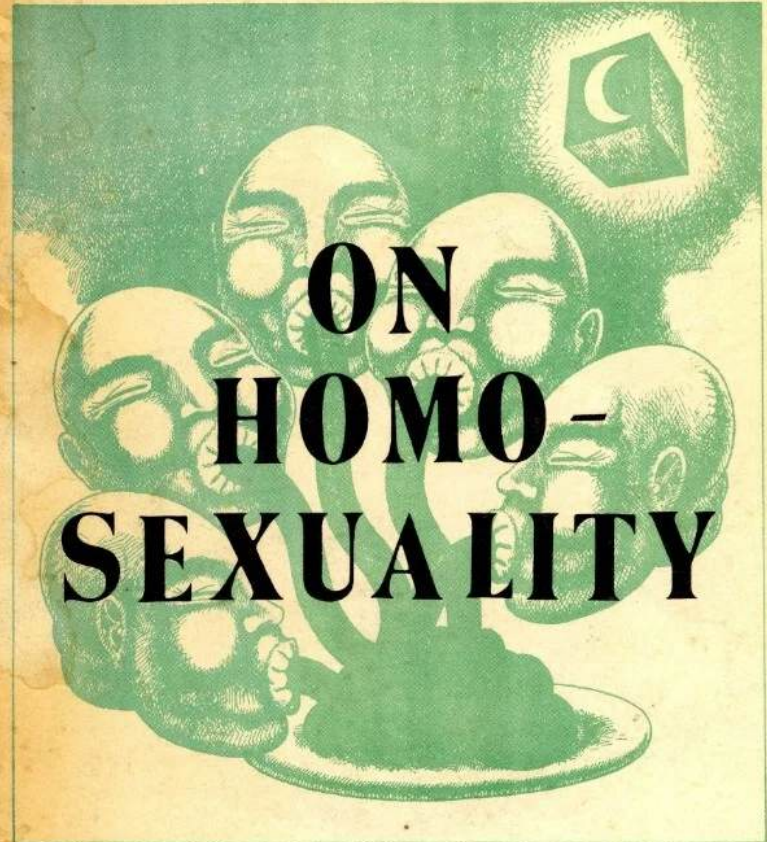


ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN



THE COMPILERS OF THIS PAMPHLET NEITHER INVESTED
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Revolutionary Union



*A Stalino - Leninist Guide
to Love and Sex*

NOTE: This pamphlet is a response to male-domination in the East/West social systems of capital accumulation. It is produced from a male perspective and thus contains conscious and unconscious emphasis on the male viewpoint, but the sexism of stalino-leninist ideology can hardly be obscured by a defective presentation.

Leninism, like corporate capitalism, has the notion that persons are "things" to be controlled, manipulated, bought and sacrificed to maintain and support a present or future ruling group. Leninist vanguard parties, in power or out, almost universally condemn love for one of the same sex as a transitory byproduct of capitalism, instead of seeing it as one basic way of relating to people. "Socialist" states recognize that the breakdown of heterosexuality and the monogamous ideal will threaten the breakdown of the family (that "factory for the reproduction of dominant cultural patterns" -- Reich), and with it threaten these states with a population no longer held in check by authoritarian conditioning and respect for power and tradition. A growing few leninist sects in the Western imperialist countries already consider recruitment from and "infiltration" of the gay liberation movement as a potential method for building their organizations. Obviously this tactic will succeed only to the extent that gay organizations follow the leninist model (dogma, hierarchy, manipulation) and to the extent that their members are colonized by bourgeois and leninist behavior patterns (acceptance of intellectual/moral/physical authority, puritanism, uncritical obedience). Similarly, the still-marginal trend in Western society to end legal and social oppression of homosexuals is widening -- but only to the extent that homosexuals adopt the moral values of straight society, play the roles, accept the "right" of straight society to reproduce itself, in other words restrict gay liberation to the bedroom.

The capitalists want to make us believe that if we are not happy with life it is because we are at fault for failing to get a satisfying job and for failing to practice the bourgeois ethical code. The leninists want to make us believe that their Workers' Government is a big improvement over the capitalist way of running things. Nonetheless, we who sell our time to either aren't making decisions, either about how we go about our jobs or whether what we're producing or doing is even worth producing or doing. We fail to rebel against these conditions in part because we have been conditioned since birth to play narrow sexual roles and to accept the legitimacy of parental and social authority. If people really were free and happy, would they seek self-fulfillment, for example, in (1) participating in a global war industry, (2) converting millions of trees into millions of tons of paper for advertising and administrative purposes, (3) being salespeople or East/West bureaucrats to push that same paper around, (4) being academic apologists for the necessity and virtue of the above activities? The fact that everywhere we are willing to play these and many other roles for global capitalism shows how little control we actually have over our lives.

Are we to overthrow East/West control of our personal relationships without overthrowing that same control of our social-productive lives?? One is impossible without the other, just as there is an indissoluble link between love and creativity. Down with the Mao Tse-tung/Pepsi Cola/Billy Graham axis!

April, 1975

address to those who think themselves Normal

You do not feel that you are oppressors. You screw like everyone else, it's not your fault if there are sick people or criminals around. You can't help it, you say, since you are tolerant. Your society -- for if you screw like everyone else, then it is yours -- has treated us as a social plague for the State, as the object of scorn for true men, as the subject of fear for mothers. The same words that are used to designate us are your worst insults.

Have you ever thought of what we feel when you string these words together: "cocksucker, ass hole, fairy, queer"? when you say to a woman "Dyke"? You protect your daughters and your sons from our presence as though we were disease bearers.

You are individually responsible for the vile mutilation that you have made us undergo by reproaching us our desire. You who want a revolution, have wanted to impose upon us your repression. You fought for the Blacks, you treated the pigs like cocksuckers, as though there didn't exist a worse insult.

You, worshippers of the proletariat, have en-



couraged with all your might the maintenance of the virile image of the worker; you have said that revolution would be the work of a manly, rugged proletariat.

Do you know what it is like, for a young worker, to be a closet homosexual? Do you know, you who believe in the virtuous influence of the factory, what the person who is treated as a faggot, by his friends at work, goes through?

We know, because we know one another, because we alone can know. We are, with women, the moral door-mat on which you wipe your conscience.

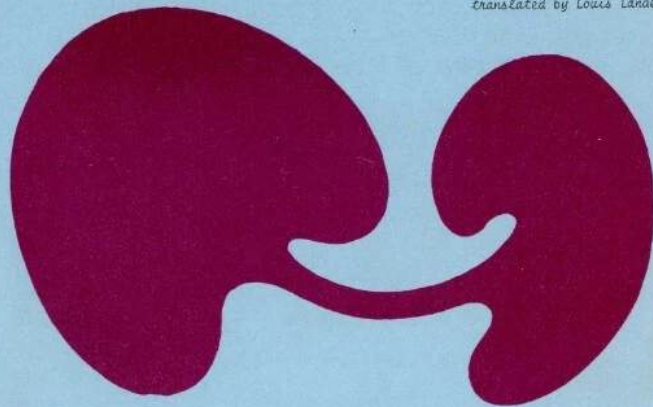
We are saying here that we've had enough, that you won't smash our faces any longer, because we will defend ourselves, that we will lead an offensive on your racism against us even as far as language.

We are saying more: we will not stop at defending ourselves, we are going to attack.

We are not against "straights", but against "straight" society. You ask: "What can we do for you?" You can't do anything for us as long as each one of you remains the representative of straight society, as long as you refuse to see all the secret desires that you have repressed. You can't do anything for us as long as you don't do anything for yourselves.

Front Homosexuel d'Action Revolutionnaire

translated by Louis Landerson



ON HOMOSEXUALITY Revolutionary Union

The following is the R.U. position on homosexuality and gay liberation. Our position on homosexuality and the gay liberation movement starts from an analysis of the concrete conditions of life in the U.S.A. today. The problem we direct ourselves to is what is the correct path to follow if we are to defeat imperialism and establish socialism in this country, and what role will homosexuals and gay liberation play in the revolutionary struggle. We will deal first with our analysis of gay liberation.

The U.S.A. is an imperialist power on the decline. It is being attacked by rising revolutionary movements throughout the world and within the U.S.A. itself and it is facing increased competition from other imperialist powers. To maintain its wealth and power, the ruling class is forced to increase its oppression and exploitation at home. Although [it] hits hardest on Third World and working class people, it is felt by almost everyone, including large sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The alienation that people living in capitalist society already feel is greatly intensified. The ruling class attempts to hold back the advancing revolutionary movement by increasing the contradictions between white and Third World



"You must be a man, and only a man."

---Fidel Castro, to launch purge of homosexuals, 1965

Le Monde, May 15/16, 1966, p. 4

ARTICLE 154-a

Sexual intercourse between two men (homosexuality) is punished by deprivation of liberty from 3 to 5 years. The same, if committed by using violence or by abusing the subordinate position of the victim, is punished by deprivation of liberty from 5 to 8 years.

Statutes of Austria (Criminal Code), Ministry of Justice of the U.S.S.R., 1929, p. 76



forefront of our lives. It is a serious task. "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay or painting a picture." Because homosexual relationships require so much time we have found that homosexuals have had an extremely difficult time meeting the strenuous requirements of a communist organization and they have often put unnecessary burdens on their comrades.

Because we put class struggle first, we are opposed to all relationships which are seen by the people in them as the main source of their well being or as a source of personal salvation. It is extremely difficult to have totally fulfilling relationships in this society and any attempt to have one must be a fulltime job. As things exist now, given the prevalent conditions of relationships under capitalism, we see that monogamous heterosexual relationships are by far the most favorable for providing the grounds for struggle, respect and love. And it is within such relationships that Communists can best devote their lives to the enormous task ahead. It is important for us to deal with the reality that



Koreans generally have beautiful voices, and it is really terrible to hear a good-looking girl make hoarse sounds.

On Creating Revolutionary Literature and Art, Kim Il-Sung, 1972, p. 23

...[The opera *A True Daughter of the Party*] portrays the heroic exploits of a nurse, Kang Yon Ok, during the Korean war of 1950-53...Kang finally earns membership in the Korean Workers (Communist) Party, only to die while protecting others during an American air raid.

The nurse's dying words are: "Comrade party cell chairman, here's the monthly party fee!"... The opera reaches its climax with the nurse's death, the trooping of a huge red flag, a North Korean battle victory in the distance, tracer bullets, and a galvanic chorus -- "Every moment of our lives we will dedicate to our leader!"

New York Times, May 19, 1972, p. 3



The red sun rises in the east; the cheering and applause of the masses sound like thunder. Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao review the army of the great proletarian cultural revolution from Tian An Men Gate. They are full of energy and vitality. For Chairman Mao to be in such good health is the greatest happiness of the Chinese people and the people of the world.

now exists, with the material conditions which now exist. Utopian schemes for relationships such as bisexuality will only disrupt our work. We are not dealing with chimeras of the mind but with a powerful enemy. Perhaps in some future society bisexuality will blossom. That is not for us to decide, and we certainly can't base our lives and the revolutionary movement on such experiments. It is not a change in life style that will overthrow imperialism, but a united front led by the working class fighting in its material interests.

When homosexuality is raised to a principle, when the banner of "gay is good" is raised as a strategy for defeating imperialism, then it becomes a reactionary force retarding the struggle of the working class and of the people as a whole. This is born out in both the theory and the practice of the gay liberation movement.

There has been a lot of confusion about the relationship of women to the gay liberation movement. Much of this confusion is based on



HAVANA, May 27 (Reuters) The University of Havana has launched a campaign against homosexuality. Jaime Crombet, president of the University Student Federation, declared that inquests were going to be opened by discipline committees formed by the students themselves, and that those who were found guilty would be dismissed immediately. Some people believe that the campaign is not to be limited to the University of Havana, but must be extended into the artistic spheres, notably to those of the theater and dance. "What is at stake is an ideological battle against all forms of deviation in the heart of the University. Our goal is the elimination of all corrupted elements," added Mr. Crombet.

Le Monde, May 28, 1965, p. 3



the fact that many sections of the petty bourgeois women's movement of the sixties concentrated on the psychological aspects of the oppression of women, on the attitude of male chauvinism. Women's oppression was caused by sexist attitudes, by male chauvinist ideas which placed women (and men) in certain well defined roles. With such an analysis, parts of the women's movement began to see that gay people were equally oppressed by sexist attitudes and gay relationships equally distorted by oppressive roles. The oppression of women and gay people were seen as rooted in the same cause: sexism.

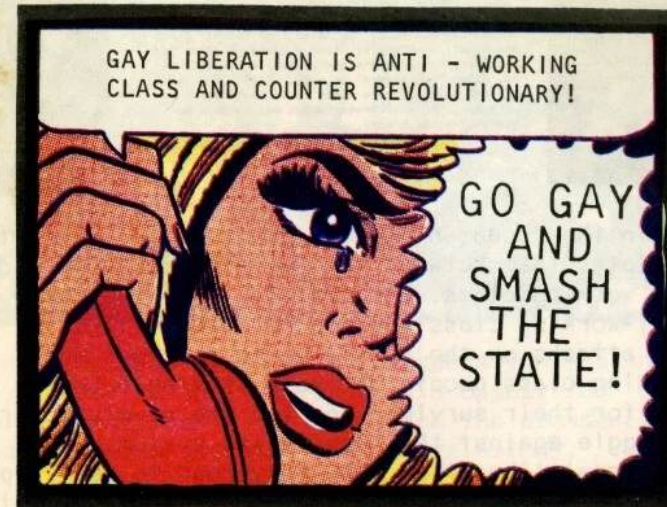
What this analysis left out was the primary cause of women's oppression, that is, the material cause of their oppression. That is why we speak of male supremacy to speak of the institutional forms of oppression, and male chauvinism as the ideology and psychological attitudes which are used to justify male supremacy. In Marxist terminology they are related as base to superstructure. The oppression of women developed historically out of the division of labor of ancient slave society and continues today



In China...

Does a tacitly "engaged" couple ever make love? "Instances of premarital relations are really rare," replied a doctor friend. "As for actual promiscuity, it is regarded as a deviation requiring social discipline or, in repeated cases, reform in confinement. Extramarital intercourse is uncommon but it occurs more often than premarital intercourse."

The Long Revolution, Edgar Snow, 1933, p. 46



with the division of labor in capitalist society. The oppression of women is based primarily on material oppression due to their position in production (reserve labor force, cheap labor, unpaid labor in the home) and reproduction (as mothers). Imperialism profits directly from the oppression and exploitation of women. This is not true for gay people. They are not materially oppressed as a group, and the denial of their democratic rights does not secure great profits for the ruling class.

The confusion of the fight for democratic rights with a liberation struggle is based on idealistic, metaphysical understanding of oppression. To raise the slogan of "go gay and smash the state" is to lead all people down the road of certain defeat. The gay liberation movement has no class analysis of imperialism, it claims to be above classes, attacking the "deeper" roots of oppression. The roots of oppression are summed

During the summer of 1965, for example, the revolutionary authorities...started a cruel campaign against homosexuals. They did not encumber themselves with theoretical explanations or justifications but simply drafted "guilty" and suspects alike into UMAP (Military Units to Aid Production). Most of this contingent was made up of intellectuals -- Khrushchev had already said that only a

homosexual could be an abstract painter -- and the purge at Havana University had been specially severe. But in contrast to what usually happens in socialist countries, the Cuban Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC), far from applauding the wisdom of the political leaders, had sent them a very bitter letter of complaint. Fidel heeded their appeal and the UMAPs were dissolved.

Guerrillas in Power, K.S. Katz, 1970, p. 395

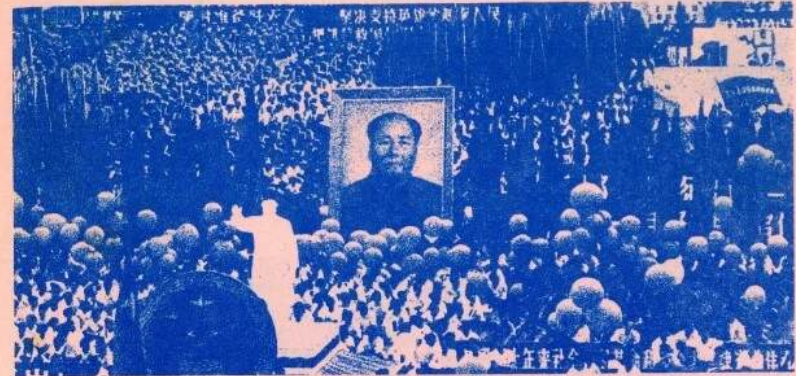
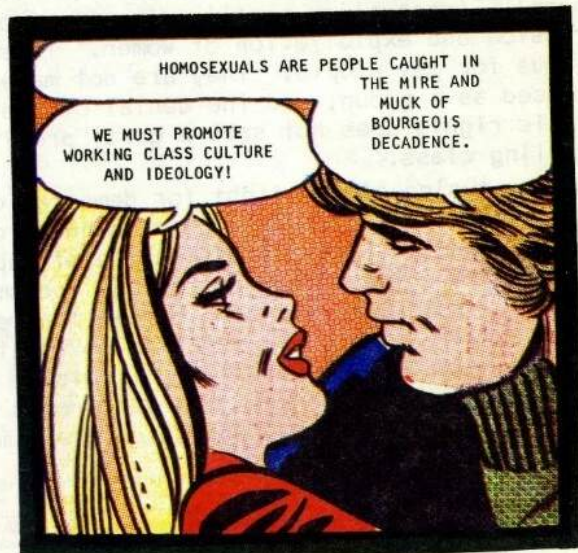


[Alexandra Kollontai] declared that for her a man was merely a necessity, like a glass of water for a thirsty person. And she drank from many glasses, often from several at once. Stalin despised her for this...Stalin never would shake hands with her. He will never forget nor condone her glass-of-water theory.

1 Mrs Stalin's Bodyguard, Achmed Amba, 1952, p. 72

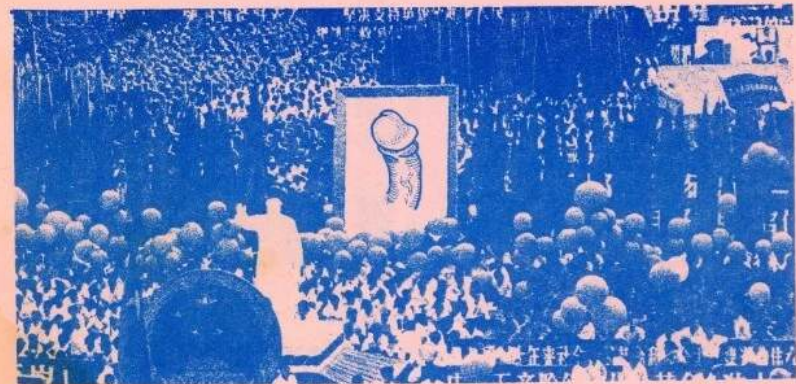


up in the fundamental contradiction in capitalist society, that between the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. In reality, gay liberation is anti-working class and counter revolutionary. Its attacks on the family would rob poor and working class people of the most viable social unit for their survival and for the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist system. The only real liberation, the only road to real happiness for homosexuals - like all people caught in the mire and muck of bourgeois decadence - is to eliminate the reactionary, rotting system that drives them to homosexuality; and to build a new society, under the rule of the working class, that promotes working class culture and ideology -



the principles of equality, cooperation and the dignity of collective labor - in opposition to selfishness, self-indulgence and the decadence of individualism and exploitative relations.

The practice of gay liberation bears out its anti-working class ideology. An example of this is a demonstration called by the National Organization of Women in N.Y.C. last August. Although N.O.W. is petty bourgeois it does have progressive aspects. At this rally, Third World women who had led the struggle of maids at Columbia University against discrimination in hiring and firing were scheduled to speak. Lesbian activists attacked the speakers' stand and seized the microphone because no Lesbians had been on the program. This destroyed the rally and held back the





I then pulled a gaffe by asking if sexual relations outside marriage were common in view of the trend to late marriage. Yu, glancing about in embarrassment at the other Chinese who had crowded into the dispensary out of curiosity, lost his temper with me for the first and only time and snapped: "That's a silly question." But he put it to the doctor and nurse, who said that extramarital relations were rare.

Journeys Between Two Climates, Seymour Topping, 1972, p. 292



unity of the women's movement.

Gay women also played a destructive role in N.Y. in recent planning for a rally around International Women's Day. All groups present agreed on only raising slogans concerning the democratic rights of women such as daycare and free abortion. The fragile unity which existed between the participating groups was destroyed when the gay women refused to take part in any demonstration which didn't "raise support for gay liberation" as a slogan. Many of the Third World women



"...Nearly 20% of [homosexuals] attempt suicide, [however] 60% do not want to be treated in any way because they consider their own condition to be normal.

"The most highly recommended method of treatment in such cases is a combination of hypnosis and small doses of apomorphine, which produces nausea. The patient is not told about the effect of the drug, but when it is at its height he is shown [homosexual] pictures and films to accompany the acute nausea. This aversion treatment is given several times but the results appear to be doubtful...At best it only produces a temporary cure."

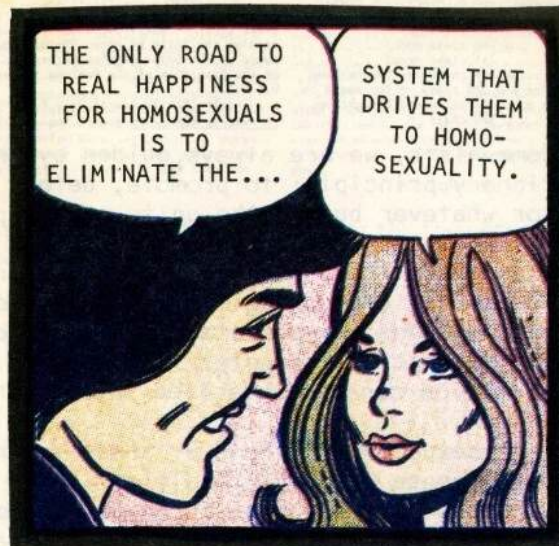
---Abram Moiseyevich Svyadosch in *Female Sexopathology*, Moscow, 1974

Gay News, Sept. 12-25, 1974, p. 5



in the group were dismayed at the blatantly anti-working class and national chauvinist character of the gay group.

The R.U. supports the democratic rights of gay people under capitalism but we do not feel that the Attica Brigade has to take a stand on this question. Although we support these democratic rights, we do not do so in an abstract way. We oppose the arbitrary use of laws against homosexuality and we oppose bourgeois methods of treating homosexuals as "criminals". We do not



uphold any so-called general abstract "right to be homosexual". To make a comparison with religion - we support the democratic rights of people to exercise freedom of religion, but we wouldn't support the right of some Jesus-freak sect to proselytize in working class neighborhoods, but we would support a Black Muslim being brutalized in prison. We support the democratic right of free speech, but we don't support the racial demagogues.



PEKING, Sept. 17 (AFP) A Chinese peasant who had himself sterilized "in order to consecrate all his energies to the construction of socialism in China," has been warmly congratulated by Mr. Chou-en-Lai in public according to *Communist Youth* (the official organ of the League of Young Communists) in its issue of September 1...

Communist Youth and Youth's Daily, another official publication of the League of Young Com-

munist, discuss the matter of birth control at great length and advise their readers to marry as late as possible, if they absolutely have to reject celibacy...The League of Young Communists also publishes numerous letters from both sexes that proclaim their decision to remain celibate and chaste.

Le Monde, Sept. 14, 1963, p. 3

SECTION III
 ARTICLE 12: To institute a "Motherhood Medal" -- 1st and 2nd class -- for award to mothers who have given birth to and brought up:
 5 children . . . 2nd class medal
 6 children . . . 1st class medal
 ARTICLE 13: To establish the Order "Motherhood Glory" -- 1st, 2nd and 3rd class -- for award to mothers who have given birth to and brought up:
 7 children . . . 3rd class

8 children . . . 2nd class
 9 children . . . 1st class
 ARTICLE 14: To establish that mothers who have given birth to and brought up 10 children shall receive the title of honor "Heroine Mother" with award of the Order Heroine Mother and certificate of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

---The Family Law of July 8, 1944
The Family in the U.S.S.R., Rudolf Schlegel, 1949, p. 371-372

As Communists, we are always guided by the revolutionary principle: to promote, defend and fight for whatever builds the unity of the proletariat and the people in struggle against monopoly capitalist rule; to expose, oppose and struggle against everything that divides, demoralizes and weakens the proletariat and the overall anti-imperialist struggle.

Our position can be summarized in three main points:

(1) Homosexuality in the U.S. today is an individual response to the intensification of the contradictions brought about by decaying imperialism; in particular it is a response to the contradiction between men and women which is rooted in male supremacist institutions and male chauvinist ideology. Because homosexuality is rooted in individualism it is a feature of petty bour-



LDS-ANGELES--A gay communist group was denied participation in an October [1974] demonstration in support of Puerto Rican independence. The Lavender & Red Union learned of the demonstration, sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, through a public leaflet, and requested that they be allowed to enter a gay contingent in the parade. The request was denied by the majority of supposedly socialist groups; those voting against were the Free Los Tres, La Raza Unida Party, and Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and not voting were the Socialist Workers Party and the October League. Two groups, the International Socialists and the New American

Movement, voted for inclusion of the gay contingent.
 The reactionary elements dragged out the usual hoary arguments: that the representative of PSP had never been confronted with the concept of a gay marxist-leninist, that LRU's presence would offend their constituency and them, and that gayness in Puerto Rico is a product of U.S. imperialism and bourgeois decadence and would disappear after liberation. The last is the same justification used by the ruling bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in their attempts to exterminate gays through "education" and other means.
Gay Liberation, Dec. 1974 - Jan. 1975, p. 5

geois ideology which puts forth the idea that there are individual solutions to social problems.

(2) Because homosexuality is based on petty bourgeois ideology and deals with the contradiction between men and women by turning its back on it, (at least in intimate personal relationships), homosexuals cannot be Communists, that is, belong to Communist organizations where people are committed to struggle against all aspects of their lives.

(3) Gay Liberation in its putting forth of gayness as a strategy for revolution in this country is a reactionary ideology and can lead us only down the road of demoralization and defeat.

