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*Against Morality: A Critical Realist Examination of a  
History of Western Sexual Normativity. An Appeal  
for Emancipation and Explanation through  
Emergentist Social Science*

THOMAS GEORGE JAMES BROCK

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*Against Morality: A Critical Realist Examination of a History  
of Western Sexual Normativity.*

An Appeal for Emancipation and Explanation through Emergentist  
Social Science.

Volume II

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2012

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# APPENDIX

## A

ITEM 1: OLGA National. Communities Under Attack. Dec, 1989.

**ORGANISATION  
for LESBIAN and  
GAY ACTION**

Room 3  
38 Mount Pleasant  
London WC1X 0AP

December 1989

COMMUNITIES UNDER ATTACK

Britain's Moral Majority . . . . . "They were the people who brought us Section 28. They were behind the recent Early Day Motion attacking lesbian mothers, and they have just successfully destroyed five years of health education work on AIDS."

(Chris Woods of Capital Gay on the extreme right wing pressure group "Family Concern")

The Early Day Motion tabled recently by Ann Winterton attacks the reproductive rights of lesbians and "single heterosexual women who are not infertile", going on to describe lesbian and single womens' families by stating that they "undermine the status of marriage, corrupt the family unit and leave the ensuing children at risk of grave emotional harm." Our right to have children is now under attack, the implication being that it should only be white, middle class, married, able-bodied heterosexuals who are allowed to have families. Those who have tabled this motion are committed to attacking the reproductive rights of all women and there is currently concern about possible discriminatory amendments to the forthcoming embryology bill.

Recent attacks in the press and media have also targetted and vilified People With AIDS/HIV, black people, lesbians and gay men, bisexuals, drug-users and women. The lies being spread about the AIDS crisis could lead to the deaths of thousands of heterosexuals who have been told that they are not "at risk". The rights of disabled people, trades unionists, the unemployed, students and single parents are also being threatened. Homelessness is tolerated with young people particularly targetted, yet the Tories continue to make hypocritical statements about their protection of the young.

We wish to propose the setting up of a group representing communities under attack to mobilise for a mass demonstration/day of action in 1990. A group of representatives should meet as soon as possible in January to discuss and launch this campaign. We need to unite our struggles to take action against these attacks on our rights and freedoms. Please respond to this as soon as possible.

Maureen Oliver  
OLGA (National).

Tel: 01-833-3860 Fax: 01-278-3608

ITEM 2: Speech by Peter Tatchell to the Stop Clause 28 Rally. 30<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1989.

Text of a speech by Peter Tatchell to the Stop Clause 28 Rally  
in Cardiff on Saturday 30 January 1989

Sisters and Brothers,

We are here today to oppose Clause 28 of the Local Government Bill. This Clause is a bigot's charter. It will give succour, comfort and encouragement to every bigot in the land. It will help create an atmosphere in which prejudice and discrimination will flourish.

Clause 28 is an unprecedented legislative proposal. Never, since the 1930s, has any European government ever attempted such a draconian threat to the human rights and civil liberties of lesbians and gay men.

By supporting this Clause 28, the Thatcher government is, yet again, dragging our society further down the road of intolerance and authoritarianism.

Fifty years ago, another government began by banning the promotion of homosexuality - that government was the government of Adolf Hitler.

That same government ultimately drew up 'pink lists' of known homosexuals and, using the Gestapo, it ordered the mass rounding up of gay people who were forced to wear the sign of the pink triangle and who were deported to the concentration camps where they were worked to death and exterminated en masse.

The Nazis succeeded because too many people stood by and did nothing. They succeeded because too few people dared to resist.

We have to defeat Clause 28 because if we don't, I fear for the future of lesbian and gay rights in this country.

Forty years ago, Britain fought and won a war against fascism in defence of democracy. Our country fought for a freedom which, even before Clause 28, lesbians and gay men were never allowed to share.

The reality is that for the last 40 years since 1945, lesbians and gay men have never enjoyed democratic human rights. Instead, we have been subjected to a degree of state repression which is tantamount to semi-fascist persecution:

- \* Gay men and women are sacked from their jobs and evicted from their homes and such discrimination is protected by law
- \* Every year, at least 30 loving lesbian mothers are deprived of their children by the courts
- \* Forty gay men are currently being held in prison for the 'crime' of loving another man contrary to Britain's discriminatory age of consent laws
- \* There has been a massive increase in violent attacks on lesbians and gay men over the last two years and nearly every week a gay man is murdered by 'queerbashers'.

Almost every gay man and woman here today will have a personal story to tell about being abused in the streets, attacked in their homes, or having a fist or a glass smashed in their face.

Clause 28 will fuel this climate of hatred and violence and that is why it must be defeated.

In case the government has forgotten, Britain is a signatory to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. That Declaration proclaims that all citizens have the right to privacy, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to protection from discrimination and persecution, and the right to equality before the law.

Clause 28 undermines those fundamental human rights and that is why we are here today - to proclaim that lesbian and gay rights are human rights and that we will never stop campaigning till Clause 28 is defeated and till lesbians and gay men win freedom, justice and equality.

ITEM 3a: Stonewall Group Minute Meetings. 27th Nov, 1988.

Power

Stonewall Group minutes of a meeting on the 27th November at Hemingford Road.

Present: Peter Rivas, Peter Ashman, Jennie Wilson, Fiona Cunningham Reid, Jan Parker, Lisa Power, Michael Cashman, Ian McKellen, Duncan Campbell, Debo Ballard.

Apologies: Douglas Slater.

1. Introductions: Jan and Fiona were introduced to the group and given its background.

2. Documentation: The papers have gone to the Charity Commissioners. PA ran through the Memorandum of the SG, which was agreed. He presented the Articles of Association to which the following changes were agreed:-

- a. to change the legally discriminatory traditional language (i.e. from he to she). LP to retype the document with changes.
- b. to change the general meeting quorum from 2 to 5 and to stipulate that both sexes must be represented.

PA to register the company on receipt of the Articles.

3. Money: Fundraising subcommittee will convene at 11.45am the following Sunday at Morgan St, to arrange to open a bank account and begin the initial fundraising. FCR to join this subcommittee.

4. Administration: Agreed that minutes should be taken of all full meetings in future and distributed in advance of the next meeting. MC to copy the major background documents for new members. DB to keep an archive of all documents and minutes.

5. Membership: Agreed unanimously to have a Christmas party to get to know each other. To be held at 7pm, 18th December at the Fallen Angel (upstairs). DB to provide food, please bring a bottle. DC to approach Stuart Hall re joining. All to keep considering more women, people with fundraising skills etc.

6. Employment: New subgroup to consider this, including job description, conditions, recruitment, temporary measures. LP and DB, IM to mention group to Colin Twedy.

7. Public launch: MC, DC, JP, LP, JW to look at how to go public and when. To meet 8pm Thursday 15th at Burdett Road.

8. AOB: PA explained his work on a Bill of Rights emerging from the legislation conference of 1987. This has potential support from both Labour and the Democrats and the Group may want to take it up when ready. Agreed that the Group needs a schedule of planned activities for obtaining objects in which this should feature.

9. Next meeting: Sunday 18th at the FA to consider short reportbacks from subcommittees, then party, followed by a full meeting on January 8th, 4-7pm at Narrow Street.

ITEM 3b: Stonewall Group Minute Meetings. 10th Dec, 1988.

Stonewall Group - Employment Subcommittee

Saturday 10th December 1988 @ Fallen Angel

Present: DB, CT, LP.

1. After discussing the options, it was agreed to go straight away for a Director, rather than a temporary Development Worker (since they would in any case be de facto Acting Director) and to attempt to recruit admin support as soon as the budget allows - possibly part-time.
2. Agreed that we need 6 months costs of the post and office in the bank before recruiting. Since Director is expected to be paid £20,000 p.a. or thereabouts, we would need about 20k before recruiting.
3. After long discussion on the qualities of the person for the post, a job description (appended) was drawn up. It was also agreed
  - (a) That the best person for the post must be appointed regardless of gender, race, etc; but that whatever their background they must demonstrate the ability to work with and have an understanding of other groups of people, particularly along the political spectrum.
  - (b) That they need not have a strong history of lesbian and gay rights work but must be lesbian or gay and have some ~~previous~~ knowledge of our previous initiatives within a general civil rights context.
  - (c) That they must have a track record of good work on their own initiative.
4. LP is to check the job description with Peter Ashman and Nick Birmingham of NCC.
5. These minutes and the job description to be discussed at the January 8th meeting.

ITEM 3c: Stonewall Group Minute Meetings. 8th Jan, 1989

Stonewall Group

MINUTES OF MEETING ON 8 JANUARY AT 82 NARROW STREET

Present:

Debbo Ballard, Duncan Campbell, Paul Dickinson, Ian McKellen, Lisa Power, Peter Rivas, Douglas Slater, Colin Tweedy, Jennie Wilson

Apologies:

Michael Cashman, Fiona Cunningham-Reid, Simon Fanshawe, Jan Parker. (Simon Fanshawe had sent apologies for the last three meetings.)

1. Items arising from the previous meeting

Lisa Power reported that she had now retyped the Articles of Association as agreed, and had given these to Peter Ashman.

Peter Ashman reported that he had received a letter from the Charity Commission raising some routine queries on the Deed of Trust. He would reply within a week.

It was pointed out that both the Stonewall Group and the Iris Trust would need an address before they were formally registered.

2. Leaflet

The draft of the leaflet prepared by Ian McKellen and Douglas Slater was considered and amended. A number of points were made and incorporated into the revised draft (attached). Other points were made in discussion.

Paul Dickinson and Lisa Power would collaborate with Ian McKellen and Douglas Slater in preparing the leaflet for press. The Group would consider the design concept once more before the leaflet was sent to press.

The timing of the production of the leaflet was discussed. In general it was felt that it should not be produced until both the Trust and the company were registered.

The leaflet should be in a 8"x4" format suitable for use in standard envelopes.

The style of the leaflet should be classic, on good quality paper, possibly using monochrome. If an illustration by a notable artist could be obtained, the possibility of using four-colour printing should be seriously considered.

ITEM 3c: Continued.

Stonewall Group: minutes of meeting held on the 29th January 1989 at Hemingford Road.

NOTE: NEXT MEETING 17th February (details on last page).

Present: Peter Rivas, Peter Ashman, Duncan Campbell, Michael Cashman, Paul Dickinson, Simon Fanshawe, Ian McKellen, Jan Parker, Douglas Slater, Jennie Wilson.

Apologies: Debbo Ballard, Fiona Cunningham-Reid, Lisa Power, Colin Tweedy.

1) Leaflet.

much discussion over the wording of the leaflet of introduction. It was pointed out that the draft had been discussed in great detail at the previous meeting. DS agreed to incorporate some minor amendments and IMC to rewrite his 'message'.

2) Launch of the two organisations:

JW and DC presented launch proposal in document form. After some discussion it was agreed that it would be unlikely to have a director in place until mid May. It was decided to hold off an official launch until the director is installed, the aims for the first year are established, and a firm financial base is secured. It was also agreed that the 'group' should be functioning before the launch so as to be able to present concrete proposal and objectives to the 'outside world'.

3) Charity status/Incorporation of the company:

PA thought a decision from the Charity Commissioners might be expected around mid April. DS would pursue his contacts to hasten the application.

Incorporation of the company was underway.

4) SPECIFIC AIMS OF THE GROUP FOR THE FIRST YEAR :

these were discussed generally and it was agreed that a separate meeting would be held at a later date which would focus solely on this issue.

DETAILS FOR INCLUSION IN THE AGENDA FOR THAT MEETING TO BE SENT TO DOUGLAS SLATER.

5) Finance:

'volunteered' funds from within the group to be collected by MC and JW and a bank account to be opened. The bank account to be unincorporated until such time as the Articles and Memorandum of the company are available and registered at Companies House (this process is underway).

6) 'BENT'

it was announced that a benefit primarily for IRIS is to be staged on June 25th, in which IMC and MC will play the leading

ITEM 3c: Continued.

- 2 -

It was agreed that the leaflet was intended in the first instance as a brief introduction to the Stonewall Group and Iris Trust. The leaflet could not argue the case for the organisation; it could only provoke a response and provide the information necessary to follow up a positive response.

The possibility of using the leaflet as an insert in the New Statesman was canvassed. This would entail printing 30,000 copies. On the other hand, far fewer might be needed. On the whole, it was felt that more should be printed, on the basis that the leaflet should have a useful life of over a year, and beyond the launch of the organisation. It was agreed that the print costs of runs from 5,000 to 50,000 should be investigated.

It was pointed out that Clause 28 was in fact the first discriminatory legislation supported by a Government for over a century. This was a fact which should be used, though possibly not in the leaflet.

3. Membership

The need to continue to seek for new lesbian members of the Group was stressed. A report was held over to the next meeting.

4. Other contacts

Lisa Power reported from the ILGA conference in Amsterdam. ILGA had stressed the possible importance of 1992. ILGA was taking steps to monitor the stance of the members of the new European Parliament to be elected this year.

Ian McKellen reported that he had been approached by Chatto and Windus to write a 10,000 pamphlet on homosexual rights. He had also been asked to produce a 50 minute documentary on the attitudes of people in the United Kingdom to homosexuality. Both these approaches were welcomed.

5. Next meeting

Sunday 29 January 4-7 pm at 57 Hemingford Road N1.

ITEM 3d: Stonewall Group Minute Meetings. 5th March, 1989.

MEETING OF THE STONEWALL GROUP ON SUNDAY 5 MARCH AT 4.00 PM  
AT FLAT 4, 202 KENNINGTON LANE, LONDON SE11  
(202 is where Courtenay Street joins Kennington Lane)

\* \* \* \* \*

1. It was agreed that the first year's programme for the Stonewall Group would be discussed at this meeting, and that as a basis for that discussion members of the group would submit suggestions for the programme in writing, and that these would be circulated. None have yet come in, but as a contribution to the meeting the following may be helpful.

2. Others will no doubt make specific suggestions for action. Those are crucial. The following are two slightly different, but complementary, approaches to the consideration of the programme of action:

- (a) an appraisal of how much time the Director and the office manager will have in the first year, and what proportion of their time will inevitably be spent in unavoidable basic activities;
- (b) an appraisal, for the purposes of reviewing progress, of what Stonewall should be happy to have achieved in its first year.

3. These may help guard against, on the one hand, setting unrealistic targets, or trying to take on too much in order to try to meet all possible aspirations at once, and on the other hand, being disappointed at the end of the year by appearing to have achieved very little when, in fact, a good deal may have been done. (These dangers are of course linked.)

4. The calculations are very rough and ready.

PROPORTION OF TIME AVAILABLE

5. Stonewall will do well if in the first year the staff get away with spending the following proportions of their time on the following things:

- 20 per cent establishing the office;
- 10 per cent establishing links with other groups;
- 30 per cent fundraising;
- 20 per cent responding to events.

That leaves just 20 per cent of the time for specific projects.

6. Neither the estimates themselves, nor the prospect of devoting that much time to those ends, is pessimistic.

**ITEM 3d: Continued.**

TEXT FOR LEAFLET INTRODUCING THE IRIS TRUST AND THE  
STONEWALL GROUP

[In what follows the actual draft text is printed in **bold**;  
everything else is merely explanatory.]

The Group will seek a simple etching or painting of an iris  
from an artist - preferably one which would reproduce well  
at small sizes.

The design should seek to make clear the involvement of  
lesbians as well as gay men in the Stonewall Group, and  
guard against appearing to exclude different racial groups.

The leaflet will need to include contact details

Title:

**Homosexuals in the United Kingdom: A new beginning for  
everyone**

Personal message from Ian McKellen as follows:

**"We homosexuals are not always popular with people who  
don't know us.**

**Ignorance of us breeds suspicion, misunderstanding and  
fear - then sometimes aggression and repression.**

**The debate over Clause 28 has encouraged me to try to  
understand how society at large might overcome this  
ignorance.**

**I can imagine no better instrument for this vital work  
than the new Stonewall Group. It has been created by a  
small group of us; lesbians and gay men who care about our  
country and who wish nothing more than to be free to  
contribute to its vitality on equal terms with all our  
fellow citizens.**

**I very much hope you will want to support the Stonewall  
Group."**

[SIGNED] Ian McKellen

ITEM 4: Amended Text for IRIS Trust and Stonewall Leaflet. 19th Feb, 1989.

- 2 -

WHAT STONEWALL SHOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE ACHIEVED

7. Stonewall will not have done badly if it achieves the following:

- (a) establishment of a permanent office;
- (b) securing of next year's funding;
- (c) at least 5 specific TV interviews or appearances, and 5 radio interviews, on behalf of Stonewall, responding to particular lesbian and gay related issues.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PARTICULAR ACTION

8. In short, Stonewall's scope for action may well be somewhat limited in the first year. In addition, it might be wise for the Group to aim, not only at what would be good things to achieve, but also at eminently achievable things. To be blunt, Stonewall needs some early successes.

9. Here are three specific suggestions for action in the limited time available - each of them should be tackled very adequately in under 5 per cent of time in the first year:

- (a) organisation of a university-based conference (by the Iris Trust), for Spring/Summer 1991, on Homosexuality and Modern Society, or Homosexuality and Modern Morals, or some such theme. The conference should be on a generous scale. A major benefit of it would be that it would be an obviously charitable object; but, more importantly, it would provide a cast-iron pretext for writing to everybody from the Prince of Wales and Archbishop of Canterbury downwards immediately to ask them whether they would be willing to participate. This should give a means of setting a frightfully respectable tone, and getting some free establishment exposure, right away;
- (b) establishing Stonewall as servicing an All-Party Parliamentary Group (of however informal and discreet a nature), with at least one meeting held;
- (c) the production of the first Stonewall publication.

10. These may appear very pusillanimous and limited aims. It is not put forward as a total programme. Others will come up with much bigger and better and deeply-needed projects. The above are things which seem relatively economical in terms of effort, and good in terms of long-term, foundation-laying utility.

28 February 1989

**ITEM 4: Continued.**

- 2 -

Background and introduction

Why?

1988 was the year of Clause 28 . Clause 28 shocked lesbians and gay men who, having believed that they had achieved a minimum degree of acceptance in Britain, suddenly felt themselves once more under attack. (35)

Clause 28 challenged everyone to consider whether homosexuality is acceptable in Britain today. Disturbingly, a majority of members of both Houses of Parliament answered the question by enshrining in the law measures against the undefined activity of "promoting homosexuality". (38)

Even some of those who opposed it suggested that lesbians and gay men had brought Clause 28 on themselves by "flaunting" their homosexuality. Lesbians and gay men - and many others - find this sinister. As homosexuality is not illegal, why should homosexuals not be as open as anyone else about their emotions, their relationships, their way of life? (57)

It cannot be healthy for lesbians and gay men to feel threatened, whether by a section in an Act or by wider social hostility. Equally, it cannot be healthy for others to feel that they are threatened by lesbians and gay men. (42)

Homosexuals should have the same rights as everyone in the community. Whether or not their contribution is explicitly homosexual, it can be to everyone's benefit. They do not wish to force or persuade or seduce anyone into being homosexual. Equally they do not wish to be forced or persuaded or seduced into pretending to be other than they are. (58)

In the end, this country will be a better place to live in if sexuality as well as gender, race, and religion is irrelevant to equality of opportunity and social acceptance. (38)

It is to work towards such a society that your support is asked for a new organisation, the Stonewall Group (and its associated charity, the Iris Trust). (27) (Total 322)

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Now enacted as section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988. (Footnote in much smaller type)

## ITEM 5: The Stonewall 1990s Agenda. 25<sup>th</sup> Nov, 1989.

The Pink Paper Issue 100 Week Ending 25 November '89 9

### THE PINK NINETIES

# The Stonewall 1990s Agenda

The Stonewall Group was born this year as Britain's newest lesbian and gay lobbying organisation. Tim Barnett is the Group's executive director. Pink Paper invited Tim to reveal the Stonewall agenda for the 1990s.

The start of one decade is also the end of another, a time for reflecting on past successes and failures - and for making a range of predictions to which, bar superb memories or filing systems, one cannot easily be held accountable 10 years later.

The Eighties held hope and threat for lesbians and gay men in Britain. The

limited advances were almost entirely of our own making; the setbacks and assaults reflected the power that others had and have over us.

Legislators and the private, public and voluntary sectors owe the millions of lesbians and gay men in Britain a major debt - we have made our full contribution to society, yet

receive neither rights nor protection in return.

The Nineties must be the time for us to call in the debt - to be given legally enforceable equal rights, to have the Government on our side as a public and consistent advocate of those rights, to include us in the public rhetoric of support for individual freedom and equality.



One of the most memorable theatre events of the last two years was the one night only performance of Martin Sherman's *Bent* at the Adelphi Theatre in June. Ian McKellen and Michael Cashman were sensational in a post Pride march performance which brought the audience to their feet.

## The Lesbian and Gay Campaign Issues

### Legislation

Britain contains a vibrant lesbian and gay culture, and comparatively buoyant commercial scene, yet has failed to legislate for rights over the last 22 years. The possibilities of legal progress relies on two imperatives - the priorities and politics of the next two Governments, and the extent to which the concerns of the European Community move beyond agriculture and free trade.

Basic changes include:-  
- legalisation of homosexual conduct with certain exceptions (eg involving someone under 16 years old)

- homosexual behaviour in the armed forces and merchant navy to be legalized;

- abolition of the offences of gross indecency and soliciting.

### Anti-Discrimination Legislation

"The failure of the British Government to legally protect lesbians and gay men from dismissal and harassment on the sole basis of their sexuality is a major barrier to free movement of labour in the European Community", that is the sort of argument which we may need to promote in order to force action in the British Parliament on the key issue of anti-discrimination.

The state must move beyond legalising our behaviour to protecting it. We need to identify new ways of communicating, the types and degree of discrimination which we face and the urgency of legal measures to ameliorate it.

### Partnership Legislation

This has been presented by *The Pink Paper* as one of the great issues for the Nineties. It offers much the potential for new heterosexual allies of particular relevance to lesbians and gay men who may not identify with the activist scene or support other legislative change. Without the changes itemized in above it will seem a nonsense. And we must promote it without seeming to advocate that heterosexual marriage is a model to which we should aspire.

### Non-Legislative Changes

Much of what any government does is not directly authorised by Parliament. It relies instead on legal interpretation of legislation, professing to draw from an undefined public perception of what is and isn't morally acceptable. Thus lesbian mothers are denied the right to bring up their children, the non-British subject partners of British lesbians and gay men are denied the right of residence in the UK, and applicants who state they are homosexual are considered a security risk. All this must change.

### Government as Public Educator

New legislation to define and defend our rights is of some value. However, the existing



Tim Barnett, executive director of the Stonewall Trust

models - race relations, and sex equality measures - do not inspire confidence in the ability of the law to change minds. We need a body with authority to promote, monitor the effectiveness of and develop the new law.

### Britain and the World

Economic and environmental imperatives will draw the nations of the world closer together through the Nineties. Increased travel, a greater trade in ideas, inevitable comparisons between the position of lesbians and gay men here and elsewhere - the impact can only be of benefit to us, both in 'catching up' with other European nations and in identifying support which we can offer to others much more

struggles faced by black people, women and people with disabilities and ourselves among others is not entirely alien to late 20th Century British politics. The commonality of interest between lesbians and gay men - shared experience of discrimination on the basis of sexuality - needs to be built on, with gay men recognising their potential for sexism and the rights of women to organise separately. And organisations established to serve the needs of our communities must find common cause over key issues. Diversity of approach - activist, lobbying, academic - have equal validity, so long as the message and impact are consistent.

### Public Attitudes

Our attitudes come from a number of sources which are notoriously difficult to influence - key among them are:

- The Media
- The Family/Childhood
- The Environment
- Friends
- School
- Personal networks

The challenge of turning round the attitudes of the British public - from general hostility to acceptance - is one which cannot be ignored.

### Powerful Organisations

A handful of semi-public/privately accountable organisa-

tions command extraordinary influence in Britain. Key among them are:

- The Churches, and other religious groupings;
- The Police;
- The Private Sector;

Currently, none are collectively supportive of our needs or aspirations. That is ironic. All employ lesbians and gay men, including some in senior positions; all have a duty to members/public/customers, who include many lesbians and gay men. The power of our arguments and of our communities must be concentrated on such bodies.

Ten steps to liberation, they may sound optimistic, even unrealistic. Yet none are impossible to achieve. Unless we enter the decade with hope, it is inevitable that we will emerge with despair.

*The Stonewall Group* is a non-profit making company established to work towards resolving problems caused by discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, it also co-opts itself with discrimination due to disability, gender, race, social status or any other difference.

Its stated objectives include "to protect and advance the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of lesbians and gay men on an equal basis with other citizens".

*The Stonewall Group* is at 5, Rector Street, London N1 7DG.

### Coming Out


The action of "going public" on our sexuality is of massive importance to us and those around us. The pressures which conspire to make people 'stay in' need to be identified - and ways found of working round them.

### Working Together

The concept of "alliance" may be a discredited political concept, but deserves attention and respect in our context. The idea of the Rainbow Alliance is alive in American politics and there is the potential for the same to happen in Great Britain. The

oppressed than we are.

**ITEM 6: Stonewall - National Survey on Police Action Against Gay Men. Jan, 1990.**

<b>THE STONEWALL GROUP</b>		<b>LEICESTER LESBIAN AND GAY ACTION</b>
5 Rector Street, London N1 7DG 01-354 3187		25 Walton Street Leicester LE3 0DX Tel 0533 553436
<b>NATIONAL SURVEY ON POLICE ACTION AGAINST GAY MEN</b>		
January 1990		
Dear Friends		
As you may know, over the last twelve months there has been a very substantial increase in the number of men charged with or convicted of public indecency or public order offences in or in the vicinity of public toilets in the UK. There some indications that this increase has resulted more from changes in police practice than from any other cause and in some instances the methods used by the police have been seriously questioned.		
The Stonewall Group and Leicester Lesbian and Gay Action are jointly conducting a national survey in an attempt to establish as full and accurate a picture as possible of the extent and nature of police operations in this field throughout the country.		
We are as eager to discover examples of good practice which can be held up as models to be followed elsewhere as we are to uncover evidence of malpractice and harrassment. So we would appreciate your help in providing us with any information you may have concerning your locality.		
We enclose two survey forms. Survey A is very short for those of you who are pressed for time or have insufficient information to warrant their completing the more detailed Survey B.		
Survey B asks a comprehensive range of questions about many aspects of police operations against gay men. We do not expect anyone to be able to answer them all. Rather it is a check list and a reminder of things you might know but might otherwise not think of as relevent. Please fill in those things you know about and leave the rest. If there is anything else we may not have asked that may be relevent please tell us anyway.		

ITEM 6: Continued...

2

Any information, even that you don't know of anything happening in your locality, is valuable to us.

Leicester Lesbian and Gay Action has demonstrated that it is possible to take effective action at a local level and move from public confrontation with the police into constructive dialogue with the prospect, now, of resolving the problems. We are eager to assemble sufficient accurate information to see if it is possible to take equally effective action at a national level. That is why your help is so important.

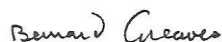
We would like to thank GALOP, The Gay London Police Group, for their advice in drawing up the questionnaires.

We look forward to your reply.

With best wishes



Tim Barnett  
The Stonewall Group



Bernard Greaves  
Leicester Lesbian and Gay Action

ITEM 7a: Stonewall - Monitoring and Outmaneuvering The Moral Right. 14th Jan. 1990.

MONITORING AND OUTMANEUVERING  
THE MORAL RIGHT

1. The moral right in Britain works towards its social goals in complex, interrelated ways. It is possible to trace a "family tree" of groups and key individuals through a variety of issues and a considerable number of years. Different names and fronts are adopted in order to achieve different yet linked objects.
2. During the 1990s, for a variety of reasons, such organisations will improve the quality and quantity of their activity, concentrating on the destruction of the "liberal" agenda of personal freedoms. The reasons for this include:
  - opportunities in Parliament to advance the moral Majority cause;
  - advances for the "liberal" agenda within the manifestoes of opposition political parties;
  - increased funding from supporters who have profitted from lucrative commercial sectors;
  - increased American influence, combined with new opportunities for cooperation with organisations based in other European countries;
  - a continuation of the 80s agenda of nationalism, prejudice and "family" concerns;
  - a vigorous and crucial struggle taking place inside the Conservative Party about pre- and post-election direction;
  - the political importance of the forthcoming General Election, in which American style campaigning and homophobic attacks on the "liberal" agenda are extremely likely;
  - increased number of deaths of PWAs, and increased impact on public spending;
  - continued moral right wing influence on the British press.

It is estimated that 60-70 MPs in the current Parliament broadly support the agenda of such groups.

ITEM 7a: Continued.

3

3. Although many groups do excellent work in this area, no general, cross-sector response has developed. In part this is because the targets of the moral right are diverse, and may themselves perceive that they have little in common. Also, the messages of the moral majority are themselves (deliberately) mixed, with its organisations secretive and often short-lived. The political opposition seem as poorly placed as ever to input to debates which touch on sexuality and gender. Targets are likely to include:

lesbian and gay rights

the AIDS/HIV sector, and linked organisations

pro-choice groups

campaigns for reproductive rights

campaigns for liberalisation of divorce

campaigns for women priests in the Church of England

"liberal" teaching methods

It is imperative that action against the moral right is coordinated and effective, if we are not to be thrown yet further on the defensive. The pre-General Election period - which we have now entered - is likely to be one of particular danger, and so plans must be laid and action taken before then.

4. It seems as though there are two ways forward:

- activity in the media. This might include the provision of briefings to key journalists, concentrating on television; the production of a resource booklet detailing links between the national press and the moral right; a re-born Press and Media Campaign.
- detailed mapping. This might include the creation of a detailed computer listing of the organisations and individuals involved, providing an early warning system to legislators, detailed briefing to those in a position to expose the beliefs of and links between elements of the moral right, and a base from which comparisons with other European and American movements can be made.

These and other ideas need to be discussed at the 1/2/90 meeting.

TAB  
14/1/90



ITEM 7c: Stonewall - Moral Right Letter. 15th Jan, 1990.

THE  
STONEWALL  
GROUP

15/1/90

Dear colleagues,

## MONITORING AND OUTMANOEVRING THE MORAL RIGHT

As you will already know, groups opposed to the agenda of equal rights and personal freedom are gathering strength as the General Election approaches. Alarmed at the implications of this, a small and ad-hoc group of concerned lesbian/gay activists have been meeting to determine how our communities might act as a catalyst for the creation of more vigorous opposition to these developments. The enclosed papers summarises our early conclusions.

We would now like to develop these thoughts further by discussing them with you at a meeting to be held in:


the LONDON LESBIAN AND GAY CENTRE  
67 Cowcross Street  
LONDON EC1  
(nearest underground Farringdon)

on THURSDAY 1st FEBRUARY from 19.30 - 21.30

\* Please let us know if you require a creche or overnight accommodation. The building is fully accessible for people with disabilities. \*

The meeting will comprise an information presentation by two members of the ad-hoc group; questions and discussion; a presentation of the proposed ways forward; questions and discussion; and decisions at the end. It will be chaired by Lisa Power.

As you can see from the list on the back of this letter, this is an invitation-only meeting. We have selected a range of organisations with obvious concerns in this area. If you know of any other group or individual whose attendance is imperative, please let me know - and please do not hesitate to contact me if you would like further details. Please return the attached slip to let us know if you are coming.

Very best wishes,  


Tim Barnett  
on behalf of the ad-hoc Steering Group

5 Rector Street, London N1 7DG. UK. Tel: 01-354 3187  
The Stonewall Lobby Group Limited Company Registration Number: 241 228  
THE STONEWALL GROUP DIRECTORS: DEBORAH BALLARD, MICHAEL CASEMAN, JENNIE WILSON.

1711 - Copies to all F.C.

ITEM 7d : Stonewall - Revised Monitoring and Outmaneuvering. 19th Mar, 1990.

MONITORING AND OUTMANOUVERING  
THE MORAL RIGHT

MAILING LIST

ad-hoc planning group: Simon Watney  
Chris Woods  
Keith Allcorn  
Lisa Power  
Tim Barnett

Antony Grey

Black Lesbian and Gay Group

British Council of Churches

British Medical Association: Carmel Turner

British Medical Association Foundation for AIDS: Hilary Curtis

British Pregnancy Advisory Service

Campaign for Access for Donor Insemination: Angela Weir

Campaign for Homosexual Equality

Chris Smith MP

City Limits: Caz Gorham


Conservative Group for Homosexual Equality: Peter Campbell

Evangelical Christians for Racial Justice: Raj Patel

Family Planning Association: Doreen Massey

Family Pride: Alan Dickens

Feminists Against Censorship: Linda Semple  
Mary McIntosh (also Reminist  
review)  
Angela Stewart Park

 GALOP: Vincent Beasley

Gay and Lesbian Equality Network (Ireland)

Gay and Lesbian Humanist Association: George Broadhead/  
Denis Hall

Gay Times/HIM: David Smith

ITEM 7d: Continued.

SchisL

19/3/90

to: Chris  
Keith  
Lisa  
Simon

from: Tim

**MONITORING AND OUTMANOUVERING  
THE MORAL RIGHT**

Please find enclosed; i) a draft letter to go to all groups on the mailing list;

ii) a redraft of the discussion paper

iii) a revised mailing list.

Comments by 30/3/90 please, so that we can go ahead with the mailing, and then start contacting potential funders.

One other issue. What are we going to do about the Family Congress? It could be a useful catalyst for a lot of our activity, but any strategies to expose its real purpose need to start now. We have discovered that its office is shared by the Order of Christian Unity. Comments please!

ITEM 7d: Continued.

2

Lord Gifford

"Independent" (Andrew Brown)

Islington Anti-Racist, Anti-Facist Action

Janet Batsleer, Manchester Polytechnic

Jewish Socialist Group: David Rosenberg

John Creedy

Labour Research: Neal Moister

Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement: Richard Kirker

Lesbian and Gay Medical Association: Richard Glaves  
Jerry Walsh

LOBSTER: Robin Ramsey

Maggie Steed

Martin Barker, Bristol Polytechnic

Martin Durham, Wolverhampton Polytechnic

Mike Harwood

Movement for the Ordination of Women: Caroline Davis  
Margaret Orr Deas

MSF (Manufacturing, Science and Finance): Martin Groombridge

NALGO Lesbian and Gay Sub Group: Hugh Robertson

National Abortion Campaign: Linda Adelson

National AIDS Manual: Peter Scott

NCCL/Liberty: Nettie Pollard

National Council of Voluntary Organisations: Usha Prashar

National Union of Journalists lesbian/gay sub committee

Neil McKenna

North West Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights

Northern Irish Council for Civil Liberties

ITEM 7d: Continued.

3

Organisation for Lesbian and Gay Action: Martin Corbett  
Maureen Oliver

"Out on Tuesday": Maggie Scammell  
Mandy Merck  
David Braithwaite

Peter Tatchell

Pink Paper: Damon Heaney

Richard Barker

Robin Cook MP

Professor Rowan Williams

Runnymede Trust: Ken Leach

Sara Maitland

Scottish Council for Civil Liberties

Searchlight

Seen Days: Simon Barrow

Shakti

Sophie Watson

Stonewall Group: Dorian Jabri  
Olivette Cole-Wilson  
Elaine Willis  
Jennie Wilson  
Pam St Clement  
Matthew Parris  
Peter Ashman  
Peter Rivas  
Ian McKellen  
Fi Cunningham Reid  
Debo Ballard  
Duncan Campbell  
Simon Fanshawe  
Michael Cashman

Terrence Higgins Trust: Nick Partridge

TUC: Anne Gibson (MSP)

Wales Council for Civil Liberties

Womens Reproductive Rights Campaign: Glynis Donovan

ITEM 7d: Continued.

(revised following the 1/2/90 meeting)

**MONITORING AND OUTMANOEUVERING  
THE MORAL RIGHT**

1. The moral right in Britain works towards its social goals in complex, interrelated ways. It is possible to trace a "family tree" of groups and key individuals through a variety of issues and a considerable number of years. Different names and fronts are adopted in order to achieve seemingly different objects, in fact linked by a tight moral code, often based on the traditional family unit. For some of the groups this is combined with a strict religious code - for others, the neo-conservatives, political belief is the motivating factor. A common strand is implicit or explicit racism, often combined with other key causes (e.g. opposition to single parenthood)
2. Their methods are unscrupulous - seemingly based on the principle that "if you throw enough mud, some will stick". They rarely use facts in their proper context. Common tactics include the release of fallacious "opinion polls" at opportune times; use of direct mail
3. Among the successes of these groups and their methods was Section 28, justified by its proponents as discouraging "permissiveness". It directly reflected the deep hatred which they have for homosexuality. Aims of the key moral right groups include the recriminalisation of homosexual sex.
4. During the 1990s, for a variety of reasons, such organisations intend to improve the quality and quantity of their activity, concentrating on the destruction of the "liberal" agenda of personal freedoms and appealing to an audience far beyond the Conservative Party. Much is running in their favour, for example:
  - there will be continued opportunities in Parliament to advance the causes of the moral right. They now have considerable Parliamentary influence (the support of c. 60-70 MPs), and an impressive lobbying machine ;
  - advances for the "liberal" agenda within the manifestoes of opposition political parties (laying them open to attack); and, conversely, the progress of the "family" approach to issues;
  - increased funding from supporters who have profitted from lucrative commercial sectors;

ITEM 7d: Continued.

2

- increased American influence, combined with new opportunities for cooperation with organisations based in other European countries;
  - new opportunities offered by television channels which develop after the changes led by the Broadcasting Bill;
  - a continuation of the 80s agenda of nationalism, prejudice and "family" concerns;
  - the vigorous and crucial struggle taking place inside the Conservative Party about pre- and post-election political direction. Linked, the critical importance of the forthcoming General Election, in which American style campaigning and homophobic attacks on the "liberal" agenda are extremely likely;
  - the increased number of deaths of PWAs, and increased impact on public spending;
  - continued moral right influence on the British press.
5. Although many groups do excellent work in monitoring activity in this area, no general, all-sector response has developed. In part this is because the targets of the moral right are diverse - they are, or will include:
- lesbians and gay men
  - the Black communities
  - the AIDS/HIV sector, and linked organisations; PWAs
  - bodies promoting and adopting equal opportunities policies
  - pro-choice groups; campaigns for reproductive rights
  - campaigns for liberalisation of divorce
  - campaigns for women priests;
  - bodies advocating "liberal" teaching methods
  - Third World development agencies
  - public education

ITEM 7d: Continued.

3

and may themselves perceive that they have little in common. Also, the messages of the moral majority are themselves (deliberately) mixed, with its organisations secretive and often short-lived. The parliamentary political opposition seem as poorly placed as ever to input to debates which touch on sexuality and gender.

6. It is imperative that action against the moral right is coordinated and effective, if we are not to be thrown yet further on the defensive. We need to guard against an obsession with certain individuals and/or groups, and more fanciful conspiracy theories, to a more reasoned analysis of the moral right. The pre-General Election period - which we have now entered - is likely to be one of particular danger, and so plans must be laid and action taken as a matter of urgency.

7. There is a lot of available information, and many actual or potential concerns, which remains best managed by individual organisations or networks. Any initiative needs to extract from the possible action, and real worries and threats, what would best be tackled on a collective basis. We need to respect the fact that many organisations targetted by the moral right will not be in sympathy with other causes likewise targetted. Ways must be found of coping with this.

8. We need to reduce and/or diffuse the power of the moral right. This is a two stage process:

- \* we need comprehensive and accurate information on their work and methods before we can predict what they will do, so making it more likely that counter action can be effective;
- \* the ensuing action has to have a tangible and lasting impact.

Chronologically, the following might be possible:

- preparation of a "sample" of maybe 20 profiles of individuals, detailing their links around certain issues, to show potential funders and involved organisations what the threat is like. This might become an interim three-monthly publication. Target for the initial one is 5/90.
- learning from the experience of other countries, especially the USA, in tackling the moral right;

ITEM 7d: Continued.

4

- receipt of some funding;
- detailed mapping. To centre on the creation of a detailed computer listing of the organisations and individuals involved. Ideally, to draw on the existing databases: Capital Gay  
LOBSTER  
Institute of Race Relations  
Evangelical Christians for Racial Justice  
Labour Research  
British Council of Churches  
British Medical Association  
Searchlight  
Runnymede Trust  
Charities Commission  
other organisations in UK  
organisations in Europe and USA  
Universities/polys etc.  
Interested individuals

This would provide the information needed for briefings and other publications, and a base from which comparisons with other European and American movements can be made. The process of maintaining this database will ease communication between participant organisations.

- commissioning specific research/information gathering around the myth of the "family" as fount of all that is good
- briefings to MPs, MEPs and political parties about the activities of the moral right
- briefings to key voluntary organisations about the activities of the moral right
- activity targetted at the media. This might include the identification of and provision of briefings to supportive key journalists; concentrating on television; the production of a resource booklet detailing links between the national press and the moral right; development and coordination of a system of responding to press articles inspired by the moral right
- development of an "early warning system" so that we can predict and develop opposition to their initiatives
- investigate and develop means of improving the performance of our own sector so that our message is put over with the effectiveness which is a hallmark of the moral right

**ITEM 7d: Continued.**

5

9. Four major issues arise from all this:

- \* funding. Possible sources include supportive trust funds in the UK, elsewhere in Europe and in the USA; individuals; local authorities; trades unions.
- \* coordination/leadership. Who takes on and runs the initiative from now on? How?
- \* common cause. Part of the reason for previous initiatives having faltered was the widely diverse nature of the causes being defended/involved. How can this diversity become a weakness, and not a strength?
- \* confidentiality. Should we be completely open, or highly confidential, or something between?

TAB  
20/3/90

**ITEM 8:** *Monitoring violence is 'easy' says police chief.* Nov, 23rd 1990.

Friday November 23rd 1990 Capital Gay

## OutRage in Highbury march

# Monitoring violence is 'easy' says police chief

**A senior Metropolitan police officer has claimed it would be "easy" for the Met to monitor queerbashing attacks on gay men.**

Chief Superintendent Hopkins made his remarks to representatives of OutRage during a 15 minute conversation outside Highbury Vale Police Station last Saturday afternoon.

### 'Very easy'

More than thirty OutRage demonstrators braved the homophobic taunts of bands of Arsenal football supporters to march from Highbury Fields to Highbury Vale Police Station to hand in a letter of protest to Chf Supt Hopkins.

The letter demanded tougher police action to curb the spate of violent queerbashing attacks in the area over recent months.

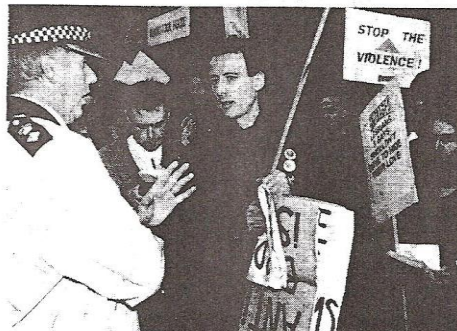
Chf Supt Hopkins came out of the station and spoke to representatives of the direct action group.

In response to one of OutRage's key demands that police monitor hate crimes against gay people, the Chief Superintendent is reported as saying: "It would be very easy to monitor anti-gay attacks. It's been done in the past in certain areas of London where there has been a history of this type of violence. With our modern computers we could log such incidents without any difficulty."

OutRage later described Chf

Supt Hopkins's attitude as "helpful and encouraging". The protesters then marched to Islington Police Station in Upper Street with a police escort provided by Chief Supt Hopkins.

They met further abuse from football fans as well as several gestures of support from the public. As the marchers gathered outside Islington Police Station, one man rushed up and made a donation of £20 to the OutRage coffers.



Chf Supt Hopkins with demonstrators (Photo: Gordon Rainsford)

ITEM 9: OutRage! - Plans to break anti-gay laws. Undated.

# OutRage!

Lesbian & Gay action to fight homophobia.

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

KISS-IN

LESBIANS & GAYS CALL FOR RIGHT TO KISS  
Challenge To Anti-Gay Indecency Laws

WEDNESDAY 5 SEPTEMBER 1990, 6-8pm  
Eros Statue, Piccadilly Circus, London

OUTRAGE PLANS TO BREAK ANTI-GAY LAWS

Scores of lesbians and gay men will rally under the Eros statue in Piccadilly Circus for a two-hour "Kiss-In" on Wednesday 5 September, from 6-8pm.

The protesters will challenge the way the public decency laws are often interpreted by police and judges to ban lesbians and gay couples from kissing, cuddling and holding hands in public places.

The organisers, the lesbian and gay direct action group, OutRage, cite the case of a Northampton man sentenced to 18 months imprisonment in July last year for "kissing and fondling" another man in a deserted church yard in the middle of the night.

over.....

OutRage!, 69 Cowcross Street, London, EC1M 6BP  
Telephone 071-490 7153

ITEM 10: OutRage! - The LGPI. 20th Sep, 1990.


**OUTRAGE!**

20/9/90

LLGC • 69 Cowcross Street • London EC1M 6BP •  
(071) 490-7153

THE LESBIAN AND GAY POLICING INITIATIVE

*Campaign For Homosexual Equality*

Dear *Fiona*

As you may have heard, the first meeting of the Lesbian and Gay Policing Initiative took place on Sunday Sept 2nd. The Initiative has been set up by OutRage! and GALOP to bring together as many of London's lesbian and/or gay organisations, so that we can establish a common forum on policing issues.

As the Metropolitan police has indicated in recent weeks, through its liaison officer Inspector Brown, the police want to open up liaison work to 20 lesbian and gay groups. But the Met decides which group should take part, and when meetings should occur, which prevents lesbians and gay men from working effectively together on the issue.

By setting up a democratic forum, made up of as many of London's 90 or so groups as possible, we hope that the Policing Initiative will give us a forum in which to discuss policing issues which affect us.

(more)

*referred to all*

ITEM 10: Continued.

But it also gives us a strong negotiating position if we can begin to speak for the 30,000 or so lesbians and gay men we collectively represent.

At our first meeting we decided that the Initiative should be looking at the following issues:

- 1) To set up a democratic London-wide forum to negotiate with the police on issues affecting our communities
- 2) To ensure lesbian and gay representation on all of London's borough police liaison committees
- 3) To look into producing a wide-ranging survey into anti-lesbian and anti-gay attacks, and police harassment

The next meeting of the Initiative is on Sunday September 30th at 2pm, in the 3rd floor meeting room of the Lesbian & Gay Centre in Cowcross Street. We would like your group to send two representatives. Please call OurRage! to confirm. If you can't make it, but want to stay involved, then please let us know.

That meeting will allow any groups there to help set down ideas for the October 2nd meeting with the Metropolitan police, especially those sections usually ignored or denied access to negotiations.

The Lesbian & Gay Policing Initiative will be most effective if as many groups as possible take part. Please come along! If you have any special needs, please let us know, but please remember that we have no funding at present.

Yours

*OurRage Lesbian and Gay Policing Initiative*

**ITEM 11: Outrage! - An open letter from the LGPI. Sep, 1990.**

Lesbian & Gay Policing Initiative  
c/o OutRage  
The London Lesbian & Gay Centre  
67-69 Cowcross Street  
London EC1

Thursday September xth 1990

Sir Peter Imbert  
The Commissioner  
Metropolitan Police  
New Scotland Yard  
London SW1.

**AN OPEN LETTER**

Dear Sir Peter,

As representatives of sixty London-based lesbian and gay organisations, with a collective membership of 20,000 individuals, we are writing to express our increasing concern over the Metropolitan Police's apparent apathy, arrogance and hostility towards our community.

We believe that unless rapid steps are taken to tackle our concerns, the police service in London could face an unprecedented break-down of relations with lesbians and gay men, which will have profound consequences for the policing of the capital. That is something which neither we, nor we believe yourselves, would wish to see happen, and we implore you to give urgent consideration to our views.

On Tuesday July 10th, five hundred lesbians and gay men marched peacefully through the streets of Ealing to protest at the prevalence of anti-gay violence in London today. The march and subsequent rally focussed on the fact that at least 32 gay men have been murdered for their sexuality in recent years, with 17 murders remaining unsolved. Concern was also shown at the high level of gay-bashing attacks in London, and the apparent reluctance of the Metropolitan Police to tackle such crimes. There was also anxiety expressed at the fact that last year, more gay men were arrested for consenting 'sex crimes' than in any year since 1955, when male homosexuality was still illegal.

That evening, BBC Television's *Newsroom South East* carried a feature on the demonstration, in which Det Chief Superintendent John Shoemake of New Scotland Yard was presented as the Metropolitan Police's spokesman. Asked if the police would be responding to demands for awareness training, liaison with the gay community and resources to combat anti-gay violence, he replied: "A person born with any sort of colour doesn't have a choice in the matter. I would suggest that sexual preferences, however, are a matter of individual choice."

Mr Shoemake later attempted to clarify his words, saying that he felt that some lesbians and gays are responsible for attacks on them, inviting violence because of the way they choose to dress. As lesbians and gay men, we are deeply insulted by Mr Shoemake's comments, and demand to know whether they reflect the views of yourself and the Metropolitan Police Force as a whole.

Is it a matter of "choice" when a young person is beaten, rejected or thrown out of the family home because of their sexuality? Is it a matter of "choice" when a lesbian mother loses custody of her child because of her sexuality? Is it a matter of "choice" when a lesbian or gay man loses their job, their home, their right to insurance and mortgage services because of

**ITEM: 11 Continued.**

their sexuality? Is it a matter of "choice" when lesbians and gay men are verbally insulted or physically attacked for the 'crime' of being gay? And in the case of Michael Boothe, are we really to believe that he "chose" to be beaten to death?

There is no question of choice involved, and to suggest as much is to offer a simplistic and outdated view of sexuality that draws nothing but contempt from lesbians and gay men. In one breath we are patronised and insulted, whilst the Metropolitan Police lets itself off the hook by suggesting that if we all stopped being homosexual these problems will simply melt away.

Lesbians and gay men do not choose to be despised, to the point where we are killed for our sexuality. But lesbians and gay men we are, something we are proud of, and something which we demand respect for. The time for insults, apathy and patronising has stopped, and London's large community of lesbians and gay men is now demanding action.

Outside the headquarters of the Metropolitan Police today, a token picket of lesbians and gay men are holding a peaceful demonstration to call for action. Our demands are straightforward:

- \* A clear and unambiguous statement from the Metropolitan Police retracting the views of Det Chief Supt Shoemake that sexuality is "a matter of individual choice" and an apology for the insult and distress caused by his comments
- \* An immediate end to all illegal police operations using agents provocateurs to entrap gay men in public places, and an assurance that there is no official or unofficial policy to harass the lesbian and gay community
- \* The commencement, as soon as possible, of compulsory awareness training for trainee police officers on lesbian and gay life, especially in London, focussing on our specific needs as citizens and the wide diversity of lesbian and gay life which exists. This should be supplemented by in-force anti-discrimination training for existing officers and all probationers
- \* The introduction of a new disciplinary offence for officers guilty of homophobic remarks or behaviour
- \* The introduction of a specific equal opportunities statement encouraging the recruitment of lesbian and gay officers, and the amendment of the existing internal disciplinary code to outlaw homophobia against gay or lesbian serving officers.
- \* The creation, on a London-wide basis, of a new post of Liaison Officer for the Lesbian and Gay Community, and a supporting and representative Liaison Committee, which would open up a high-level and capital-wide formal and regular consultation process between the Metropolitan Police and lesbians and gay men to discuss mutual concerns
- \* Monitoring of anti-lesbian and gay crime in the Metropolitan area, and the compilation of annual statistics on such hate crimes, as already occurs with race-motivated crimes
- \* The participation of a high-ranking delegation of Metropolitan Police officers in the forthcoming Symposium on the Policing of the Lesbian and Gay Community in London, organised by the umbrella organisation Lesbian & Gay Policing Initiative

We do not believe that such demands are unreasonable. As we are sure that you are aware, lesbians and gay men account for a major segment of London's population, and we believe that it is a matter of urgency that our fears and needs are recognised.

**ITEM 11: Continued.**

The Statement of Common Purpose and Values displayed in Metropolitan Police stations contains the following: "We must be compassionate, courteous and patient, acting without fear or favour or prejudice to the rights of others... We must strive to reduce the fears of the public, and so far as we can, to reflect their priorities in the action we take. We must respond to well-founded criticism with a willingness to change."

We are asking that this welcome statement of purpose and values be applied wholeheartedly to the Metropolitan Police's relations with lesbians and gay men. As a community we have identified both our fears and our priorities for action, and now call on yourself and your officers to act on them.

We do not want conflict with the Metropolitan Police. As lesbians and gay men, we demand as always the right to live our lives free from harassment, bigotry and homophobia, and in peaceful co-existence with London's multi-faceted communities. But our demands are urgent, and require immediate attention. **And we are concerned that if yourself and the Metropolitan Police service do not begin to address the genuine needs of lesbians and gay men, London's police service will witness a major breakdown in relations that will continue until action is taken.**

That, we believe, is something which neither we nor you would wish to see happen. We look forward to a rapid and detailed response to the proposals outlined above, which we hope will lead to a constructive process of communication and co-operation between lesbians, gay men, and the Metropolitan Police service.

Yours sincerely,

Lesbian & Gay Policing Initiative, representing:

OutRage!

Galop

LesPop

ACT-UP London

The London Lesbian & Gay Centre

Shakti

Fusion

Ealing Lesbian & Gay Forum

Labour Campaign for Lesbian & Gay Rights

London Lesbian & Gay Switchboard

Lesbian & Gay Pride

West London Group for Homosexual Equality

Ealing Gay Association

London Gay Teenage Group

## ITEM 12: Peter Tatchell - 5,000 gay men convicted. 2nd Jun, 1990.

4 The Pink Paper • Issue 125 • Week Ending 2 June '90

### COMMENT

Peter Tatchell investigates further the recent arrests figures of gay men

# 5,000 gay men convicted: the recriminalisation of gay sexuality



More than 5,000 gay men, and a small number of lesbians, were convicted under Britain's discriminatory anti-homosexual laws in 1988.

This figure, which indicates a trend towards the unofficial recriminalisation of lesbian and gay sexuality, has emerged from Home Office conviction statistics and from estimates by Gay London Policing Group (GALOP).

It suggests that the number of gay men convicted for acts relating to their sexual orientation in 1988 was one of the highest totals this century, and at least three times greater than the number convicted in the three years immediately prior to the 1967 Sexual Offences Act, which supposedly legalised male homosexuality in England and Wales. (Sex between men was only decriminalised in Scotland in 1980 and in Northern Ireland in 1982.)

In fact, despite so-called decriminalisation of gay sex, homosexuality is still variously defined in written and case law as an "immoral purpose", a "gross indecency", and a "corruption of public morals".

The end result of a legal and political system which continues to see lesbian and gay sexuality as "contrary to public policy", is the mass of convictions in England and Wales during 1988 (the last year, and the only parts of the UK, for which full figures are available):

\* 2,454 gay men were convicted in 1988 for consenting sexual relations which, in nearly all cases, would not have been an offence if the partners had been heterosexual.

Most of these convictions were for acts of "indecently between males" and "gross indecency". The prosecutions mainly related to men having sex with each other outside of their own bedroom. These offences of "indecently" do not apply to heterosexuals. They carry a maximum penalty of 2 years for sex with men over 21, and 5 years for sex with 16-21 year olds.

As the gay journalist, David Smith, recently revealed in *HIM*

magazine, convictions for "indecently between males" soared to 2,022 last year. This is the highest level for 34 years and is only exceeded by the figures for 1954 and 1955. At that time, male homosexuality was totally illegal and Britain was gripped by a McCarthyite-style anti-gay witch-hunt.

Most of the other convictions in the 1988 total of 2,454 guilty verdicts relate to breaches of the age of consent laws. In 23 cases, these resulted in gay men being imprisoned for sexual relations with other males aged between 16 and 21. Eleven of them received sentences of between 18 months and 4 years.

The crime of "buggery" with a youth under the age of 16 is still punishable by life imprisonment.

\* 699 men were convicted in 1988 of "soliciting and importuning" for an "immoral purpose", which carries a maximum sentence of two years gaol under Section 32 of the 1956 Sexual Offences Act.

This Act makes it illegal for gay men to meet each other, or even attempt to meet each other, in a public place with a view to arrange sexual relations (irrespective of whether they actu-

ally have sex). carrying personal contact ads, and gay dating services, are unlawful and a conspiracy to commit criminal acts because they facilitate social contacts leading to homosexual relations. In recent years, however, this law appears to have fallen into disuse.

\* 1,000 gay men are estimated to have been convicted in 1988 under various local by-laws, according to GALOP. A by-law in London Borough of Richmond, for example, makes it illegal for a person to remain in a public toilet "longer than is necessary".

In spring 1989, more than 150 men were charged with this offence in Richmond alone.

\* 82 lesbian and gay military personnel were punished by dismissal from the armed forces in 1988 on account of their sexuality. Ten out of them were discharged after formal conviction by summary trial or court-martial and 9 of these were given custodial sentences of up to 12 months.

\* 200 lesbians and gay men are estimated to have been convicted in 1988 for acts related to their sexuality under general laws against offensive behaviour, disorderly conduct, behav-

ior, and gay dating services, are also dusting off century-old statutes to get convictions of gay men, including the Town and Police Clauses Act of 1847 and the Vagrancy Act of 1824 which respectively forbid people to "wilfully and indecently expose their person" and make it an offence to commit acts of "indecent exposure".

Thus, the total number of convictions of gay men in 1988 was almost certainly in excess of 4,400.

However, even these staggering figures relate to convictions in England and Wales only. The government has declined to publish figures for the UK as a whole.

Extrapolating from the English and Welsh conviction rates, and bearing in mind the known anti-gay witch-hunts by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, it would seem reasonable to assume that there were at least a further 600 convictions of homosexuals in Scotland and Northern Ireland in the same period.

This means that in the UK during 1988 a grand total of more than 5,000 gay men, together with a small number of lesbians, were convicted for

Richard Meade



"You're nicked, mate!": gay arrests are more numerous than we thought

ally have sex).

Judges have interpreted "importuning" as including contacts ranging from chatting-up and passing notes, to smiling and winking at other men. This results in the legal contradiction that it is a criminal offence for homosexuals to meet each other for the purpose of arranging sexual relations which are perfectly lawful.

Under the 1967 Sexual Offences Act, it's also still illegal to "procure" homosexual acts (the maximum sentence is 2 years gaol).

This means that technically all gay bars and discos, telephone chat-lines, magazines

likely to cause a breach of the peace and, increasingly, under the 1986 Public Order Act which was originally enacted to combat football hooliganism and violent demonstrations.

In April 1988, two gay men were fined £40 for kissing in a London Street. The Chief Metropolitan magistrate for London, Sir David Hopkin, ruled that the two men kissing in a public place contravened Section 5 of the Public Order Act which prohibits insulting, abusive or threatening behaviour likely to cause public alarm or distress.

As Philip Derbyshire of GA-

consenting sexual relations, attempting to meet each other for that purpose, and expressing acts of affection in public.

This is certainly one of the highest conviction levels of homosexuals this century. It represents the stealthy recriminalisation of gay sexuality, contrary to the whole spirit and intention of the Sexual Offences Act of 1967.

For those people whose lives have been wrecked by this judicial "queer-bashing", and for the many others who live in fear of police harassment, the idea that the 1967 Act legalised male homosexuality is a cruel and despicable nonsense.

**ITEM 13: Peter Tatchell – Labour Briefing. Undated.**

DEMOCRACY

**Lesbian and gay rights under attack***Peter Tatchell profiles the latest attacks on lesbian and gay rights and urges us to "Get up! Get out! Get even!"*

**Clause 25 of the Tories' Criminal Justice Bill is the biggest attack on homosexuals' human rights since the mid-50s.**

Even more dangerous than Section 28, Clause 25 will make more than 2,500 men a year liable to higher fines and longer prison sentences for victimless homosexual behaviour.

According to Home Office minister John Patten homosexual soliciting, procuring and indecency are 'serious' sex crimes which require severe sentences. All these so-called offences involve consensual behaviour and neither soliciting nor procuring involves any actual sexual behaviour.

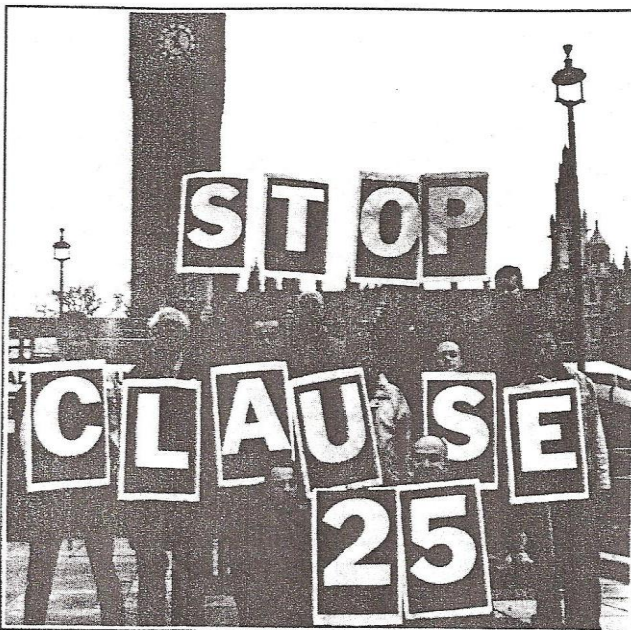
'Soliciting' can include anything from smiling and winking at other men in the streets to chatting up or exchanging phone numbers. 'Procuring' could mean allowing two adult male friends to stay together overnight in your house or introducing two men who fancy each other at a party or disco. As for 'indecency', it can be used to penalise kissing, caressing or hugging.

The government claims that the men who perpetrate these acts are dangerous sex criminals who must be given tougher sentences to 'protect the public from serious harm'. What makes Clause 25 so outrageous is the government's lumping together consenting homosexual behaviour with serious sex crimes such as indecent assault, incitement to incest and indecency towards children. To equate consensual gay sex with sexual violence and attacks on children is monstrous.

This legislation amounts to a back door recriminalisation of gay sexuality.

The lesbian and gay direct action group, OutRage, is calling on everyone opposed to Clause 25 to write urgently to the Home Secretary, Kenneth Baker MP, urging him to delete the three consenting homosexual 'offences' from Clause 25 of the Criminal Justice Bill. We are also protesting against the new guidelines to the Children's Act which outlaw fostering by lesbians and gay men.

**Join the mass demonstration in London on Saturday, February 16th at noon. Assemble at Embankment tube and march to Downing Street and Parliament. Our slogan will be: "Get up! Get out! Get even! Lesbian and gay rights now!" Contact OutRage at 071-490-7153.**



Outrage Protest Photo: Gordon Reinstorf

**From binbags to bills of rights**

**In Blackpool residents are forbidden to leave more than one bag of rubbish a week for the privatised collectors. All rubbish must be placed in distinctive bags which residents must pay for.**

Resistance to this Tory regime is individualistic. Some people dump their rubbish in (non-regulation) black bags in neighbours' gardens; others sort through dumped bags to identify the offending 'dumper'. As yet no collective action has been taken by residents to demand their rights to a decent bin collection...

This story, recounted by Pam Giddy, the Charter 88 speaker at the Convention for Democratic Rights organised by the Socialist Movement on January 12th/13th, summed up the problem facing democratic rights activists: how to move beyond a focus on the individual to a mass movement reflecting the concerns of working class people and oppressed groups.

Tony Benn outlined the Bill of Rights he intends to present in Parliament; others stressed that without vigorous campaigning on specific demands, bills of rights or charters of demands would get nowhere.

All agreed on the need to create a democratic and egalitarian culture.

Attendance at the Convention was small due to the clash with the Gulf demonstration. But the response was positive. In workshops people really could discuss ideas and raise questions. We heard the day to day experiences of people up against the state. These included Fred Holroyd, stitched up by the British secret state in Ireland, a speaker from the Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign who described new the police's new digital scanning techniques, and Orlando Gomez from the FSLN.

The conference dealt with areas on which the left has done little - animal abuse, Clause 25, thorough-going changes in the judicial system, as well as beginning to get to grips with the continuing debate on the role of a bill of rights or written constitution.

The organising group agreed to issue a pamphlet on topics covered at the Convention and to maintain a network of interested groups and individuals. Hilda Kean, 21 Clapton Square, London, E5 8HP can provide further details (but not extra bin bags for the frustrated of Blackpool...)

ITEM 14: OutRage! - Are You A Sex Criminal? 1991.

are you a **OUTRAGE!**  
**SEX**  
**CRIMINAL?**

**The laws against Soliciting, Procuring & Indecency criminalise us for Kissing, Fucking, Flirting & Introducing Gay Lovers.**

**To challenge these laws, OUTRAGE! volunteers will turn themselves into the police. Come and support the OUTRAGE! "Sex Criminals". Bring whistles and make a noise against Clause 25.**

**WED FEB 6<sup>TH</sup> 6PM  
 BOW ST. POLICE STATION**

**FIGHT CLAUSE 25  
 TURN UP! TURN ON! TURN IN!  
 CONSENT IS NOT A CRIME!**

ITEM 15: OutRage! – End Clause 25. 1991.

**AMEND CLAUSE 25**

**GET UP!**

**GET OUT!**

**GET EVEN!**

**LESBIAN & GAY RIGHTS NOW!**

**MASS  
DEMO**

**SAT FEB 16  
12 NOON  
EMBANKMENT TUBE  
LONDON**

**INFO: 071 490 7153**

**P&P: LESBIAN & GAY RIGHTS COALITION  
69 COWCROSS ST, LONDON ECTM 6BP**

**STOP PARAGRAPH 16**

ITEM 16: Lesbian and Gay Rights Coalition - Para 16. Undated.

LESBIAN & GAY RIGHTS  
COALITION

69 Cowcross Street, London EC1M 6BP (071) 490 7153

## PARAGRAPH 16: WE WANT IN!

### LESBIANS AND GAYS ARE FIT TO FOSTER

In December 1990, the department of Health placed itself at odds with virtually every fostering and adoption agency in the country when it issued guidelines to the Children's Act which seek to portray lesbians and gay men as unfit foster parents because of their 'lifestyles'.

*Paragraph 16 of the guidelines states:*

"Authorities and those interested in becoming foster parents must understand that an authority's duty is, unequivocally and unambiguously, to find and approve the most suitable foster parents for children who need family placement. It would be wrong arbitrarily to exclude any particular groups of people from consideration. But the chosen way of life of some adults may mean that they would not be able to provide a suitable environment for the care and nurture of a child. No one has the 'right' to be a foster parent. 'Equal rights' and 'gay rights' have no place in fostering services."

This attack on fostering comes after a spate of attacks on lesbians and gay men as foster parents by the moral right and Conservative MPs. On December 7th, 1990, Norman Tebbit protested that a Department of Health grant to the National Foster Care Association was being misused to organise training on 'An Equal Service For Lesbians and Gay People'. The following day, Health Minister, Virginia Bottomley ordered an inquiry. The training sessions went ahead however.

Two local authorities, Waltham Forest and Newcastle, have been attacked for allowing lesbians and gays to foster and adopt. The Manchester based Albert Kennedy Trust has also been attacked for providing support to lesbian and gay teenagers who run away from home.

*Outrage spokesperson Gillian Rogerson says:*

"Children who need fostering have the right to be placed with those people who have the best parenting abilities and can provide the most loving and caring fostering environment. It is in the interests of the child that if the most appropriate foster parents happen to be lesbian or gay, their sexuality should not exclude them from fostering. Society should value the compassion and generosity of homosexual foster parents, rather than seek to legislate against them."

"Paragraph 16 contains assumptions about lesbians and gays and about parenting which are out of touch with the real world. It suggests that we are demanding the right to foster regardless of suitability as parents. Nobody has the right to foster, but no one should be denied the right to be considered as a foster parent either."

**ITEM 16: Continued.**

"Paragraph 16 implies our sexuality is a matter of choice, denying the complexity of human sexuality. Related to this myth is the notion that lesbian and gay parents might influence the sexuality of their children. Lesbians and gay men are surely evidence that this is not the case!"

"Paragraph 16 attacks the notions of equal rights and gay rights as nothing more than the latest examples of loony leftism, and refuses to recognise why local authorities have worked long and hard to establish equal opportunities policies in fostering: in the interests of children who might otherwise not receive the most appropriate parenting. Paragraph 16's reference to 'chosen way of life' is also an attack on the concerns of Black communities over fostering policy."

**THE INTERESTS OF CHILDREN ARE PARAMOUNT**

Outrage believes the interests of children are paramount, especially in cases where teenagers are brutalised or rejected by their parents because they are lesbian or gay. In such a case, fostering by an understanding homosexual couple could be of immeasurable benefit. Outrage also questions the belief that a child needs one mother and one father. The moral right is worried that lesbian and gay fostering is yet another attack on their very limited concept of 'family'. Even academic studies have shown what we have known all along: that sexuality is irrelevant to parenting skills and the welfare of the children we care for.

*Outrage spokesperson Greg Taylor says:*

"We believe the primary role of the 'family' should be to provide an environment of love and security, not a training ground for strict gender roles and compulsory heterosexuality. That the Tory government has chosen to ignore all the evidence now available in support of lesbian and gay parenting is proof that Paragraph 16 has *nothing whatsoever* to do with government concern for parentless children. This is clearly a sly and ruthless attempt to exploit an emotive issue in order to promote a vindictive bigotry."

<p>it's time we showed our <b>RAGE</b></p>	<p>Write in person to:</p> <p><b>William Waldergrave, Secretary of State for Health, Department of Health, Richmond House, Whitehall, London SW1.</b></p>
--	---

The Lesbian and Gay Rights Coalition c/o Outrage, London Lesbian and Gay Centre,  
67/69 Cowcross St, London EC1M 6BP 071-490 7153

**FOCUS OUT**

# But what does it all mean?

Clause 25 of the Criminal Justice Bill, Paragraph 16 of the guidelines to the Childrens Act and the Operation Spanner verdict could all have serious implications for our everyday lives. Angus Hamilton cuts through the legal jargon to explain what those might be.

## Clause 25: a dangerous thing

November 1990 saw the publication of the Criminal Justice Bill, which includes the notorious Clause 25. This threatens prison sentences for persistent sexual offenders, defined to include men convicted for gross indecency ('cotaging'), importing ('cruising'), and soliciting (introducing people for sex).

These are offences for which prison sentences have very rarely been passed since the partial decriminalisation of gay sex in 1967. And rulings from the Court of Appeal over the years have suggested that immediate prison sentences for such offences are inappropriate to undermine Clause 25, which says that persistent sexual offenders should receive deterrent prison sentences. How can someone be seen as a persistent offender if their previous record is to be ignored?

These confusing elements could well lead to the Bill being revised. Indeed, lobbying already seems to have won a partial backdown on the part of the government in respect of the inclusion of 'gross indecency' and 'living off the earnings of male prostitution'.

The government position now seems to be that the Clause should only contain offences with a genuine 'victim' - importing and procuring included.

But there still remains the problem that although these offences are not being prosecuted, the government is still promoting its policies of promoting the family as the ideal social unit of a civilised society from

back to the Sexual Offences Act 1967, and indeed before. Lord Arran, one of the main supporters of the Act stated during its passage: "I ask those who have, as it were, been in bondage and for whom the prison doors are now open to show their thanks by comporting themselves quietly, and with dignity". In short, you can be gay, but you must behave, at least in public, straight. A problem then arises when a large part of the lesbian and gay community is not prepared to live 'suitably discrete' lives.

in the form of public displays of affection, cotaging or cruising. Previously unheard-of police resources are now being dedicated to the control of these essentially victimless crimes, despite the massive escalation in crimes with genuine victims. Anachronistic and quite often inappropriate laws are being dredged up to ensure successful prosecutions in such cases.

## A vicious pattern

The present government, with its policies of promoting the family as the ideal social unit of a civilised society from

There has also been a clear hardening of attitude on the part of the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) towards such matters, which are relentlessly prosecuted rather than disposed of by way of caution or bind-over, both of which avoid the acquisition of a criminal record.

## INDECENCY

December 1990 saw the House of Lords halt an appeal

represented) and to fall prey to that court's notoriously high rate of convictions (80% as opposed to 20% for such cases in the Crown Court).

Clause 25 fits in here - determiated policing and prosecution policies will be supported by **Fostering bigotry**

Paragraph 16 of the Children Act guidelines made its first appearance in December 1990. This provision, although



the keeping of any independent records (videos, photos, letters and diaries) of any such activities.



ITEM 18: OutRage! - Minute meetings. 3rd Jan, 1991.OUTRAGE! General Meeting, Thursday 3 January 1991.

## Minutes

1. The meeting convened at 7:30pm with the minutes of the 20 December meeting accepted and Matthew F agreeing to facilitate for the rest of the night. No journalists or members of the police identified themselves. Approximately 80 people attending.
2. **USE OF THE WORD "QUEER".**  
There was discussion about the implications of the word "queer", including its possible exclusion of lesbians and the word's homophobic tone in common use.  
Agreed: that within OUTRAGE!, members are free to use labels for themselves that are of their own choosing.
3. **SUBGROUP REPORTS.**  
General outlines of the groups activities were given for the benefit of new members. A collection was also taken.
4. **ATTACKS ON LES/GAY RIGHTS.**  
A growing list of these has emerged over recent months, each of which were detailed to the group:
  - \* several items in cl 25 of the Criminal Justice Bill;
  - \* p 16 of the Crimes Against Children Act;
  - \* Operation Spanner and the recent S&M convictions;
  - \* inaction on les/gay status in the latest periodic review of the military code; and
  - \* City of Westminster's use of by-laws to prosecute gays.

It was reported that the International Association of Lesbian & Gays (ILEA) have called for an international day of protest against such attacks, using the British flag in a culturally relevant way. The protests would be held on February 14 (St Valentines' Day).

Agreed: that all of the strands of the les/gay community's criticisms of these attacks would be individually included as threads in any broad campaign of actions that OUTRAGE! mounts.

The meeting then took a short break and returned as working groups to discuss and plan: networking; leaflets and written material; and possible actions. The general discussion resumed at 10.00pm.

Agreed: that on Monday 14 January 1991 at 12:00 noon OUTRAGE! organise a small scale scrubbing of Parliament to cleanse it of homophobia. This date coincides with the opening of Parliament for the winter session.

Agreed: that on Thursday 14 February 1991 OUTRAGE! mount a washing of the British flag in Trafalgar Square to wash out the homophobia in British society.

ITEM 18: Continued.

Several generic slogan were suggested for a broad campaign including "Hands off gay rights!" and "Get even!". A meeting has been called for 13 January 1991 to co-ordinate a les/gay response.

Agreed: to take a tentative suggestion of a mass demonstration to that meeting as well as a 16 February 1991 date. It was also agreed: that the initial co-ordinating meeting be open to lesbians and gays only, and that they be invited from relevant groups.

The meeting concluded around 10:30pm, next general meeting to be at 7:30pm on Thursday 10 January 1991.

(Minutes submitted by Craig Morony.)

**OUTRAGE! GENERAL MEETING**

Proposed Agenda - Thursday 10th January

- 19:15 Welcome to Newcomers
- 19:30 General Meeting Introduction - Matthew French  
 - Identification of Journalists  
 - Identification of Police  
 - Group Purpose  
 - Approval of last week's minutes  
 - Select Meeting Facilitator  
 - Approval of Agenda
2. 19:35 Subgroups Reports/Identification  
 Finance  
 Action/Media  
 Fundraising  
 Policing Initiative  
 Office
3. 19:45 Collection
4. 19:50 ACT UP Action
5. 19:55 Campaigns/Actions  
 Paragraph 16 January 14  
 Clause 25 February 14  
 S&M Case Other Actions  
 National Demonstration Meeting, Jan 13  
 20:30 Small Groups  
 21:15 Report Back
6. 21:30 New Business
- 21:40 ADJOURN

ITEM 19: OutRage! - A public burning at the stake. 15th, April 1991.

**OUTRAGE!**

**Press Release**

69 Cowcross Street • London EC1

15 April 1991

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:**

**CONTACT:** Dave Hurlbert (071) 250-1887  
eves. (071) 284-4920, or  
Peter Tatchell (071) 403-1790.

**GAY ACTIVISTS TO BURN AT STAKE  
PROTESTING ARCHBISHOP'S ENTHRONEMENT**

**Doctor Carey accused of stirring up anti-gay hatred**

Friday 19 April 1991  
4:45pm Christ Church Gate,  
Corner Sun Street and St. Margaret St., Canterbury

A public burning at the stake will be staged today (Friday 19 April) by the lesbian and gay action group, OutRage!, to coincide with the enthronement of the new archbishop, Dr. George Carey.

George Carey, in an interview published in *The Independent* on 28 July 1990, indicated he intends to continue the Church's long-standing intolerance towards lesbians and gay men. When asked in that interview: "Is practicing homosexuality a scandal?" he replied: "Yes, it is." Carey also stated last year that he is in full agreement with the 1987 Church of England Synod ruling that "homosexual genital acts are sinful."

**ITEM 19: Continued.**

OutRage! spokesperson, Dave Hurlbert, says : "Dr. Carey's views stir up anti-gay prejudice, discrimination and violence. We find his views irresponsible and dangerous. Being gay isn't a sin; anti-gay hatred is."

The public burning will be the culmination of a two-hour demonstration against church homophobia carried out by approximately 50 costumed lesbian and gay activists. Some will be dressed as nuns, bishops and church inquisitors; others will be dressed as lesbian and gay martyrs. They will enact through a mock flagellation and burning at the stake the historic persecution of homosexuals by the Christian Church.

"Through the centuries the Christian church has widely persecuted lesbians and gay men. Until modern times men and women thought to be homosexual were burnt at the stake. Until the last century the Church supported the death penalty for homosexuality," says OutRage! spokesperson, Dave Hurlbert.

"Today the church habitually uses biblical teaching to justify and legitimise anti-gay prejudice. This continuing campaign of religious hate fuels widespread persecution against lesbians and gay men, providing a theological basis for discrimination by government and assaults and murders of gay men by queerbashing gangs."

Further information: Dave Hurlbert (071) 250-1887;  
eves. (071) 284-4920.

or Peter Tatchell (071) 403-1790.

Ends

ITEM 19: Continued.FUNDRAISING REPORT September 27

Fundraising Group meets every Monday at 7.30pm in the office, 3rd Floor LLGC.

\*PROPOSAL\* We are offered two benefit nights; at the City Apprentice in Kings Cross on Wednesday November 7, and at the Market Tavern, Vauxhall, on Tuesday November 27. The terms are the same for both; we keep the door money, there are no restrictions on who can come in, and we provide a DJ and door staff. The City Apprentice benefit will be advertised in Capital Gay, but we will also be expected to do advertising/leafletting for both events.

Jeremy Joseph has offered to devise a quiz show/entertainment in the same style as the Kissathon for the City Apprentice. We need DJs and also ideas for the Market Tavern; Market regulars are especially invited to get involved with organising this one.

WHISTLES - We collected £173 from selling at The Bell and in Earls Court this weekend; a larger proportion of this than usual was donations.

This week: Tonight at ASIA (Paradise)  
 Sept 28 (Fri) HEAVEN (William to co-ordinate)  
 Sept 29 (Sat) David and Marcus will be co-ordinating visits to several venues by car; three more volunteers are needed tonight.

Next week: Thursday at BEYOND (Turnmills, near LLGC, free b4 11.30)

Friday: BRIGHTON (Shane to co-ordinate; accomodation available in Brighton; also Saturday)

Saturday: WOMEN'S CLUBS inc THE WORLD at Turnmills.

BOOK SALE - We made a profit of £20 on last Saturday's book sale.

"WEDNESDAY MATINEE" BENEFIT - We expect to receive approx £400 from Homo-Promos; we have written formally to Eric Presland and others involved in the production to thank them for their very generous support. We have also been invited to come and sell whistles at Eric Presland's play "Leather" which opens shortly.

"WELLS OF LONELINESS" - Fundraising group has agreed to take responsibility for arranging transport and accomodation when the forces of light are unleashed upon the Archbishop-elect; we will be going down to Wells shortly to reconnoitre. Shane is to co-ordinate.

ITEM 20: Welcome for condemnation of "daily star" homophobia'. 4th Oct 1991.

equality equality equality equality  
**Stonewall**  
 equality equality equality equality

**PRESS RELEASE**

**4th October 1991**

**for immediate use**

**WELCOME FOR COMMISSION CONDEMNATION OF "DAILY STAR" HOMOPHOBIA**

Stonewall welcomes the historic Press Complaints Commission (PCC) adjudication\* that the Press cannot "ride roughshod over the sensitivities" of lesbians and gay men. The PCC has decided that the "Daily Star" 17/5/91 coverage of a recommendation of the Special Select Committee on the Armed Forces Bill breached three clauses of their Code of Practice. The Committee recommended decriminalisation of homosexual activity in the armed forces. The "Star" responded with misleading and insulting front page, editorial and cartoon coverage (see attached).

The Stonewall complaint to the PCC\* claimed that the coverage:

- breached clause 14 of the Commissions Code of Practice ("the press should avoid prejudicial or pejorative reference to a persons sexual orientation");
- breached standards on reporting lesbian/gay concerns established by the Press Council;
- incited hatred against lesbians and gay men;
- grotesquely distorted the work of lesbian/gay lobby groups.

Tim Barnett, Executive Director of the Stonewall Group, said today:

"We welcome the Commissions landmark decision. The "Daily Star" greeted a modest proposal for law reform with intemperate language, encouraging the persecution of lesbians and gay men as well as their families and friends.

The law already protects black people from such insults in the Press. As Britain faces an historic opportunity for homosexual law reform, the Press must report the issues accurately and without prejudice, abiding by the unequivocal instructions of the Commission".

ENDS

\* copy available from Stonewall on request

**CONTACTS:**

Tim Barnett 071 222 9007 (Stonewall office)  
 081 881 2542 (home)  
 071 222 0525 (fax)

Stonewall  
 2 Greycoat Place  
 Westminster  
 London SW1P 1SB  
 Tel: (071) 222 9007  
 Fax: (071) 222 9007

ITEM 21: Stonewall Group - Gaining Strength Article. Nov 1991.

GATHERING STRENGTH AND GAINING POWER -

how lesbians and gay men began to change their fortunes in Britain in the Nineties

INTRODUCTION

Britain has had a visible and vocal movement for gay and (latterly) lesbian rights since the 1960's. From the small lobbying movement which achieved the 1967 Sexual Offences Act, which partially decriminalised male homosexual activity, it grew through the radical Gay Liberation Front activities of the Seventies into a diverse range of groups with varied approaches. Services such as helplines and youth groups were established; cultural activities such as magazines, drama and publishing houses flourished; and yet, in retrospect, it is clear that in terms of political organisation the British movement failed to develop beyond the early Seventies. Indeed, from the mid Seventies it declined and is only now recovering.

This decline was hidden by the constant founding of new gay organisations, or by the relaunch of old ones, each of which was heralded as the way forward and none of which involved more than a small proportion of potential movement activists, despite their claims to represent the aspirations of all. Each group, if it was at all active, was riven by political disputes in a movement which spent far more time on the issues that pulled them apart rather than the common enemy of homophobia. These self-destructive tendencies, common to oppressed groups and certainly echoed in the gay movements of other countries, drove many potential lesbian and gay political activists to either label themselves 'non-political' or to work only on social groups and helplines.

External factors, such as the rise of AIDS, added to the pressure on our communities and to the level of public hatred and misunderstanding of us. But, above all other pressures, Britain in the eighties lived under a government which provided an open door for the 'moral right'; a government which was, whatever their fine public words, contemptuous of human rights and actively hostile to any form of social deviation; a government with an overwhelming majority in Parliament and the support of most of the British press. This government outpaced and overthrew many previously powerful groups, such as the trades unions and municipal authorities; what chance then for a small and disunited group of social outcasts? Looking back, it is not so much surprising that lesbians and gay men became a scapegoat of the Thatcher government as that we escaped legislative attention from them for as long as we did.

ITEM 21: Continued.**MUNICIPAL HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE EIGHTIES**

Given such a homophobic and socially repressive government, it was not surprising that human rights and minority concerns became associated with the opposition political parties. In particular, socialist groups from the Labour Party leftwards began to take on board the concerns of women, black people and lesbians and gay men in a very public manner. This approach was particularly pursued by municipal Labour authorities. Local support for lesbians and gay men was provided in the form of community grants, equipment and premises; inclusion of sexuality in equal opportunities policies and training; appointment of Lesbian and Gay Officers or even the creation of Units within the authorities. It seemed, for a short while, as if lesbians and gay men were finally reaching power.

Although there are some lasting legacies such as projects (for example the London Lesbian and Gay Centre) and political allies (for example, some London Labour MPs), on the whole it took little time for the illusion to crumble. Under the Conservatives, local authorities did not mean power. In the face of grossly distorted hostile press coverage, many Labour politicians pragmatically retreated from supporting our rights in hopes of preserving their wider vote. Local authority spending was severely curbed by legislation, forcing many to drop community grants. Municipal authorities, including in the Greater London Council the most generous and widely publicised of all, were simply abolished by an all-powerful central government.

The collapse left much of the lesbian and gay movement in disarray. Many groups which had become dependent on local authority grants folded or went into funding crises. Tellingly, few who had called for the setting up of Lesbian and Gay Units mourned their passing or rushed to their defence; most seemed to feel that they had been run by activists for activists with little reference to the local lesbian and gay population. Political cynicism was rife. Our own organisations had not worked; our jump onto the socialist bandwagon had not worked; central government seemed impervious to criticism. The scene was set, and the victim mentality perfectly instilled, for the first legislative attack upon our existing few rights, when Clause 14 (later Clause and Section 28) was introduced into the Local Government Bill late in 1987.

ITEM 21: Continued.

**THE FAILURE TO PREDICT AND PREVENT SECTION 28**

Section 28, as finally agreed, reads in part:

"A local authority shall not:

- (a) intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality;
- (b) promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship".

The failure to pre-empt or to persuade Parliamentarians to reject, this Clause proved a watershed for the British lesbian and gay movement. Only now, four years later, can we see it as a disaster which pulled us into political reality.

Up until then, we had survived the Eighties relatively unscathed. Police entrapment, or 'pretty policing', as it became known, had been exposed by the inadvertent and (for both sides) embarrassing arrest of a rising young Conservative MP in a male strip show. Customs and Excise had been forced to withdraw from their attempt to use existing laws to ruin Gays The Word bookshop for importing gay literature. However, attacks in the tabloid press and by extremist Conservative MPs against positive images of homosexuality in the education system had stepped up dramatically. A prototype of Section 28 had been floated the previous year by Lord Halsbury in the House of Lords and tacitly approved by the Prime Minister herself. It should not have come as a surprise and yet, to all but a few, it was.

The insularity of the movement was exposed. Our total refusal to engage with those in power had led us to neglect the impact of legislation and to underestimate the ease with which it could be introduced against us. And although reaction was swift, with hundreds of people mobilising within days by word of mouth and thousands on the street within a few weeks, the major groupings began to split and fight almost from the start, breaking into factions and caucuses.

ITEM 21: Continued.

The automatic oppositional British politics of left against right meant that from the start the campaign, rooted in the political left, refused to negotiate with the government in any way. Lobbying of parliamentarians, the only people with the power to change the legislation, was left to a few individuals without support or input from the campaign. The movement's longstanding rejection of "professionalism" meant that virtually none of us understood the intricacies of the lobby system, or had the contacts to pursue it had we wished to. We just assumed that everybody wrote letters to anybody they could think of who might help. So poor were our links with the Parliamentary parties that at the start the Labour and Liberal Democrat opposition political parties were equally unbriefed and failed to comprehend the scope and danger of the proposals.

Despite all talk of alliances and a broad coalition, radical orthodoxy drove many willing helpers to the margins of the campaign. The Gay Business Association, who brought masses of previously apolitical disco queens into the first march against the Section with their posters in every gay pub and club screaming "Get Off Your Arses And March!", were hissed and abused when they came to a campaign meeting. Their crime was to have helped train police to be less anti-gay. Though there was a desperate shortage of role models for the politicians and media to relate to as gay and proud, the Arts Lobby attracted considerable criticism and outright jealousy for its use of famous actors to gain attention to the cause.

The campaign, though valiant, revealed our lack of resources. It sometimes felt as if we believed that if we marched enough and told enough people the legislation was unfair, the government would simply back down. There had been a consistent problem of lack of reliable documentation and research into the discrimination we faced and the lives we led. This made it doubly difficult to explain the impact that further discriminatory law would have on us. Financially, we had to start from scratch in raising money, exposing our lack of links with the significant community of wealthy homosexuals, many of whom failed to understand the danger of the legislation or felt alienated by the rhetoric of traditional lesbian and gay campaigning. Although much reliance was put on links with other oppressed communities and the unions, in practical terms we received little support from causes many of us had felt allied to and worked for; there was a lot of lip service but little action. In any case they were mostly weakened by 10 years of Thatcherism and had declining political power. Media coverage of the Section was extremely uneven, relying upon arrests and stunts and later individual sympathisers who began to come forward and even, in a few cases, out.

ITEM 21: Continued.**GATHERING STRENGTH IN THE NINETIES**

The key political event of 1990 was the fall of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The immediate catalyst was conflict within the Government about future development of the European Community, the more fundamental reason that her style of government was out of touch with reality. Her replacement, John Major, had risen through urban politics in a community (Brixton, South London) containing an active lesbian and gay movement. Within a year of taking office he had held a publicised meeting with Sir Ian McKellen of Stonewall and influential national newspapers were calling for homosexual law reform. It was a remarkable about turn.

Campaigning in 1991 was dominated by two issues which arose directly from the dying months of the Thatcher government. One was Clause 25 of the Criminal Justice Bill, a basically liberal piece of legislation which contained, as a sop to the right wing, a commitment to increase prison sentences for some people with a history of criminal convictions. One effect would have been to greatly increase the possibility of imprisonment for people convicted of more than one minor (gay) consenting sexual offence. It was either a deliberate attempt to further oppress gay men or an appalling mistake by civil servants who drafted the Bill.

The campaign by gay activists to amend the Bill was this time largely successful. While OutRage actions drew public attention to the injustices of the legislation, Stonewall lobbyists confronted Conservative Parliamentarians and civil servants with the consequences of their actions and suggested ways to amend it. Both groups successfully exploited their links with the media to obtain sensible coverage. Demands from the revolutionary and libertarian left for total opposition to otherwise reasonable legislation were largely resisted and there was genuine and informed debate within the gay press on the implications of the Clause. Most remarkably, government ministers and their staff met with Stonewall lesbian and gay activists and, while unwilling to concede all their demands, agreed to monitor the effects of the amended Clause and ensure it was not used in a discriminatory manner - promising to further amend it in that case.

One of the good effects of the Section 28 campaign had been the increased involvement of lesbians in what was essentially a legislative campaign. This higher profile for lesbians in mixed activism was put to good use in early 1991 when the Department of Health attempted to introduce childcare guidelines which would have effectively barred lesbians and gay men from fostering as part of a downgrading of equal opportunities. Paragraph 16, as it became known, was a direct reflection of the views of the Minister (Virginia Bottomley, coincidentally also responsible for HIV and AIDS), included in the draft guidelines against the advice of civil servants.

ITEM 21: Continued.

The Stonewall Group, with its high level of lesbian involvement and a commitment to prioritise "family concerns", was the first to take it up. National fostering organisations and relevant local authorities were contacted and individually lobbied; the wider implications of the legislation for all equal opportunities were emphasised. Experts in childcare and fostering and researchers into lesbian and gay family life were sought out, briefing papers rapidly produced for Parliamentarians and personal links with civil servants exploited. This pressure rapidly led to a meeting with the Minister at which she was faced by a combination of campaigners, "experts" she was known to respect, a lesbian foster mother and an eminent member of the House of Lords who had been brought up in a lesbian household.

Though the issue failed to take priority for a gay press dominated by single male issues, other activists ensured that it received some coverage in the quality press. Outrage organised a postcard protest campaign and demonstration and a number of local groups organised joint 25/16 campaigns. When the final guidelines were published, not only had the offending line been removed but new clauses protecting the right of lesbian and gay teenagers to be given sympathetic foster placements had been added.

These were not the only examples of success. A number of London-based groups finally agreed to enter into negotiation with the Metropolitan Police after years of refusal. Within twelve months, the London Lesbian and Gay Policing Initiative could point to pilot projects to monitor anti-gay violence, training of officers to treat such issues more sympathetically, guidelines on the conduct of police operations against public "cruising" areas, new guidance and training on male rape and a cautious police welcome for the first Lesbian and Gay Police Association in Britain. A Parliamentary Select Committee of MPs had recommended reform of the Armed Forces prohibition on homosexual behaviour to bring it in line with civilian law after receiving written and verbal evidence from Stonewall. The new Press Complaints Commission ruled against homophobia after a flood of complaints by groups and individuals against one tabloid newspaper, the Daily Star. The UK government bowed to the threat of further embarrassment before the European Court of Human Rights in promising to impose homosexual law reform on the Isle of Man if it continued to ban male homosexual activity.

ITEM 21: Continued.

This transformation in character was not confined to new groups. Some of the longstanding service organisations also began to experience a renaissance of enthusiasm and energy at the turn of the decade. London Lesbian and Gay Switchboard, although it had operated to capacity throughout the Eighties, had experienced long periods of difficulty in staffing, leading to a steady decline in calls taken in the latter years of the decade. From 1990 numbers of volunteers and hours worked on shift both rose, along with a far higher involvement in back-up groups and a far stronger lesbian presence. While some of this must be attributed to changes in leading personnel, many volunteers spoke of a new atmosphere of practicality and dedication throughout the service.

This high profile for lesbian and gay rights led to renewed interest from all major political parties in us. By late summer in 1991, the three main parties were involved in what was to all intents and purposes a bidding war for our votes, as a General Election loomed within the year; the leader of the Liberal Democrats spoke to the gay press, Labour issued a new set of commitments to equality and the Conservative Prime Minister invited leading actor and Stonewall Group member Sir Ian McKellen for that highly publicised cup of tea and a chat about lesbian and gay rights. The arguments began to centre, not on whether we could get any law reform, but on what form that now inevitable reform should take.

ITEM 21: Continued.**REASONS FOR CHANGE**

We would suggest that these changes occurred primarily because the lesbian and gay movement in the UK underwent a fundamental shift of approach and attitudes at the end of the 1980s, in an atmosphere of rapidly improving opportunities for reform. Key reasons were:

- \* the development of adequately funded, well defined and targeted groups prepared to work across diversity solely on specifically lesbian and gay issues;
- \* a new confidence that we could engage with powerful social forces and the belief that we had the ability to change them. Of particular importance in aiding this was the decline in power of the moral right and their media and Parliamentary friends with the departure of Margaret Thatcher;
- \* the refusal to tie our needs or cause to any one political party or philosophy. This involved particular rapprochement with elements in the Conservative Party. The support of a small group of Conservative backbench MPs was of particular importance through the initial victories of 1991. This in turn helped to reduce the political marginalisation of the issue; Parliamentarians could be seen to work on homosexual law reform without fear of being labelled eccentric;
- \* a new willingness to deal with and confront the press, even when hostile, and to provide good opportunities for stories. The extent and quality of television and radio coverage improved significantly in this period. Lesbian and gay issues provided good news; audiences for programmes such as the television "Out" series were numbered in millions;
- \* the growth of debate within the movement on political and philosophical issues, leading to a more sophisticated understanding of our struggle for power;
- \* the appreciation of the need for professional and disciplined ways of working within organisations, promoting consistent policies and ensuring active involvement by the maximum number of people;
- \* the fuller integration of lesbians within the mixed movement, especially on legislative issues. Although specifically gay male law reform concerns are likely to dominate the next few years, given the discriminatory state of criminal law, concerns of lesbians are now much more central to the movement;

ITEM 21: Continued.

- \* the growth in internationalism, particularly European integration, and the parallel increase in contact between lesbians and gays across the continent. British people have seen that there are more humane ways in which society and the law can deal with lesbian and gay concerns..creation of links with other countries.

What comes next? We expect the 1992 General Election to determine the timescale rather than content of change. The new intake of MPs will in general be younger and more liberal, and will be more prepared to vote positively on such issues in the first couple of years of a new Parliament.

The gay male age of consent is of key importance, symbolic as well as real. There is likely to be a vote on a proposal to equalise it at 16 during 1993. The power of the lesbian and gay lobby at that stage will determine if we succeed. The "new" element in that lobby for Parliamentarians is the private and professional approach; the tension between that and much more public action is likely to be tested to the ultimate in the heat of the age of consent campaign.

Parallel to the consent issue, there is growing disquiet with a number of areas of sexual offences law in the UK. The Government has to consider 10 years of official reports calling for fundamental reform. Consensual gay sex offences will probably be included in that - and it may even offer a second opportunity (if needed) to equalise the age of consent. Anti-discrimination law is near certain to be introduced if Labour win the election; that approach is unpopular with Conservatives, and only pressure from the European Community would change their minds. The other key areas of reform - partnership, parenting - are likely to take much longer, although much could be achieved by growing awareness in the legal system and among supportive local authorities and voluntary organisations.

The movement has largely, however reluctantly, accepted the principle that lobby and direct action groups can co-exist. If each can continue to gather strength, particularly through resources for the former and people for the latter, and if they can continue to communicate with each other, however tentatively, then success is much more likely. The more difficult challenge may well be ensuring effective international cooperation as power moves to Brussels and towards Eastern Europe. These changes in the power structures of Europe are, as we write in late 1991, leading to a growth of fascism throughout the continent and a rise in racism and anti-Semitism. Since these go hand in hand with homophobia, we must be alert to moves against us in many countries. Our opportunities for legislative change in the UK must neither mask the real fear of right-wing backlash nor lead us to neglect other major areas of social justice.

ITEM 21: Continued.

Perhaps, with the growth of a realistic and pragmatic approach by lesbian and gay groups of all kinds in Britain, we can begin to make the networks and alliances across our differences just as groups throughout Europe and the rest of the world have begun to work together in international networks such as ILGA. By the time you read this, perhaps judgement can be passed on our hopes for the Nineties. Because, if we don't learn to work together to gain and hold power over our own lives, you may not be able to read books like this at all.

Tim Barnett  
Lisa Power

11/91

**ITEM 22: OutRage! - Equality Now! Campaign. Undated.**

**JOIN THE OUTRAGE! "EQUALITY NOW!" CAMPAIGN 1992**

The run-up to the general election is the moment when the government and the political parties are most open to influence. Now is the time to step up our campaign for lesbian and gay equality.

The aims of the OutRage! campaign are to:

- (a) Expose and challenge State homophobia.
- (b) Pressure the government and political parties to support reform.
- (c) Promote public awareness and debate about homophobic discrimination.
- (d) Get our demands for equality on to the general election agenda.

If you believe that lesbian and gay human rights are worth fighting for, we urge you to participate in the following OutRage! actions:

**1) Thursday 20 February 1pm**

**Theme: STOP MILITARY HOMOPHOBIA. - Repeal the ban on lesbians & gay men in the armed forces.**

Action: Meet at the Army Careers Information Office in The Strand (opposite Charing Cross Station) at 1pm, followed by the redecoration of the statues of famous gay military commanders and a wreath-laying at M.o.D. for personnel witch-hunted by the military.

**2) Thursday 5 March 1pm.**

**Theme: REPEAL SOLICITING LAWS.**

Action: Mass WINK-IN at Piccadilly Circus at 1pm and then march to New Scotland Yard Broadway SW1 for sit-in outside main entrance. Exchange of giant cards with names & telephone numbers, followed by frenzied bonking in portable Wendy House.

**3) Thursday 19 March 1pm.**

**Theme: LEGAL RECOGNITION & PROTECTION FOR LESBIAN & GAY PARTNERSHIPS.**

Action: Mass application to register partnerships by lesbian & gay couples at Westminster Registry Office, Westminster Council House, corner Marylebone Rd & Gloucester Pl. NW1 (near Baker St tube) at 1pm.

**4) Thursday 2 April 1pm.**

**Theme: MARCH TO DEMAND THE OUTLAWING OF ANTI-GAY JOB DISCRIMINATION.**

Action: Meet at Dept. of Employment Caxton House, Tothill St, SW1 at 1pm, followed by a one hour vigil outside St. Stephen's entrance. Action to expose discrimination against Alison Halford, Deputy Chief Constable of Merseyside because of her alleged lesbianism.

**5) Thursday 16 April 1pm**

**Theme: MARCH FOR EQUAL AGE OF CONSENT.**

Action: Assemble at Home Office, corner Queen Anne's Gate & Tothill Street SW1 at 1pm for teenage KISS-IN. March to Parliament, led by lesbian & gay teenagers. Finish with a one hour vigil outside St. Stephen's entrance.

**6) Thursday 30 April 1pm.**

**Theme: MARCH FOR REPEAL OF SECTION 28**

Action: Assemble at Tory Party H.Q. Smith Sq. SW1, 1pm, to "PROMOTE HOMOSEXUALITY", and proceed to Parliament for a one hour vigil outside St. Stephen's entrance.

Further information available from OutRage!. 67-69. Cowcross St., London EC1M 6BP (071-490-7153)

ITEM 23: OutRage! - Gays protest military homophobia. Undated.

LLGC • 69 Cowcross Street • London EC1M 6BP •  
(071) 490-7153

## Press Release

### GAYS PROTEST MILITARY HOMOPHOBIA

GAY MILITARY LEADERS TO BE "RE-DECORATED" IN CEREMONIES  
At Statues Of Haig, Montgomery, Kitchener and Mountbatten

WREATH TO BE LAID AT MINISTRY OF DEFENCE TO  
COMMEMORATE LESBIAN & GAY VICTIMS OF MILITARY WITCH-HUNTS

1pm - THURSDAY, 20th FEBRUARY 1992

ARMY CAREERS INFORMATION OFFICE, THE STRAND, LONDON WC2

In a protest against the military ban on lesbians and gay men serving in the Armed Forces, the homosexual rights group, **OutRage!**, will publicly "re-decorate" four of Britain's most famous military leaders who were homosexuals/bisexuals: Field Marshals Kitchener, Haig and Montgomery, and Admiral Mountbatten.

Among those participating will be lesbian and gay ex-service personnel who have suffered victimization by the military.

The ceremonies - which will take place at the statues commemorating these men in central London - form part of **OutRage!**'s continuing civil disobedience campaign: "Equality NOW".

The police have threatened to arrest everyone taking part in this action for violating the sessional orders which forbid protests near Parliament while MPs are sitting.

"The military witch-hunts against lesbian and gay service personnel are sheer hypocrisy," says OutRage! spokesperson Nick Cave.

(Continued...)

**ITEM 23: Continued.**

2.

"Four of Britain's most famous military commanders have been either homosexual or bisexual. If it's good enough for the top brass, ordinary lesbian and gay service personnel should not be penalised".

The OutRage! protest, which is demanding the repeal of the military regulations excluding lesbians and gay men from membership of the Armed Forces, will take place this Thursday, 20th February, commencing at 1pm outside the Army Careers Information Office in The Strand, London WC2.

"To be lesbian or gay, even if the person never has sex, is grounds for automatic dismissal from the Armed Forces. Consenting homosexual relations involving service personnel are punishable by up to two years imprisonment - even if the relations take place with a civilian outside of barracks during off-duty hours," says Nick Cave.

"From 1987-90, 306 lesbians and gay men were dismissed from the Armed Forces," according to OutRage! co-organiser Aamir Ahmad.

"Thirty-two of these were imprisoned, some for up to two years for consenting homosexual behaviour which is not a crime between civilians".

OutRage! accuses the Armed Forces of witch-hunting lesbian and gay service personnel:

"This involves the searching of rooms, seizure of diaries, mail interception, telephone-tapping and surveillance off-duty," says Nick Cave.

"Suspects are interrogated and sometimes tortured by means of sleep deprivation, despoiling of food and physical beatings," he added.

The OutRage! protest will begin at the Army Careers Information Office (which is currently being refurbished).

The protestors will then march to Whitehall where they will "re-decorate" the statues of each of the famous homosexual/bisexual military commanders: Haig, Montgomery, Kitchener and Mountbatten. This will involve "dressing up" the figures in question.

The protest will conclude with the laying of a pink triangle wreath on the steps of the Ministry of Defence to commemorate lesbian and gay service personnel witch-hunted by the Armed Forces.

(Continued...)

**ITEM 23: Continued...**

3.

**OutRage!** condemns the military for hypocrisy and double-standards:

"During the Gulf War, the Armed Forces knowingly called up lesbian and gay reservists. Yet in peacetime, they automatically exclude homosexual servicemen and women," says Aamir Ahmad.

"The Armed Forces are quite willing to sacrifice the lives of lesbian and gay people during wartime, but they won't even employ homosexuals during peacetime," he added.

"It's outrageous that lesbian and gay service personnel risked their lives in the Gulf War only to face dismissal on their return to Britain," says Nick Cave.

OutRage! is urging the National Union of Students to organise a nationwide ban on military recruitment stalls at "fresher's fairs" until the Armed Forces agrees to allow lesbians and gay men to serve in the military without discrimination.

**OutRage!** says the anti-gay military regulations:

- \* Encourage abuse and maltreatment
- \* Cause a loss of talented personnel
- \* Waste public money spent on training
- \* Reinforce social prejudice
- \* Discourage effective HIV prevention education
- \* Contradict the policies of other NATO countries

**Further Information**

Nick Cave            071 490 7153    (2pm - 5pm)

Aamir Ahmad        0628    39151    (Tues/Weds)

Peter Tatchell      071 403 1790

ITEM 24: Stonewall - Help your organisation. 15th July, 1992.

stone  
wall  
equality equality equality equality equality

15th July 1992

Dear Friend

The Stonewall Group works for legal equality and social justice for lesbians and gay men in the United Kingdom. I enclose some information on our work.

We are currently lobbying for a reduction in the age of consent for gay sex from 21 to 16. You may have seen speculation in the press to the effect that John Major intends to allow parliamentary time for a free vote on this issue within the next year.

There are three ways in which we hope that your organisation might be able to help with this campaign:-

**1. Letter-writing.**

Stonewall runs a letter writing campaign, SPAN. I enclose a copy of a circular recently sent to its members. It would be really helpful if members of your organisation and their friends could write letters of this kind to their MP and to the Prime Minister.

**2. Case histories.**

Within your organisation, you may have worked with men who have suffered through the effects of the current law. We are keen to gather details of such people for use in our briefings. I enclose copies of two such case histories. Are you able to provide further examples? If necessary, the author can use a pseudonym. Although the stories of young men will be particularly useful, older men could also describe how the existing law has affected them, both before they were 21 and since.

**3. Media coverage.**

There is likely to be extensive media coverage and debate on this issue over the next year or so. Stonewall is often the first port of call for the media, but we are not always able to provide Stonewall speakers or interviewees, particularly for the local press and radio. Would you be prepared to help with this work? We hope to provide media training for anyone who volunteers.

Again, we believe it particularly important that the case should primarily be put by young gay men; those aged 16-21 (or even in their early 20s) would make ideal speakers. Young lesbians may also want to speak out, and we will suggest the media also interview them wherever possible.

P.T.O.

Stonewall  
2, Greycoat Place  
Westminster  
London SW1P 1SB  
Tel: (071) 222 9007  
Fax: (071) 222 0525

ITEM 24: Continued.

Even if you anticipate that you will work directly with your local media on this issue, we should still like to hear from you with details of any willing speakers/interviewees so that we can respond quickly to requests from the media and from other organisations in your area.

I enclose a copy of a short briefing which we have prepared on the age of consent, which has an appendix summarising the position in other EC countries. Please let me know if we can provide you with any further information, either on this issue or any of the other work of Stonewall.

If you would like to discuss the contents of this letter, please telephone me at this office.

Yours sincerely



Anya Palmer  
Research and Information Officer

ITEM 25: Stonewall - Equality Week. Undated.

# Stonewall

Working for lesbian and gay equality

2 Greycoat Place  
Westminster  
London SW1P 1SB  
Telephone: 071 222 9007  
Facsimile: 071 222 0525

EQUALITY WEEK , 18TH-24TH. OCTOBER , 1993  
THE CAMPAIGN FOR AN EQUAL AGE OF CONSENT

Stonewall is organising an **Equality Week** which will take place just before the formal opening of Parliament. It will be our chance to set out our agenda for the next Parliamentary session.

The coming months will be particularly significant for us as the government have indicated that they would give time for a debate on the age of consent. This will probably come as an amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill for which there is all party support.

But although many MP's would accept that 21 is indefensible many do not yet accept the argument for equality.

We hope in Equality Week to start setting this agenda and to mobilise support for an equal age of consent.

The week will begin with a lobby of Parliament and an all party meeting in the House of Commons on 18th. October.

During the week we are also encouraging people to organise meetings and events around the country. There will be major debates at the Oxford and Cambridge Unions and in London at LSE. Meetings are also being arranged in Manchester, Southampton, Edinburgh, Cornwall, Sheffield.

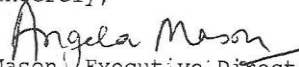
The week will end with a grand variety Equality Show at the London Palladium with many guest stars including Lily Savage, Julian Clary and the Pet Shop Boys.

We are also producing a new pamphlet giving all the arguments for an equal age of consent.

I very much hope that you will become involved in Equality Week and would ask whether you would be able to hold an event or meeting in your area to mobilise support for this vital change. We would, of course, try and help out with speakers and other arrangements. We also have a database of all MP's and are recording their views on the issue so please contact us if you need information about your MP.

I hope you will agree with me that the continued criminalisation of gay sex is a continuing outrage which we must challenge. The principle of equality is important for us all, lesbians and gay men. Please support Equality Week and let us know what events you are planning.

Yours sincerely,

  
Angela Mason, Executive Director.

ITEM 26: OutRage! - The Pink Paper on Stonewall. 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep, 1994.

**OUTRAGE!**

September 23rd, 1994.

Letters,  
THE PINK PAPER.

Alex Dunlop demands that OutRage publicly state its reasons for "opposing Stonewall".

The truth is that OutRage values Stonewall's contribution to the campaign for equality. What we object to is the way Stonewall denigrates everyone else. It's leaders dismiss direct action as "the ghetto of purely protest politics" and as "hysterical, huckstering and shocking". They claim all the credit for every change in the law, without ever acknowledging the contribution of other lesbian and gay organizations. Their book, Stonewall 25, rewrites the history of our community to devalue the efforts of every group except their own. They condemn activists like Peter Tatchell in the straight press.

For five months, OutRage did not respond to this petty sniping from Stonewall. Indeed, we asked for a meeting and appealed for a halt to their attacks. Our requests were ignored. Faced with such intransigence, it is hardly surprising that OutRage has finally felt compelled to publicly defend itself from the increasingly embittered slurs of Stonewall and its supporters.

Martin Corbett  
OutRage, London W1

*Martin Corbett*

5 Peter Street, London W1V 3RR  
Phone & Fax 071-439-2381

## ITEM 27: Peter Tatchell - Up Against the Stonewall. Oct 1994.

gay news

# Up against the Stonewall

The Stonewall Group's absence from the huge march against the Criminal Justice Bill in July was symptomatic of its creeping complacency.

This Bill reiterates the system of "sexual apartheid" which treats gay people as second class citizens. It enacts a discriminatory gay male age of consent of 18 and restricts civil liberties in ways that are likely to increase conviction rates for cruising and cotaging. Incredibly, there has not been a squeak of criticism of the Bill from Stonewall. — only silence and inaction.

In June, the House of Lords voted against two amendments to the Criminal Justice Bill. One would have lowered the age of consent to 16, the other would have reversed it to 21. The Lord's endorsed 18. Stonewall expressed satisfaction with this outcome, saying that the decision "simply confirms the status quo". Since when has the status quo of 18 been something to feel satisfied about? Worse, Stonewall dismissed the age of consent vote as "the last gasp of extreme prejudice in parliament", as if all homophobic laws are on the verge of being swept away.

Despite the failure of their lobbying tactics to secure equality, Stonewall has bizarrely trumpeted the age of consent campaign as a "success". It claims that the legal recognition of male rape is "an historic development" and "the beginning of a new era in which the criminal law will be concerned less with policing homosexual activity". This claim coincided with increased police raids in Manchester, London, Newcastle, Bournemouth and elsewhere.

By over-stating its achievements, Stonewall is in danger of encouraging apathy among lesbians and gays. If people are given a false sense of success, many may feel they don't need to do anything themselves. It can lead to the complacent attitude: "No need to worry, Stonewall will take care of it."

Stonewall's exaggerated claims of "success" seem to stem from a belief that having lost the age of consent vote it needs to justify its lobbying tactics and proclaim their efficacy to a now understandably sceptical queer community. This belief has also led Stonewall to disparage direct action as "the ghetto of purely protest politics" and as "hysterical, huckstering and shocking". Indeed, Stonewall's recent book *Stonewall '95* rawlites history to completely exclude the crucial role of direct action in our community's advancement.

Undoubtedly, lobbying is important and Stonewall has made a valuable contribution to the campaign for equality.

**PETER TATCHELL** argues that Stonewall's focus on lobbying and law reform has its limitations. Direct action also has a vital role to play in the struggle for queer freedom.

PHOTOGRAPH: STEVE MAYES



STAY AWARE WITH OUTRAGE! These lovely T-shirts are now on sale to raise funds for the group. Phone 07-439 2261 to get yours.

equal age of consent, which scuppered our chance of 16, there was not a word of condemnation from Stonewall, just "disappointment". Another downside of lobbying is that it mirrors the elitism of the parliamentary system. Stonewall emphasizes the key role of professional lobbyists, thereby discouraging members of our community from taking responsibility for their own emancipation. The involvement of ordinary queers in Stonewall's campaigns is limited to "write to your MP, send us your money". This reduces political action to a private, individual act. It fragments our community and denies us a sense of our collective strength, which is profoundly disempowering.

While Stonewall's focus on law reform is important, it is not without its pitfalls. Since the legal system has been devised by and for the straight majority, equality for lesbians and gays inevitably means equal rights within a framework determined and dominated by heterosexuals. We get law reform on straight terms. The truth is that equality is not good enough. Getting an equal age of consent of 16 for gay men would be a positive advance on 18, but what about the under 16s? It's time that they, too, were no longer treated as sex criminals.

Perhaps the biggest danger of Stonewall's limited agenda of equal rights is that it risks complicity with assimilationism. Seeking equality on straight terms invariably encourages conformity to straight values. We become invisibilised and absorbed into heterosex, losing our own distinctive queer identity and culture. This robs us of everything unique and worthwhile that the lesbian and gay community has created and valued. The idea that lobbying tactics should have primacy in the struggle for our liberation, which is what Stonewall now seems to advocate, is a

What's more, direct action can achieve things that lobbying can't. Media coverage is vital to make queer issues visible and create pressure for reform. Lobbying MPs and writing letters, although worthwhile, are rarely newsworthy. To get media attention necessitates being provocative. The show tactics of direct action are more likely to grab the headlines. They put queer rights on the political agenda, promote public awareness in debate, pressure the authorities, and build a momentum for change (which helps the work of lobbyists).

Faced with intransigent bigots who are impervious to lobbying, the confrontational tactics of direct action can expose, ridicule, embarrass and unnerve homophobes in ways that make them think twice before again openly voicing their prejudices. The fear that their intolerance will lose them public esteem and credibility (and possibly cause them financial losses), is often sufficient to silence bigots. This is what happened when OutRage! zapped the *Evening Standard* Film Awards in protest at the paper's homophobia. Shamed, humiliated and fearful of losing readers the editor responded by ordering a change in editorial policy which you of lobbying had failed to achieve.

The bottom line is that no movement for social justice has ever succeeded without rocking the boat. The direct action tactics of the Chartists and Suffragettes were condemned in their time as being "extremist". Yet was precisely their controversial, confrontational methods which forced society to sit up and take notice. If there is any lesson to be learned from history it is that being noisy and troublesome has a key role to play in the struggle for queer emancipation.

**ITEM 28: OutRage! Challenge to the Church on homosexuality. 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1995.**

Times Sat 18 Mar 1995

**OutRage! challenge to the Church on homosexuality***From Mr Grant Buckley*

Sir, Britain, compared to many countries, has relatively liberal legislation for homosexuals. Unfortunately legislation does not change public attitudes and this is where the brave efforts of Mr Peter Tatchell start to become effective (reports, March 14; letters, March 15).

Many homosexuals, like myself, must lead a life of deceit if they wish to avoid alienation by certain members of the community, job restrictions, and being an object of occasional ridicule.

Many know that if they wish to exhibit openly a desire to share their life with a partner of the same sex they will be forced to endure certain restrictions that are not prevalent for heterosexuals.

Mr Tatchell is endeavouring to challenge this situation, I suspect, so that the reality of life for these individuals may be as liberated as the legislation appears to provide for.

Yours faithfully,  
GRANT BUCKLEY,  
1b Brewery Walk,  
Barbourne, Worcester.

*From the Executive Director of Stonewall*

Sir, There are many reasons for condemning Peter Tatchell's latest attempt to "out" the Bishop of London. Moral blackmail is always indefensible. The ends do not justify the means. But for many lesbians and gay men the sight of Peter Tatchell posing as the moral policeman of the movement also belies the very basis of our arguments for civil rights.

The changes that have occurred in the last 25 years, and they have been very real, have happened because more and more lesbians and gay men are themselves coming out. This refusal to be ashamed or silent any longer means that lesbian and gay issues have gained a new visibility in our society. There are now lesbians, gay men and bisexuals in all walks of life who have come out and are making the case for change and arguing for recognition and respect.

"Outing" is most dangerous because it threatens this very process. Political correctness is substituted for open discussion, the threat of public exposure for respect for the diversity of our human sexuality and the privacy of all individuals. "Outing" invites a backlash and already in the Church

of England the fundamentalists are gathering force. Let's hope it won't happen here, but in America the Christian right is a powerful and growing force.

There is a desperate need for an open and informed discussion on homosexuality within the Church. Despite the attacks and threats from OutRage! the Bishop of London still seems to remain committed to that process. On this occasion we should applaud his integrity and oppose the intimidation to which he has been subject.

Yours faithfully,  
ANGELA MASON,  
Executive Director,  
Stonewall, 2 Greycoat Place, SW1.

*From the Bishop of Sodor and Man*

Sir, I was encouraged to read (report March 15) that the primates of the Anglican Communion, meeting in Windsor, had issued a letter supporting the Bishop of London ("Churchmen condemn move to 'out' Hope").

I would hope that in due course the House of Bishops would attempt to make some similar statement affirming what was written in their report *Issues in Human Sexuality* (December, 1991) and declaring categorically that we are opposed to homophobia and discrimination, as endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (report, March 17). At the same time I should hope that we would make it crystal clear that we will not bow to what I consider intimidation or threats perpetrated by some gay activists.

I believe that we should continue to stand by what we agreed with regard to clergy when *Issues in Human Sexuality* was produced. This is why I am disappointed to read (report, early editions, March 15) that the Bishop of Southwark "would be happy to ordain to the priesthood" someone who is openly homosexual, "as long as that relationship was stable".

In view of the monstrous behaviour of some representatives of the OutRage! lobby I sincerely hope that he will think again.

Yours faithfully,  
†NOEL SODOR and MAN,  
Bishop's House, Quarterbridge Road,  
Douglas, Isle of Man,  
March 17.

*From the Right Reverend Derek Rawcliffe*

Sir, I would like to correct some impressions in your page 1 report about

Bishop Hope (March 14). My decision to give the interview which appeared on *Newsnight* last week was in response to a request by Ted Harrison, of the BBC. There was no coercion by OutRage! or anyone else.

I had not been in correspondence with Peter Tatchell as your report suggests, neither has he at any time urged me to "come out". The only contact I had had with him was a telephone call some days before the "outing" of the bishops at General Synod. I realised later that he was checking up on me to make sure I was sufficiently "out" not to be included among the ten bishops.

My own view is that no one should be coerced to come out. Each person's situation is so different that he or she must make his or her own decision.

Yours faithfully,  
†DEREK RAWCLIFFE,  
Kitkatts,  
Wetherby Road,  
Bardsey, Leeds, West Yorkshire,  
March 14.

*From Ms Margot James*

Sir, In her article on the Church and homosexuality Janet Daley questions why the gay lobby is locked in conflict with the Church (article, March 9). Perhaps I can enlighten her.

Religion still exerts an influence over society and the psychological damage inflicted on lesbians and homosexuals growing up under the sway of catholicism, Judaism and other religions is incalculable.

Janet Daley raises the question of whether, if the sincerity of homosexual feelings is to be used as a "moral test", the sincere feelings of those who find homosexuality repugnant should be respected also. But gay activists are not motivated by the desire to change these feelings of repugnance. It is the effects of such feelings when they are translated into hostile behaviour that activists are most concerned about.

Whether one agrees with "outing" or not, it is not done purely on the basis that hypocrisy is evil. It is done to challenge the legitimacy the Church gives, through its teaching that homosexual acts are sinful, to groups and individuals who not only find homosexuals repugnant but go on to indulge their response in legal (discrimination) and illegal (violent) ways.

Yours sincerely,  
MARGOT JAMES,  
1 Selwood Terrace, SW7,  
March 11.

**ITEM 29: OutRage! Letter to Institute of Psycho Therapy. 8<sup>th</sup> July, 1994.**

# OUTRAGE!

5 Peter Street, London W1V 3RR  
071 - 439 2381

Veronica Norburn  
Institute of Psycho Therapy  
and Social Studies  
18 Laurier Road  
London  
NW5 1SG

8/7/94

Dear Ms Norburn,

Homophobia is the irrational fear of homosexuality. In a person who is homosexual this disorder can be very damaging to the sufferers self-esteem. In the most severe cases the disorder can lead to violence, usually aimed against someone the sufferer perceives as homosexual.

It has long been recognised that many disorders exist not because of physical damage to the brain but in a broader social context. Since most societies continue to discriminate against homosexuality a person expressing anti-gay/lesbian sentiment might be regarded as normal. However, we feel that a person that attacks, maims or possibly murders another solely because he/she is gay/lesbian is stepping beyond such considerations.

Such a person should be regarded as ill and that the psychological/psychiatric establishment should give serious consideration to ways of helping them overcome their phobia.

We would be grateful on your views on this matter and would like to know whether your institution has, or would be prepared to offer treatment to a homophobe desirous of a cure.

Yours sincerely

Alastair Williams  
For OutRage!

# APPENDIX

## B

**ITEM 1:** *The Sunday Times Magazine - Peter Tatchell Speaks Out. 23rd April, 1995.*



Peter Tatchell Speaks Out. By Lesley White

**ITEM 1: *Continued.***

## Indecent exposure

Peter Tatchell loves to shock, and OutRage!, the gay rights group notorious for its kiss-ins, queer weddings and mass trouser drops, did just that. But now Tatchell and his colleagues have started 'outing' bishops, MPs and judges, American-style. So has the Citizen Smith of pink politics finally gone too far in his battle to bring public figures out of the closet? Lesley White reports. Photograph by Cindy Palmano

ITEM 1: *Continued.*

# D

id the senior politician, whose voluptuous features might have been admired by the crowd on another occasion, suffer from burning ears that night? Or ever a shiver of discomfort? In a cramped bar room behind King's Cross station his name was hurled through the smoke-choked air with a regularity that made it, after the initial shock, seem quite at home. This was a public meeting organised by a gay discussion forum, debating the moral propriety or otherwise, effectiveness or not, of "outing". The exposure of individuals as closet homosexuals, once the dubious prerogative of the American religious right and the British tabloids, has passed into the arsenal of OutRage!, the gay rights group whose notoriety increases daily. It was denounced for disrupting the enthronement of the new Bishop of Durham (whose moral lapse 26 years ago was actually revealed by the *News of the World*) last October and "outing" 10 allegedly gay bishops outside a meeting of the General Synod in November. But it was the Bishop of London, the Rt Rev Dr David Hope, going public after a letter from OutRage! and claiming that his sexuality was a grey area, that sealed the reputation of the group's leader, Peter Tatchell, as the new Antichrist. Even the death from a heart attack of the Unionist MP Sir James Kilfedder — one of 20 MPs who received letters from OutRage! in January — was indirectly laid at his door.

Tatchell insists that he did not threaten Hope, just encouraged him to "do the right thing" voluntarily. Indeed his letter carried no explicit threat or ultimatum, though, in a climate of fear and gossip, Hope's reaction is understandable. "What actually happened with David Hope," says Tatchell, "is that a journalist went to him and told him we were going to out him. That journalist wanted an interview but the church pre-empted it with the press conference. If we had wanted to out David Hope we would have done it in November."

Tatchell is an expert caster of aspersions, sower of doubts, tantaliser of public salaciousness, and dangerous to those — and only those, he seeks to clarify — who hide a sexual orientation while damning it in public with their words and their votes. His promise is to bust open the closet doors in the police, judiciary, military and — coming soon — Westminster. Tonight, as 30 or so mill beneath the platform where he sits, he looks ready for battle: whipper-thin, high on adrenaline and yet displaying the serenity of one who is confident of his stance, of his absolute rectitude. You can cringe when Tatchell talks of sexual apartheid and "queer politics", of the

government encouraging more young men to be gay to defeat the job culture spawned by straights; you can be as embarrassed as you like by his "I Can See Queerly Now" T-shirt. His argument will not miss a beat.

In the war of innuendo that has so far been the outer's best tactic, Tatchell still has many to convince. On the platform with him that night, a lesbian activist spoke of love and joy and even the right to privacy. Someone else said they had no desire to welcome gay homophobes into the community; who needed role models like the Honourable Member anyway? Most of the arguments were well rehearsed and had frequently been heard by both sides, and then Tatchell, who rarely strays from the agenda, said something more revealing: that the defiant hedonism of gay culture can lead to a position of amorality and that they must guard against that at all costs. As he spoke he brought to mind, with his pale skin and dark, luminous eyes full of earnest intent, the saintly individual his Christian fundamentalist parents no doubt hoped he would become. Vengeful, childish, vituperative he has been called, and worse, but when he talks, sincerity shines forth like a beacon, slicing through the usual fog of political cynicism and indolence.

"But sincerity," says Rabbi Hugo Gryn, who has debated with Tatchell on outing, "does not mean that he is not wrong. He believes he is working for the good of gay people, but I am suspicious of anyone who thinks they know best what is right for others. As the crow flies across the pages of eternity he may have done his cause a disservice. My feeling is, don't do to others what would be terrible for you if you were in their position."

But tonight the crowd are baying for facts, not feelings. Come on, Peter, they say, give us the evidence. It is a word that follows him as doggedly as it does the television cop: where is his proof, how can he be sure, will the charge of hypocrisy stand up beyond all reasonable doubt? At one point, revelling in his moment of defiance, he reads out a list of 12 MPs who voted against equalising the age of consent last February and are known, he says, for their covert gay lives. The Dirty Dozen, he calls them. Their names are etched on his brain, an unholy alliance whose duplicity echoes the persecution of centuries; mostly Conservative, some Unionists, a couple of shadow frontbenchers. He is constantly asked for definitions; does one furtive fumble make a chap gay, does bisexual count as the same, just what are his standards of classification? "I would like to ask Peter what proof he has that X is gay?" ventures the man with the microphone, naming a cabinet minister. He does not answer that one. Nor does he look for a second as if he cannot.

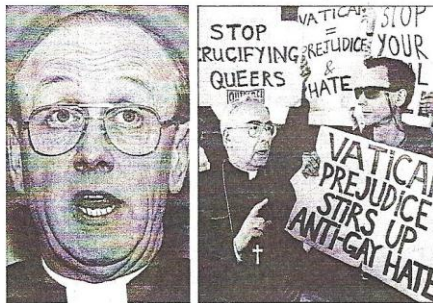
Tatchell builds his case files like a detective or a journalist, piecing together testimonies and evidence until he is as sure as he can be. "We monitor lesbian and gay people in public life who support anti-gay politics," he says simply. He says he never acts on anonymous tip-offs, is

suspicious of all information that arrives too easily, relies instead on a countrywide network of sympathisers and informers. There were at least five closeted bishops OutRage! did not name last year because the evidence was shaky. When we met he told me he was meeting another privately to try to persuade him to come out. This turned out to be Hope. If he had done nothing, would he have been outed? "We very much wanted him to make the right moral choice." The great advantage of outing, he says, is that sometimes just the threat of it can dissuade closeted figures from supporting anti-gay policies. He, more than most, understands the power of threat.

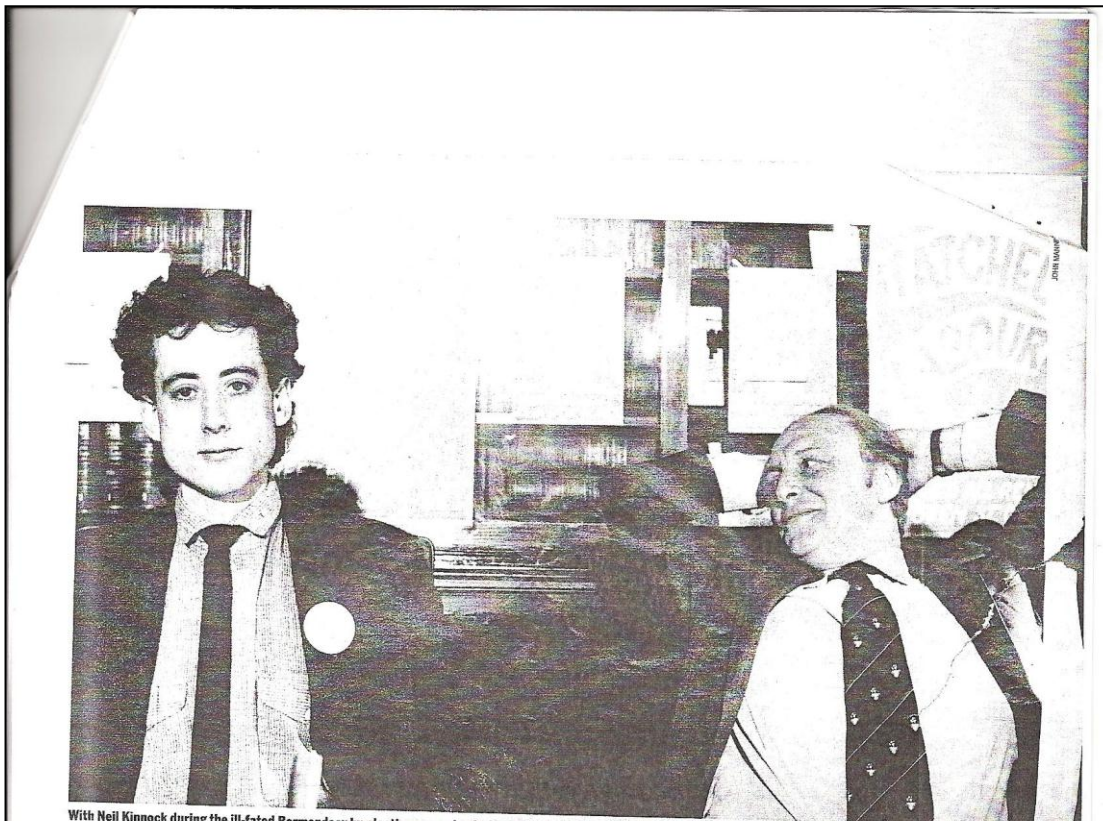
Tatchell is a zealot who has paid a price for his faith. He lives in a small hard-to-let council flat behind the Elephant and Castle shopping centre in southeast London: dangerous, dreary, a desolate urban landscape that is filled with the downtrodden and the poor, of which he is one. He lives on a tiny income from journalism and books such as *The Battle For Bermondsey*, *Europe In The Pink* and the latest, *I Don't Want To March Straight*, a study of gay life in the armed forces. His activism, which began in the 1970s, is reflected in his collection of political badges, one for every cause from Greenham Common to Nicaragua, totems of a past that has included smuggling leaflets into East Berlin, making the first gay protest in the former Soviet bloc and being interrogated by the East German security police. There is also an old-fashioned typewriter, piles of leaflets and, by his bed, a bucket of water. He worries about arson attacks. Since his vilification by the press as a far-left Labour candidate in the 1983 Bermondsey by-election — the first we knew of the brave, infuriating Australian — he has been fair game for anyone with a mind to take a pop. "The hatred has only made me more convinced that I should stick to my principles."

When he wanted to sue the tabloids for libel (he had, they said, deserted his prospective constituents in Bermondsey to go to the gay Olympics) his lawyer advised that he might lose: so *demomised* was he that it was impossible to diminish his public standing any further. Only Tony Benn and Ken Livingstone really stood by him, he says, but that was another era. "Please don't go on about it." He lost by 10,000 votes in a previously safe seat, and mud sticks. In local shops, on public transport, he is still abused for losing Labour's traditional stronghold; he used to keep a record of the physical assaults but when it reached 300 he stopped even reporting them to the police. "There were never any prosecutions." He is on the death list of the far-right group Combat 18; there is not a window in the flat that has not been shattered; through the post have come death threats, dog excrement and a bullet. "It makes you nervous, always looking over your shoulder. I'm not as confident about walking the streets as I used to be." He is quite sure his phone is tapped by Special Branch and uses the postal service loyally, distrusting, one suspects, all other methods of communication. It strikes you that a carrier pigeon would make the perfect gift; even better would be the nice house on a quiet street with a garden that he craves and will probably never have. Or perhaps a boyfriend. In his early 40s, he lives alone, and potential partners must find it hard to share the strain, and the megalomania. Campaigning for the sexual freedom of others while he sleeps alone only makes him look more obsessive. "Peter is great," says a fellow activist, "but he doesn't recognise any boundaries in life. It's all 100% for the cause. He tends to forget that people have homes and partners, things to do that have nothing to do with OutRage!"

Tatchell could have become yesterday's man, a forgotten demon from the days → 23



Religious affairs: the Bishop of London, left, went public after an OutRage! letter. Peter Tatchell, right, at the Papal Nuncio's London residence in 1992

**ITEM 1: Continued.**

With Neil Kinnock during the ill-fated Bermondsey by-election campaign in 1983. Labour quizzed Tatchell about his lifestyle and advised him not to come out as a gay man

when the Labour left was a ferocious force; a remnant from the heavy pink politics of the 1970s. But he never went away; he carried on shouting until the fashion for civil disobedience made him seem, once again, of the moment. And as party politics collapses into a nicely mannered consensus, Tatchell represents the love-it-or-shove-it approach, the dirty hands and pristine consciences of old-style political activists. His gang, called "homosexual terrorists" by an apoplectic Paul Johnson, is keen to identify with fellow issue-raisers: look at the veal crates, they say; look at what you can do by causing havoc. The word is that since the Hope incident, support for OutRage! has been down, some members feeling it has all gone too far; but at the meeting that week there were 14 members present, about average. "I only know of one person who has found all the publicity against us too much," Tatchell says.

But while the cannons of rage explode around him, Red Pete is happier than ever. If he did not fit into middle-class Melbourne and was rejected by the British left, this decade of activism will become his best platform. The animal rights protests, the anti-motorway militancy, the outing debate all take place where Tatchell is most comfortable: outside the correct channels of political objection. He is a real DIY campaigner, a man who knows how to turn a hired room, a photocopier and a few willing hands and feet into a real force, if not for political change, then at least for needling the grown-ups. The annual Gay Pride march attracts thousands and gets next to no coverage; OutRage! stole headlines for two whole weeks last month. The campaigns attached to the three main political parties cannot share the purity of a single-issue group. "We believe in mass action, not advance elites," says Peter Purton of the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights. "We are part of a Labour movement. We don't believe progress can be made under any other government."

24 Tatchell's experience at the hands of Labour party man-

darins speaks differently. On their advice he did not come out as a gay man during the Bermondsey by-election, something of which he is ashamed. "It is still something I find difficult to forgive myself for." After his selection he was called to a meeting at Walworth Road HQ, where he was asked if he had any other skeletons in his closet. Did he like little boys, for example? Even now it is hard to see, as Tony Blair espouses the family-first line, where an "alternative agenda" like Tatchell's fits in. Far more interesting is his organisation's subtle war for the moral high ground with the more sedate Stonewall. Set up to improve representation in Parliament and the media, Stonewall is a lobby group which shuns OutRage!'s hard-line tactics, especially outing. Angela Mason, one of its directors, says that Tatchell's threats buy into the stigma and prejudice against gay people. Her colleague, the actor Michael Cashman, called the Hope affair "sickening". One group appeases while the other fights; one sends Sir Ian McKellen to have tea with John Major, the other sends Peter Tatchell and friends to paint a poster that says: "Drop Your Trousers And Bend Over For Your Minister."

Both say that the agenda for change — a legislative programme covering workplace equality, immigration rights and so on — must encompass both approaches. But beneath the words there is a strain of antagonism that the gay press has leapt upon: unctuous Sir Ian against the anarchist Aussie. The difference was best shown at the furious demonstration outside the House of Commons during last February's vote on equalising the age of consent; while Stonewall urged order and restraint, saying they might win the vote if the crowd kept the noise down, OutRage! were chanting slogans about their two favourite cabinet ministers. "No one was of a mind to be quiet," recalls a participant. "We were with Tatchell in spirit. We were there to make our anger at the injustice felt." Many felt that Stonewall had taken all the credit for the campaign but distanced itself

quickly from the failure. Subsequent meetings between the two groups were described as "blood baths".

Tatchell's relationship with politicians has not been fruitful, either. The letter OutRage! sent to 20 MPs in January is a curious mixture of moral exhortation and naive reasoning. "There is nothing wrong with being lesbian, gay or bisexual... Closeted politicians deprive gay and lesbian teenagers of positive role models... the dishonesty of closeted gay MPs corrodes the integrity of public life... You have a duty to yourself for your peace of mind, as well as a moral obligation to other lesbians and gay men, to be open about your sexuality." The day after they were sent, he read to me the names of 20 MPs for whose dissembling he had at least two strong sources of information, going on to describe an ideal scenario for their coming out. The openly gay Labour MP Chris Smith might lead a collective action and they could sign and post an Early Day Motion in the House. He had had talks with Smith, was on friendly terms, did not see why that should be impossible. The Islington MP seemed to have other ideas, however, could find a mere five minutes to discuss the matter and stated categorically his disapproval of outing. "Nothing is achieved by pushing sexuality into the public gaze," said Smith. "Where there is hypocrisy those involved must look to their consciences. I condemn sending letters — it is wrong to frighten and worry." Whether this distancing says more about Tatchell's illusions of friends in high places or Smith's pragmatic politics it is hard to tell. Still a member of the Labour party, Tatchell has no compunction about embarrassing it or anyone else. "He goes for the sacred cows," says an admirer, "and he loves every minute of it." In 1993 OutRage! dared to liken the former Chief Rabbi, Lord Jacobovits, to Himmler after his statement on using eugenics to screen out homosexuality, a move that only OutRage! would dare attempt and only Tatchell could refer to so matter-of-factly. "People take against Peter," says Steve Mayes of OutRage!, "and I think there is →

**ITEM 1: Continued.**

For years Tatchell has wedded left-wing principles to a talent for theatrical spectacle. Top left: a gay and lesbian marriage ceremony. Top right: speaking at the 1992 kiss-in at Piccadilly Circus. Left: apprehended in 1987 at an event commemorating the settlement of his native Australia. Right: OutRage! protesting last year at Guildford Cathedral

homophobia behind that. What you have to understand is that he's not in this to be liked; we've all suffered with, drawal of love and support for being what we are. Even if we crawl on our bellies people are not going to like us. Parliamentary lobbying is about appeasement: we'll be nice if you behave; it leads to compromise, having to present ourselves to meet straight criteria." No chance of that for Peter's gang; their actions, or "zaps", are imbued with all the drama and camp theatricality one might expect from what one politician called a group of hairdressers with attitude. Zaps have included a kiss-in under the statue of Eros at Piccadilly Circus, which resulted in an assurance that the police would make no more arrests in central London for consenting gay embraces ("They told us that very night — too soon, really," says Tatchell); queer weddings and crucifixions; the release of helium-filled condoms, two of which unfurled a banner saying "Condoms Save Lives", during a service at Westminster Cathedral on the first day of Advent; the exorcism of the "demon" of homophobia outside Lambeth Palace, and so on, winning more and more exposure as the tactics have veered towards the cutting edge that is outing.

A former Sunday-school teacher, Tatchell has lost his faith in God but still believes in a higher plane of ethics to which we should all aspire. "I retain the basic Protestant ethic that we are all personally responsible for our

actions and that discrimination is wrong. I feel a moral obligation to do something about it." But how can there be a moral obligation to threaten people, asks Hugo Gryn? "Can he really have felt that a man like David Hope, a good man, deserved that letter?"

The strict Christianity that Tatchell was fed as a child has not quite disappeared but has been refocused, all its energy and impatience intact, into his own special cause. It might have been a different one — CND, radical socialism, Troops Out, homelessness, politics — but he was born homosexual, a simple fact of life which he has turned into a *raison d'être*. It took early-1970s London to seduce him with the thrills and passion of activism.

He left Melbourne aged 19 with his boyfriend to avoid national service — which would have seen him drafted into Vietnam, a war he campaigned against — with the intention of touring Europe and going home when the coast was clear and a Labour government had granted an amnesty. There must have been other good reasons to get away: no gay clubs or bars, parents to whom he could not speak the truth. "My own family regarded homosexuality as one of the worst possible sins." He last went back in 1987 and says a little wistfully that his family "admire me for standing up for my beliefs and taking personal risks". He had left home to live (illegally) with a boyfriend at 17, worked as a store designer but saw him-

self also as an athlete; he was a long-distance runner for his local athletic club. This talent has served him well in OutRage!, where sprinting across cathedral lawns, avoiding police rugby tackles, has become a speciality.

On his first day in London in 1971 he saw a sticker on a lamppost for the newly formed Gay Liberation Front; by his fifth he was actively involved in the precursors of OutRage!, via groups like CHE (the Campaign for Homosexual Equality). From 1973 onwards the energy of the GLF was dissipating, slipping into new projects like the Lesbian and Gay Switchboard and Gay News. In the late 1970s, having graduated from North London Polytechnic, Tatchell sniffed a wave of radicalism in the Labour party and joined up. During the hiatus in gay politics in the 1980s he worked with a network of friends on specific campaigns: lobbying Channel 4 for a gay magazine programme, opposing discrimination in the armed forces, writing AIDS: A Guide To Survival, the first book to consider the disease as a way of life, not death. It was AIDS politics that reignited direct action through groups such as ACTUP (Aids Coalition To Unleash Power). OutRage! was formed by Tatchell and friends in May 1990, in reaction to the "queer-bashing murder" of Michael Boothe, a gay actor who was ambushed at a public lavatory in west London by a gang of thugs who kicked him to death. "And to the highest Home →

## ITEM 1: Continued.

Office statistics for prosecutions for consensual gay sex since the 1950s," says Tatchell. There was also Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act, banning promotion of homosexuality by local authorities, as a reaction to which Stonewall was formed at the same time.

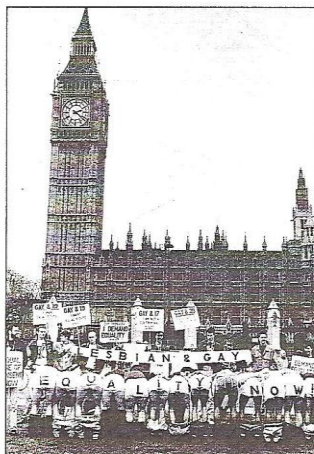
"Polite lobbying had not worked," says Tatchell, "and it still has not... There has been no significant homosexual law reform since the Sexual Offences Act of 1967." OutRage!'s first action was to bust a police entrapment operation at public toilets in Hyde Park, where they stood, placards aloft, accusing the police of wasting time and public money. The result: immediate cessation of police operations in the area, he claims. At first OutRage! attracted 50 to 60 supporters a week to its meetings, a number that has now dwindled to a loyal 14-20 or so. The new breakaway sisterhood, the Lesbian Avengers, who recently chained themselves to this newspaper's newsdesk as a protest, claim 50 to 70 regulars every week. One of them, the television producer Donna Clarke, thinks its popularity is as much about therapy as results. "Activism not only changes things - you only have to look at the suffragettes and the black civil rights movement to see that - but it also empowers the people within it. Lesbians have really low self-esteem; there are no role models, not even any laws about us. It's fun, brilliant, hilarious to do those zaps. Being with a group of 40 people, all proud and angry and positive, all wearing the T-shirt, is great." Clarke travelled the country in a battered mini van with OutRage! activists to spread the word, inspiring Avengers chapters in Birmingham and Liverpool, but a lot of gay groups they visited were put off by their impression of Tatchell.

"I'm surprised he hasn't handed over the reins to someone else," says Paul Burston, editor of Time Out magazine's gay section, "but then he is so fit for his age... and who else would do it as well?" Tatchell argues that there are no reins to hand over, that the organisation is an open, democratic alignment with no constitution or hierarchy; if he appears its most prominent spokesman it is because the media invariably come to him. It is also because his commitment to the cause beggars belief.

He could, after all, have been many things in life, including well off, unharassed, professionally fulfilled. He chose instead the rocky road, imagining perhaps that he will have his reward in some kind of martyr's paradise. And let us be clear about how far he would go. I asked him what it would have taken in the middle of the Bermondsey hate campaign for him to give up. He looked a little embarrassed and said: "Being killed." As if, in the end, that is the way he might choose to go - a Blair Peach, a Jill Phipps, another victim of direct action who will be forever revered by the revolution. He denies it is a vocation; he says instead that a mere accident of destiny led to what he claims as his proudest achievement: reducing convictions of gay men for consensual acts by 75% since OutRage! began. His statistics? "Theirs."

Over the years there have been proper jobs of a socially concerned type: housing officer at a homeless centre in Waterloo, journalism, research, writing projects such as *Safer Sex*, a joltingly explicit cross between a safe sex manual and a homoerotic treat, all punning headlines ("Suck A Fruit...Flavoured Condom") and enviable erections. Its author is proud to call it the most sexually explicit book ever published in this country. "Twice as explicit as Madonna's book *Sex*, only half the price and it helps save lives." Pushing back the boundaries of censorship, skirting the Obscene Publications Act with an avowed intention to protect and educate, he has got away with it. "The book is queer activism in the bedroom. There's no apology for being gay: if you don't like it, piss off." In December, 18 copies were seized by police from the Clone Zone store in Earls Court - of which 17 were returned. He raises an eyebrow meaningfully.

In conversation he is an odd proposition. He takes pride in his ability to manipulate the media - to use them



OutRage! campaigns at Westminster for the same age of consent for gays and lesbians as heterosexuals enjoy

as they have in the past used the gay community for their scurrilous ends - but his hesitancy, self-editing, cancelling of whole sentences and replacing them with more succinctly printable versions, are telling. One to one he is more nervous than you expect, jumping at the sound of the letterbox, scuttling off to see what has arrived and returning clutching a letter. Did I mind if he opened it here and now? Probably some communication relating to a forthcoming court appearance. But no, it was a birthday card, in the second post, and there seemed to be no others on display. "It's my birthday today," he explains, his 43rd, and he looks, a man who spends his life organising collaborative effort, quite alone.

One imagines that his friends often disappoint him, and despite all good intentions are too frail and human, too easily distracted, too fearful of pain and humiliation to stay the course. There are many ex-members of his group; those I spoke to cited no political or personal differences. "It is just exhausting," said one. "Actually, Peter himself is exhausting." And yet in his kindness and paternalism towards younger and less experienced members, in his nervous giggle and tentative warmth as he allows himself to wonder if this member of the enemy ranks might be half-trusted, there is a pretty normal need to be liked. What would he be doing that night? Going to Heaven, he said, a gay nightclub. "It's peculiar to run into him at a club," says Paul Burston. "He looks out of place in that hedonistic environment and he doesn't switch off, he comes up to you and starts talking about this action or that plan. You say, Peter, please, I'm out having a good time. Call me at work." Burston, a supporter of Tatchell's work, knew him in the days of ACTUP. "He was just the same then. He goes on and on."

Tatchell takes a lot of flak from the gay community. Every week at least one letter appears in one of its papers saying, who the hell does he think he is? The problem is not only his extremism but the fact that this man, who used to be known on the scene as Pop-Up Pete, simply appears everywhere. "The resentment," says Burston, "is that he's setting himself up as some kind of leader. That's unfair. Very few have the time and energy to do everything that needs doing. He just gets on with it."

Those invited to OutRage!'s Christmas party at its central London base last year would have found the stalwarts viewing slides of the year's greatest hits (and there were many) while drinks and nibbles were passed round and

spoof awards were presented: Biggest Media Tart, Rudest Comment Made About Stonewall. Its weekly meetings are said to be seminars in confidence and anger, intimidating to newcomers. "They tend to separate the wheat from the chaff," says Mayes. "There is an astonishing vision about what we should be doing. From the shambolic structure comes this precise organisation."

Many see OutRage!'s talk of outing as the emperor's new clothes, a promise never to be fulfilled here as it has been in America for reasons of legality, scruples or lack of nerve. Perhaps the idea is that if certain names are mentioned frequently in "safe" public spaces, they will seep by osmosis into public awareness. And how effective is it anyway? "I'll buy anyone a pint if they can remember the names of the bishops we named - including Peter," says Sebastian Sandys, a former friar and a collaborator on the zap. Who, for that matter, could remember them the next day?

Some sections of the Church of England are grateful for Tatchell's audacity. Richard Kirker of the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement says: "One comes to the conclusion, when all other methods have come to nothing, that the direct action route may be right." In early January, Kirker's organisation was asked to submit a paper for discussion and was listened to for the first time. If the bishops want OutRage! off their backs, Kirker's lobby wants parishes for gay clergy. His members are calling for a tougher line, he says, and a Christian OutRage! may yet develop. And Tatchell thinks he is winning: since the November outings, two bishops have come clean (Hope and the Right Rev Derek Rawcliffe), Cardinal Hume has made his most favourable statement on homosexuality, the Bishop of Southwark has said he might ordain priests in stable homosexual relationships, and the world conference of Anglican leaders has called for the church to re-examine its policy. "What we wanted was for Hope to come out and be accepted by the church; both have happened. That makes it easier for gay clergy."

Once off the subject of outing, there is a brighter side to Tatchell, an impishness that makes one smile (as much as his intolerance makes one shudder) as he prods at the limits of authority to see how far he can go. "Did I ever tell you about the time I rode my bike at John Major?" he asks. And indeed he did, shouting slogans about an equal age of consent as the PM attempted to deliver a press statement on the steps of New Scotland Yard. He was pulled off his bike by eight officers. "I was eight feet away from him. He tried to carry on, but my voice was too loud." There is in such episodes the comic value of the urban guerrilla, a Citizen Smith for the gay cause, but what many do not know is that Tatchell was invited to use his skills of strategy and courage for a career in the military. In 1978, while gathering material for a book, he applied for an officer's commission and was offered a place at Sandhurst. When he turned it down the regimental commander of the Royal Artillery wrote expressing his disappointment and saying that Tatchell was meant to command in high places. Tatchell preferred to write seditious leaflets asking soldiers to disobey orders for the preparation of nuclear weapons instead.

The path to infamy is not always easy, even for an old hand. Since the television news flashed up his letter to Hope, showing his address and telephone number, Tatchell has been besieged by threats. After the Durham incident he was held in a head lock which almost choked him, and put in handcuffs that pinched the nerves in his wrist, but he insists the officers were perfectly pleasant. He takes such risks because he thinks they work, because he enjoys them, because he probably remembers no other way of life. For him the outed individual is sacrificed for the greater good. "Whatever pain they may suffer is insignificant by comparison to the pain they are causing thousands in the lesbian and gay community." In the eyes of Peter Tatchell it is, after all, a mean old world ■

ITEM 2: News of the World Article. Oct 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1994.

of Allegation first reported in "Guardian" of 22/10 after debate on evening of 21/10. Allegation also reported in Today's Mirror.

# GO, IN GOD'S NAME GO

## Screaming gays demand bishop's resignation on the day he's enthroned

GAY rights activist Peter Tatchell was bundled to the ground and arrested as the controversial new Bishop of Durham was enthroned yesterday amid calls for him to quit.

In the event of a noisy demonstration by gays against Bishop Michael Turnbull—whom the News of the World revealed last month has a conviction for gross indecency.

They claim he is a hypocrite for condemning homosexuality among the clergy, while keeping secret for 25 years the fact that he had been caught in a Hull public lavatory with a man.

Bishop Turnbull's own parish priest also urged him to resign.

Bishop Turnbull, 58, walked to the door of Durham Cathedral yesterday.

One of Tatchell's organisers, Quirage shouted: "Slack the bishop... hypocrite."

**Hatred**  
Tatchell, who cat...



NAMED: Bishop Masters

### Secret\* of the 3 'closet' bishops

By MAZHER MAHMOOD  
THREE of the Church of England's most senior clergy have admitted being closet gays.

They are the Bishop of Ely, Michael Fisher, 76, Sebastian Sanders, 32—a member of gay pressure group Outrage—during the enthronement at Durham University. "I wish they had been open about it," he said. All three men re-

**ITEM 3:** Peter Tatchell is accused of forcing homosexuals out. 15th March, 1995.

Daily Express 15 Mar 1995

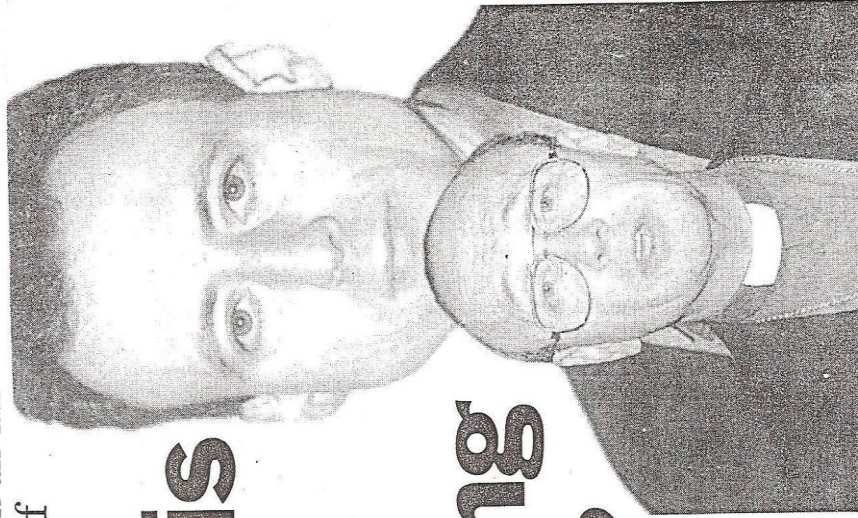
Peter Tatchell is accused of forcing homosexuals 'out'

# Why is this gay man persecuting gay men?

By PAUL CALLAN

**J**UST 100 years ago, Oscar Wilde paid a vicious price for his homosexuality when he was sentenced to two years of the hardest labour for his "gross indecency".

Knowledge that he has gay inclinations himself, saw this as hypocrisy. Tatchell is a tall, well-spoken young man, who, if you do not



ITEM 3: Continued.

premature death in exile, during an era of gross hypocrisy and prejudice.

Those, such as the exotic and brilliant Wilde, who were perceived to have offended public morality were hounded mercilessly. But, at the same time, homosexuals felt at liberty to practise behind the lace curtains of decency because of the traditional upper-class prejudice that would ensure their safety.

Sexual disease and male prostitution were used to perform the same function as the traditional upper-class prejudices but publicly, for the likes of Wilde and those few brave enough to "come out", it was a terrible time for gays. They were blacklisted, persecuted and even killed.

**Today, by a tortured irony, it is gays themselves who are carrying out the persecution. Outrage, a group led by the late, hungry and Cashis-like Peter Tatchell, is being accused of setting back gay rights because of an apparent policy of "outing" those in public life it considers unwelcome.**

Its latest victim is the hapless Bishop of London, Dr David Hope, who chose to make public his correspondence with Outrage normally manipulative Tatchell and the group's elders by surprise. "I was astonished that he chose to do this," said Tatchell yesterday, when we met in his tiny South London council flat.

"I strongly refute any suggestion that we tried to blackmail him, he added rather forcibly. "The truth, whether you choose to believe it or not, is that we wrote to him simply suggesting that he came out, about his homosexuality and join our crusade that is so emphatically rampant in the Church of England.

"Our reason for urging him to do this was simply that he had been consistently supportive of the Church's view that same sex relations were not on a par with heterosexual ones. We felt the

straight — a view he would not thank you for. There is no wringing of the neck, no Larry Grayson campaigning. This is a rather serious matter (Oh, please don't call me that!) who could easily be taken for a dedicated school teacher, an ardent Left-wing social worker, even a passionate, nice-looking probation officer whom the mums would like.

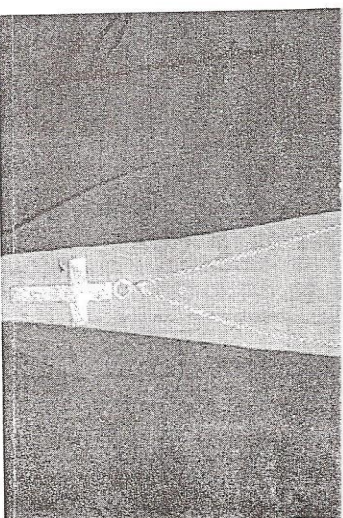
He lives alone and has done for the past few years. My last serious relationship ended three years. The operator here, the stall, looked about his painted life. "It is a well... because like all relationships, gay or straight, it stopped working. I'm certainly not celibate and still see people, but always with the safest of sex."

He is a great apostle of safe sex and pointed to a lavishly illustrated book called Safe Sex, which he wrote. "Look, don't open it if you are easily shocked. It is very explicit." (I am not, and it was. "Safe" male sex was graphically demonstrated by live models in every position. None of the men I noticed, looked particularly happy. This was not the joy of Sex.)

**B**UT who provides him some would say the dirt — on figures such as the Bishop of London? "Just suffice it to say that we are constantly in touch with senior, and I mean very senior, administrators of the Church of England. Our feeling is that, basically, the Anglican Church does not care very much about truth in such matters.

He believes that Dr Hope was probably lured in by other homosexuals in the Church hierarchy to make public the correspondence.

"I really find it amazing that he should have chosen to react like a rifle wounded. He and I had a most friendly and amicable meeting, discussing the need for the clergy to make a move in the



VICTIM: Dr David Hope was hit by Tatchell's tactics

battle against homophobia. He was very friendly, and well-disposed towards us," and well-fruited when I suggested he was leading a witch-hunt or presiding over a self-elected Star Chamber. "Certainly not," he said, yanking himself into a black leather jacket.

"No, no. I only want to drive out those people who are hypocrites and lesbians who criticise them but are gay themselves." The telephone in the poster and postcard-adorned flat (a gay sex card sits besides a picture of Elizabeth Taylor on the mantelpiece) seldom stopped ringing yesterday with requests for interviews. And it was clear that, for all the deadly seriousness of his campaign, Tatchell enjoys these neon lights of publicity.

**He is well-rehearsed and articulate in his responses and possesses a fervent confidence in his own opinions. He can speak in sentences so long you can record them with ease.**

But fellow gays are deeply concerned about the damage he is doing, some even claiming that he is using Outrage — founded by wealthy homosexuals, who

tolerated his histrionics because he guaranteed headlines and television coverage — to make a name for himself.

There are suggestions, too, that he has "rewritten" his own life story, claiming he "came out" at 17 after seeing the New York police thrashing gays in street protests.

Homosexual organisations such as Stonewall are bitterly opposed to his tactics. Deputy director Anya Palmer said: "He doesn't have a care about the people he is attacking, and how they lose their jobs, their partners who don't know about their sexuality. There is a danger with him."

**T**ATCHELL remains a driven man, still haunted by the bitter memories of having lost the Bernmont seat by election in 1983 (traditionally a safe seat) and rejected to physical and verbal persecution, even having a pistol shot fired through his front door.

"I can never forget that," he said, his voice lowering for a moment. "Never." There was pain in his eyes and his mouth became a thin hard line of defiance. **And remember, you can't**

ITEM 4: New York Times - Gay Issue Roils Church of England. 19th March, 1995.

New York Times Sunday 19 Mar 1995

NATIONAL SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1995

# Gay Issue Roils Church of England

## Bishop Wins Praise in Resisting Pressure by Militant Group

By JOHN DARTON

LONDON, March 18 — For years the Church of England has been racked by an internal debate over homosexuality: Is it morally reprehensible and a cause for repentance? Or is it acceptable and, when accompanied by love and fidelity, as positive a form of human expression as heterosexuality?

This week the debate exploded into the public arena as the Bishop of London, the church's third most senior cleric, revealed that he had been pressed by a militant gay rights group to proclaim himself a homosexual "voluntarily."

Instead the Bishop, David Hope, held a news conference on Monday to condemn the tactics of the group trying to pressure him. He said that his sexuality was "ambiguous" and that he was celibate.

His stand drew praise from the church's highest authority, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. George Carey, who also issued a special plea for tolerance.

"We reject homophobia in any form," the Archbishop said at a press conference on Thursday. "Homosexuals must be treated as people made in the image and likeness of God."

The issue reverberated beyond the Church of England. For this happened to be the week that leaders of the Anglican Communion, representing some 70 million worshippers in 35 self-governing churches in 164 countries, were holding a meeting in Windsor Great Park near London.

Once every three years the 36 Anglican Primates convene for mutual support and consultation. This year the issue of human sexuality and the churches' traditional biblical condemnation of sex outside the bounds of matrimony — and homosexual sex in particular — was high on the agenda.

At the end of the conference the Primates released a pastoral letter, intended to guide discussions in the Communion's 500 dioceses, which called for a full but reasoned debate on the whole issue of human sexuality. The discussions will presumably range across questions that have long vexed the churches in various countries, including everything from extramarital sex to polygamy.

The issue of sexual morality is especially controversial in the United States where the Episcopal

Hope's disclosure that a group called OutRage! had threatened to go public with an allegation that he was gay unless he himself did so.

At his news conference, Bishop Hope released the text of a letter handed to him in January by Peter Tatchell, 43, a founder and spokesman for OutRage!. It said he should proclaim himself a homosexual "voluntarily" so that he could speak out for "the millions of lesbian and gay people who are victimized by our homophobic society, often with the collusion of the church."

Bishop Hope condemned the tactics as "seriously intimidatory or worse." He said he found "this campaign profoundly disturbing in that it would seem to be based almost totally on rumor, unattributable sources and of an intimidatory nature."

"To what extent should any person be subjected to such intrusion in their personal and private lives carrying with it unspecified threats — purely on the basis of such rumor

Bishop Hope's statement ahead of time and strongly backed him both privately and publicly, church officials said.

Though its influence has declined at home in recent decades and the percentage of regular churchgoers among the general population is in the single digits, the Church of England still has more followers than any other church in England.

The church's position on homosexuality is evolving slowly. In 1987, the General Synod, the church's legislature, with 574 members, adopted a motion put forward by the Rev. Tony Highton, a rector in Essex, that was traditional in its condemnation. Homosexual genital acts "fall short" of the "ideal" of heterosexual intercourse between married partners and are "to be met by a call to repentance," it stated.

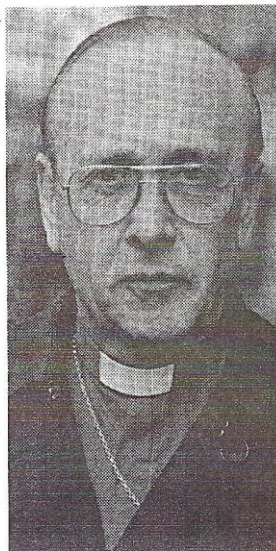
In 1991, the House of Bishops, which constitutes one-third of the General Synod, produced a report on "Issues in Human Sexuality" that liberalized the stance. Among other things, it allowed practicing homosexuals to be accepted in certain circumstances "within the Christian fellowship." But it called on "homophile clergy and ordinands not to enter into sexually active relationships."

That report is theoretically still under discussion. It has not been adopted by the General Synod.

In the aftermath of the controversy over Bishop Hope, Bishop Roy Williamson of Southwark pushed the boundaries further. He said in an interview with the BBC that experience had taught him that practicing homosexuals in stable relationships could lead lives of spirituality. He might ordain a priest in such a relationship, he said.

The remark upset other clerics, including Mr. Highton. The Bishop of Southwark's stand "is a very serious development," he said in a telephone interview. "My reaction is to deplore it." At the same time, he condemned OutRage! as "homosexual terrorists" who "should be condemned by all, including the moderate gay lobby."

OutRage! was founded in 1990 in response to the killing of a gay activist by a gang in West London. It borrowed the strategy of "outing" eminent people — publicly revealing that they are homosexual — from American gay rights organizations.



Frank Martin/The Guardian

David Hope, the Bishop of London, criticized a militant gay rights group for pressing him to declare himself a homosexual.

**ITEM 5: Church between devil and deep blue sea. 17th February, 1995.**

Pink Paper 17th February 1995

**Bishop resign threat over gay clergy**

**A senior bishop** has said he will resign if the Church of England decides to ordain openly gay clergy. In an outspoken attack, the Bishop of Chester, the Rt Revd Michael Baughen, a leading evangelical, said the church was in danger of being split over the issue.

"If priests who are practising homosexuals are going to be visibly ordained, that will be a catastrophe for the Church of England. It would mean the end of the Church of England as we know it," he said last week.

Baughen has a history of opposing homosexuality in the church and holds significant sway in the church since he drafted the House of Bishops' official 1987 resolution condemning homosexuality. He continued his outburst by suggesting that the issue of gay clergy could dwarf the controversy over the ordination of women priests.

This week both lesbian and gay Christians and the Church of England branded Baughen's comments "empty threats".

Richard Kirker, secretary of the Lesbian and Gay Christian



**Bishop of Chester: quit threat**

Movement (LGCM), said: "If he does, then it would suggest he has lost all sense of judgement". The LGCM was in the process of drawing up a list of pro-gay candidates for the next elections to the General Synod, the church's governing body.

A spokesperson for the Church of England admitted that the ordination of gay clergy could cause problems among the Church's evangelicals, many of whom publicly declared their opposition to the ordination of women. But, the spokesperson added that "A church debate on homosexuality will happen and it just seems now that everyone is marking their territory ready for when this happens."

**Church between devil and deep blue sea**

**Outrage's outing** of Anglican bishops has undoubtedly succeeded in forcing the Church of England to make some placatory overtures.

The Church has clearly been severely embarrassed by such revelations, following soon after those about the cottaging Bishop of Durham, and it has succumbed to pressure from what its House of Bishops has disparagingly described (in Issues In Human Sexuality) as "homophiles" who make "exaggerated claims and demands".

The poor old C of E now finds itself between the devil and the deep blue sea. Although its more liberal wing might like to be more accommodating to lesbian and gay activists, mainly of course to remove their thorn from its side, it has its evangelical wing to contend with. So the most likely outcome, in the short term, is that it will try to walk a tightrope between the activists and the hard-liners it harbours in its midst.

The big question mark is over the long-term outcome: how far can the Church possibly go in ending its homophobia and supporting the repeal of anti-gay laws, as Outrage demands?

Unlike the Salvation Army, the C of E officially supported the law reform enacted in 1967, though not the more recent attempt to lower the age

of consent for gay men to 16. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, which has tried (in an official document) to justify discrimination against lesbians and gay men, the Church of England has refrained from doing so.

It could be argued therefore, that the C of E's homophobia is not nearly as aggressive as that of some other Christian Churches and institutions, and that it might be persuaded to back further law reforms - even partnership legislation, provided this does not include the right to a church wedding.

But what about the teaching on which its attitude to sexuality in general, and homosexual practice in particular, is based? As Issues In Human Sexuality puts it: "It has been a theme of Christian tradition, ever since St Paul's words in the first chapter of Romans, to classify certain sexual activities, those of homophiles most particularly, as being unnatural or contrary to nature."

This is the crux of the matter. Can the C of E really be expected to cast aside the Biblical teachings on sexual morality which it has adhered to since its founding, teachings moreover which all other mainstream Christian Churches, as well as the para-Christian sects, follow? I think not.

*George Broadhead, Secretary,  
Gay and Lesbian Humanist  
Association, Warwickshire*

Send your letters, Gay Answers and Questions to Pink Paper, 13 Hercules Street, Birmingham. All letters must be accompanied

Pink Paper 17th 1995

ITEM 6: *Cornered in the Confessional.* 15th March, 1995.

# Cornered in the confessional

## Outing is the issue which splits the gay community

Anya Palmer

OUTING has divided lesbian and gay activists for longer than most people realise. In Germany at the turn of the century, homosexual activists disagreed over the tactic, which they referred to as "the path over dead bodies" because the consequences then included suicide. It led also to court cases, libel suits and acres of editorials in newspapers. Activist Adolf Brand, sued for defaming the imperial chancellor Prince von Bismarck, defended himself by arguing that a) the allegations were true and b) he had by no means intended to insult Bismarck, since he held a postive view of those who shared his own sexuality.

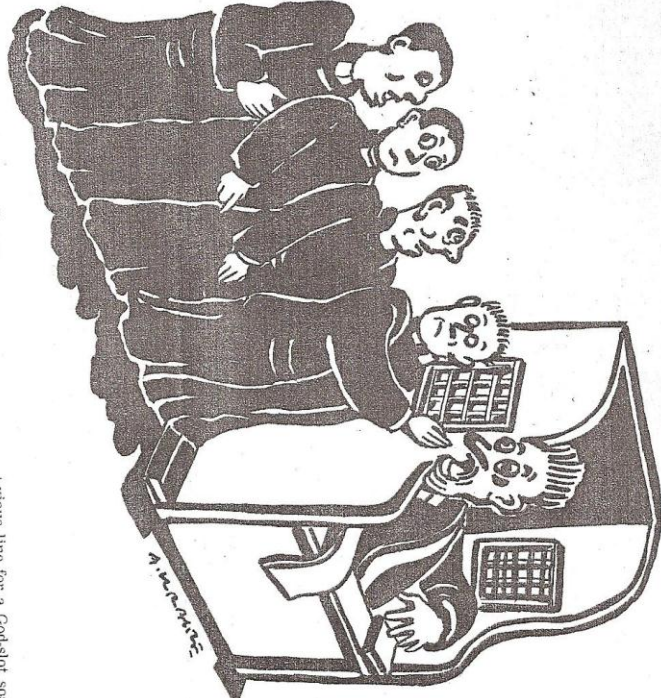
If this sounds all too familiar, it should remind us that the temptation to expose hypocrites, and therefore the tactic of outing, will be with us for as long as lesbians and gay men in high places feel compelled to hide their sexuality to avoid discrimination. In the US and in Britain over the past few years, it has been

the Bishop of London felt unimpaired about his own sexuality. But the gay press has been relatively quiet on outing, perhaps because lesbians and gay men themselves are divided on the tactic.

In fact most lesbians and gays say they don't support outing as a rule, but hypocrites deserve it. This is hardly surprising. Heterosexuals sometimes underestimate the anger that lesbians and gay men feel at the discrimination we face — hence the mainstream's surprise at the collective inarticulation of anger outside the House of Commons after MPs voted against equalising the age of consent last year. We do feel angry, and it is tempting to take revenge on closeted MPs who voted against equality despite their own sexuality. No doubt there were a few who did, but no MP has yet been outed, suggesting that activists who might try lack either the courage of their convictions, or hard evidence on which to do so.

In any case, Rachel claims he espouses outing not as revenge but as a way of getting the lesbian and gay issues on to the agenda. He argues that "the outing of 10 bishops has been more effective than years of peevish lobbying". There is a whiff of the ends justifying the means in this, but Rachel also denies that he is doing any harm. Honestly is a social virtue and outing is simply telling the truth.

Adolf Brand's defence. Stonewall, on the other hand, sees outing as both morally questionable and counterproductive. Even if outing did work, do the ends justify the means? Can we use homophobia as a weapon without reinforcing homophobia in the process? And in the case



Movement appears to agree with this view. Other practising Christians, gay and straight, believe that despite the short-term pay-off of an apparent shift in attitudes within the C of E, the long-term consequences could be a backlash and a politicisation of homosexuality which will make it much more difficult for gay men to be appointed as priests. If

**Prepare for sins of the father to shock**

vious line for a God-fearing man. But I've never seen it heard the bone, so cruel to bigoted priests and blinkered congregations, so terribly topical. Young Father Greg (Janus Roache) is good but gay, never doubting his vocation but unable to manage celibacy. The worldly Father Matthew (Tom Wilkinson) is good too.

Perhaps Priest should have taken on the challenge of tackling an additional issue: child abuse in the Roman Catholic church. That could have complicated the film's simple message that love is beautiful even when it is illicit. As it is, the liberal Catholic journal, the Tablet, has already praised the film. For its part, the Vatican will have to

face as she steps forward to take communion from him. Fr Greg weeps, she doesn't. Although Priest is about Roman Catholics, Anglicans aren't exempt from its strictures. Love is love, even when gay. Harsh anti-gay texts from Leviticus are balanced by compassionate texts in the gospels. For every good gay priest, there are ten time-servers and hypocrites.

Perhaps Jimmy McGovern could have allowed a bit more humour, because it was very funny when Fr Matthew, about to break the rules to allow the disgraced gay priest to say Mass, blurts out: "Bugger the bishop." And when a super-hypocrite priest insists on chaperoning the straight Matthew and the gay Greg, both drunk enough to see the joke. Relentless realism allows this religious film only one, small miracle. Fr Greg berates Jesus for being smug, daring him to break his own rules and do something to save Lisa. Just then, Lisa's mum bursts into the incestuous bedroom....

But the "miracle" was triggered by Fr Greg's anger, which cut short a meeting making Lisa's mum arrive home earlier than expected... The message, faith is human. It doesn't depend on a *deus-ex-machina* God.

ITEM 6: Continued.

invented anew by activists who favour the politics of confrontation. As the media cannot ignore outing, it is the perfect way to force lesbian and gay issues on to the agenda. And certainly the debate about outing is held on different terms to anything else. When the ages of consent is debated, the issue has always been: Is homosexuality wrong or isn't it? But when outing is debated, the question becomes: What tactics are acceptable for lesbians and gay men to achieve equality? Even the Daily Mail will quote Michael Cashman on the discrimination lesbians and gay men face, but only in the context of a round condemnation of outing and its consequences.

The mainstream media has been unequivocal in condemning the latest episode, in which

of a hypothetical MP who might be seen as fair game — say, a man who voted against lowering the age of consent but is found having sex with a 16-year-old — what, in practical terms, would we achieve by outing him? Outing allows us to take revenge only on the gay or bisexual MPs who voted against equality — a point which is not lost on all the homophobes, not least the minority of people with problems accepting their own sexuality. And the best form of revenge is to win the argument. In years to come the homophobes will look like the last people to defend slavery, the last to oppose giving women the vote.

Tatchell's answer is that outing has been a very effective way of forcing the Church to enter into dialogue with lesbians and gay men. Richard Kicker of the Lesbian and Gay Christian

there is a backlash of course. Tatchell as an atheist will not be around to feel it. At the end of the day outing is one of two things: blackmail or revenge. So far it has hardly been used as revenge that leaves us wanting. If you want to do it anyway, what those who support outing seem to forget is that lesbians, bisexuals and gay men constitute only a small percentage of the population. To win equal rights we need the majority of the justes of our case, rather than try to force the hand of a very small number of powerful gay people in positions of power or responsibility. It may be a long hard slog, but there are no shortcuts.

Anya Palmer is deputy director of the gay campaign group, Stonewall.

# the parish

## Walter Schwarz

IT'S a bad week for hypocrites and homophobes in the churches and temples. Hardly has the row over gay Anglican bishops and their outrageous commentators started erupting than along came a gay parish priest that will put the Roman Catholic Jimmy McGovern's Priest, which opens on Friday, is about churchy morals versus Christian love, miles laid down by what Jesus would have done. This is at least as old in religious fiction as Tolstoy: the op-

thunders against political sin while tolerating individual weaknesses, including his own (heterosexual) relationship with his housekeeper. After a bad-luck conviction for gross indecency, Fr Greg's bishop tells him to piss off (in very words) and quit the parish. This leaves unresolved the problem of a young parishioner who has been abused by her father, Lisa, aged 14, is beyond the church's help because the secrecy of confession has to stay sacrosanct.

It is not the storyline but the emotional power of this austere realistic film that will blow the moralists out of the water. Even hardened cynics will be moved by the final scene, where most of the congregation won't forgive Fr Greg for getting caught as a gay — but all of human suffering and compassion gather in Lisa's

Remain silent — unless it means its ruling that homosexuality is a sinful "disorder." As for the real-life soap running parallel to Priest, I can't be sure who comes off well. Peter Tatchell hits at the spurious morality of the Anglican church rich in gay priests and paying lip-service to love while forbidding them from practising their love.

Can we approve of those in supporting roles, like the Rev Tony Higton and his fellow evangelical inquisitors, who know the relevant chapters of Leviticus by heart. And what about all those nice, smiling bishops, so anxious to be loving and fair, who voted unanimously for the ban on gay priests, who have not yet set a date for reviewing it, and cry foul when polite, middle-class rules of privacy are breached?

**ITEM 7: Independent - Peter Tatchell Outright Hypocrisy. 15th March, 1995.**

Independent 15 Mar 1995

**ANOTHER VIEW** Peter Tatchell**Outright hypocrisy**

The Anglican church has decided that attack is the best form of defence, never mind the truth. The accusations of threats and intimidation against myself and OutRage by the Bishop of London, David Hope, are a clever diversionary tactic to deflect criticism from the hypocrisy and homophobia of the Church of England.

While our private, courteous appeal for the bishop to come out has been universally denounced, no one has uttered a word to condemn the church's victimisation of lesbian and gay people. Priests in loving homosexual relationships face the sack. The Church of England Children's Society bans lesbian and gay foster parents, denying young people the opportunity of a loving home. The Courage Trust is getting Anglican resources to "cure" homosexuals and turn them straight. Dr Hope has been complicit in this church homophobia. He has opposed an equal age of consent for gay men and has supported the Children's Society ban on fostering by gay people.

If the church were not homophobic, our campaign would not be necessary. Years of polite lobbying got us nowhere. It is only since OutRage named 10 Anglican bishops last November that the church has begun a serious dialogue with the lesbian and gay community. In January, Anglican bishops held an unscheduled discussion on homosexuality, which resulted in one of the church's strongest condemnations of homophobic discrimination. Officials have privately admitted that none of these developments would have occurred if OutRage had not "provoked a crisis".

In addition to the 10 bishops we named, there were five others we did not name because we were privately attempting to persuade them to come out of their own free will. Two of these five have come out – Derek Rawcliffe with great honesty and dignity, and David Hope, half-heartedly and with bitter recriminations.

Our combination of outing and private persuasion has worked. However, we now stand accused of behaving unethically because we refuse to be a part of the squalid, deceitful conspiracy of silence that keeps homosexuality in public life hidden and invisible. While some may choose to hide their homosexuality, they do not have the right to demand that other lesbians and gay men collude with their deception. We have simply called on the bishops to be truthful about their sexuality.

In contrast, those who oppose our methods turn the normally cherished value of integrity upside-down. They elevate collusion with a closeted person's lying and deceit into an act of high moral principle. Those of us who decide to be honest about homosexuality in public life are castigated as if truthfulness was a monstrous immorality.

Who is really acting immorally? Those who are truthful about homosexuality hypocrisy and homophobia in the church? Or those protecting closeted gay bishops who support homophobic policies that damage the lives of lesbian and gay people?

*The writer is spokesman for OutRage.*

**ITEM 8: *The Independent - Moderate gays find outing offers way in.* 15th March, 1995.**

The Bishop of Chester, the Rt Rev Michael Baughen, said earlier this year he would resign if the Church of England openly ordained practising gays. Yesterday he said he had rung his brother bishop for clarification of his remarks. "He says he has never ever knowingly ordained a practising homosexual... If he were faced with the question now, I am not sure he knows what he would do."

## Moderate gays find 'outing' offers way in

The antics of Peter Tatchell and the practice of "outing" put the mainstream gay and lesbian movement in a difficult position. While condemnation of such tactics is universal, some moderates say *Mill Bennett*

The Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement observed just that after Mr Tatchell and fellow Outrage activists staged a highly publicised demonstration outside Church House, naming 10 Church of England bishops as their targets.

The Rev Richard Kirker, general secretary, said yesterday: "We do not out people nor have we done so at any time in the last 20 years. It is, in fact, both psychologically and spiritually for people to determine the manner in which they choose to be out."

Despite that, Mr Kirker says the movement was largely ignored by the Church of England

ings which we are to attend to and recognise, but the matter is one for bishops to decide."

■ We stated yesterday that Sebastian Sanders of OutRage!, after "outing" three bishops in a debate at Durham University, helped to disrupt the consecration of the Bishop of Durham, Dr Michael Turnbull. Mr Sanders in fact left Durham after the debate as he does not believe in disrupting services.

establishment. That changed once outing started.

"They have suddenly taken far more interest in us... In their view we previously occupied the position which Outrage now occupies and we have moved into the middle ground and we have become the acceptable face of the lesbian and gay movement," he said.

However, many believe OutRage's tactics will eventually prove counter-productive in practice as well as being objectionable in principle.

According to Stonewall, representing the moderate mainstream, outing "elevates the cause above the consequences for the individual being exposed and it alienates possible supporters of equality."

Paul Barnes, chairman of the Tory Campaign for Human Sexual Equality, said: "As a matter of principle we oppose the whole concept of outing."

**ITEM 9: *Outing is a catalyst* - Peter Tatchell. 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1995.**

THE PINK PAPER • 21 APRIL 1995

**Comment****Outing is a catalyst****BY PETER TATCHELL**

The *Outrage* *outing* campaign has achieved more in three months than the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement has been able to achieve in 17 years, according to the secretary of the LGCM, Richard Kirker.

Six months ago, the Anglican Church's leadership was refusing to discuss homosexual issues. Because polite lobbying had failed, *Outrage* felt more challenging tactics were necessary.

Last November, we named ten Anglican bishops and urged them to tell the truth about their sexuality. Within two weeks, senior Church leaders began serious discussions with lesbian and gay organisations for the first time. Within a month, the bishops issued one of their strongest condemnations of anti-gay discrimination.

Soon afterwards, the world conference of Anglican leaders called on the Church to rethink its policy on homosexuality, and the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that lesbians and gays are "made in the image and likeness of God" and that society must "reject homophobia".

Although the Bishop of London came out as "grey" half-heartedly, it was nevertheless a great achievement to get the (then) third most senior bishop to admit his sexuality was "ambiguous". A few months earlier, such an admission may have resulted in his resignation.

Now, however, because *Outrage* has succeeded in making church homophobia less acceptable, the Bishop of London has been promoted to Archbishop of York.

Our plan worked like a dream. We wanted the Bishop of London to come out and for the Church to accept and support him. We created a situation where the entire Anglican leadership felt compelled to rally round the bishop and give him its official blessing.

With the Bishop of London having been accepted by the Church, this will now make it easier for other clergy to come out and make it harder for the Anglican hierarchy to take disciplinary action against them.

Already, our campaign has inspired some parish priests to come out. It has generated valuable discussions on homosexual issues in many congregations. Indeed, we got the whole country talking! None of these developments would have occurred if *Outrage* had not "provoked a crisis" in the Church by naming the bishops.

*Outing* has been a catalyst for social change. It has pushed the Anglican Church further towards accepting gay clergy and supporting lesbian and gay human rights. It has also put the hypocrisy and homophobia of the Establishment at the centre of public debate.

● *Peter Tatchell is an activist, journalist and writer*

Daily Mail Thursday 16 March 1995

Daily Mail, Thursday, March 16, 1995

Revealed: Twisted road of religion, rancour and

XFLY

# The making

**T**HE front door of Peter Tatchell's South London council flat is reinforced with metal.

In taking away the freedom of others to live how they choose, it seems he has sacrificed some of his own. Yet perversely, the founder of OutRage! seems to relish the intrusions into his privacy, and has necessitated turning his home into a fortress.

He takes pride in recounting the attacks to which he has been subjected over the years and freely admits that such is his passion for the gay cause he would like nothing more than to be jailed because of it. 'I want to be a martyr,' he said this week.

It was an appropriately religious choice of phrase from the 33-year-old former Sunday School teacher. His ruthless 'outing' of others — focused this week on the Bishop of London, Dr David Hope — is seen by many as downright evil. Tatchell himself, now an atheist, believes he is a crusader for good, battling against ignorance and prejudiced by hatred.

In truth he seems a man divided into a single issue hatred which he has poured into a single issue this week. As he sees it, of other homosexuals, like many fanatics, he has lost sight of reason and even, it would appear, his own



ITEM 10: Continued.

completely frank about his own sexual orientation. His bitterness at losing the Bernadise by-election in 1983, which he blamed on the tabloid press's obsession with his extreme Left-wing politics and championing of gay rights, is well-publicised. What is perhaps not so well known is that he neglected to come out himself until two months after his defeat.

It was his sympathies with the Labour 'Tendons' — that had cost him the election. That was why Michael Foot declared he was not an endorsed candidate of the Labour Party and why John O'Grady stood against him as the 'Real Labour' candidate.

Tatchell is a hypocrite, when you consider his behaviour today and in 1983, says Mr O'Grady. During the by-election, he refused to 'out' himself. He kept very close to the current predicaments people in influential positions, forcing them into statements, is directly contrary to his own approach.

**P**ETER TATCHELL'S approach to his own life was, for many years, one of careful concealment. He was in the role of an outcast, this was clearly not a happy childhood. The sadness is that he should have turned his suffering into hatred rather than compassion.

His fanaticism has its roots in a childhood dominated by the fire-and-brimstone evangelism of his proselytising mother and stepfather.

Grown in an industrialised area west of Melbourne and spent his first years in a worker's cottage in Pentland Parade, Footscray, with his engineer father Alfred, Lorrys' agent with coal mother Mardi and Gordon's father South Parkleigh where he lives today. He was a taxi driver of Prussian descent, and they settled down a few miles away in the suburb of Mount Waverley.

The divorce had a traumatic effect on the young Peter. In a town where most children had names like Smith, Brown, or Jones, he was deeply ashamed of his firebrand parents. He was a loner. Nor did he have a good relationship with his stepfather, who was against his intelligent stepson staying on to take A-levels and perhaps entering university.

This stepfather was a God-fearing man who ruled with an iron fist, recalls one ex-classmate. He would not have been too pleased with a boy who was 'that I might describe as a little bit of a rebel'. Years later Tatchell, who taught Bible studies at Sunday School for

**By SANDRA PARSONS,  
RICHARD SHEARS  
and STEPHEN WRIGHT**

A short time when he was 12, was to refer to his parents as 'penitent costalists, real looters'. 'Their beliefs were all narrow and illiberal', he added. 'Swearing, drinking and premarital sex were the most dreadful things in the world.'

Like many other areas of his personal life, he kept quiet about his religious convictions. His friends were well aware of this, but they were well aware of their own lives. He was careful not to talk about his home life, says former classmate Gary Baumgarten.

It is doubtful whether the young Tatchell found any solace from his real father — though later, doubtless as a rebellion against his stepfather, he changed his name from Michael to Peter. Today his mother's father has made it clear to the Daily Mail that



Arresting times for protester Tatchell: Top: Portsmouth; middle: Parliament Square; bottom: Durham Cathedral

he wants nothing more to do with the son who says he wants to be a martyr for the gay cause.

'Changing his name back to mine, for whatever reasons he has chosen, has laid all his bloody problems at my doorstep', he says. 'I've kept to Nitschke I wouldn't have thought of. I've kept to Nitschke with him. As it is every time he creates trouble over there, I'm the first to hear about it.'

'That boy has made his bed and he can bloody well lie in it. He only has himself to blame for all the trouble he's getting himself into, so he can go and bloody well look after himself.'

At school, Tatchell tried to compensate for his miserable home life by being a star debater in the politics. He was a star debater but his friends were beginning to notice his lack of interest in sport, particularly the rougher games, and his failure to participate in playground banter about girls.

He was totally eccentric, recalls Rave Clements, whom the young Tatchell knew as classmate Rave Smith. He never had any

**ITEM 11: Capital Gay - Flush out the closets sleaze committee told. 7th April, 1995.**

Capital Gay 7 April 95

## 'Flush out the closets', sleaze committee told

**THE old soldiers of lesbian and gay politics, fresh from a skirmish with Stonewall last week, have turned their guns on closeted MPs.**

A dozen or so veteran campaigners joined forces last week to criticise the 'respectable' lobby group for its speedy and public condemnation of Peter Tatchell's outing strategy.

Now, the gay vets have taken up the question of top people's closetry with the official committee on standards in public life.

The group, led by Antony Grey, former secretary of the Homosexual Law Reform Society, have asked the high-profile Nolan Committee, set up after the 'cash for questions' sleaze row, "to flush out closet MPs".

### Blackmailing

Joined by relative youngster Paul Burstyn, *Time Out's* gay listings editor, the old soldiers want the committee to rule that anyone actively engaged in public life should say whether they are gay, straight or bi.

"We do not wish to damage (gay) people, or to detract from

their public usefulness, but we are extremely concerned that their decision to remain in the closet exposes them to blackmailing pressures or sensational exposure by the media," they told committee head Lord Nolan in a letter this week.

"Honesty about one's sexual orientation is a necessary component of personal integrity," they added.

### Sniping

Meanwhile, another old-timers' group, the Campaign for Homosexual Equality, has belatedly joined the outing fray.

The once influential pressure group, formed in the 1960s, became the latest organisation to join in the attacks on Stonewall this week.

"What is so sad about the current row involving OutRage is how so much wasted effort is being used by a whiter than white, politically correct campaigning group which is so closeted that no-one can join: Stonewall," a CHE statement thundered on Sunday.

But neither was Antony Grey, an old political rival,

immune from the sniping.

The statement recalled that he had "greeted with horror the idea in the mid-1960s that gays should take a soapbox into Hyde Park and speak up for gay rights and a change in the law."

"Now even (he) is leading the protests over the way OutRage is being trampled upon," it said.

**ITEM 12: *The Pink Paper - Activists slam Stonewall. 31st March, 1995.***

*The Pink Paper 31 March 1995*

**Letters**

## Disgust at Stonewall

**Can I be** the only one disgusted by Stonewall's response to the whole Peter Tatchell/outing media-feeding frenzy? I understand, of course, that Stonewall have no choice but to be anti-outing - their very existence depends on their eagerness to suck up to those in the establishment closet.

But is it really fitting for members of an organisation supposedly committed to les-

bian and gay rights to line up behind the homophobes in the British media to savagely attack Tatchell as a "terrorist"? I have yet to hear them utter a single word against the real terrorists in this scenario - the cowards and hypocrites who endorse the homophobic teachings of the Church, and who routinely vote against lesbian and gay equality.

*Paul Burston, London SW9*

## Law reform a 'long and slow road'

**Peter Tatchell** deserves to be defended from attacks in the bourgeois media. But let's not mistake their characterisation of him for ours. He is a moderate reformer who wants to tinker with the system a bit.

It is a long way from lesbian and gay liberation but it is, in general, worthy enough. Whether his tactics of "outing" have serious support amongst lesbians and gays who would know? This, in it-

self, is the point. For Tatchell changing society is all about pressurising individuals and publicity stunts.

These things have their place. But for fundamental change to be achieved in the area of sexuality there is no substitute for the long, often slow, and definitely unglamorous work of combating discrimination in the workplace and the community.

*Keith Flett, London N17*

## The arrogance of Peter Tatchell

**May I suggest** that our annual celebration be re-named in honour of Peter Tatchell and his great achievement in forcing the Bishop of London to publicly discuss the "grey area" of his sexuality. Gay Shame, Gay Self-Hatred, but Pride... surely not.

Where heterosexuals have failed to diminish my Pride, Peter Tatchell in his breath-taking arrogance has succeeded, with his politics of fear and his tactics of victimisation and homophobia. This society teaches us to hate lesbians and gays, and Peter seems to have learnt this lesson well. The bigots and homophobes have

been confirmed in their prejudice and have been handed another stick to beat us with.

Being lesbian or gay is hard in this ignorant society. Most of us have suffered in one way or another and it is to our enduring credit that most of us bear this with courage and dignity and not a little ingenuity without in any way diminishing our integrity or our pride.

There is a time for anger, rage and frustration, and it is certainly time for action, but our anger and frustration may not be the most effective tools for the change we seek, the change we deserve.

*Beth Davies, Brighton*

### Outings standardised

A little-known Eurosoc agency has produced an EU standard for outing. Agency director Professor Avril Premier announced that a "kite mark" called the "Ruby" (the French regal symbol) will guarantee the reliability of reported outings and the erasure of "the ambiguous grey area of sexuality in Britain".

A quota system will spread the political and social benefits of outing across the community. Top marks go to bishops, tennis stars and pop musicians. Premier claimed that the British quota has already been exceeded and no more outings were due until 2 April, 2000.

**ITEM 13: Terror tactics of the Tatchell gang. Undated.**

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

Picture: PAUL GROVER



As OutRage claims another victim, ALLAN MASSIE deplores the skewed thinking of its campaign to force homosexuals out of the closet

**T**HE NASTIEST of the French Revolutionaries, the socialist Marat, boasted that "no power on Earth can prevent me from seeing into traitors and unmasking them". (Carlyle sarcastically asked how, and answered with a rhetorical question addressed to Marat: "By superior



Cruel and wicked: nobody has any right to publicise another's sex life, as Tatchell (top left) and OutRage are doing

ITEM 13: Continued.

# Terror tactics of the Tatchell gang

every generation, witch-hunting fanatics, founders of reds under the bed etc. Today the former Labour candidates Peter Tatchell, and his colleagues in the militant homosexual group OutRage, who indulge in the cruel near-blood sport of "outing" those whom they suspect of being "closet gays", are proving themselves worthy disciples of the repulsive Marat.

Their present targets are clergymen, but who knows whom they will aim themselves at next? Judges? Headmasters? Generals?

Meanwhile Mr Tatchell would do well to lock the door when he takes a bath, in case some envious girl — perhaps an "outed" fed girl — daughter — decides to play a part of Charlotte Corday. Marat's assassin — which many might think quite an honourable part to play.

Last week the former Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway announced — apparently unprompted — but who knows what promptings there have been? — that he was of homosexual inclination.

This week the Bishop of London said his sexual life was a "grey area", but that he is "editable". Although he was not directly "outed" by Mr Tatchell & Co, it is clear that his decision to speak came after considerable pressure had been exerted on him. "Considerable pressure" is a euphemism for moral blackmail.

Meanwhile OutRage is said to be "negotiating" with five other Bishops, to "persuade" them to declare their homosexuality. "Negotiating" in these circumstances is another euphemism.

And last week OutRage claimed another success when Cardinal Buntine issued a statement which denounced the Vatican's hard-line on homosexuality by declaring that love between two persons,

whether of the same sex or a different sex, is to be treasured and respected", and that "when two persons love, they experience in a limited manner in this world what will be their unending delight when one with God in the next... To love another, whether of the same sex or a different sex, is to have entered the area of the richest human experience."

**N**EVERTHELESS, the Cardinal also said that the Church did not recognise a "right" to sexual acts "which teaches are morally wrong". One theory is that he was trying to separate the militant OutRage (the group is thought to consist of only about 30 people, though this does little to diminish its ability to harm) from less extreme organisations.

The fact that separation already exists. The organisation Stonewall, "working for lesbian and gay equality", issued its own statement yesterday condemning "outing". The word "blackmail", correctly applied in this statement.

"Outing", Stonewall said, "elevates the cause above the consequences for the individual being

exposed, and it alienates possible supporters of equality, both among closeted gays who fear outing and among heterosexuals who dislike the practice (dislike, I suspect, is too weak a word).

Stonewall also declares that the practice of "outing" is objectionable because "it uses homophobia as a weapon to gain revenge on the closeted gays said to be harming the community (which community and how one is to change their position)".

In short Stonewall recognises the practice as cruel and wicked. The truth is that unless someone is being blatantly hypocritical, — and then, against homosexuality and then, against boys on Hampstead Heath — proclaiming the importance of family values while conducting an adulterous affair — nobody has any more right to investigate and publicise another's sexual life than to examine his or her bank account.

"Outing" is not only cruel; it is stupid. Stonewall recognises that it is likely to be counter-productive, but it is stupid for a productive, mental reason. Sexuality is a "grey area" for more than the Bishop of London. For one thing there are

inclinations (or desires) and there are acts. They may be quite distinct. We have all in our time seen on people — clergymen, teachers, on people — who formed emotional attachments to members of their own sex, but who never gave physically expression to those feelings. Such people are often among the best of their generation.

Second, to divide humanity into heterosexuals and homosexuals is absurd. Many people experience both sorts of love, sometimes intermittently. To try to categorise people as OutRage would, is equivalent to the Nazi practice of pinning up the triangles on those deemed to be homosexual.

Third — and this is, I suspect, what really sticks — OutRage draws — a person may yield to sexual temptation, and regret the yielding. If he is a clergyman, he may regard such yielding as not to be bitterly repented. This is not to be confused with a stable same-sex relationship, as long as that priest may commit adultery, and experience the same remorse.

But a militant gay like Mr Tatchell finds it offensive that anyone should think a homosexual act can understand — any more than they can understand the damage which their antics do to the "cause" they

proclaim the sinner's shame to the world, or bully him into pronouncing it no shame, but something to be proud of.

Either way, "outing" is an act of fascist terrorism and, of course, clergymen by reason of their position are peculiarly vulnerable. The consequences for the poor old Church of England, already riven by disputes, can only be further loss of confidence.

**I**T IS clear, though, that the Church is slowly edging towards the point when it is ready to accept same-sex relationships as long as they are "stable", while still condemning promiscuity — as of course it condemns promiscuous heterosexual behaviour.

On the *Today* programme yesterday, the Bishop of Southwark said he would be happy to ordain a priest living in a stable same-sex relationship, as long as that priest was "leading a 'godly, holy and spiritual life'". — terms which, I suppose, Mr Tatchell and his fascist-minded gang can't begin to understand — any more than they can understand the damage which their antics do to the "cause" they are promoting.

**ITEM 14: *Mirror - Star raps blackmail by gay sex cops. 15th March, 1995.***

Mirror 15 Mar 1995



CASHMAN: Gay lobbyist

## **Star raps 'blackmail by gay sex cops'**

**FORMER** EastEnder Michael Cashman last night branded gay activist Peter Tatchell a "moral coward".

The actor - who played gay Colin in the top soap - said he considered the "outing" of homosexuals as blackmail and intimidation that achieved nothing.

He spoke out after the Bishop of London, David Hope, revealed on Monday he was "ambiguous" about his sexuality.

The senior cleric was a target of gay activist group Outrage, which had tried to force him to reveal his alleged homosexuality.

### **Gossip**

Michael, chair of gay rights lobby group Stonewall, said last night: "I consider 'outing' a supreme act of moral cowardice.

"The victim is thrown on to a bonfire of discrimination fuelled by fear, hatred and ignorance."

He added: "Clearly Peter Tatchell and Outrage see themselves as the sex police of the gay world.

"How dare they? Especially when they are relying on half-truths, gossip and bar-room chatter."

**ITEM 15: Daily Telegraph – we are all outraged. 15th March, 1995.**

Daily Telegraph 15th March 1995

...complainting that we on starving children in Africa.

**We are all outraged**

**A**NY FORM of blackmail is evil. The way in which Peter Tatchell, the leader of the militant homosexual group OutRage, pressured the Bishop of London, Dr David Hope, into making public his "ambiguous" sexuality seems to have been carefully calculated to avoid falling foul of the law. But no one reading Mr Tatchell's letter to the bishop — claiming that the group had "a lot of detailed information about your personal life" which it had chosen not to publish in the "sincere hope" that he would voluntarily declare himself homosexual — can be in any doubt about the vile intentions of OutRage and its leader.

This is, of course, not the first time that Church leaders have been subject to intimidation. MPs too may face the threat of "outing" — the pernicious practice of claiming, perhaps on the basis of little more than hearsay, that prominent figures are homosexual. It is doubtful whether the Bishop of London should have deigned to reply to Mr Tatchell's letter. OutRage and its ilk are best treated with contempt. They appear impervious to reason, and likely to interpret any attempt to deal civilly with them as a sign of weakness. But it is greatly to Dr Hope's credit that in his reply, he called OutRage's bluff, revealing not only details of his own self-disciplined sexuality, but also the *modus operandi* of his tormentors.

Mr Tatchell, while acknowledging that the bishop has shown "private

kindness and understanding to gay clergy", sought to justify OutRage's action by claiming that "the time for purely private acts of goodness is past". That is cant. "Outing" is a monstrous invasion of privacy; no more nor less.

Homosexuals should be particularly sensitive to any attempt to embarrass or humiliate individuals by exposing their sexual orientation. But OutRage, like all single-issue fanatics, appears to believe that any means which might advance its cause is justified. Most homosexuals must be horrified by its activities. In this country today they do not, by and large, suffer from overt hostility. Nothing could be better calculated to diminish public tolerance than OutRage's campaign of threats and intimidation against the Church.

The Bishop of London's personal conduct has been a model of dignity, but the Church as an institution cannot escape all blame in this matter. While still officially teaching the sinfulness of homosexuality, it has shown itself unwilling squarely to address the issue of homosexual clergy, and thus laid itself open to persecution by the likes of OutRage, and to unease among the large numbers of lay Christians who cannot reconcile themselves — rightly, in our view — to the acceptability of practising homosexuals as clergymen.

But while the Church may be guilty of muddle and moral vacillation, OutRage's behaviour is nothing less than homosexual terrorism.

**ITEM 16: Capital Gay - Gay vets slam Stonewall over outing row. 31st March, 1995**

Capital Gay 31 March 1995



**WHY I'M  
NO PRAT**  
TATCHELL BITES  
BACK, PAGE 13

## Gay vets slam Stonewall over 'outing' row

**THE gay community's old soldiers came out to defend Peter Tatchell this week — and to condemn the "deplorable" attacks on him by Stonewall.**

Led by veteran activist Anthony Grey, founder of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality, a group of eleven seasoned campaigners have written an open letter expressing support for the OutRage activist and dismay at "the current tactics" of the Westminster-based lobby group.

They accuse Stonewall of using media opportunities presented by the 'outing' row to "shore up the closet" instead of trying to raise public awareness of prejudice and discrimination. The

letter is published in full on page 2.

The veterans, who claim to have 200 years experience of activism between them, include George Broadhead of the Gay and Lesbian Humanist Association; Dudley Cave of the Bereavement Project; Maureen Colquhoun, the Labour MP who lost her seat after being outed as a lesbian; Ian Dunn of Outright Scotland; journalist and media correspondent Terry Sanderson and Dr. Elizabeth Stuart, author of the Catholic Prayer Book.

Publication of their protest has exposed long-running antagonisms between the signatories and

*continued page 3*



**Mason: wants MPs to come out**

## Veterans

*Continued from page 1*

the lobby group.

Grey, for example, is known to have been angry that he was not invited by Stonewall to take a more active part in last year's age of consent campaign.

But chief target of the signatories' wrath is the group's chair, actor Michael Cashman, who caused fury when he took part in a debate on 'outing' with Tatchell two weeks ago on Radio Four's PM programme. The debate ended in a slanging match after Cashman made a personal attack on Tatchell.

"People were disgusted by it. They felt Peter was being got at," Grey told *Capital Gay*.

"Peter has been under the most enormous pressure and there is a serious risk that he could become ill or destabilised; personal attacks on him are contemptible."

Public figures who are gay have a duty to come out, he added.

Angela Mason, Stonewall's executive director, said the lobby group wanted to criticise 'outing' as a political strategy.

"We have used every opportunity to emphasise the importance of coming out voluntarily because that is the most effective way of challenging discrimination," she said.

"One bishop coming out is worth twenty who are pushed out. 'Outing' detracts from the process of coming out. There are deep divisions with the lesbian and gay community over 'outing' and we shouldn't spend the next ten months arguing about it instead of tackling discrimination."

*Tatchell readers' poll  
result: page 13*

ITEM 17: Reply letter from OutRage! CHE. 30th November, 1994.

C.H.E.

Reply to letter from "OutRage!" (30/10/94) 15/11/94

Dear David,

Thank-you for your letter of the 30th. October which I received today. I feel I should make a few points clearer and try to explain our group's attitude towards OutRage.

I am glad to hear that Sebastian Smith is not one of your members, and would hope that, having identified him as a "loose cannon", you would dissociate yourselves from his allegation and you would tell the Guardian so. However, it seems that you approve his actions; so I had better say a little more about why I do not.

- ① C.H.E. does not agree with "outing" under any circumstances.
- ② I have been given to believe that the allegation is highly implausible (by the convenor of Cambridge Lesbian & Gay Christian Fellowship <sup>but only for</sup> the Ely Diocese Director of Communications <sup>but about</sup>)
- ③ I would not expect an elderly, sickly monk to reply to the allegations; so I do not think that "silence is consent" applies in this case.

Our group discussed its attitude towards OutRage at its 6th. ~~Annual~~ <sup>Public Church Community</sup> general meeting (12/11/1992); we felt that OutRage was generally useful but we are not prepared unreservedly to support <sup>all</sup> its actions. It is clear that

as regards "outing" we <sup>have</sup> a major, tactical difference of opinion. We <sup>also</sup> seem to have a major difference of opinion about the Church ~~(I not <sup>say</sup> say <sup>to</sup> be was)~~ Church of England; ~~Cambridge~~ <sup>we</sup> regards the C. of E. as <sup>(so far)</sup> disappointingly ambivalent, <sup>and not</sup> not as a contemptuous enemy. We believe that if the C. of E. addresses the general population, <sup>on</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>the</sup> issue of sexual morality, we must be ready to engage in debate with it; <sup>that</sup> it is not the same as <sup>prejudging</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>(in</sup> <sup>any</sup> <sup>other</sup> <sup>church)</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>general</sup> to label hostile groups of hypocrites to be attacked and destroyed. <sup>Even</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>the</sup> ideological differences, <sup>it</sup> <sup>should</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>be</sup> surprising that our actions are not always the same. I hope our aims, equality,

is.

MRCU!

ITEM 18: *The Pink Paper - Clash of the activists. 31st March, 1995.*

*The Pink Paper 31 March 1995*

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Analysis

*This week's statement from veteran lesbian and gay activists condemning Stonewall's recent attacks on Outrage highlights major strategic differences between the two groups, writes Murray Healy*

# Clash of the activists

Outrage has always prided itself on being the enfant terrible of gay activism, but the recent furore about putative outing campaigns has provoked others to distance themselves from the direct-action group.

It is then all the more remarkable that respected figures in the history of the lesbian and gay rights movement, including Jackie Forster, Ian Dunn and Terry Sanderson, have voiced whole-hearted support for Peter Tatchell (see front story and letter, below).

Antony Grey, one of the signatories, spent over ten years in research and parliamentary lobbying in an effort to legalise sexual acts between men over the age of 21. It seems curious that Grey calls the Stonewall Group, which works within the same tradition, "despicable" in its recent condemnation of Outrage.

"Tatchell has raised the issue of homophobia and gay rights to a much higher level than ever before," said Grey. "But Stonewall are playing 'Uncle Tom' to the press, and using acres of media coverage to attack Peter instead of homophobia in politics and the Church. I'm amazed at the arrogance with which they should come out, with Out-



At odds: Outrage's Peter Tatchell and Stonewall's Angela Mason represent opposing strategies

shout about it, like Peter Tatchell.

The intensity of recent press scrutiny makes the matter of who speaks for lesbians and gay men all the more bitter. This anxiety is played out in debates over the existence of, or necessity for, a unified "lesbian and gay community".

Paul Barnes, of the Tory Campaign for Homosexual Equality (Torche), expresses the conservative approach when he says: "Tatchell is doing such damage to the gay community that we have a duty to speak out, to show that he represents no-one but himself."

The conservative mission then, is to marginalise dissent voices within "the community" to present a united, respectable front. Stonewall and Torche share similar ideological perspectives, whereas Outrage's tactics are indirectly informed by revolutionary politics.

Tatchell's own association with militant has been focused on by recent antagonistic press coverage recalling the former Labour candidate's defeat at the 1981 Bermondsey by-election. This may be why over half the parliamentary Labour more radical agenda.

Party signed the recent Early Day Motion condemning intrusion into privacy. The last thing New Labour needs is the press reminding the public of the "loony Left".

The media focus on outing has made the question of who represents the public face of homosexuality a crucial matter for lesbians and gay men.

Stonewall wants to represent the most respectable face, but is it effective? Supporters of Outrage argue that its tactics are rattling powerful closet doors.

Stonewall, they say, has for six years privately consulted closeted MPs, trying to persuade them not necessarily to be honest about their sexuality, but to back, at least quietly, anti-homophobic legislation. These critics argue that Stonewall has made little progress.

Lesbian and gay campaigners who have already changed history are saying that the anti-establishment approach of Outrage has for the first time forced the issue of gay rights into the mainstream debate of Britain. Maybe, they say, the time is right to stop waiting in the lobbies and embrace a more radical agenda.

difference. All the debate he raises is good and has plugged into the key issues of privacy and integrity."

**In the past** the two groups have shared a mutually respectful relationship, each indicating the necessity for the other's existence. So why has Stonewall and

gic approaches to cultural and legislative change which have characterised sexual rights activism throughout the 20th century. The dividing question is whether homosexuality presents a radical challenge to society, or whether it can be accommodated within existing ideology by simply changing a few rules and adjusting a few

**ITEM 19: Carey slaps down gay rights claims. 1st May, 1995**

Daily Mail 1 May 1995

**Archbishop denies plans to ordain homosexuals or accept 'marriages'**

# Carey slaps down gay rights claims

By ANTHONY DORAN  
Home Affairs Correspondent

THE Archbishop of Canterbury has dealt a major blow to the ambitions of gay activists.

Dr George Carey strongly denied campaigners' claims that Church of England bishops were about to approve the ordination of practising homosexuals.

He also insisted that there were no plans to treat marriage and same-sex relationships as equal.

It was Dr Carey's toughest statement yet on the issue and came as gay campaigners were hailing an imminent triumph. Only a few hours earlier, Peter Tatchell, leader of the homosexual pressure group OutRage!, boasted that the group had 'turned the tables' on Church leaders.

In a speech to a gay Christian conference in East London, he threw down the gauntlet to Dr Carey. Tatchell said it was a 'great achievement' to get the Bishop of London, Dr David Hope, who ranks third in the Church hierarchy, to admit six weeks ago that his sexuality was 'ambiguous'.

Any hint of anti-gay policy by the Church would now be



Carey: Statement



Tatchell: Gauntlet

'instantly ridiculed as hypocrisy and double-standards', he proclaimed. But the Archbishop eagerly accepted the challenge in a weekend address to the Anglican Evangelical Assembly in Hertfordshire.

He said the House of Bishops in the General Synod recognised only heterosexual marriage and celibacy as being in full accord with the Bible and tradition.

Dr Carey added that in his report four years ago, *Issues in Human Sexuality*, the bishops underlined the requirement for clergy 'to follow these

patterns as examples to their flocks'. The Archbishop declared: 'The House of Bishops will not be stampeded into changing either its theological position or its pastoral practice.'

'It suits some groups to "talk up" the story that the bishops are preparing to accept parity between marriage and long-term same-sex relationships or to allow the ordination of practising homosexuals. That is not so.'

'Such speculation is misleading and causes unwarranted suspicion and anxieties.' Tatchell had told the Lesbian

and Gay Christian Movement conference that six months ago the Anglican leadership was refusing to discuss homosexuality.

OutRage! felt that 'more challenging tactics' were necessary and in November it named ten Anglican bishops and urged them to tell the truth about their sexuality.

Within two weeks, said Tatchell, senior Church leaders began serious discussions with lesbian and gay organisations for the first time.

Within a month, the bishops issued one of their strongest condemnations of anti-gay discrimination.

Tatchell went on: 'Everyone knows there are gay people within the church leadership. They realise that, given their tacit acceptance of gay senior clergy, any hint of anti-gay policy will be instantly ridiculed as hypocrisy and double-standards.'

● Tony Blair yesterday played down Labour plans to end discrimination against homosexuals in the armed forces, revealed by defence spokesman David Clark last week. Mr Blair claimed that the Tories had 'hyped' the issue 'through the roof' and said Labour would not rush into changes.

## Lesbians spray professor pink

GAY militants attacked a controversial psychiatrist who says homosexuality is a curable mental illness.

They stormed a college where Professor Charles Socarides was lecturing and sprayed him with pink foam.

He had to be rescued by

security guards before police removed 20 activists — calling themselves Dykes and Fags Gone Mad — from Regent's Park College, London. They claimed that his research was 'part of a political war against the gay community'.

But Professor Socarides, 72, whose son is a homosexual,

said that the militants were 'trying to silence scientific discourse'.

He said later he continued with his lecture and added: 'It was very useful to the students who had not heard some of the views expounded.'

Professor Socarides, of the

Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York, is due to give several lectures about his theories in London.

Saturday's disruption came after homosexual activists prevented him from delivering a lecture to the Association for Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy in the NHS.

ITEM 20: Photo of General Synod.

