ILGA BULLETIN

Action Alerts: Vietnam institutes mandatory HIV testing policy # US Senate votes to uphold HIV immigration exclusion # Tasmania campaign seeing success # Options for change: constitutional amendments up for discussion # Barcelona World Conference # IX. International Conference on AIDS # Old Het? 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence' revisited # Secretariats' Committee Meeting Agenda # Actions beyond writing letters # Nominations for secretariats and backups # international calendar # upcoming conferences # pink link # relevant # and more...

> International Lesbian and Gay Association Bulletin 2/93 - ISSN 0281-627X

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Hundreds paraded along the Avenida Atlantica in Rio de Janeiro's Copacabana area to celebrate the first Brasilian gay pride. The paraders protested against the murder of gay men and discrimination in Brazil.

Meanwhile a new campaign has started to include a ban on discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation in the Brazilian constitution.

See appeal on page 19.

(photo David Harrad - Dignidade)

ILGA BULLETIN

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DEADLINE NEXT ISSUE 1 May 1993

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PLEASE NOTE: This issue should have been the annual Lesbian Issues Bulletin. Due to technical problems this was impossible. The Lesbian Issues Bulletin will be published later this year.

ACTION ALERTS

NEW VIETNAM INSTITUTES MANDATORY HIV TESTING POLICY

On December 18, 1992 the Vietnamese government reportedly instituted a policy under which local prostitutes, drug users, prisoners, homosexuals and foreigners seeking to spend more than three months in Vietnam will be tested for the AIDS virus. The report further said that citizens who test HIV-positive will not be allowed to get married.

HIV-immigration/travel restriction policies and the mandatory testing of specific target groups have both been denounced by various international public health officials (including the World Health Organization) as counterproductive to the global fight against the AIDS pandemic. Such a policy drives people with HIV or those who think they might have HIV away from health officials, health services, and AIDS prevention education, increasing the spread of the disease. Simultaneously, it encourages a false sense of security among those perceiving themselves immune to the virus by virtue of their livelihood or lifestyle, rather than their practices. In treating AIDS as a good persons vs. bad person issue as opposed to a public health issue, the government discourages people from making the individual and communal behaviour changes necessary for HIV prevention. AIDS and HIV-infection already exist in Vietnam. The Vietnamese government must come to grips with this reality and with the need for every Vietnamese citizen to know about and be able to reduce or avoid any practices which can transmit HIV. The spread of HIV in Vietnam will not be stopped by excluding foreigners or by ostracizing certain groups.Please write letters to the following officials calling on the Vietnamese government to rescind its policy requiring AIDS testing of targeted groups and travellers, as well as restricting marriage for anyone who tests positive for the HIV antibodies. Point out that this is not sound public health policy and has been proven to be detrimental to HIV prevention. Include that a far more humane, fiscally responsible, and effective method of HIV prevention is widespread, adequately funded, culturally sensitive, sexually explicit AIDS

prevention education for everyone visiting or living in Vietnam, availability and affordability of AIDS prevention tools, and free/affordable anonymous HIV testing for anyone who wants it.

Send your letters to:

The Rt. Hon. Vo Chi Cong
President of the Socialist Republic of
Viet-Nam
Hoang Hoa Tham Street
Hanoi, Viet-Nam

The Hon. Do Muoi, Premier Chairman of the Council of Ministers Hoang Hoa Tham Street Hanoi, Viet-Nam

The Hon. Nguyen Co Thach The Minister of Foreign Affairs 1 Ton That Dam Street Hanoi, Viet-Nam

The Hon. Pham Song
Minister of Public Health
138A Giang Vo
Hanoi, Viet-Nam

UPDATE UNITED STATES SENATE VOTES TO UPHOLD HIV IMMIGRATION EXCLUSION: HAITIAN REFUGEES CONTINUE HUNGER STRIKE AT GUANTANAMO BAY

HIV EXCLUSION LEGISLATION:

On February 18th the U.S Senate voted 76-23 to stop the Clinton Administration from allowing the immigration of people infected with HIV.

This immigration measure has been attached to an overall bill called the National Institutes of Health Reauthorization Act (H.R.4) and now goes to the House of Representatives this week. President Clinton and Secretary of Health and Human Services Shalala had confirmed reports that they intended to

lift the HIV immigration exclusion soon, however the Senate vote has now caused the administration to back pedal on the issue and put it on hold. Your letter/telephone call/fax is urgently needed to voice support for lifting the U.S. immigration HIV exclusion policy.

GUANTANAMO BAY CRISIS:

At immediate risk are the 268 Haitian refugees detained at the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Although each of the refugees has been judged to have a serious claim to political asylum, they are not being allowed to pursue

their claims of asylum because they, or a family member, have tested positive for HIV. The situation is deteriorating rapidly (see following fact sheet) and now some of the refugees are continuing a hunger strike which they began January 28. In the words of one of the hunger strikers, "In every struggle for freedom, there must be some who die. We [on hunger strike] are prepared to die so that the others can be free."

ILGA members can add a much needed voice of international protest. Please write/fax/or telephone President Clinton and contact sympathetic elected or appointed officials that you are in touch with asking them to join the protest.

MODEL LETTER

Dear President Clinton,

I/We, your name/org, name, am/are strongly opposed to any and all immigration and travel restrictions based on a person's HIV-status. Such restrictions actually impede prevention education and early intervention efforts and have been internationally denounced as poor public health policy. The facts are that this policy primarily affects people who already live in the United States and were more than likely infected there. Punitive restrictions only drive people underground and are therefore counterproductive to the global fight against AIDS. This policy has resulted in an international scandal with the inhumane treatment of HIV-positive Haitian refugees imprisoned on Guantanamo Bay. clearly a gross violation of human rights.

I/We urge you to veto any legislation that interferes with the Health and Human Service's authority over the immigration exclusion list, and to lift the HIV restriction immediately. I/We also demand that you immediately grant 'humanitarian parole' to the HIV-positive Haitian refugees and their family members detained at Guantanamo Bay, bring them to the U.S., and end this human tragedy.

Sincerely,

Write/fax/or telephone

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington D.C. 20500
Tel: +1 202 456 11 11
Fax: +1 202 456 24 61

FACT SHEET ON HAITIANS DETAINED ON GUANTANAMO

Source: Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights; San Francisco, USA

- * there are currently 268 Haitians being detained on the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, including 19 pregnant women and 41 children; they are surrounded by barbed wire and housed in makeshift shelters that leak when it rains; the shelters are regularly infested with rats, scorpions and snakes; there are no wash basins and only portable toilets available.
- * most of the Haitians have been detained at Guantanamo since the fled Haiti fifteen months ago after the Sep-

tember 1991 military coup overthrew Haiti's first democratically elected President.

- * 215 of the 268 are HIV+ (including two of the 41 children); 88 of the 215 HIV+ Haitians have CD4 counts below 500, including ten with CD4 counts of 200 or less (the Centers for Disease Control consider someone with a CD4 count 200 and lower to have AIDS).
- " in March 1992, a CDC doctor warned his superiors; "concentrating people known to have an infection that causes immunosuppression in a tent city is a potential public health disaster; that same month, Assistant Secretary for Health Dr. James Mason warned the INS: "the presence of a large number of HIV infected individuals held for long periods of time in a camp environment is likely to result in significantly increased public health risks".
- * the U.S. government already has determined that all 268 of the Haitians have "credible fears of persecution" if forced to return to Haiti (or are dependent family members); 120 of the 268 have had full asylum/refugee interviews and 115 of the 120 (96%) were found by the INS to be refugees under U.S. and international law, i.e., to have "well-founded fears of persecution".
- * two of the Haitians, including a 16-year old, tried to commit suicide in November; another attempted to hang herself on February 17; on February 18, a 19-year old told his mother in Miami that he would take his life.
- * 18 other HIV+ Haitians (and seven of their dependents) who were on Guantanamo already were medically evacuated to the U.S. for emergency medical treatment under the Bush Administration.
- * since October, the INS has refused the military's repeated requests for immediate medical evacuation of five other individuals (all with CD4 counts below 100, including a woman who has a CD4 count of 78 and has had vaginal bleeding since December and now has vaginal candidiasis and two men with CD4 counts of only 23 and 18); four of the five were determined to be refugees by the INS at their asylum interviews.
- * the Clinton Administration has the authority to immediately allow the Haitians into the U.S. under "humanitarian parole"; their ultimate immigration status, including the effect of their HIV status, would then be determined in individual hearings.

* the U.S. government has already spent thousands of dollars to detain, feed and provide medical care to the Haitians at Guantanamo; if allowed in the U.S., the overwhelming majority of the Haitians would be able to work to support themselves and their families; many have family members already in the U.S. who would help support them.

UPDATE TASMANIA CAMPAIGN SEEING SUCCESS

The Tasmanian Gay and Lesbian Rights Group (TGLRG) reports that the letter writing campaign (see ILGA Bulletin 5/92) on Tasmania's anti-sodomy laws has generated widespread publicity (...) Rodney Croome, TGLRG's campaign manager, sends his thanks to all of the ILGA members and IGLHRC Emergency Response Network participants who wrote letters on behalf of the TGLRG, however says the issue has not yet resulted in a decision in their favor.

The TGLRG has petitioned the United Nation's Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) on the issue, and their complaint has been excepted for review. The Australian government is now responsible for responding back to the UNHRC within the next six months. TGLRC has asked that the campaign be continued, now putting more direct pressure on the Australian government.

Please write again to Prime Minister Paul Keating. Congratulate Mr. Keating on his government's recent lifting of the ban against gays and lesbians in the military, but point out it is hypocritical to allow such blatant discrimination to remain on the isle of Tasmania. The Australian government has an obligation to protect the rights and freedoms of all citizens, irrespective of sexual orientation, and it would be much to his government's credit to require Tasmania to reform the anti-gay legislation prior to the UNHCR ruling on the matter.

Write to:
Mr Paul Keating
The Prime Minister
Parliament House
Canberra ACT
Australia 2600

Copies to:
TGLRG
GPO Box 1733
Hobart, Tasmania
Australia 7000

OPTIONS FOR CHANGE

CONSITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS UP FOR DISCUSSION

The attached amendments are proposed in an attempt to meet what we perceive as two overriding priorities in the ILGA: the need to increase significantly the role of members from outside Europe and North America in the management and development of the ILGA and the need to ensure that the ILGA has a professional administration which services both the organization and those (potential new members, press and media, other NGOs, etc ...) outside of the ILGA.

The amendments seek to achieve those aims through a series of measures: -

Regionalisation

- introduction of six new secretariats into the Secretariats' Committee (representing Africa, North America, Latin America, Asia, Australasia and Europe);
- Abolition of back-up secretariats;
- new secretariats will be responsible for co-ordinating projects, actions and the dissemination of information in their region as well as representing the needs and concerns of their region within the ILGA.

The six new secretariats would have equal power and standing with other secretariats. Where possible regional conferences will elect their own secretariat. Where this is not possible because no regional conference exists as an ad hoc measure the World Conference could elect a group from the appropriate region to represent that region.

In order to reduce costs to the organization, Secretariats' Committee meetings would be reduced to two a vear. One would be held adjacent to (but independent of) the World Conference. A second one would be held approximately six months later (for instance in mid-January) Each Secretariat would be entitled to one paid ticket per year (until more funds become available). The reduction from four to two SC meetings per year should not seriously affect the efficiency of the SC as (speaking from bitter experience) the SC is currently far too pre-occupied with administrative matters - a task which would be substantially taken over by the administrative group. The abolition of back-up secretariats is proposed firstly because of the very mixed success of the back-up system and second because

we consider that the addition of the 6 new regional secretariats to the existing Secretariats' Committee would make the existing Committee extremely unmanagable and expensive to support.

Professionalisation

- establishment of an administrative group responsible for servicing the secretariats and the membership and for responding to enquiries from potential members, media, NGOs etc;
- abolition of the Information Secretariat and devolving of its functions to the administrative group (including production and distribution of the Bulletin, and press-media liaison);
- devolving of administrative functions of the Financial Secretariat to the administrative group;
- the ILGA's employee will head and coordinate the activities of the administrative group.

Advantages

Many advantages would follow from the creation of a single administrative group:-

- (i) coherence in the administration of the ILGA would be increased;
- (ii) the ILGA would have one permanent address to which members and non-member organizations could address themselves;
- (iii) the membership and the secretariats would have one permanent service resource.
- (iv) the Secretariats' Committee would be freed of its administrative tasks and be

able to focus upon promoting lesbian and gay rights in general and the decisions of the Annual Conference in particular;

(v) the Financial Secretariat would be released of its administrative tasks and would, therefore, be able to devote itself entirely to fund-raising.

Status

The administrative groups would not have a policy-making function and would therefore have no vote at the Secretariats' Committee or any ILGA conference. To ensure continuity and administrative stability the administrative group would be appointed by the Secretariats' Committee for a period of three years but could be dismissed by the Secretariats' Committee at any time during this period.

Although there are two different elements to the proposed amendments we regard the two as inextricably linked: without the security of a professional administration, regionalisation is likely to result in an administrative chaos; without regionalisation the organization, however professional it becomes, will never be able to speak with a truly international voice.

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David Geer Peter Ashman Financial Secretariat

Micha Ramakers, Information Secretary

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

replace articles 11. et seq. by the following and renumber accordingly: -

- 6. SECRETARIATS COMMITTEE (currently 11.)
- (i) The ILGA has some official organs of management and officials:
 - Six Regional Secretariats
 - The Women's Secretariat
 - The Action Secretariat
 - The Financial Secretariat
 - A female and a male Secretary-General Only a full member may hold a Secretariat.
- (ii) The Secretariats and the secretaries-general shall be responsible for executing the policies and managing the business of the ILGA as laid down by the Annual Conference between annual conferences and shall form the Secretariats Committee.
- (iii) In addition to these persons, the Co-ordinator, members of the Administrative Group, the International Secretary of every Full Member, and such other persons as the Secretariats Committee shall invite may attend as observers.

(remaining clauses unchanged)

7. REGIONAL SECRETARIATS (new)

- (i) The ILGA will have regional secretariats. Regions are: Africa, North America, Latin America, Asia, Australasia and Europe.
- (ii) Regional Secretariats will be elected by Regional Conferences in their region. If no such conference exists at a given moment, Regional Secretariats will be elected by the Annual Conference.
- (iii) It is the responsibility of Regional Secretariats to:
 - (a) initiate and co-ordinate projects and political actions relevant to their region in co-operation with the Action Secretariat;
 - (b) collect information on matters of lesbian and/or gay oppression and liberation in their region;
 - (c) communicate regarding (a) and (b) with the Administrative Office to ensure dissemination of information to all ILGA members and others.
 - (d) advize groups responsible for organizing regional conferences and assist with the preparation of the contents of regional conferences.
 - (e) ensure that the needs and concerns of their region are considered at Annual Conferences.
- 8. WOMEN'S SECRETARIAT (currently 8.)

(wording unchanged)

9. ACTION SECRETARIAT (currently 9.)

It is the responsibility of the Action Secretariat to:

- (i) co-ordinate projects and political actions of the ILGA;
- (ii) provide information on actions to the Administrative Group for inclusion in the Bulletin.
- 10. FINANCIAL SECRETARIAT (currently 10.)

It is the responsibility of the Financial Secretariat to:

- (i) seek out core funding and project funding;
- (ii) develop promotional materials for merchandising;

11. SECRETARIES GENERAL (currently 12)

(wording remains unchanged)

12. ADMINISTRATION (currently 6.)

- (i) The ILGA has a central Administrative Office. This will be run by an Administrative Group appointed by the Secretariats' Committee. The appointment will be renewed every three years.
- (ii) The Administrative Group may be relieved of its responsibilities by the Secretariats' Committee after a vote of no confidence.
- (iii) A Co-ordinator will be responsible for co-ordinating the Administrative Office. The Co-ordinator will report to the Secretariats Committee.
- (vi) The Co-ordinator will be appointed by the Secretariats Committee following a proposal from the Administrative Group.
- (vii) It is the responsibility of the Administrative Office to:
 - (a) in co-operation with the secretariats and information pools produce and distribute to all Members an Information Bulletin; Maintain and provide information about the ILGA, its Members and activities; collect information on matters of lesbian and/or gay oppression and liberation; supervise the functioning of the Information Pools.
 - (b) circulate an agenda and other relevant documents to the Secretariats one month prior to meetings, and circulate the minutes no more than two weeks after receipt of them.
 - (c) co-ordinate ILGA business, prepare the contents of the Annual Conference, produce pre-conference papers and conference reports for the Annual Conference, press releases, publications, etc; the Administrative Group shall advize groups responsible for organizing Annual and regional conferences, but shall not be responsible for their organization.
 - (d) the Co-ordinator will attend the Annual Conferences and regional conferences when possible, and meetings of the Secretariats Committee. The Co-ordinator will not have the right to vote at such meetings;
 - (e) receive Members' subscriptions and process applications for membership;
 - (f) keep accurate accounts of capital, income and expenditure;
 - (g) present to the Annual Conference
 - detailed report of the ILGA's finances for the previous financial year audited by a suitably experienced individual who is independent of the Administrative Office;
 - an estimate of the ILGA's finances for the current year;
 - a list of those members who have paid their current subscriptions, and those who have not.
 - (h) remind each member when its annual subscription is due.
 - (i) manage voting procedures at Annual Conferences.
 - (i) deal with employment matters.

Consequential amendments

3. ADMISSION

replace the words "Financial Secretariat" by "Administrative Office"

5. SUBSCRIPTIONS

replace the words "Financial Secretariat" by "Administrative Office".

13. FULL MEMBERS

replace the words "Information Secretariat" by "Administrative Office".

BARCELONA WORLD CONFERENCE

You will no doubt have heard a lot about Barcelona, the site of the 1992 Olympic Games. It is said to be the gay capital of Southern Europe, and the collection of bars, saunas and discotheques is truly formidable. Moreover, in only 30 minutes by train you reach Sitges, the centre for gay tourism in the summer. There are also facilities for women, although smaller in number, along with less lesbian organizations.

Furthermore, with its 'modernist' buildings and beautiful avenues where you can take a stroll at any time. Barcelona is in every way a modern city, and for this it is chosen to be the site of many international conferences. There are always numerous cultural events. even in summer, and there's even a nudist beach only fifteen minutes away from the city center. It is certainly true, however, that prices of food, transport and accommodation are equal to those of other European capital cities, and are not as cheap as they were ten years ago.

The International Lesbian and Gay Association has chosen Barcelona to be the site of its 15th Annual Conference and the Coordinadora Gai-Lesbiana is the host organisation. We are currently preparing a conference with all the necessary requirements to facilitate work and enjoyment.

The Conference will of course tackle the usual range of issues such as solidarity, positive action and other such projects. We hope there will also be a debate about one of the fundamental problems of today: the fight against discrimination. The Coordinadora Gai-Lesbiana will be explaining its experience with the recently launched campaign against racism, xenophobia and discrimination on the grounds of disability or sexual orientation.

We have made every effort to find a conference site where we can eat and sleep as well as hold workshops and various social events, in order to save time and facilitate interpersonal contact. For this we have found a university residence where most rooms are single; special diets will be provided (e.g. vegetarian, and for people with HIV) and the site will be accessible for people with disabilities. Despite being expensive, there will be simultaneous translation from English to Spanish during the



A prime example of Modemist architecture in Barcelona (photo: Micha Ramakers)

Plenary sessions. A team of volunteers will be on hand to attend to the needs of people with HIV, and we are keen that groups with economic problems will be able to attend. For this we have set aside a proportion of the conference fee to provide Scholarships and to offset the costs of the ILGA itself.

This must surely be the first conference to have two official receptions: one offered by the Government of Catalonia and the other at Barcelona Town Hall. On the first day (registration day) there will be an evening disco for men and a social meeting for women. Conference entertainment will include tours of Barcelona, screenings of Spanish films with homosexual themes (subtitled in English) and a Grand Ball in 'La Paloma', a beautiful hundred-year old dance hall. Each conference participant will receive the 'bG' Card of the Coordinadora Gai-Lesbiana which allows free entry into the major discotheques and other advantages within the 'gay scene'.

The Organizing Committee Coordinadora Gai-Lesbiana C. Les Carolines 13 08012 Barcelona Fax 34 3 218 11 912

WORKSHOPS

The contents of the Conference are largely dependent on the participants. Proposals for Workshops should be sent to the INFORMATION SECRETARIAT before 1 May 1993. No contributions will be accepted after 1 May.

Workshop proposals should be typed and may not be longer than 1 Din A4 page. They should indicate the name of the group/person proposing the workshop and the name of a facilitator.

The Information Secretariat strongly appreciates texts delivered on DOS formatted disks (5 1/4" or 3 1/4") or, even better, in WP51. This saves us many hours of re-typing.

The Pre-Conference Papers will be sent out on 11 May if they contain Constitutional Amendments other than those published in this issue of the Bulletin (these amendments have to be circulated 8 weeks before the conference) and in any case before 30 May.

IX. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AIDS BERLIN, JUNE 7-11, 1993

Two months remain until up to 12,000 delegates from all comers of the globe, including a large number of gay men and lesbians, will converge on Berlin for the International AIDS Conference.

It will be an opportunity for representatives of community based organizations, AIDS service organizations and non-governmental organizations to converse, exchange ideas, and learn from each other. The Conference program is near completion. Great pains have been taken to make the workshops, plenary lectures, and roundtable discussions relevant to the community.

There will be workshops on a wide variety of topics including discrimination and stigmatisation, ethical and legal issues, orphans, youth in developing countries, women and AIDS; native peoples, sex workers, people in detention, sexuality, and, a novel topic heterosexual men. Michael Bochow and Gary Dowsett will chair a workshop on gay and bisexual men and Richard Parker and Dede Oetomo will chair one on men who have sex with men.

The plenary lectures will include sex education for youth, improving HIV

prevention and care for women, AIDS policy from the perspective of an HIV-positive drug user, and empowering people living with AIDS. Dennis Altman has been invited to speak on the 'dehomosexualization of AIDS' and its implication for lesbians and gay men around the world.

The roundtable discussions will deal with priorities and impact of international donors, women and AIDS, Tuberculosis, school based HIV prevention, and drug policies. Lisa Power will chair a roundtable on redefining the AIDS agenda from a gay perspective.

In addition to the official program the NGO Liaison Committee has been provided with a room of its own for the duration of the conference. There are regional meetings, skill sharing seminars, and safer sex workshops planned, just to name but a few ideas. Any suggestions are encouraged and may be sent to Jeffrey Stanton of the NGO Liaison Committee (see address below).

The results of the ILGA questionnaire on the AIDS/HIV work of lesbian and gay groups enclosed in this Bulletin will be made public at the conference. It is vital that you fill in the questionnaire and return it as soon as possible to Lisa Power (address: see questionnaire).

This year, for the first time at an international AIDS conference, ILGA will be represented with a booth at the non-profit exhibition. This is a great opportunity for ILGA to highlight the vital contribution that gay men and lesbians make world wide in the fight against AIDS. ILGA member groups are encouraged to send stickers, buttons, key rings, leaflets, posters, and/or videos to display there.

Please send materials to:

Deutche AIDS Hilfe, c/o Jeffrey Stanton NGO Liaison Committee Dieffenbachstr. 33 1000 Berlin 61 - Germany

DEAR LESBIAN FRIENDS

We are everywhere but many lesbians are too quiet...

We need information from everywhere for the ILGA Bulletin. Please send it to the Information Secretariat in Brussels (Women's Contact: Dominique Limmelette) or to the Women's Secretariat. Thank you.

BARCELONA CONFERENCE

LESBIANS - think NOW about what you want to work with in BARCELONA - and make your suggestion, subject and facilitator, and send it to the WOMEN'S SECRETARIAT, COPENHAGEN so we can coordinate.

The Women's Secretariat

DEBATE

OLD HET?

In a review originally published in the British radical feminist magazine Trouble and Strife, Deborah Cameron takes another look at Adrienne Rich's groundbreaking 1980 essay "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence", and finds much that is still of relevance to sexual politics today.



A couple of years ago I was asked to write a 're-assessment' of Adrienne Rich's essay "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" for the inaugural 'feminisms now' issue of a new journal. The request initially puzzled me. Why did the editors feel a need to 'reassess' something that was published as recently as 1980? When had "Compulsory Heterosexuality" entered the limbo category of feminist 'classics', like "The myth of the vaginal orgasm" and The Dialectic of Sex, early texts considered groundbreaking in their day but now read only by historically-minded academics?

"Compulsory Heterosexuality" appeared at a turning point: just before a period of painful divisions among feminists about sex, and just before the AIDS epidemic. These developments profoundly changed the way sexuality was talked about, inside and outside feminism. Because of them, the ideas Adrienne Rich put into circulation began to be questioned almost as soon as her essay was published. In consequence her piece has suffered the traditional fate of the 'classic' - to be guoted out of context and referred to more than read. Thus although the phrase 'compulsory heterosexuality' remains current, for many feminists it is now detached from particular, radical feminist analysis. Here I want to ask what has happened to that analysis - and whether we can really afford to consign it to history.

The Argument

"Compulsory Heterosexuality" begins as a review of several influential books about women's psychology. Rich takes the authors to task, however, for ignoring lesbianism or dismissing it as a minority preference irrelevant to most women. As she says, a developmental study of women should explain their sexuality rather than taking it as given. And to explain the heterosexuality of most women (which is somewhat surprising given current patterns of childrearing according to the psychoanalysts we all start by loving our mothers) you have to acknowledge that in patriarchal societies heterosexuality is an institution, and women are coerced into it.

Conversely, it must also be acknowledged that some women have always resisted coercion and maintained their primary allegiance to other women. Rich proposes a 'lesbian continuum' encompassing many different relationships between women, from explicit sexual partnerships through passionate friendships to the lifelong affectionate bonds of mothers, daughters and sisters. If the extent of women's commitment to one another has been hidden and silenced (not to mention severely punished) that only goes to show what a threat it poses to the fabric of maledominated society. I have summarised Rich's argument in a way that brings out what I have always found most appealing in it: namely, that it makes the connection between the oppression of women in general and the specific oppression of lesbians. This contrasts with a tradition - both inside and outside feminism - of seeing the two as separate problems requiring separate political solutions. Rich is arguing for a systematic relationship between sexism and heterosexism, with the latter as a vital component of the former. If marriage and the family are cornerstones in the edifice of male control over women, heterosexism (along with economic inequality) is part of the cement: by suppressing alternatives to heterosexuality it puts pressure on women to seek emotional

satisfaction in structurally unequal relationships with men. It follows that all women, not just self-identified lesbians, have a political interests in opposing heterosexism. A further implication is that lesbians have more to gain from alliances with heterosexual feminists than from alliances with gay men.

There was a time when this point of view dominated feminist thinking and discussion. But times have changed. In my view, the most important reasons for the shift are, as I mentioned before, the conflicts around sexuality that went on among feminists during the 1980s and the emergence of AIDS as a major concern for sexual politics. I want to take up each of these points now.

The first problem: conflicts within feminism

Conflicts between lesbian and heterosexual feminists have (unfortunately) been a longstanding feature of this wave of western feminism; they certainly did not begin in the 1980s. But the 1980s brought a renewed awareness of the fragility of sisterhood, and sexual practice became a particular flashpoint. This was not only a question of lesbian heterosexual identity. versus and heterosexuals lesbians themselves divided on issues like pornography and sadomasochism, and the debate that followed from these divisions had implications for the analysis of sexuality in general.

Among the main protagonists in the sex debate were women who belonged to a current that came to be called 'pro-sex' (I am using the name this group gave themselves, but putting it in scare-quotes because I disagree with the implication that feminists who opposed their views

were 'anti-sex'). 'Pro-sex' feminists initially defined themselves in opposition to anti-pomography feminists, especially Andrea Dworkin and Catharine Mac-Kinnon; but unlike some of the feminists who spoke against the Dworkin-



MacKinnon ordinances, they were not simply against censorship. Beyond that, they wanted to reclaim sexual pleasure for women, celebrating the diversity of desire and refusing to condemn practices like S/M. These feminists made their own reassessment of Adrienne Rich, They asked, for example, whether Rich had 'taken the sex out of lesbianism'. If every woman who hugged her woman friends or preferred their company to her husband's was a lesbian, where did that leave 'real' lesbians? And where did the idea of compulsory heterosexuality leave heterosexual women? Were they nothing but patriarchal dupes, completely deluded about their own desires and interests?

These criticisms of Rich reflected an emphasis on sexual choice which made its proponents hostile to the idea of sexual compulsion. Getting the right balance between these two has always been a serious problem for feminism. But some 'pro-sex' feminists went to an extreme of idealising the 'real' lesbian and condemning her supposed opposite, the joyless 'political lesbian'. And as a corollary, they were eager to grant the parallel existence of a 'real' heterosexual whose desire for men was genuine rather than coerced in any way. This led to a kind of utopian sexual voluntarism (the individual's own desires are all), glossing over the coercion many women do experience and ignoring the fact that our 'real' desires are shaped by social forces.

Whether intentionally or not, this approach once again separated lesbian and heterosexual women, sexism and heterosexism, in discussions of sexuality. This was the heyday of identity politics, when sexual identities were a basis for political organising and groups defined on the basis of their sexual practices protested against oppression by others with different preferences. This was most marked in relation to things like S/M. But many lesbians spoke out more generally about heterosexual privilege and the way it was often abused. Adrienne Rich's insistence on a shared women's oppression seemed remote from the positions many feminists were developing.

I find this complicated because in some ways I think Rich's critics were right. There has been heterosexism among feminists, just as there has been racism, and it is no good submerging this in vague or sentimental rhetoric about 'woman-identified women'. (Though in fairness to Rich, the idea of a 'continuum' allows for some women to be more lesbian than others.) Nevertheless, it alarms me when lesbians start defining heterosexual women as powerful and privileged oppressors. To do this is to miss the important, functional relation between anti-lesbianism and anti-feminism.

The US feminist critic Tania Modleski has recently written, in her book attacking so-called 'post-feminism':

There seems to me to be a crucial difference between telling, say, a white woman she should be aware of her racial privilege and telling her she should be aware of her privilege as a heterosexual female. For feminism has emphasised from the beginning the oppressiveness of the ideology of compulsory heterosexuality and the institution it supports - that of the nuclear family... The special difficulties faced by lesbians under such a system (i.e. compulsory heterosexuality) are analogous to those of a prisoner who has escaped incarceration and, being 'at large', faces more extreme punitive measures than many of the more docile inmates. The hazards faced by lesbians cannot be overestimated, but we might remember the time when feminism deemed it no privilege to be a wife in patriInstitutionalised heterosexuality is in general bad for women, but if the cost of lesbianism is high enough most will not be tempted to 'break out'. This is one of Adrienne Rich's insights which we are in danger of losing. If in identity politics lesbians' interests are seen as totally opposed to heterosexual women's interests, and if lesbians' interests are defined simply in sexual liberationist terms - securing the right to have our minority preferences accepted 'equally valid' - this deeper analysis of heterosexism and its integral role in maintaining men's power goes by the board. Of course lesbians have every right to demand that heterosexual women support our specific struggles (e.g. around custody and job discrimination); but to paraphrase an old saying, 'lesbians who want to be equally valid lack ambition'.

Although 'pro-sex' feminists insisted that sexuality is socially constructed, often accusing other feminists of essentialism, their approach had the rather contradictory effect of moving many women towards the idea of sexual choice as something given and immutable: you proclaimed yourself an 'x' (lesbian, straight, butch, vanilla, whatever) and then you defended your right to that preference, with the question of how you came by it and what its implications were relegated more or less to the background. 'Pro-sex' feminists thought it wrong to criticise and (consensual) sexual practice, and in some quarters that led to people essentialising their desires ("it's just the way I am"). Again this probably was not the intention. But like the separation of lesbians' interests from the interests of heterosexual women, the idea of a fixed sexuality has been reinforced in recent years. One of the factors reinforcing it has been the AIDS epidemic.

The second problem: compulsory homophobia and the politics of AIDS

Feminists are only now starting to talk critically about the way AIDS has changed the politics of sexuality, and it remains very difficult to talk about this honestly, since many of us have contradictory responses. Speaking for myself, I feel horror at the catastrophe of the epidemic and the callousness of many people's responses to it; rage at the homophobia it has unleashed against lesbians as well as gay men; ambivalence about the way AIDS now dominates the radical political agenda (and the way so many lesbians have made it



their priority); and occasionally even guilt (irrational though it is) that I and my community have mostly escaped the worst effects of fear, sickness, death and loss.

AIDS has made many things thinkable, sayable and do-able that would once have caused great difficulty to lesbian feminists. Some of us are prepared to make alliances with gay men for the purpose of resisting the renewed, more intense homophobia that has followed the epidemic. Some of us are prepared to concede that parts of the libertarian agenda we used to oppose - e.g. sexual expression and defending opposing censorship measures - now seem, if not more attractive, then at least more justifiable than they did ten years ago.

For instance, some of us have muted our opposition to pornography and to things like phone sex, which - in HIV terms anyway - are at least safe sex. That feminists should entertain this argument shows how AIDS has marginalised many of our traditional concerns about sexual practice. The whole question of what constitutes 'safe sex' has come to be defined in terms of whether a particular sexual practice is more or less likely to transmit HIV: the sense in which pornography and phone sex might actually threaten the physical or psychological safety of women, or be open to criticism on other grounds, is glossed over in this discourse where safer sex is better and 'safer' means 'carrying lower HIV risk'. In the crisis of the epidemic it becomes genuinely difficult to speak of any 'risk' other than AIDS, or to ask the question 'safe for who?'.

As well as these accommodations on

specific issues of sexual practice, we have also begun to see a more general shift towards the idea of sexuality as fixed and even inborn, a matter of nature rather than nurture. The notion of homosexuality as something a minority of people 'can't help' and should therefore be allowed to get on with in private not surprisingly surfaced as the liberal viewpoint in the mainstream debate around Clause 28. It is rather more surprising that so many politically radical gay and lesbian activists have become willing to endorse similar arguments, or at least to refrain from dissenting in public.

For example, Simon Le Vay, the US scientist who recently claimed to have discovered a spot on the (male) brain whose size correlated with sexual orientation, is not, as one might have expected, a ranting homophobe, he is an out and politically committed gay man. He has been widely criticised for his methodology, but there has been much criticism of his underlying assumption - that it is worth looking for neuro-anatomical correlates of sexual preference in the first place. I have been told by gay men and lesbians on both sides of the Atlantic that although they privately doubt sexual preference has any biological basis, in the present climate of homophobic hysteria they see strategic advantages in keeping quiet about their doubts.

Personally, I find this extraordinary. In an age of gene therapy and bio-engineering, a belief that homosexuality is inborn will not necessarily protect us (just as it didn't protect us from Nazi eugenics). And morally, the argument is as repugnant as suggesting that religious toleration should be extended only to

people born into their faith, and not to converts. But in addition, there is a specifically feminist reason to distrust this 'strategic' shift of perspective. If homosexuals are born and not made, so are heterosexuals. If choice is not a factor, nor is coercion. Once again, the crucial connections Adrienne Rich makes between homophobia, heterosexism and sexism are being obscured.

A feminist analysis of compulsory heterosexuality is increasingly at issue in AIDS politics themselves. Just before I left America in 1990, a dispute surfaced among AIDS activists on the question of mandatory contact tracing (i.e. finding the sexual partners of seropositive people and telling them they are at risk). Gay men have always opposed contact tracing on the grounds that it stops many men coming forward for testing; this has been the orthodox position. But by 1990 AIDS had become a major cause of death among heterosexual women under 45 in US cities like New York and Washington DC. Organisations representing the affected population (which for various reasons is concentrated among poor minority ethnic women) began to challenge the orthodoxy by saying that women's sexual reality was different.

A coalition of mainly Latina activists spoke, for example, of women living with men who regularly visit prostitutes, who refuse to use condoms and who use violence to force their partners to have unprotected sex. These men's partners would gain from contact tracing. Unable to control the behaviour of the men they live with, they would at least know if they were at risk and would be able to seek testing and early treatment which delays the onset of illness. It's instructive to compare the lack of discussion about the contact tracing issue with the ongoing furore about dental dams. The question of safer sex practices among lesbians is, of course, a valid one to ask; but it's also valid to point out that part of the reason why some women are asking it so urgently lies less in the reality of the epidemic for lesbians than in the internal politics of mixed organisations like ACTUP.

Women in these groups - many of whom are lesbians - rightly refuse to be marginalised; but in choosing their issues they have been very much influenced by the 1980s politics of sexual choice. This is a politics which enables alliances with gay men, but the contact tracing row shows how it can make alliances with heterosexual women more difficult in some circumstances, because it



marginalises issues sexual compulsion.

This is a painful dilemma for feminists involved in AIDS politics, and it recalls Adrienne Rich's point that the interests of men and women will differ even if the men in question are gay. A feminist politics of sexuality must surely give weight to both choice and compulsion as dimensions of women's experience around sex. The right to say yes and the power to say no are both important. AIDS politics, dominated initially by gay men, have tended to be about affirming sexual choice, but as more and more heterosexual women enter the picture there is a need for serious discussion of the other dimension.

Back to the future?

I've been trying to argue that in the years since "Compulsory Heterosexuality" was first published, discussions of sexuality (both among feminists and in the wider society that influences what feminists can do) have undergone dramatic shifts. In the process, it seems to me, some important insights of radical feminism have been watered down or even lost altogether.

Obviously, we can't go back to where we were when "Compulsory Heterosexuality" was a groundbreaking document. A great deal has changed since Adrienne Rich wrote it, and any effective politics of sexuality must address the changes that have taken place. But some things haven't changed. In grappling with new problems, we can't afford to lose sight of old ones - and the negative effect on

women of the institution of heterosexuality is arguably the oldest problem in the book. Radical feminists were right to make it a central concern, and feminists today should be wary of turning heterosexuality back into a non-problem, something women can take or leave, one sexual identity among many.

Adrienne Rich could not have foreseen the events of the 1980s, and her essay does not have all the answers we need to do sexual politics in the 1990s. What it does have, though, is an important set of questions whose relevance is still striking and an analytical framework that might help us to clarify our responses.

References:

Tania Modleski (1991), Feminism Without Women: Culture and Criticism in 'Post-Feminist' Age (London: Routledge);

Adrienne Rich (1980), "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence", Signs 5.4, pp. 631-657.

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Trouble and Strife is available from:

PO Box 8 Diss Norfolk IP22 3XG United Kingdom.

SECRETARIATS COMMITTEE MEETING

London, 9-11 April 1993

Day 1 (2 pm - 7 pm)

0. Preliminary Matters

- 0.1. Apologies
- 0.2. Household Matters 0.3. Minutes of last meeting in Brussels
- 0.4. Any other business
- 1. Discussion on Constitutional

Days 2 and 3

- 2. Conferences
- 2.1. ILGA Annual Conferences
 - 2,1.1 Barcelona 1993
 - Scholarships
 - Programme
 - Organization
 - 2.1.2. New York 1994

2.2. ILGA Regional Conferences

2.2 1. Vienna 1993 (Eastern and Southeastern Region) 2.2.2 London 1993 (European Region)

2,3. Other Conferences and Events

- 2.3.1. Creating Change 1993 2.3.2 World AIDS Conference
- 2.8.3. Stonewall 25, New York 1994 2.3.4. Any other business
- Secretaries General and Secretariats (comments and questions on written reports)
- 3.1. Reports of the Secretaries General
- 3.2. Report of the Financial Secretariat and Backup
- 3.3. Report of the Women's Secretariat and Regional Secretariat
- 3.4. Report of the Action Secretariat and Backup
- 3.5. Report of the information Secretariat and
- 4. Budget 1993
- 5. Updates on ILGA Projects and Campaigns
- 5.1. United Nations
- 5.2. Council of Europe
- 5.3. European Community 5.4. CSCE
- 5.5. Pink Book
- 5.6. Twinning Project
- 5.7. Amnesty International Project
- 6. Any other business

ACTIONS BEYOND WRITING LETTERS

EXPLORING NEW WAYS AND MEANS OF EFFECTIVELY PROTESTING FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR LESBIANS AND GAY MEN

How can we take advantage of our diversities? Recognizing our strengths and weaknesses will facilitate cross-cultural communication within our community and give fresh impetus to our lobbying and educational efforts on the national as well as the international level.

A short survey by Alexandra Duda - Action Secretariat back-up group.

As ILGA's membership base is increasing, its administration is facing unprecedented challenges announcing the dawn of a new era in the lesbian and gay movement. ILGA is going truly international! While we celebrate our diversity we must not forget to consider the practical impact that our growth will have upon our work. Addressing gay and lesbian organisations worldwide properly and in an culturally unbiased manner has become increasingly crucial if we want to maintain/improve the efficiency of our work.

Beside purely organisational/ administrative changes that lie ahead of us and are intended to provide ILGA with a flexible while responsive structure, we will have to ponder alternative approaches and critically review our key tasks - to combat discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation:

How to improve the efficiency of our ACTIONS?

The Action Secretariat BUG has taken on the responsibility to work out a questionnaire to be sent to our member organisations which will enable you to actively support the "Action Administration body" becoming less bureaucratic and more "target-group oriented". Our aim is to increase the number and quality of the responses to our action calls - this we can only achieve if we involve the addressees of our calls in the designing process of new procedures. You can help to make the services we render well tailored to your needs. You will receive the questionnaire either with the April Action Alert or the next ILGA Bulletin.

If we start/continue measuring our performance and the results of our work objectively, we must put another key question forward:



Behind the Mardi Gras parade barricades: ACON dancers being body-painted. Sydney, Saturday night, 27 Feb. 1993. (photo: Kendall Lovett)

What else can we do except writing letters?

Sending protest letters has contributed a lot to the success of our work. But why not using our capacities more efficiently and creatively?

A workshop dealing with this topic facilitated by the Action Secretariat was held during the last European Regional Conference in Brussels, which, regrettably, did not get the attention we had wished to draw - a mere 20

delegates attended.

Nevertheless, it was a starting point to question the universal effectiveness of traditional means of protest and brought up some new ideas. Below we list a number of proposals that go beyond writing protest letters and you are all invited to discuss them in your organisation and, from case to case, to turn ideas into reality.

Additionally, you might want to make the search for new ways of protest a fixed

item on your agenda:

a) to hold demonstrations before embassies and get a permission to hand over a protest letter to the Ambassador. Insist on further conveyance of your letter to the respective Government and on getting a written response. Do not forget to share any information with the gay/lesbian organisations of the respective country.

Be aware of the need to be familiar with the legal requirements/possible consequences, e.g. police notification, when organizing a demonstration and consider sufficient media attractiveness of your action, e.g. stage a kiss-in.

- b) to hold demonstrations on the occasion of visits of key foreign officials. Schedules and programmes of who will visit your country in the next months are usually available at your country's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, protocol dept. Ideally, you should contact the persons the visitor will be meeting and ask them to raise the issue of concern during official talks. If visitors continue their trip to other countries, you should contact gay and lesbian organisations there in advance and co-ordinate joint actions. Such orchestrated actions are quite embarrassing for officials/politicians as they will find their home country's image abroad at stake through public discussion and media coverage of protests.
- c) to establish and maintain contacts to the gay/lesbian as well as the mainstream media; to produce press releases, grant interviews, inform them on planned actions, etc. Keep your media contact list up-dated and put them, if appropriate, on your mailing list.
- d) to initiate petition signing; summarize your protest letters and distribute copies well visible in places where gays/lesbian meet or during events.
- e) to flood the city with posters; draft a poster, find out where they can cheaply be copied/printed and pin them on every comer of a selected area (e.g. close to government buildings, parliaments, the route of an official visitor, etc).
- f) to initiate boycotts; this is appropriate both to protest a country's (by not visiting it) or a company's (by not buying their products/services) anti-homosexual attitudes. Spread information about the background and the call for the boycott as widely as possible in order to reach many readers/listeners/watchers. Let the "targets" know about your action, which might make them re-considering their

policies.

- g) to initiate or take part in an international day of protest. Such a coordinated effort, e.g. holding demonstrations in many countries before selected embassies at the same time, can have a tremendous effect. Ideally, the chosen date should have a meaning to the country on the action plan, e.g. a national holiday, this could increase media attention.
- h) to focus on specific actions; especially if your organisation is suffering from time or staff constraints you might want to focus your resources on some selected issues, e.g. concentrating on a certain geographical area/country or on a certain kind of political demand ("theme year") such as abolishment of discrimination in the employment, etc. If the selected field is covered by an ILGA project, liaise with the respective organisation.
- i) to establish contacts with local officials/politicians. Most political parties maintain a secretariat for human rights affairs which you could keep up-dated on your countries record on gay and lesbian issues and where you can demand changes. Lobby politicians on all levels! Especially through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs political pressure can be put on countries with anti-homosexual laws in an inter- or supranational context (e.g. the national UN-, OAS- or CSCE division). Verified information is crucial to raise awareness. The more details, numbers, names you present the more obvious our demands become.
- j) to establish and maintain contacts to other human rights organisations. This is vital if our issues are to gain momentum on an international scale. Get address lists, introduce your organisation/work briefly and put them, if appropriate, on your mailing list. Use synergies in work and identify common targets.
- k) to organize fact-finding-missions to selected countries; this could be a joint initiative with a wealthy, credible and recognized human rights organisation. Meet with Government officials and the media there, visit homosexual prisoners and activists, write a report based on your investigations and make it available to the international media. Produce press releases and call in a press conference back home. Introduce the report to appropriate Government officials in your country as well as to Human Rights organisations.

The stated proposals are interlinked and

interdependent and should be combined as appropriate.

Up to date and first-hand information is of utmost importance to gain/maintain credibility as an organisation demanding equal rights for gays and lesbian. In case you have doubts about the validity of information please contact the Action Secretariat. Information packages for action campaigns are available from there as well. In the process of your work you should not forget to share any piece of information on ongoing actions by using the existing network (e.g. the ILGA Bulletin) or new, up-coming channels (e.g. E-mail, electronic networks).

Do not hesitate to call for actions whenever you consider them appropriate and report back to the Action Secretariat on developments. Also, keep organisations who are members of ILGA working groups or projects up-dated, eg. on UN affairs, asylum issues, EC/CSCE/CoE affairs, trade unions, Amnesty International, etc. Addresses are frequently published in the Bulletin. Share your experience with others - write an article for the Bulletin!

In concluding, I would like to make a final remark that needs to be emphasized as ILGA is growing in size: My suggestions stated above might resemble a European-focused view. As I said previously, addressing such a diverse readership while being, naturally, most familiar with the situation on one continent, is not an easy thing to do.

Some proposals might be unthinkable to realize in one culture while they are perfectly OK in another one. This is the very reason why we will draft the above mentioned questionnaire. The above list is far from exhaustive - it is intended to initiate discussions/brain stormings, etc. in your organisation.

LAST MINUTE NEWS

The Knesset has abolished at the end of December the exclusion of people with HIV from the return law which stopped immigrants and those who wished to sojourn for more than 3 months. The ruling had been installed by the former Likoud government before last June's elections. The fight for abolition of the law was led by Naomi Chazan of the Meretz party which is currently part of the government.

(Source: Lesbia Magazine - March 93)

NOMINATIONS FOR SECRETARIATS AND BACKUPS

According to the Constitution it is the responsibility of the Annual Conference to appoint Secretariats and Backup Secretariats (art 14 ix).

To allow these elections to be held in an open and democratic manner, groups wanting to stand for election as a Secretariat or Backup Secretariat should read the following carefully and send their nominations in writing to the INFORMATION SECRETARY before SATURDAY 1 MAY 1993.

Nominations will be announced in the Pre-Conference papers which will be distributed to all ILGA Members on 10 May 1993.

Candidates should send a short description of their group's activities (100 words max.) to the

INFORMATION SECRETARIAT 81 rue du Marché-au-charbon B-1000 Bruxelles Belgium Phone and fax +32 2 502 24 71

(NOTE: Nominations for the posts of Secretary General can be made up until the end of the first Plenary Session of the 15th Annual Conference).

Following groups have expressed their intention NOT to stand for reelection:

* Financial Secretariat, London, England.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF SECRETARIATS

(see also article 7 of the Constitution)

Some of these tasks can be performed by the Backup Secretariat after agreement between a secretariat and its backup. It is also the responsibility of the backup to take over the running of the Secretariat until the next Annual Conference if the Secretariat is unable to continue its work.

SECRETARIATS' COMMITTEE

The Secretariats, Backup Secretariats and Secretaries General constitute the Secretariats' Committee of the ILGA. The Committee meets four (4) times per year and manages the business of the ILGA between Annual Conferences. Secretariats' Committee meetings are also open to the International Secretary

of each ILGA Member Organization and to such persons as the Secretariats' Committee invites.

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

Currently, a Secretariat receives 400 British Pounds per year as a (token) reimbursement of the costs its ILGA work incur (with the exception of the Information Secretariat which is reimbursed the larger part of its expenditure - for details see accounts). Backup secretariats do not receive any financial support towards their general expenditure.

Furthermore, each Secretariat is reimbursed for travel expenses incurred to attend Secretariats' Committee Meetings at a rate of 2 tickets per year. Backup Secretariats are re-imbursed one ticket per year to attend Secretariats' Committee Meetings.

This is due to the financial constraints under which the ILGA has to operate, and it is clear from past experience that such a sum does not cover the actual cost of running a secretariat.

The ILGA is currently trying to ensure better core funding for the organization in order to re-imburse its secretariats the total (or at least a significant part) of their expenditure.

Although this re-imbursement is currently minimal and is unlikely to increase dramatically, candidates should not be deterred from standing. A possible solution to a lack of funding for an individual secretariat in need of full re-imbursement of its expenditure could be found from sources other than central ILGA funds. One possible solution could be that a twin group assists a secretariat in covering its expenses. However, it must be clear that it is unrealistic for any candidate to expect the ILGA to cover its

entire operating costs.

IN BRIEF, AT THIS MOMENT ANY SECRETARIAT WILL RECEIVE NO MORE THAN 400 GBP AND SHOULD NOT EXPECT TO RECEIVE A LARGER AMOUNT.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE INFORMATION SECRETARIAT

- * to produce the ILGA Bulletin (edit contributions, translations, contribute articles, notices, reminders, the international calendar, etc; typesetting, collect illustrations; lay out; printing; distribution, etc.)
- * to assist at Annual and Regional Conferences
- * to prepare and distribute the Preconference Papers for the Annual Conference
- * to ensure that attention is given to the planning of the Annual Conference agenda and to work with the host organization
- * to establish and maintain contact with ILGA members
- * to monitor the Vg press for ILGA news and news for the Bulletin
- * to produce ILGA press releases and maintain contacts with the media
- * to produce ILGA leaflets, stationery, form letters, etc
- * to compile and maintain membership and contact lists
- * to answer requests for information and any other mail
- * to answer telephone and fax enquiries
- * to register incoming publications and other mail
- * to translate incoming letters and other materials when necessary
- * to maintain and organize archives
- * to maintain contact with the ILGA archives and to arrange transfer of materials to the ILGA archives in Amsterdam
- * to maintain information on ILGA members

- * to contact potential new members
- * to submit a report to the Annual Conference
- * to promote the ILGA
- * to monitor press coverage of the ILGA
- * to work in close cooperation with other secretariats and ILGA projects
- * contact with host organization(s) and backup group
- * to recruit and guide new volunteers
- * to organize and establish office routines
- * to keep accounts for the secretariats
- * to raise funds for the Information Secretariat
- * to keep the Women's Secretariat informed of relevant actions

TASKS OF THE INFORMATION SECRETARY

- * to coordinate the work of the information secretariat
- * to edit and produce the ILGA Bulletin
- * to answer press enquiries and maintain contacts with the media
- * to answer telephone enquiries, urgent mail and faxes
- * to register and distribute incoming mail
- * to ensure the development of the Secretariat (make overall plans, attract new volunteers, etc)
- * to coordinate the publication of Preconference papers
- * to assist with conference preparations (contents) in cooperation with the conference hosts
- * to assist ILGA business at Annual Conferences
- * to maintain contacts with other secretariats and ILGA working groups
- * to produce ILGA materials
- * to produce press releases
- * to coordinate office space, maintain supplies and equipment
- * prepare the meetings of the information secretariat
- * to coordinate the reception of scholarship applications and the distribution of scholarships to attend the Annual Conference
- * to update past conference resolutions

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ACTION SECRETARIAT

- * to register actions and reactions
- * to report on the course of the actions to the Annual Conference and in the ILGA Bulletin
- * to prepare calls for action in the ILGA Bulletin and submit other information on actions for publication
- to inform other groups about

possibilities for action

- * to cooperate with non-ILGA groups
- * to coordinate actions at conferences (protest letters, addresses for protest letters, etc)
- * to maintain a general overview of all ILGA Information Pools and Projects
- * to keep the Women's Secretariat informed of relevant actions

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FINANCIAL SECRETARIAT

FINANCES

Accounts

- * to keep proper books of account
- * to present audited accounts to each Annual Conference
- * to present a budget for the current year to the Annual Conference
- * to place on deposit any surplus cash

Fundraising

- * to report on fundraising at regular intervals in the ILGA Bulletin
- * to encourage groups who need money for projects to publish details of their projects in the Bulletin; to publish fundraising ideas in the Bulletin
- * to write to member groups each autumn suggesting fundraising ideas

Membership applications and subscriptions

- * to update the membership application forms
- * to issue renewal notices for subscriptions at the start of each year and to chase up those who have not paid
- * to publish in the ILGA Bulletin a list of those who have/have not paid their subscription
- * to write to new members after each Annual Conference requesting the membership fee it this has not already been paid

Annual Conference

* to prepare "Workings of ILGA" workshops (with Information Secretariat)

ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

- * to update the Constitution
- * to ensure conference resolutions affecting the Secretariats are actioned
- * to maintain employment contract(s) for employee(s); to handle relations with employee(s), set targets and monitor performance

* to keep the Women's Secretariat informed of relevant actions

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE WOMEN'S SECRETARIAT

- * to provide a means for lesbians working within a mixed or a lesbian organization to communicate at an international level
- * to promote the universal visibility of lesbians
- * to promote the equality of lesbians within the ILGA as well as outside it
- * to carry out tasks allocated to it by lesbians at the Annual Conference

IMPORTANT NOTE

On the following pages you will find a proposed Constitutional amendment which would considerably alter the current situation. Although this has to be approved by the upcoming Annual Conference, and it is thus unknown at this moment whether the ILGA will be operating under a revised constitution, members should read the amendment carefully and consider the desirability of taking up one of the proposed topical or regional secretariat posts.

ANY QUESTIONS?

If your group is interested in standing for election, but needs clarification on some aspect of the above, you may contact the appropriate secretariat and also the Secretaries General. It is a responsibility of the secretariats to inform candidates about all matters associated with hosting a secretariat. They will therefore be glad to assist you with any information you require.

WORLD CONFERENCE

At the Secretariats' Committee Meeting in December it was decided that time on the first day of the World Conference in Barcelona should be reserved for workshops on gender issues and issues of race. Anyone interested in facilitating a workshop on gender or race related issues at the Conference should contact Micha Ramakers, the Information Secretary, before 1 May.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR 1993

APRIL

10-11 ILGA Secretariats' Committee Meeting, London, UK

15-16 2nd European Congress AIDS and Palliative Care, Lyon, France

15-18 7th Regional ILGA Conference for Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Vienna, Austria

25 March on Washington for L/G/B Equal Rights & Liberation, Washington DC, USA

MAY

30 April - 3 May 13th International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews, London, UK

* 13th International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews, London, UK

* NY International Festival of L/G Films, New York, USA

* AIDS Walk/New York, USA

27-31 10th Southern Women's Music & Comedy Festival, Hendersonville, NC, USA

29-31 INt'l Mr Leather Contest, Chicago, USA

JUNE

* Lesbian and Gay Pride festivals in many cities around the world (espec. 26-27 June)

7-11 IXth International Conference on AIDS and IVth STD World Congress, Berlin, Germany

12-14 Gay and Lesbian Immigration Task Force, Second National Conference, Melbourne, Australia

14-25 World Conference on Human Rights, United Nations, Vienna, Austria

JULY

2-4 14th Annual Conference of the G/L Parents Coalition Int'l, Orlando, USA
2-4 National L/G Health Convention and HIV/AIDS Forum, Washington DC, USA
5-8 Regimes of Sexuality conference, Canberra, Australia

10-17 National Convention of Black and White Men Together, Washington DC, USA

11-17 15th Annual ILGA World Conference, Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain 12-15 16th General Convention, Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, Phoenix, USA 21-25 15th National Lesbian and Gay Health Conference & 11th Annual AIDS/HIV Forum, Houston, USA

AUGUST

2-4 1st European Conference of People With a Disability, Maastricht, The Netherlands

29 30th Anniversary of Jobs and Freedom March, "I have a dream" - Rev. Martin L. King, Washington DC, USA

SEPTEMBER

* International Council, Amnesty International

OCTOBER

8-10 12th Annual Conference, International Association of L/G Pride Coordinators, Houston, USA 11 National Coming Out Day, USA

NOVEMBER

* 6th Creating Change Conference, NGLTF, Washington DC area, USA

DECEMBER

1 World AIDS Day 1 Day Without Art 27-31 16th European Regional Conference, ILGA, London, UK

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

The 13th International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews will be held in London from 30 April to 3 May. Around 400 people are expected to participate.

The organizers will offer not only over 50 workshops (themes include Lesbians and Gay Men and the Holocaust; Jewish Lesbian and Feminist History in the UK; Creating New Rituals and Ceremonies, etc.), but also parties, cabaret, optional day-trips, a Bat/Barmitzvah Ball and a Silver Service Friday night meal.

The organizers will provide a women only space. All conference rooms are wheelchair accessible. Non-Jewish partners are welcome. A creche will run for children under ten.

For more information, write to BM/Thirteenth Conference, London WC1N 3XX, UK.

PINK LINK

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

GAYA Nusantara, the working Group for Indonesian Lesbians and Gay Men (an ILGA member) has changed its address. It is now: Gaya Nusantara, Jalan Mulyosari Timur 46, Surabaya 60112, Indonesia.

It has also asked us to inform readers of the ILGA Bulletin that they can place a contact ad in Gaya Nusantara magazine for free by writing to the above address. For those who read Indonesian, an annual subscription (six issues) costs Rps 50,000 (US\$ 25).

APPEAL FOR COPIES OF ANTI-DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION

In May 1993 the Brazilian Parliament will begin to consider proposals for amendments to the Federal Constitution to be voted in October 1993.

The Brazilian Homosexual Movement will present its case to Parliament for the inclusion of the express prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of SEXUAL ORIENTATION in the Brazilian Federal Constitution in the section dealing with the Rights of the Individual.

A previous attempt, in 1987, to include this prohibition in the Federal Constitution was defeated by 429 to 130 votes. An analysis of the speeches of the members revealed amongst others the following preoccupations:

- the lack of legal precedent;

- uncertainty as to the meaning of 'sexual orientation' (confusion with sexual education/instruction);

- concern as to the consequences/implications of its inclusion in the Constitution;

- the presupposition that homosexuality is an illness.

Included in the information we have so far compiled in support of our case are:

- a survey of the laws of the Brazilian States which reveals the prohibition of discrimination for reasons of sexual orientation in two states.
- a survey (as yet incomplete) of the laws of the Brazilian municipalities which reveals the prohibition of discrimination for reasons of homosexuality in 71 municipalities;

 copies of the Human Rights Codes of Ontario, Quebec, Yukon and Manitoba, kindly provided by the Canadian Gay Archives.

WE URGENTLY REQUEST THE FOLLOWING:

- 1. Copies of anti-discriminatory legislation which includes the specific phrase 'sexual orientation'.
- Copies of dictionary definitions of the expression 'sexual orientation'.
- 3. Copies of resolutions removing

classification 302.0 of the World Health Organization's International Classification of Diseases from:

- a. your own country's use of this classification.
- b. the removal from the WHO's own classification.
- 4. Any other information specifically referring to sexual orientation which can be relevantly presented to the Parliamentary Sub-Commission dealing with our proposal.

Notes:

- 1. Copies must be photocopies of the original and the source must be clearly evident on the copy.
- 2. It would be of enormous help if this information could be provided in English, French, Spanish or Portuguese.

Correspondence to:

Toni Reis/David Harrad Grupo Dignidade Caixa Postal 1095 80001-970 Curitiba PR Brazil

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Homosexuality: A European Community Issue by Kees Waaldijk and Andrew Clapham (eds.)

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Belgium

RELEVANT

Relevant is compiled by HOMODOK, the Documentation Center Homosexuality at the University of Amsterdam. Entries marked with an * are available at HOMODOK.

HOMODOK also offers other services to those involved in lesbian and gay research, and hosts the ILGA Archives. For more information, contact HOMODOK, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, NL-1012 DK Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Phone: + 31 20 525 26 01, Fax + 31 20 525 30 10.

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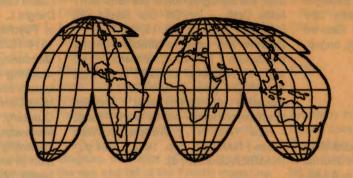
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