

## Chapter Two: Activist Agendas and Visions before Stonewall (1965-1969)

### Documents 19-26: Homophile Movement Debates, 1965-1966

The documents reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* are “The Year Ahead: A Forecast,” *Mattachine Review*, Jan. 1965, 19-22; Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, “Does Research into Homosexuality Matter?” *The Ladder*, May 1965, 14-20; Florence Conrad [Jaffy], “Research Is Here to Stay,” *The Ladder*, July 1965, 15-21; “Positive Policy,” *Eastern Mattachine Magazine*, May 1965, 23-24; Franklin E. Kameny, “Editorial: On Picketing,” *Eastern Mattachine Magazine*, July 1965, 20-21; East Coast Homophile Organizations, July Fourth demonstration flier, 4 July 1965, reprinted in Kay Tobin [Lahusen], “Picketing: The Impact & the Issues,” *The Ladder*, Sep. 1965, 4-8; Richard Conger [W. Dorr Legg], Editorial, *ONE*, Sep. 1965, 4; “Interview with Ernestine,” *The Ladder*, June 1966, 4-11. For related sources, see Kay Tobin and Barbara Gittings, “Part Four: ‘Act or Teach?’” *The Ladder*, Feb. 1965, 13-17; Franklin E. Kameny, “Appeal!” *Drum*, June 1965, 30, 32; Franklin E. Kameny, “Emphasis on Research Has Had Its Day,” *The Ladder*, Oct. 1965, 10-14, 23-26; “Highlights from ECHO Conference Speeches,” *Tangents*, Nov. 1965, 11-13; Editorial, *Mattachine Midwest Newsletter*, Dec. 1965, 7; “Homosexual’s Worst Enemy,” *Cruise News & World Report* Jan. 1966, 1; Editorial, *Tangents*, Jan. 1966, 2; Franklin Kameny, “Readers on Writers,” *ONE*, Feb. 1966, 17-19; Gene Damon, “Together—Toward A Common Goal,” *Tangents*, Mar. 1966, 16-18; “National Conference Adopts Statement, Launches Projects,” *Mattachine Midwest Newsletter*, Mar. 1966, 5; “Homophile Planning Conference: Agreement in Kansas City,” *Cruise News & World Report*, Apr. 1966, 2-3; “U.S. Homophile Movement Gains National Strength,” *The Ladder*, Apr. 1966, 4-5; Clark P. Polak, “Homophile Conference,” *Drum*, Apr. 1966, 25-26; Del Martin, “Who Is A Homophile?” *The Ladder*, Sep. 1966, 14-15.

### Documents 27-28: Homophile Sexual Radicalism, 1965-1967

The documents reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* are Clark P. Polak, “The Homophile Puzzle,” *Drum*, Dec. 1965, 13-17, 26-27 and Jan. 1966, 8-11; Clark Polak, *Janus Society Newsletter*, Sep. 1966, 1-2. For related sources, see Clark Polak, “From the President,” *Janus Society Newsletter*, Jan. 1965, 1-2; Clark P. Polak, “The Legacy,” *Drum*, May 1965, 2; Clark P. Polak, “The Responsibility,” *Drum*, Aug. 1965, 3, 30; Clark P. Polak, “Homophile Conference,” *Drum*, Apr. 1966, 25-26; Richard Conger and Sidney Rothman, “Second National Planning Conference Discusses the Homophile Movement,” *Tangents*, Aug. 1966, 4-8; “What Is To Be Done?” *Citizens News*, Oct. 1966, 1; Clark Polak, *Janus Society Newsletter*, Dec. 1966, 1-2; Clark Polak, “What Organized Homosexuals Want,” *Sexology*, Jan. 1967, 378-380.

### Documents 29-30: Homophile Revolution and Gay Power, 1965-1968

The documents reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* are Bill Beardemphl, “President’s Corner,” *Vector*, Sep. 1965, 2; William E. Beardemphl, “A Challenge to San Francisco,” *The Ladder*, Oct. 1966, 14-15.

For related sources, see A. Cecil Williams, "On Getting and Using Power," *Vector*, Jan. 1965, 4, 9, 10; Bill Beardemphl, "On Leadership," *Vector*, Jan. 1965, 2; Bill Beardemphl, "President's Corner," *Vector*, Dec. 1965, 2; Bill Beardemphl, "President's Corner," *Vector*, Aug. 1966, 2; Bill Beardemphl, "President's Column," *Vector*, Sep. 1966, 2; "SIR President Speaks," *Citizens News*, Oct. 1966, 10; "Attorney Hallinan Advocates 'Gay Power,'" *Vector*, Nov. 1966, 1; W. E. Beardemphl, "Public Sex Is Sex Is Sex Is Sex," *Vector*, June 1967, 17; Cindy Claire Lewis, "Gay Power," *Vector*, July 1967, 21; "U.S. Capital Turns on to Gay Power," *Los Angeles Advocate*, Sep. 1967, 1; Jim Skaggs, "The President's Corner," *Vector*, Mar. 1968, 6; Larry Littlejohn, "The President's Corner," *Vector*, July 1969, 14.

### **Document 31: Homosexual Bill of Rights, 1968**

The document reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* is North American Conference of Homophile Organizations, "Homosexual Bill of Rights," 17 Aug. 1968, reprinted in *Los Angeles Advocate*, Oct. 1968, 6.

For related sources, see "Homosexuals Ask Own Bill of Rights," *Chicago Daily News*, 13 Aug. 1968; Stephen Donaldson, "Homophile Conference Votes Sweeping Changes," *Los Angeles Advocate*, Sep. 1968, 2, 24; W. E. Beardemphl, "Conference Trip at Trip A Bummer," *Vector*, Sep. 1968, 5, 28; Ron Warren, "The Warren Report," *Vector*, Sep. 1968, 6; Richard Gayer, "The NACHO—Present and Future," *Vector*, Sep. 1968, 7, 30; Larry Littlejohn, "The President's Corner," *Vector*, Sep. 1968, 7; Stephen Donaldson, "NACHO Debates National Structure, Chooses Officers," *Los Angeles Advocate*, Oct. 1968, 2, 6, 7; W. E. Beardemphl, "Parries and Thrusts," *Vector*, Oct. 1968, 8; Editorial, *Tangents*, Oct. 1968, 2; "Tangents," *Tangents*, Oct. 1968, 22-26.

### **Documents 32-34: Homophile Feminism, 1966-1968**

The documents reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* are Shirley Willer, "What Concrete Steps Can Be Taken to Further the Homophile Movement?" *The Ladder*, Nov. 1966, 17-20; Del Martin, "The Lesbian's Majority Status," *The Ladder*, June 1967, 23-25; A. B. [Ada Bello], "The Masculine-Feminine Mystique," *Daughters of Bilitis Philadelphia Newsletter*, Nov. 1967, 1-2.

For related sources, see "Purpose of the Daughters of Bilitis," *The Ladder*, Jan. 1965, 2; L. E. E., "The Invisible Woman," *The Ladder*, June 1965, 4-8; Martha Shelley, "On Marriage," *The Ladder*, Oct. 1968, 46-47.

### **Document 35: Queer Street Activism, 1966**

The document reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* is J. P. [Jean-Paul] Marat, "The Views of Vanguard," *Cruise News & World Report*, Oct. 1966, 10.

For related sources, see "Young Rejects Form Own Organization," *Cruise News & World Report*, July 1966, 1; "Statement of Purpose for Vanguard," *V*, Oct. 1966, 1; Jean-Paul Marat, "On Prejudice," *V*, Oct. 1966, 2; Laurence Tate, "Exiles of Sin, Incorporated," *Berkeley Barb*, 11 Nov. 1966, 5.

### **Document 36: Bisexual Activism, 1967-1969**

The document reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* is Keith St. Clare, "Bisexuality," *Vanguard* (1.9), 1967, 25-26, 28.

For a related source, see David Radford, "Bisexuality," *Vector*, Apr. 1969, 13-14, 25.

### **Documents 37-41: Trans Activism, 1965-1969**

The documents reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* are "Purpose of Transvestia," *Transvestia* (no. 34), 1965; Susanna Valenti, "I Hate Men: A Diversion by a Male Transvestite," *The Ladder*, May 1965, 24-26; Western Regional Planning Conference of Homophile Organizations, "Homophile Movement Policy Statement," *Vector*, May 1967, 3; Virginia Bruce [Prince], "The Expression of Femininity in the Male," *Journal of Sex Research* 3, no. 2 (May 1967): 129-139; "Purposes and Progress," *Erickson Educational Foundation Newsletter*, Spring 1969, 1.

For related sources, see Larry Carlson, "The Wearing of Drag," *Vector*, Apr. 1967, 16-18; W. E. Beardemphl, "Drag—Is It Drab, Despicable, Divine?" *Vector*, May 1967, 13.

### **Documents 42-45: Gay Power and Gay Revolution, 1968-1969**

The documents reprinted in *The Stonewall Riots* are "Hymnal Makes Bow," *The New York Hymnal*, Feb. 1968, 1-2; "Happiness Is A Button," *The Insider: Newsletter of the Mattachine Society of Washington*, Feb. 1969, 1; Leo E. Laurence, "Gay Revolution," *Vector*, Apr. 1969, 11, 25; Leo E. Laurence, "Gay Power's Invincible Rise," *Berkeley Barb*, 20 June 1969, 11.

For related sources, see Editorial, *Hymnal*, Feb. 1968, 3; Editorial, *Hymnal*, Apr. 1968, 2; Larry Littlejohn, "The President's Corner," *Vector*, Nov. 1968, 9; Gary Patterson [Leo E. Laurence], "Gay Is Good," *Vector*, Nov. 1968, 5, 27; Leo E. Laurence, "My Boss Knows," *Vector*, Jan. 1969, 13, 29; "Homo Revolt: 'Don't Hide It,'" *Berkeley Barb*, 28 Mar. 1969, 5, 23; Leo Laurence, Editorial, *Vector*, Mar. 1969, 4; "Homo Mag Editor Vows to Hold Out to the End," *Berkeley Barb*, 4 Apr. 1969, 11; Carl Wittman, "Politics and the Individual," *Committee for Homosexual Freedom Newsletter*, 22 Apr. 1969, 2; Jerry Weiss, "Why Are We Rocking the Boat?" *Committee for Homosexual Freedom Newsletter*, 29 Apr. 1969, 2; Gale Whittington, "The Male's Emergence," *Vector*, Apr. 1969, cover, 16-17; Jim Hicks, "The Individual and Politics," *Committee for Homosexual Freedom Newsletter*, 6 May 1969, 2; Aubrey Bailey, "On Homosexual Militancy," *Committee for Homosexual Freedom Newsletter*, 6 May 1969, 2; Aubrey Bailey, "The Worm Has Turned," *Committee for Homosexual Freedom Newsletter*, 20 May 1969, 2; Ed Jackson, "A Poor Choice of Words," *Los Angeles Advocate*, June 1969, 25; Larry R. Littlejohn, "President's Corner," *Vector*, June 1969, 6.