. We want full protection of the law and social sanction for all human sexual self-expression and pleasure between consenting persons, including youth. We believe that present laws are oppressive to third world people, gay people, and the masses. Such laws expose the inequalities of capitalism, which can only exist in a state where there are oppressed people or groups. This must end. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

5. We want the abolition of the institution of the bourgeois nuclear family.

We believe that the bourgeois nuclear family perpetuates the false categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality by creating sex roles, sex definitions and sexual exploitation. The bourgeois nuclear family as the basic unit of capitalism creates oppressive roles of homosexuality and heterosexuality. All oppressions originate within the nuclear family structure. Homosexuality is a threat to this family structure and therefore to capitalism. The mother is an instrument of reproduction and teaches the necessary values of capitalist society, i.e., racism, sexism, etc. from infancy on. The father physically enforces (upon the mother and children) the behavior necessary in a capitalist system, intelligence and competitiveness in young boys and passivity in young girls. Further, it is every child's right to develop in a non-sexist, non-racist, non-possessive atmosphere which is the responsibility of all people, including gays, to create. Therefore, the system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

6. We want a free non-compulsory education system that teaches us our true identity and history, and presents the entire range of human sexuality without advocating any one form or style; that sex roles and determination of skills according to sex be eliminated from the school system; that language be modified so that no gender takes priority; and that gay people must share the responsibilities of education.

We believe that we have been taught to compete with our sisters and brothers for power, and from that competitive attitude grows sexism, racism, male and national chauvinism and distrust of our sisters and brothers. As we begin to understand these things within ourselves, we attempt to free ourselves of them and are moved toward a revolutionary consciousness. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

7. We want guaranteed full equal employment for third world and gay people at all levels of production.

We believe that any system of government is responsible for giving every woman and man a guaranteed income or employment, regardless of sex or sexual preference. Being interested only in profits, capitalism cannot meet the needs of the people. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

we meet every friday at a.u. 6th ave. and 14th st. 8 p.m.

16.  POWER

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16 point platform and program

8. We want decent and free housing, fit shelter for human beings.

We believe that free shelter is a basic need and right which must not be denied on any grounds. Landlords are capitalists, and, like all capitalists, are motivated only by the accumulation of profits, as opposed to the welfare of the people. Therefore, the system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

9. We want to abolish the existing judicial system. We want all third world and gay people when brought to trial, to be tried by a people's court with a jury of their peers. A peer is a person from similar social, economic, geographical, racial, historical, environmental, and sexual background. We believe that the function of the judicial system under capitalism is to uphold the ruling class and keep the masses under control. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

10. We want the reparation for and release of all third world, gay and all political prisoners from jails and mental institutions.

We believe that these people should be released because they have not received a fair and impartial trial. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

11. We want the abolition of capital punishment, all forms of institutional punishment, and the penal system.

We want the establishment of psychiatric institutions for the humane treatment and rehabilitation of criminal persons as decided by the people's court. We want the establishment of a sufficient number of free and non-compulsory clinics for the treatment of sexual disturbances, as defined by the individual. We believe that the system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

12. We want an immediate end to the fascist police force.

We believe that the only way this can be accomplished is by putting the defense of the people in the hands of the people. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

13. We want all third world and gay men to be exempt from compulsory military service, in the imperialist army. We want an end to military oppression both at home and abroad.

We believe that the only true army for oppressed people is the people's army and third world, gay people, and women should have full participation in the People's Revolutionary Army. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

14. We want an end to all institutional religions because they aid in genocide by teaching superstition and hatred of third world people, homosexuals and women. We want a guarantee of freedom to express natural spirituality.

We believe that institutionalized religions are an instrument of capitalism, therefore an enemy of the People. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

15. We demand *immediate* non-discriminatory open admission/membership for radical homosexuals into all left-wing revolutionary groups and organizations and the right to caucus.

We believe that so-called comrades who call themselves "revolutionaries" have failed to deal with their sexist attitudes. Instead they cling to male supremacy and therefore to the conditioned role of oppressors. Men still fight for the privileged position of man-on-the-top. Women quickly fall in line behind their men. By their counterrevolutionary struggle to maintain and to force heterosexuality and the nuclear family, they perpetuate decadent remnants of capitalism. To gain their anti-homosexual stance, they have used the weapons of the oppressor, thereby becoming the agent of the oppressor.

It is up to men to realistically define masculinity, because it is they, who, throughout their lives, have struggled to gain the unrealistic roles of "men." Men have always tried to reach this precarious position by climbing on the backs of women and homosexuals. "Masculinity" has been defined by capitalist society as the amount of possessions (including women) a man collects, and the amount of physical power gained over other men. Third world men have been denied even these false standards of "masculinity." Anti-homosexuality fosters sexual repressions, male-supremacy, weakness in revolutionary drive, and results in an inaccurate non-objective political perspective. Therefore, we believe that all left-wing revolutionary groups and organizations *must immediately* establish non-discriminatory, open admission/membership policies. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

16. We want a new society — a revolutionary socialist society. We want liberation of humanity, free food, free shelter, free clothing, free transportation, free health care, free utilities, free education, free art for all. We want a society where the needs of the people come first. We believe that all people should share the labor and products of society, according to each one's needs and abilities, regardless of race, sex, age, or sexual preferences. We believe the land, technology, and the means of production belong to the people, and must be shared by the people collectively for the liberation of all.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IS THE ANSWER.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



into the people

Poemas

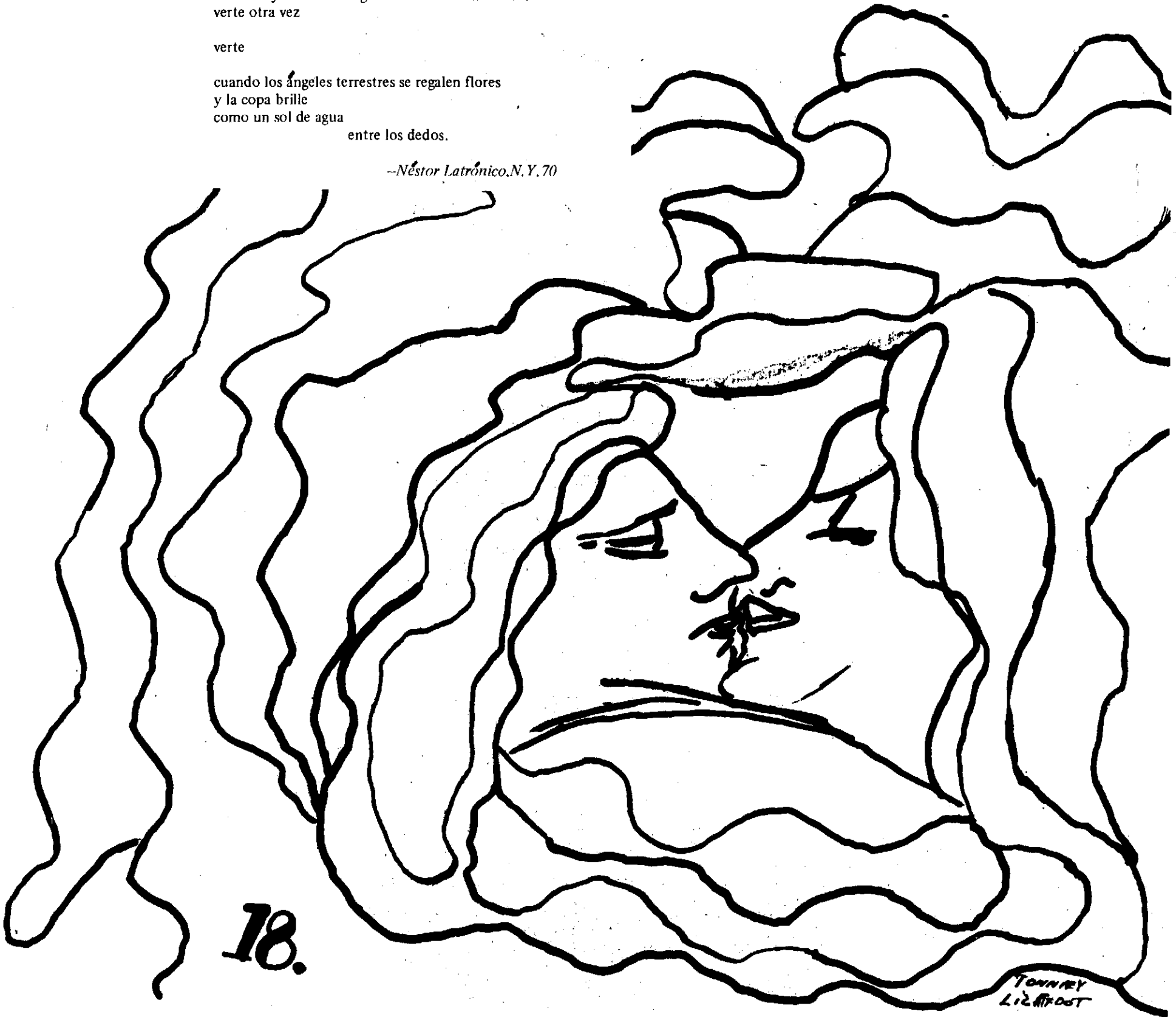
Amor
extraño aire
nostalgia ahuecada en un zapato de sueño
canción que me acuerdo con toda la letra y que canto
para mí
imagen de compatriota brotado de ayer
un cine lorraine, una noche de llovizna y primavera en
que la conocí con su pelo
largo rubio
mirándome con gruñidos desde un cielo brumoso
y qué hay entre nosotros
3 años
este puente roto
este río hondo que toca las orillas y te devuelve las
caras
ese momento que recupero para mí
si quiero imitar a jeanne moreau cantando
y la guitarra
qué mal cantabas caminando como loca con tu
portafolio y tus tesoros
leídos en cafés cortados
mientras yo soñaba con proust
y tu boca húmeda en un taxi buscando a alicia y los
pasos perdidos
pájaro desesperado
quiero verte otra vez espoleando calles escupiendo
mendigos con un brazo de
amor
meintrás todas las mujeres te abrazan y los hombres
te lamen el ombligo
al lado de tus tetas
y tu boca se abre
y un río de flores de saliva llueve sobre las piedras
que los guardias del amor custodian
verte otra vez recorriendo ojos fríos y manos húmedas
y tu varita mágica en las costillas de dios
verte otra vez
verte
cuando los ángeles terrestres se regalen flores
y la copa brille
como un sol de agua
entre los dedos.

Mi Soledad

Bendita sea la madre que me parió
Trayéndome a la soledad del mundo
a luchar contra lo que no veo
ni apenas creo
y la duda increíble crecida
en el ser humano.
Y apenas alumbrando el corazón sensible
Que a poco tiempo extingue
el fuego de la curiosidad.

Qué batalla con la existencia!
 Qué pelea perdida!
 Pero
 Qué es
 la existencia
 sin amor?

– Ana Sánchez



OUR CRUISING REPORTER IN THE GAY GHETTO

by steve gavin

QUESTIONS:

- (1) How would you classify yourself: bisexual, gay, straight or other?
- (2) What are your views on sexism?
[NONE of those interviewed could really define sexism, so the reporter supplied the following definition: Sexism is the doctrine which associates certain traits or functions to a particular sex.]
- (3) What do you think of the Gay Liberation movement?

EDWARD PARKER

1. bisexual, 30 years old, male
2. There are natural roles that men and women can and do assume. Women's Liberation is a culmination of their boredom.
3. Gay Liberation is coming too late in the century. It should have started around 1900 or 1492. It is progress in the interest of those who want to pursue their own sexual persuasion. We are born with the right to do as we damn well please sexually. We shouldn't have to have a group like the Gay Liberation Front to re-establish our God-given right. Unfortunately, we have to have this group and I think it's good that we do as long as it's necessary.

BILLY SOMETIMES

1. other, 30 years old, male
2. Each person has to choose the role that will satisfy him the most. America is a sexist society, although other countries are more sexist. In general, women aren't oppressed; they don't have to do a God damn thing they don't want to do.
3. Gay Liberation is fine. They are attracting a lot of attention. A lot of the things they are doing in the street are tawdry. If they want to achieve their ends, they should be careful not to stage a lot of tawdry scenes in the street.

BOBBY ROBERTS

1. gay, 20 years old, male
2. Everyone has their own natural role. People are shaped by their surroundings and what others expect them to be. Many people believe that being homosexual means they should display feminine traits. Other people over-compensate for what they think is their lack of masculinity.
3. I'm for liberation for everyone, not just for any specific group. Everything should naturally be free. Gay people oppress themselves more than other people oppress them. If gay people didn't want to oppress themselves, they wouldn't permit the opinions of others to affect them.

STANLEY LAUREL

1. (straight, 27 years old, male.
2. I think it is fine that people are becoming aware of the plight of women. I don't think there should be any presupposed roles in a relationship. Roles were learned. People who practice role playing are not living out their ego.
3. I don't know too much about Gay Liberation. I don't disagree with what is going on in that direction. I don't know the freedom that they desire except that it is a freedom, and for that reason, it's important.

GARY NEWMAN

1. straight, 20 years old, male
2. It is wrong to think that each sex should have specific functions or purposes. A majority of the people in our society are sexist.
3. Gay Liberation is a good idea. Gay People are an oppressed people. I don't think that homosexuals should make physical advances toward people that are straight. It's perfectly O.K. to have relationships with each other. I think that the paranoia of straight people in this society is more or less caused by a fear of being homosexual themselves.

GEORGE NEILSON

1. straight, 16 years old, male
2. A girl who does the same work as a man should get the same wages. Differences in capabilities between sexes is due to training, but women are physically weaker than men. Basically, women can do what they want, although there is some discrimination against them.
3. Being gay is up to the individual. Gay people try to be effeminate; it is their right to be what they want. They should not be put down for being gay. They should have equal job opportunity and be free to display their affections openly.

RON DANIELS

1. straight, 25 years old, male
2. Women dominate my life more than other men. There are functions that are feminine. My woman should do my cooking unless I got achateau briande that I want to cook in wine sauce. I don't think sexism is oppressive to women. I think they need to feel fulfilled. Women want to be responsible for creating your environment. I'm against job discrimination for women.
3. Gay people should be able to do what they want to without getting busted. They shouldn't be embarrassed. I don't think they get as much harassment as peace marchers though.

DAVID HOYT

1. straight, 21 years old, male
2. I'm for Women's Liberation as long as it's not a halfway thing. It has to be on a much larger scale rather than on a self-centered basis.
3. Homosexuals are fine as long as they don't try to bring you over to their thing. It's a matter of getting rid of personal hangups that you might have on the subject so that you can be completely objective about the subject.

JOHN SELBY

1. gay, 22 years old, male
2. Sexism is too confusing. There's no room for imagination. I think Women's Liberation is hypocritical. I think they're fighting for something they don't need. I don't feel that women are oppressed.
3. I'm glad that Gay people are fighting for what they believe in. I think there's a lot of discrimination against Gay people, especially in other parts of the country. It's more tolerated in New York and California. I don't know very much about the Gay Liberation movement.

WILLIAM STEIN

1. bisexual, 30 years old, male
2. I think people are entitled to their rights as man and woman, and one should not be subservient to the other. Women are born with instincts to bear children and to be mothers. Man is born with natural instincts to provide food and shelter for himself and others. There are very few other things which are naturally associated with a person's sex. Their behaviour as sexual creatures is mostly determined by their environment. Women are discriminated against because of their sex. There is a constant battle between the sexes for domination.
3. Homosexuality is basically a pathological condition. People should be free to live as they choose. A person's sexuality is basically determined in early childhood.

DAVID NICHOLS

1. other, 24 years old, male
2. Physically, there is a sexual difference between sexes and people should look like their sex. It turns me off to see a chick walking like an athlete. Other than appearance, sex roles are absurd.
3. Gay people are really getting fucked up by the Establishment — maybe by everybody, unconsciously. All Liberation movements should come together. It sort of makes me feel jolly when I think of Gay Liberation. It's hard to visualize Gay people having a liberation movement. It's a nice thing to happen.

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LETTER FROM CUBA

by earl galvin

Third day at sea. So much has been happening that it's hard to sit down and write. When we arrived in St. John, we found besides the three GLF males from New York City there was only one GLF male from Chicago. No women. The GLF people from San Francisco all dropped out because of police repression there. However, there are now 2 more gay males and one gay woman in on gay caucus. There are also a few straight men who are wearing G.L.F. buttons and we generally have strong support from almost all of the women and a great number of men. There are many people who are going to come out on this trip.

The Cubans are freaked. Yesterday, two G.L.F. people had a talk with a Young Communist (member of Cuban Youth Organization). One of them will write about that. Elaine is also going to write.

At 6:00 in the evening we hear the news broadcast from Havana in Spanish and English. The women's strike in the U.S. has been given wide publicity in Cuba. We also heard about the explosion in Madison Square. At the end of the newscast, a Cuban orchestra played a song which they dedicated to us on the boat. It's really far out.

September 7: Haven't written for some time due to a real lack of time. There is so much to do. today is the first day of our second week of work — its hard work but its the main thing that holds us together. People are beginning to listen to each other again. The tensions of last week were incredible, and they were with us 24 hours a day. It's a good thing we're way out in the middle of nowhere because it looked for a bit as though we were on the verge of a 6-way war. Blacks vs. Puerto Ricans and Chicanos vs. Whites, Men vs. women, etc.. Because we have the support of almost all of the white people (weak though it may be for many), G.L.F. became a sort of "white" issue. There are 3rd world gay people



on the Brigade, but they are mostly very closeted and tend to be the most vocal in opposition to the "bullshit movements" — i.e. Women's Lib and Gay Lib. This week things have cooled off on all sides. The Cubans have said that all they recognize in this situation is one total brigade. Any group of people may meet as they wish, but only in the work cadres can decisions affecting the brigade be made. I'm glad of that.

It's so difficult to write everything down — it's so completely different here. When we arrived in Havana the docks were crowded with people dancing and singing. All of us on the boat were doing the same. We took buses from Havana across Havana Province to board another boat to take us to the Isle of Pines. In all, the little towns along the way were signs saying "Welcome Venceremos Brigade." People in the streets everywhere to greet us. Last weekend we visited two towns on the island. We are left free to go wherever we please during these visits, unescorted, and to talk with anyone. People ask us into their houses everywhere. The cultural differences here in the countryside are very great but aside from feeling sexually repressed (and I think all Cubans are sexually repressed due to a cultural lag), I am getting a real sense of freedom. We are going to write an article collectively this week and send it with Cuban diplomatic materials to the U.N. They will forward it to you from the U.N. It will probably get there before this letter which must go by way of Spain. The stamps on the envelope, like everything else here, were free. Money is just about useless on the Isle of Pines. You must go on the next brigade. To really see and experience socialism will blow your mind. We are going to spend 1 week with the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians as well as Tupamaros, Brazilians, Bolivians, etc. Too much!!

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ONE MAN'S GAY LIBERATION

by DENNIS ALTMAN

My first contact with Gay Liberation came in San Francisco in August. I discovered their phone number in the back of the *Berkley Barb* called and was invited to dinner to the gay commune that serves as the centre for the local GLF.

That commune is a huge deserted warehouse in one of the flat frame-house areas of San Francisco (a city where the richer you are, the higher you live). About twenty or so people lived in the house, both men and women, and, despite its name, both gay and straight. The cooking is communal, improved by the fact that California has perhaps the best surplus fruit in the world. It took some time to find the man with whom I had spoken on the phone — so fluctuating was the population that not everyone knew each other's name — but he finally surfaced from a long, dope-induced sleep and decided to take me round to meet the San Francisco GLF President. Who was watching television with his flat-mates, a remarkably conventional-looking man, for all the world like a bank clerk, except that he was stark naked.

A few days later, I attended a National Student Gay Liberation conference in the offices of SIR, down there amidst the winos and prostitutes south of Market St. The conference was called and dominated by Charles P. Thorp, who had founded Gay Lib at San Francisco State, not without opposition from an already uptight administration, and was attended by representatives from about twenty campuses, mainly on the West Coast but including Nebraska, Virginia and Texas. Only a couple of delegations included women.

I had spent considerable time in the States before, much of it with gay people (in fact, gay men). My strongest first impression of Gay Liberation was that these were different to the gay men I had encountered before, without any of the mannerisms or appearance that we traditionally associate with gay people. Indeed, in many ways they seemed far closer to their straight counterparts in the radical movement than to non-radical gays, and much of the discussion at the conference related to the American crisis rather than to the specifics of gay oppression.

Gay people have traditionally been plagued by a sense of guilt and self-hatred that has been responsible for many of the aspects we have presented to the straight world. Perhaps the worst part of our oppression is that we have come to accept the straight view of ourselves, and even some of the older homophile groups tended to be apologetic and self-effacing in demanding equal rights, rather as if they were not certain whether the psychiatrists might not be right after all, and we really are pathologically disturbed. "Blatant is beautiful," stated Charles, thus expressing the demand for acceptance for what we are, rather than for our ability to successfully imitate what the straight world would like to have us be.

As a conference measured by conventional criteria, it achieved very little; no motions were passed or position papers issued. As a personal experience for me, and I imagine for most of those who participated, it was rewarding largely because of the new image we were forging. I understood then how blacks had felt when the first demands for 'Black Power' surfaced, and why the liberal arguments about expediency and political sense seemed so largely irrelevant. To be gay, and to be proud of that, is both a non-negotiable demand and a necessary pre-requisite for any political movement.

I was in California when Huey Newton made his statement on Gay and Women's Liberation, and the metaphor of the faggot as nigger tended to dominate our consciousness at the meeting. This was also the time of the picket line at Macy's, protesting entrapment in the men's room, and I joined that line one day, moving in a small circle amidst the elegant downtown shoppers who seemed bewildered rather than hostile. Indeed, perhaps the most hostile were the well-groomed and obviously homosexual men who came by, averting their heads lest they be recognized; "Why don't you get back to your closets" I could hear them hissing.

From San Francisco, I came to New York via Los Angeles and New Orleans, almost compulsively following the gay circuit immortalized by John Rechy. If San Francisco had been for me the first introduction to gay liberation, New Orleans was a reminder of the realities of gay life as most of us have experienced it; the French Quarter, where the straight tourists come to have all their stereotypes reinforced by drag shows, the bars, with their uptight and vaguely hostile ambiance, the hustlers on the street was far more like gay life as I have known it, both here and in Australia, than was the conference experience in San Francisco.

But my last night in New Orleans I spent with Peter, who came from Savannah, Georgia and hustled, who was lonely and vulnerable, and we went together around the bars, drinking and playing the juke boxes, enjoying the transitory warmth of each other's company. Which I remember when I hear brothers put down hustlers...

I have now been in New York six weeks, but this is a New York different to the city I had known on previous visits. Then gay life for me meant bars and bath houses, neither of which I much enjoyed, and while I was lucky and met some gay men whom I could love, by and large, I kept my gay life apart from my straight, concealing what is central to myself from people whom I now know would have accepted me more easily had I been open. Needless to say, it was a gay life that almost totally excluded gay women, and one of the tragedies of the traditional gay life is the extent to which it built and perpetuated barriers between gay women and men.

In six weeks I have been only once to a gay bar, and that was with someone I loved for a time, and to dance. Much of my time has been spent in the gay movement — at meetings, at rapsessions, at dances, on the streets. I still see my straight friends, but I am open with them about my homosexuality, and when I feel oppressed by them — as when I am asked to dinner by myself while straights are asked to "bring someone" — I tell them. The gay community in New York has become for me just that; I walk through the Village and I see people whom I know, even if only by sight, and I feel I belong. Moreover, my contacts with gay people are far richer and more diverse than ever before, for they are no longer restricted by sex as the sole motivating force; I know women and transvestites and I find myself struggling to understand them and their experience in a way I never could before.

Although I have only been here a short time, I feel very much part of the new gay consciousness; I have grown enormously in the past six weeks, and I have, I hope, learnt much. If I am critical of some aspects of the gay movement, it is criticism that comes from within, and with the hope of improving ourselves in the future.

I regret the lack of contact that seems to exist between GAA and GLF. I say this with no knowledge of the history of this split, but with some knowledge of both groups and with friends who align with each. To me the two are complementary, not rivals. (Although I am conscious that it is far easier to write this for a man than a woman; it is impossible to ignore the extent to which GAA is male-dominated, and I do not see any easy solution to this) Each fulfills different functions; it would I think be silly to deny that GAA has a certain political efficacy, just as I would hope they can recognize the extent to which GLF and the various groups it has spawned — Radicalesbians, Gay Youth, Third World Gay Revolution, STAR, and Gay Night — has provided a means whereby gay people can redefine themselves and come to terms with the extent to which we have internalized the shit straight society has thrown at us. I value the sensibility that GLF has taught me toward racism, sexism, etc., but I would wish we could combine this with some of the sense of political efficacy of GAA.

These reflections are sparked off by the incidents at NYU. I feel particularly close to this issue, because I teach at a university, and the issue concerned me both as a gay person and as someone concerned immediately with the need to redefine the role and function of the academic life. I had no hesitation in fully supporting the original claims against the University; I too am oppressed

and degraded when the University declares its intention to examine the validity of my life style (but not, as a letter to a student paper pointed out, that of the U.S. military who are freely allowed on campus.) I am more ambivalent about some of the latter demands that were made, particularly those that involve the concept of 'community control.' I am committed to student/teacher control, and I have some reservations about how far this should be limited by the demands of the community. God knows, our universities have suffered enough by accepting outside standards — I would restore academic autonomy rather than merely shifting the groups to whom the university is held to be responsible.

More importantly in the case of NYU, we threw away a great issue mainly, I believe, because we failed to appreciate fully the nature of a university. I was upset by the way in which so many in the community seemed to ignore the University GSL, instead of regarding them as the logical and natural leaders in such a situation. I admire and respect the street transvestites, but I would have preferred to have followed NYU gay students, just as I would expect to follow the lead of STAR in an issue that related directly to them.

To many in the Movement this will seem an elitist position, one that ignores the community's rights vis-a-vis NYU. I am less certain of these than most (nor am I at all sure, as was claimed by some of the rhetoric, that the University has 'taken over' our community. I suspect NYU long preceded the gay community in the Village.) But there are pragmatic considerations as well. The University not only oppresses us, it also over-ruled a legitimate student body decision and, putting it at its most charitable, was inconsistent in what it told its own people. Here was a perfect issue to forge a student/gay coalition, and reach large numbers of students with some understanding of our position at the same time. There are various ways in which this might have been done, and I do not want to start prescribing for the past, which is always easy and invariably futile. I do regret that we did not seek to do this, that we did not open up the opportunities for dialogue that were there. Few groups are both as oppressed by sexism and as open to liberation as that of the college students, and in the long run, this could have been far more significant than winning the sub-basement.

Our evaluation of any political movement will be highly colored by what it means to us personally. To me Gay Liberation has been most significant because it has helped me confront and accept my homosexuality, and whether objectively there is declining oppression or not, I am grateful to Gay Lib. for that. Not that I had not seen myself as 'liberated' before; over the past year I had indeed come to a position where I no longer lived in a closet (or perhaps, more honestly, where I kept the closet door slightly ajar) and I guess I thought of myself, with all the smugness this suggests as pretty well-adjusted. How far I have to go in really liberating myself myself my experience in Gay Liberation has made clear. But this experience in has made me glad to be a homosexual, for the experience has given me insight into the human potential I had previously lacked.

Ultimately, I feel I may come to love both men and women, and I am hesitant in saying this only because I feel that protestations of bi-sexuality are too often a cop-out. (Think, for instance, of Gore Vidal.) "Sex is love," chalked up the little boy I saw in Washington Square Park last Saturday. Unlike *Playboy*, and much of Hollywood I don't think this is so, and if Gay Liberation has taught me anything, it has taught me to love more easily, and perhaps to move to a position where I could love people for what they are rather than for their genitals. Gay Liberation may have achieved its full potential when it is no longer needed, for we see each other either as men and women, gay and straight, but purely as people with infinite possibilities. It is the fate of the Negro, James Baldwin once wrote, to carry the burden of both white and black Americans. It may be the fate of homosexuals to liberate both gays and straight.

To the White FATHER-country radicals:

I was once one of you.
I played straight
And fought for the Panthers' manhood,
And the liberation of Cuba's Socialist Man,
But never for myself
My "fucked-up" faggot self
Or my faggot brothers
Or my lesbian sisters
Or the transvestites.
I hid
Because I feared to be
The butt of your jokes,
But then I could hold back my
Rage
No longer, and I
Came Out.

Now, I've tried to educate you,
Tried to tell you of our struggle
We've been to
Venceremos
Newsreel Men
NYU Student Liberation Front
Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention
But where are you?

Yesterday, we had an action:
Noon, 3 p.m., 8 p.m.
Three actions so
Everyone could come:
Student, worker, street person
Even revolutionist.
Where were you?

You went to the Panther demo in the morning.
So did we.
Afeni IS our sister
A lot more than she is yours.
Then we went to ours,
But you went home
To your safe
White FATHER-country radical
Apartment/Office/Closet
Where you probably discussed
More male/abstract theory,
Not to the streets
Not to the side of the faggots
And lesbians.
Afraid?
Or is our struggle
"Controversial"?
YAWF?
Women's Union?
Hiding in the closet!

Okay
There isn't much left for us to do.
We aren't coming to you on our knees!
Either you fall in line
Or you'd better be ready
To pick up the gun
Against we the people.

The Panthers are taking the shit
For us and for you
And I think you're willing
To let it stay that way
(Excepting Weatherpeople).

We aren't because we can't
We can't because
The Panthers will not free us.
They can't.
Only we can free ourselves.
And we will,
Over your dead bodies,
If that's the way you want it.

White Panthers, if you ever say
"Keep your assholes tight"
Again
You're gonna die.

Some of you pigs
Came when we rioted
And you got high on the trashing
Not on the people's fight.
You don't give a damn
About the people
Or what we need right now
Only about your orgasm
Your brick/cock breaking/fucking a window/woman
And somehow
You're on *our* side?

Yippies, we faggots are not "wishy-washy."
We are capable of love
That's soft, "loose-ass,"
Capable of receiving a cock
And that makes us strong.

We and the sisters will be together
Sooner or later
Because our battle is the same.
But about you
Cock-privileged pigs
We've got questions.
Watch your step, honey.

— Bob Bland

Conversation '70

when the sun drops into the ocean
the birds splash tropical colors against the green dark
of trees

stretches
revolution
a Rousseau painting
reciprocity
the stretching bone of pregnant women
the DOB library

a youth (the young superstar
of GayYouth, perhaps)
(screams)
no, no
help
nooooo!!!
no, help
they're trying to cram it down our throats
(stops, spits — something white
cum, perhaps or vomits)
because I don't know
I don't know what this poem is about

Panthers, the Oakland raid, Revolution, and,
Lifestyles of the Alternate Culture

when the sun drops into the ocean
the birds splash tropical colors against the green dark
of trees

the beauty of a woman's back
it always gets me in the stomach, you know,
breathless screaming in the pit
stomach rises, falls
to stretch across
membrane clings to bone white with desire

—Sorel David

21.

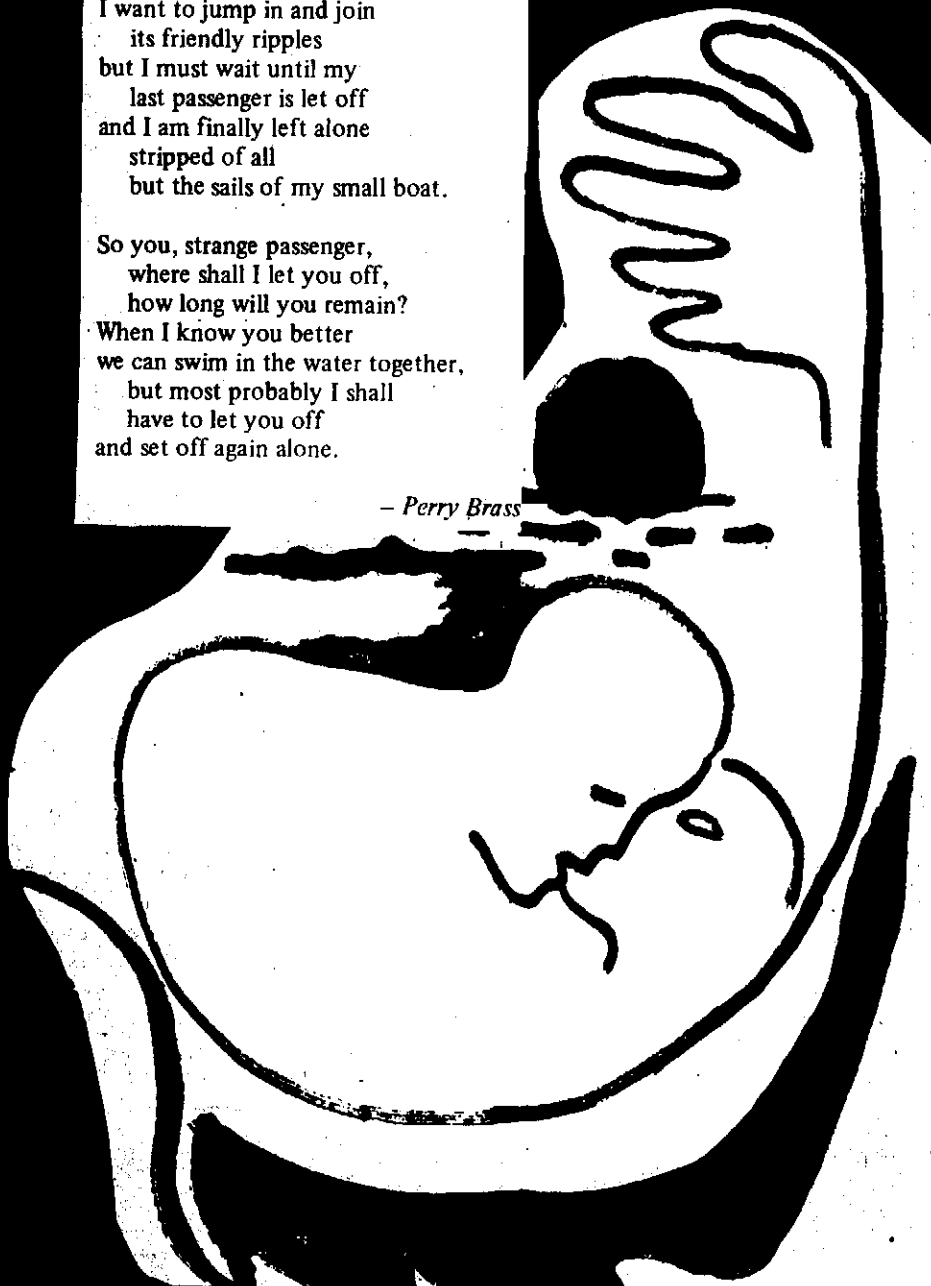
I Am Sailing on an Ancient Lake

I am sailing on an ancient lake
collecting passengers wherever I may.
Who will come to ride in my small boat?
How long will you stay and
where shall I let you off?

The sun is setting
and the water is too beautiful
to leave alone.
I want to jump in and join
its friendly ripples
but I must wait until my
last passenger is let off
and I am finally left alone
stripped of all
but the sails of my small boat.

So you, strange passenger,
where shall I let you off,
how long will you remain?
When I know you better
we can swim in the water together,
but most probably I shall
have to let you off
and set off again alone.

— Perry Brass



FLAMING

for exactly what we are and want
and have a right to
and nothing less:
a revolution total and permanent and never-ending.

To say it one last time, wiping out the kinds of
human want the rich white straight man
has afflicted the world with
will be easy once we win
the worldwide war against his madness
and are free
to begin the work of revolution itself.
Who among us wouldn't volunteer for that?
who wouldn't put in whatever hours are needed
in whatever free fields and factories
until we get the whole species
on a non-crisis basis, everyone having
enough to eat, enough of everything.

But with all of our liberated machines and
imaginings, that would require everyone
in the world—a statistical fact—
to "work" several whole
hours a week. Gladly, gladly—
because everything would belong
to us—and no one
could fire us or starve us
or jail us or anything.

But *my* revolution is beyond that.

Mine catches glimpses of what we could be
when there is no more religion or family or
male domination
or money or property or mine or yours or
forced obedience

when women are free
not only to shape their own lives
but to realize a vision of liberation
that will shape the lives of all of us

when men are able
to hug and kiss babies *not* for show,
but able to care for them in every sense
and for each other

when I'm no longer called queer
for wishing my father had held me
with a love like that,
for loving still any rare stray
glimmer of tenderness in a man,
for wanting to touch that transmutation
in the flesh, but only to share,
not to hoard, such a miracle
when I no longer have to suspect myself of being
resistant to struggle
for wanting the collective help
of my brothers
in fighting my own male supremacy,



"So you're for the revolution,"
somebody always seems to say,
rubbing his white male macho hands.
"Well, then, it's time to get serious, you know.
It *had* to come to this—
it's going on all over the globe,"
—as if I didn't know
the whole third world is going up in flames
and unless they win, the species is in danger,
imperialism the ecocidal enemy, in fact,
of all life everywhere.

OK, if that's what you mean, right on, etcetera,
I say,
but what's the catch?

"Nothing, except that, of course,
to be on *our* side, on the side of the *people*,
you'll certainly be willing to give up
certain little quirks
that hinder all of us from getting down
to maximum work
in the minimum of time left to us."

Quirks?

"Well, like your homosexuality, like wearing
your hair too long, like acting—well, just
generally being effeminate, unmanly;
that gets the *people* uptight as much as
women wanting to be engineers or something.
We don't have time for games."

Sorry to report this typically tiresome stereotype
of a thousand conversations
but it's exactly here that I say
Absolutely not!!!

and he says, "Utopian faker,
faggot, fairy, fuck off."
and I do.

Because my revolution is to the left of his,
because his would preserve the old Prison of Gender
which brutalizes
millions of people, its inmates, daily,
because he would actually jail me for being queer
as soon as he was in power;
and therefore it had better not be him who wins,
my comrades, it had better be all of us
who refuse to settle for
enslavement as the price of freedom,
who will fight and die—and win—

22.

THE SEARCH FOR

Many of us seem to think we must choose between
two extreme public roles which are extensions of the
sexist attitudes of society. Instead of exploring the full
range of our sexuality, we narrowly define ourselves in
terms of masculinity and femininity, having been well
indoctrinated into thinking of all people in this rather
naive and simplistic way.

The straight world has told us that if we are not
masculine we are homosexual, that to be a homosexual
means not to be masculine.

Five and ten years ago, we often chose to emphasize
the feminine aspect of our personalities, Camp was the
language of the time in gay bars. Sharp tongues. Limp
wrists. Tight pants. Miss Thing was very popular then.
We called each other she and her. We were bold enough
to come out of our closets. We flaunted our
homosexuality while others more fearful and more
conservative still hid in the shadows, embarrassed by the
spectacle they saw.

The hip movement shattered the former all-american
male look. We began to see ourselves differently. Many
of us our now emphasizing the masculine aspect of our
personalities. Blue workshirts and bellbottom jeans. We
are eager to prove our manliness. Some of us are

particularly intrigued by the super-masculine image;
once considered the opposite we were attracted to, it has
now become the model we imitate.

One of the things we must do is to redefine ourselves
as homosexuals. We are not non-heterosexuals. We are
not non-men. We should not think of ourselves as the
negative side of whatever roles white, male heterosexuals
have laid down. We are not the rejects of their world. We
are equals. We are who we are, neither completely
separate from straights nor an extension of their society.
When we achieve our freedom as homosexuals,
heterosexual men will also begin to liberate themselves.

We came to GLF because it was not just a social club
but an organization of radical homosexual women and
men. An organization that is against the oppression of
gays and other minority peoples. We are against the war.
We are for a new society of love and freedom, humanely
ordered. The issues which drew us to GLF are movement
issues. We are not satisfied with reformation of the
present system but demand a complete transformation of
society, which must begin with ourselves.

What is strange is that we have been relating to each
other as if we were heterosexual men instead of radical
homosexuals. As if our homosexuality were an

accidental common interest and the last thing we are
willing to deal with. If we no longer cruise bars because
realize our oppression there and we no longer cruise the
other traditional cruising places, we have turned to GLF
for an alternative but pretend sex is unimportant to our
lives. Yet it is very important. We must not
compartmentalize it; we must integrate it into our total
being.

Whether we are willing to admit it even to ourselves,
each of us has come to GLF because we are gay and
eager to relate to other gay men, not only politically but
also socially and sexually. Yet so much of our energy has
been taken up by secondary issues. All issues not
directly concerned with gay liberation and our own
personal liberation must be considered secondary. This
does not mean we should ignore the other important
minorities around us. What it does mean is getting our
own heads together before going out to help other
people beyond our own immediate sphere of concern.
We must help ourselves before we can begin to help
them.

A lot of rhetoric at general meetings seems to be a
way of avoiding the areas we should concentrate on
now. How we see ourselves as gay men. How we can

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FAGGOTS

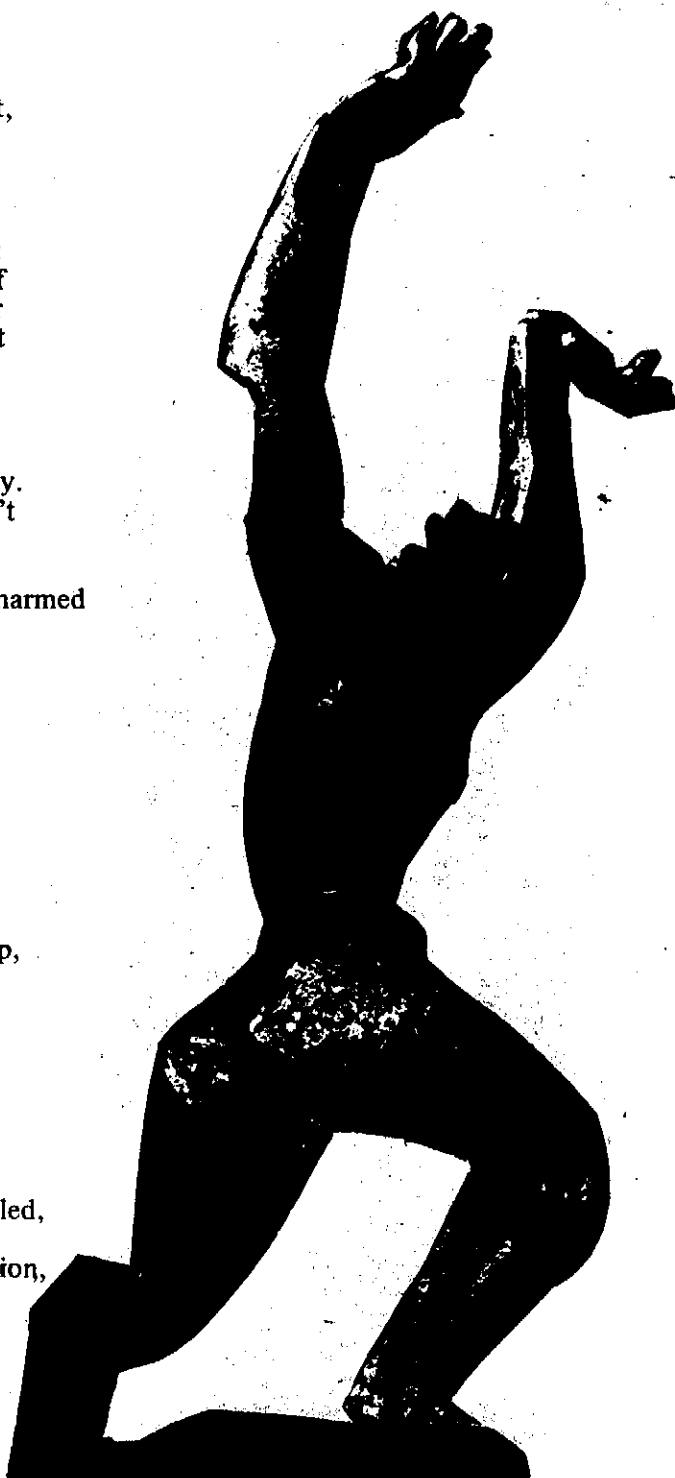
flaming faggots collective poem

for wanting to embrace in real arms
all comrades brave enough
to risk with me
the righting of old old wrongs,
no more the victimizer and victim,
leader and led,
lover and loved one.

Listen! No matter how powerless we are as yet,
both our pain and our demands
give us every right to face any
roundtrip U.S. cane-cutter who tells us
we don't know what it's like
to be oppressed. He's really talking about
his own white butch self, marking himself
as a collaborator in *our* oppression, signer
of the current Gender Nonaggression Pact
with the likes of David Rockefeller.
Machismo *is* fascism, as the sisters
of the Young Lords Party have said.

—All the more reason why we have to get ready.
The enemy thinks that our demands aren't
important, that we won't fight for them
By Any Means Necessary,
that we will go on being that meek and unarmed
people who "are slaves or are subject
to slavery at any given moment."
We'd better make The Man understand
right now
how wrong he is.
We're fighting the total fight
in which it remains to be seen
whether he can *ever* be
part of the solution
in any revolutionary future.

Because we're the majority—and we're rising up,
we're on the move:
we're all those people
who can't and won't and mustn't
fit into his pattern
of white male sado-dominance,
though we have so far been
psychically lobotomized by him,
gang-raped in prison and the army,
fired from jobs or refused them, blackmailed,
extorted, jeered at, beaten up, spit on,
and finding no relief in alcoholism, addiction,
self-mutilation, delusions of grandeur,
no relief in his hireling psychiatrists
who get rich telling us it's all personal,
not political—our fault, not his—
our hang-up, *our* guilt, *our* shame
—no wonder we are finally driven to suicide
when we see no way out of his lies.



When witches were burned in the middle ages,
the Inquisitors ordered the good burghers
(all of them men, of course)
to scour the dungeons for jailed queers,
drag them out and tie them together in bundles,
mix them in with bundles of wood
at the feet of the woman,
and set them on fire
to kindle a flame
foul enough for a witch to burn in.

The sticks of wood in bundles like that
were called faggots
and that's what they called the queers, too,
and call us still,
meaning our extinction, our complete extermination,
androcide and gynocide their one response to
any heretical blasphemy against
a god-given manliness.

Isn't it time we said yes,
yes to faggot,
proud to reclaim our martyrs
—who else will have them, or feel their pain
but we brother-lovers, we flaming faggots who
embrace the coal of final rebellion,
women already ablaze,
we catch fire from them this time,
a whole planet groaning with relief
as the bonds of
an expiring masculinity
glow like wicks, then break,
slipping from all our backs.

In that holocaust, I *will* risk my whole self
and body
even should I perish.

My melting flesh—

My screams are only
the death of everything they stand for.
My pain short-circuits so quickly
I can't believe it.
My hand is a trellis of fire.
I can do it. It's easier than I thought.
The crisp odor has stopped.
It's they who are falling away,
perishing, our liberation their execution,
My screams are bullets,
blood stuttering through their skin.
I can't hear my own words anymore
except that I think we must all
still be chanting, demanding, welcoming

freedom freedom freedom

THE TOTAL MAN BY TONY DIAMAN

23.

relate to each other. How we can relate to gay women
and gay third world people. The first men's meeting
brought some of these problems more to the surface but
again they became submerged in the endless discussions
about what we should or should not be doing. We have
to struggle to go beyond the words which continue to
divide us.

Many of our gay sisters and brothers who have come
to Sunday night meetings have been scared away by
what they have seen and heard there. It is difficult to get
any kind of understanding of what GLF is about by
sitting as a spectator on a battlefield. Some stay and
fight, more walk away hoping to find a more peaceful
scene. There seem to be few women left who are relating
to these meetings because they cannot stand to hear the
men fighting with one another.

We haven't gone far from the way we have treated
each other in the bars, except that the silent hostility
which is a part of the cruising game is expressed more
openly at meetings. We are still suspicious of each other.
We are very defensive. Extremely competitive. If we call
ourselves brothers, perhaps we should think incest, use
sex to bring us together, to bind us closer, both
physically and emotionally.

Whatever we do, we have to go beyond our narrow
roles to include both the masculine and feminine
components of our personalities. To be a man, in
straight society, is to be only half a human being, to be
hard, tough, violent, aggressive, competitive, controlling.
We must explore the other part of ourselves, be soft,
tender, peaceful, anaggressive, cooperative, yielding.

I think every GLF man should see *Performance*, not
just to look at Mick Jagger who is beautiful in the film,
but to see the exploration of sexual roles which is what
it's all about. Chas (James Fox) is the super-stud
gangster, the epitome of the male image in this country.
Turner (Mick Jagger) breaks all the rules as a man who is
both male and female at different times and at the same
time. Chas is an assassin whose final answer is death.
Turner wants to achieve total understanding of life.
They are afraid of one another in the beginning, but
come to love one another in their own individual ways.
And the roles they play constantly change.

As a rock star, Jagger purposely blurs the line
separating the artificial categories, we know as masculine
and feminine, by projecting a duo-sexual image when he
performs. Perhaps that's the ultimate goal for all of us,
the way we can totalize our full range of sexuality. It's

something to think about. In order to achieve liberation,
we must always be open to change.

This is something that can be further explored in
consciousness-raising groups and gestalt encounter
groups. Tools we can all use to expand our awareness of
what gay liberation means. Those who can commit
themselves to a full-time struggle can deal even more
fully with all aspects of liberation by joining together in
living collectives. We need parties and dances and
picnics as well as more demonstrations and other street
actions, events for GLF members, as well as for the gay
community, not to close ourselves off from other people
but to give ourselves an opportunity to get to know each
other better, to build greater trust among ourselves, to
establish a more solid base from which we can reach out
to our gay brothers and sisters outside of GLF.

We must come together in every way possible and this
includes sex which is not something ugly and
objectifying but a beautiful gesture, a fantastic
expression of love, of care and concern for other men
like ourselves. We must learn new ways to touch one
another and be touched by each other. Liberation means
to be who we are, to be total human beings and to relate
to others in a totally human way, to live as completely
as possible in the kind of world we envision for
ourselves.

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HERMANAS Y HERMANOS DE
3^{er} Mundo, Comunistas
Come Out in Third World
¡VEN! ¡Cine Out!
¡SACA EL TIEMPO!
¡Seize The Time!
¡Todo El Poder Al
Pueblo!
¡All Power to the People!