





Pride, Resistance, Joy: Teaching Intersectional LGBTQ+ Stories of California and Beyond

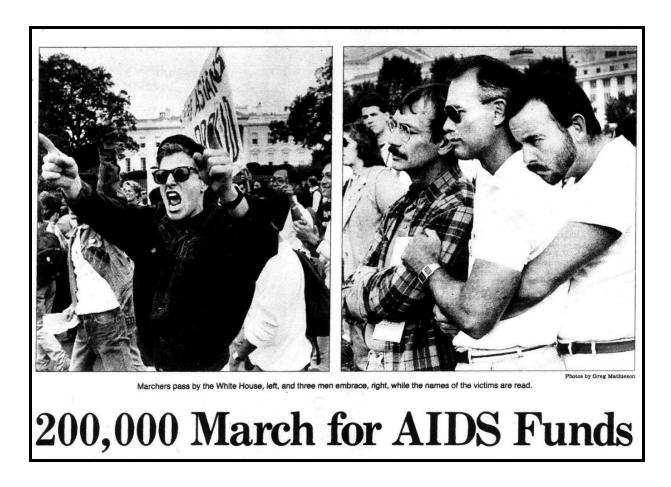
Lesson Plans for K-12 Teachers
aligned to California's History-Social Science Framework
in implementation of the FAIR Education Act

Inquiry Question: How did civil disobedience advance LGBTQ+ civil rights during the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s?

12th Grade U.S. Government



Pride, Resistance, Joy: Teaching Intersectional LGBTQ+ Stories of California and Beyond



Jonathan Mandell, "200,000 March for AIDS Funds," from *New York Newsday*, Oct. 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Inquiry Question: How did civil disobedience advance LGBTQ+ civil rights during the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s?

12th Grade U.S. Government











Inquiry Question: How did civil disobedience advance LGBTQ+ civil rights during the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s?

Authors: Emily Healy (she/they), Venice High School, LAUSD; Trevor Ladner (he/him), One Institute

California History-Social Science Content Standards (1998):

- HSS-PoAD-12.2: Students evaluate and take and defend positions on the scope and limits of rights and obligations as democratic citizens, the relationships among them, and how they are secured.
- ➤ HSS-PoAD-12.3.2: Explain how civil society makes it possible for people, individually or in association with others, to bring their influence to bear on government in ways other than voting and elections.
- ➤ HSS-PoAD-12.6.4: Describe the means that citizens use to participate in the political process (e.g., voting, campaigning, lobbying, filing a legal challenge, demonstrating, petitioning, picketing, running for political office).
- > HSS-PoAD-12.8.2: Describe the roles of broadcast, print, and electronic media, including the Internet, as means of communication in American politics.
- ➤ HSS-PoAD-12.10: Students formulate questions about and defend their analyses of tensions within our constitutional democracy and the importance of maintaining a balance between the following concepts: majority rule and individual rights; liberty and equality; state and national authority in a federal system; civil disobedience and the rule of law; freedom of the press and the right to a fair trial; the relationship of religion and government.

California Common Core State Standards (2014):

- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7: Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.
- > CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.WHST.11-12.1: Write arguments focused on discipline-specific content.
- > CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.WHST.11-12.9: Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.WHST.11-12.7: Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.4: Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.

California History-Social Science Framework Connections (2016):

"Do citizens have rights that the state must respect; if so, what are they? What is the role of civil dissent and when is it necessary?" (Ch. 17, p. 450).

"Structured classroom discussions and writing activities challenge students to discuss current events and issues of their choosing by analyzing various perspectives, researching causes and effects, evaluating policy options, and stating and supporting reasoned and evidence-based opinions... Topics for discussion may include... politics (such as... the fight against government corruption and efforts to improve government competence)... health (such as... health care reform, or responses to the spread of AIDS)... [and] the law (such as... discrimination against members of the LGBT community, or protection of civil rights in times of... national crisis)" (Ch. 17, p. 454-455).

California Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Connections (2022):

- > Challenge racist, bigoted, discriminatory, imperialist/colonial beliefs and practices on multiple levels; and
- Connect ourselves to past and contemporary social movements that struggle for social justice and an equitable and democratic society; and conceptualize, imagine, and build new possibilities for a post-racist, post-systemic racism society that promotes collective narratives of transformative resistance, critical hope, and radical healing (Intro. and Overview, p. 16).

Overview of Lesson:

In this lesson, students will explore the significance of civil disobedience in advancing the civil liberties, health care, and survival of LGBTQ+ people during the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s. Students will examine sources from the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1987) and ACT UP Los Angeles in groups through rotation stations. In doing so, each group will design a proposal for a new national civil rights march that they will present to the class. For a final assessment, students will craft a short essay responding to the inquiry question.

Materials:

- Key Concepts: Civil Disobedience and Nonviolent Direct Action (p. 6)
- Reading 1: Civil Disobedience in ACT UP (p. 7-10)
- > Reading 2: National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1987) (p. 11-12)
- > Sources 1A-D, 2A-F, 3A-D, 4A-D (p. 13-34)
- Rotation Stations Graphic Organizer (p. 35-50)

Sources:

Source 1A: DIGNITY/USA, "We Are a Gentle, Angry People, and We're Singing, Singing for our Lives," Nov. 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 1B</u>: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "'We, the People...' donation and organizing form," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 1C</u>: Tom Wilson Weinberg, "Walk on Washington," from the National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights' "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 1D</u>: ACT UP Los Angeles, "Bring the Spirit of Washington Home!," Oct. 1987. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 2A</u>: John Lorenzini (modified by Trevor Ladner), "AIDS & Civil Disobedience," from the National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights' "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March

on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 2B</u>: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "'OUT & OUTRAGED: Civil Disobedience at the Supreme Court' pamphlet," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 2C</u>: ACT UP Los Angeles, "Civil Disobedience Info Sheet, completed by Mark Rennebohm," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Source 2D: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "1,000 Volunteers Needed! PEACEKEEPER TRAINING SESSIONS," Oct. 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries; and National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "'Peacekeepers," adapted from Rocky Flats Action Group nonviolence manual," 1987. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 2E</u>: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "Possible Charges," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 2F</u>: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "Scenario and Logistics," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 3A</u>: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "Dealing with Racism and Classism during an Action, Arrest & Jail," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 3B</u>: Gran Fury, "WOMEN DON'T GET AIDS THEY JUST DIE FROM IT," 1991. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 3C</u>: Jessica Meredith Xavier (modified by Trevor Ladner), "Stonewall 25 Revisited: Queer Politics, Process Queens and Lessons Learned," from *TransSisters: The Journal of Transsexual Feminism*, Autumn 1994. Periodicals collection, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 3D</u>: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights (adapted from Ricky Sherover-Marcus, modified by Trevor Ladner), "Racism," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Source 4A: Chuck Stallard, "Arrests of ACT UP Los Angeles protestors during a sit-in protest at the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors," May 1989. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries; ACT UP Los Angeles, "Picket sign featuring an arrest of Mark Kostopoulos, postal worker and ACT UP Los Angeles co-founder, who died of AIDS complications," 1992. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries; and T.L. Litt, "Police arrest a member of ACT UP Los Angeles," Jan. 1990. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 4B: ACT UP Los Angeles, "PEOPLE WE KNOW ARE DYING," 1992. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.</u>

<u>Source 4C:</u> SILENCE=DEATH Project, "'SILENCE=DEATH,' featuring the pink triangle (turned right-side up) used to mark homosexual men in the Holocaust," 1987. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 4D</u>: Steve Abeyta, "The NAMES Project Quilt," c. 1987-1988. LGBTQ Poster collection, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries; and "Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt laid out on the National Mall

at the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation," April 1993. Photographs, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

<u>Source 0</u>: Keith Griffith, "Quality Health Care Is A Civil Right," from the National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights' "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Procedures

- 1. <u>Key Concepts</u>: Teacher will introduce the concepts of "civil disobedience," "just and unjust laws," and "direct actions," as defined by Martin Luther King, Jr (p. 6). Center for Nonviolent Social Change. Students reflect on prior knowledge of these concepts.
- 2. <u>Background Readings</u>: Teacher will introduce Reading 1 (p. 7-10) and Reading 2 (p. 11-12) to prime students on background knowledge for analyzing the primary sources. Students will discuss their responses, and teacher will check for understanding and address misconceptions. Teachers may also consider assigning one of the following media for pre-work:
 - Podcast: Sarah Schulman and Kendall Ciesemier, "How ACT UP Changed the Face of AIDS Activism," from ACLU, Oct. 2023.
 - Video: Inside Edition, "How ACT UP Flipped the Script on AIDS and Gay Rights," June 2021.
 - ➤ Video: PBS NewsHour, "In 'How to Survive a Plague,' Film Looks Back at First AIDS Activists," 2012.
- 3. <u>Modeling</u>: Teacher will go over the directions and expectations for the Rotation Stations, and check for understanding. Teachers will organize students into groups and pass out materials for the modeling activity and the day's rotation station(s). Teacher will model the Observe, Reflection, and Question strategy for Source 0, and check for understanding. Students will discuss their takeaways from Source 0, and teacher will address questions and misconceptions.
 - a. For each student: p. 35-36; 37-39, 41-42, 44-45, 47-48
 - b. For each group: p. 13-34, 40, 43, 46, 49-50

Formative Assessment:

4. Students will complete the Rotation Stations activity in groups. Each group will present.

Summative Assessment:

5. Students will be assessed by completing a short essay response (5-7 paragraphs) to the inquiry question: How did civil disobedience advance LGBTQ+ civil rights during the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s? Students must cite evidence from at least 6-8 primary sources.

Further Resources:

- > ACT UP New York, "ACT UP Oral History Project," 2002-2015.
- Elana Goldbaum, "Why and how did activists respond to the AIDS crisis of the 1980s?," from One Institute, 2018.
- > Facing History & Ourselves, "Paragraph 175 & The Origins of the Pink Triangle," June 2024.

- Library of Congress, "LGBTQ Activism and Contributions: Classroom Materials at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress."
- > One Institute, "Youspeak Radio," 2021-2024.

Key Concepts: Civil Disobedience and Direct Action

Source: The King Center, "Glossary of Nonviolence."

- ➤ <u>Civil Disobedience</u>: The act of openly disobeying an unjust, immoral or unconstitutional law as a matter of conscience, and accepting the consequences, including submitting to imprisonment if necessary, to protest an injustice.
- Just and Unjust Laws: A distinction made in deciding to engage in civil disobedience. A just law is created by both a majority and minority, and is binding on both. An unjust law is created by a majority that is binding on the minority, when the minority has no voice in creating the law. Dr.]Martin Luther] King, [Jr.] said, "A just law is a man-made code that squares with moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with moral law...One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly and with a willingness to accept the penalty."
- ➤ <u>Direct Action</u>: Nonviolent resistance to injustice. More than 250 forms of nonviolent direct action have been identified, including marches, boycotts, picketing, sit-ins and prayer vigils, to name a few.

Quickwrite: Using all three terms, explain a relevant example of these concepts from history or current events (3-5 sentences).

Reading 1: Civil Disobedience in ACT UP

Source: David Montalvo, "<u>How AIDS Activists Used 'Die-Ins' to Demand Attention to the Growing Epidemic</u>," from HISTORY, June 2021.

Question	Reading Notes
1. What is ACT UP, and why did it form?	
Where did the protest strategy of die-ins originate?	
3. Why did ACT UP use civil disobedience tactics, such as die-ins?	
4. Who did ACT UP target with their die-ins? Were they successful?	

How AIDS Activists Used 'Die-Ins' to Demand Attention to the Growing Epidemic

Protesters feigned mass death to shock and shame government, industry and the media into finally addressing the lethal disease.



As the AIDS crisis took hold in the 1980s, killing thousands of Americans and ravaging gay communities, the deadly epidemic went unaddressed by U.S. public health agencies—and unacknowledged by President Ronald Reagan—for years. In response, a political group called ACT UP emerged, deciding it needed to do something shocking to draw attention to the crisis and jolt government agencies, drug companies and the mainstream media into action.

So it began organizing protest events where masses of people lay down in a public space, feigning death.

"The strongest thing we can do is something in silence," declared writer, filmmaker and AIDS activist Robert Hilferty at a November 1989 meeting of ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power). "A die-in. A massive die-in."

Founded in 1987, ACT UP ultimately organized thousands of protests, with die-ins becoming a signature tactic. And while AIDS activists weren't the first to simulate death to call attention to lethal threats, the action became a powerful tool to show that, because the epidemic was being stigmatized and ignored, bodies were piling up. In ACT UP's case, "they forced social and cultural institutions to take responsibility for the AIDS deaths by having to physically move the protesters' bodies," says Matt Brim, professor of queer studies at City University of New York.



The History of Die-Ins

The AIDS die-ins emerged from a longer history of activism that made bodies the focal point of protest, such as suffragettes chaining themselves to railings and civil rights activists staging sit-ins.

One of earliest known references to the term "die-in" came nearly two decades prior to ACT UP, when environmentalists demonstrated on Earth Day, 1970, in Boston, to raise awareness about the deadly

impact of air pollution. About a month later, protesters in Seattle fell to the ground at a busy downtown intersection to oppose dangerous nerve gas shipments.

Since then, public die-in stunts have been used to decry everything from war and weapons testing to police violence and cycling deaths. To ratchet up the visual drama, some protesters have employed fake blood and bandages. Others brought coffins.

ACT UP: Fighting for Gay People's Lives

When playwright and LGBTQ activist Larry Kramer took center stage at the New York Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center on March 10, 1987, and delivered the rousing speech that helped launch ACT UP, the epidemic had entered its sixth year. The U.S. government had yet to approve the prescription sale of a single drug to treat AIDS, and the deaths were largely being ignored by the media. "Unless we fight for our lives, we shall die," Kramer wrote that month for the New York Native, a bi-weekly magazine aimed at the city's gay community. As a result, ACT UP worked urgently to train as many individuals as possible in civil disobedience tactics. As an unidentified activist in the documentary *United in Anger: A History of ACT UP* put it, "you don't always know when it's going to happen or when you'll want to do it."

Die-ins became important for ACT UP, Michael Bronski, author of *A Queer History of the United States for Young People* and professor of practice in media and activism at Harvard University, told HISTORY.com in an interview. That's because "there's a cultural hesitation to think about death—and the protest made it physical."

And AIDS activists knew their best chance to affect policies was by affecting public opinion—making the media, rather than politicians or chief executives, die-ins' primary targets. In *United in Anger*, an activist remembered how ACT UP clearly viewed civil disobediences, like die-ins, as a "safe tactic for making a stronger statement and as a way of getting media attention."

From Play-Acting Death to Conducting Public Funerals

In its first decade, ACT UP held thousands of demonstrations across the country and around the world. But not all die-ins focused on the same issue.

On October 11, 1988, ACT UP held its first national demonstration on the doorstep of the Food and Drug Administration, which activists perceived as slow to approve and release new drugs. In front of helmeted police officers guarding the building's entrances, some activists staged a die-in, holding tombstone-cutouts that



read, "DEAD FROM LACK OF DRUGS" and "VICTIM OF F.D.A. RED TAPE." Less than a year later, the F.D.A approved one other drug and expanded access to another.

Outside the Centers for Disease Control in Georgia, die-ins targeted the narrow definition of AIDS that encompassed diseases observed in gay men, but not those specific to women and IV drug users. "C.D.C. is killing women, redefine AIDS," activists chanted amid demonstrators sprawled on the sidewalk. In 1993, the C.D.C delivered AIDS activists a victory to their years-long campaign by adding CD4+ T-lymphocyte (T- cell) count to the definition, a count the C.D.C. viewed as having "clinical importance" in categorizing HIV-related conditions. The agency also added invasive cervical cancer to its list of AIDS-indicator diseases, an acknowledgement of the impact HIV was having on women.

Die-ins also occurred on Wall Street, targeting drug prices; at the vacation home of President George Bush, targeting national AIDS funding; at the National Institutes of Health; New York's Grand Central Station; and in Chicago and San Francisco, among other places and locations.

But in the fall of 1992, the theatricality of die-ins gave way to real artifacts of death.

On October 11, in a demonstration known as Ashes Action, activists gathered in Washington, D.C., some carrying the ashes and bone chips of loved ones who had died of AIDS to disperse over the White House lawn. Others carried corpses that rested in open-faced coffins.

Literally bringing real death to activism was the next logical thing to do, says Bronski. "It came out of frustration that things were not getting better quickly—or at all."

Die-Ins: Part of a Larger Strategy

ACT UP used civil disobedience, like die-ins, not only to vent frustration, but to strategically draw attention to its own proposals and presentations. In the *United in Anger* documentary, one of the group's activists succinctly summed up the strategy: "When we get arrested, we usually are aiming to get a meeting set up or deliver a set of demands."

"Any political movement has to be multifaceted, so that doing aggressive, in-your-face actions have to happen in tandem with people making arguments with politicians," says Bronski.



Their aggressive actions at the F.D.A. and the C.D.C., for example, helped activists gain meetings that ultimately moved the needle on their pursuit of an AIDS cure.

"Before AIDS and before ACT UP, all experimental medical decisions were made by physicians," Dr. Anthony Fauci of the National Institutes of Health told *New Yorker* magazine in 2002. "Larry [Kramer, founder of ACT UP], by assuring consumer input to the F.D.A., put us on the defensive at the N.I.H. He put Congress on the defensive over appropriations. ACT UP put medical treatment in the hands of the patients. And that is the way it ought to be."

Reading 2: National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1987)

Source: One Institute, "March on Washington and the NAMES Quilt," 2016.

Question	Reading Notes
1. What was the purpose of the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in 1987?	
2. What was the purpose of the NAMES Project Foundation AIDS Memorial Quilt?	
3. What was the impact of the March on Washington?	



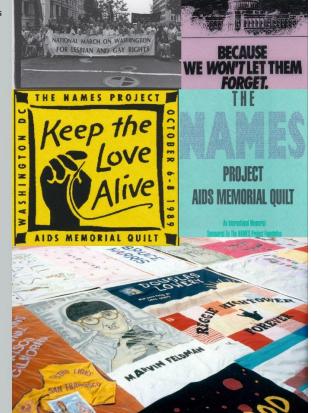
In 1986, the *Bowers v. Hardwick* U.S. Supreme Court decision upheld statutes criminalizing private sexual relations between same-sex partners, and the Reagan Administration's newly formed Commission on AIDS was in disarray. Recruiting from organizations nationwide, a steering committee proposed a March on Washington and articulated seven demands, including legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships, a repeal of laws criminalizing sodomy, a ban on discrimination, and massive increases in funding for AIDS education, research, and patient care. On October 11, 1987, the Second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Cay Rights drew about a half-million LGBTQ people and their allies.

On the National Mall, the NAMES Project Foundation AIDS Memorial Quilt was unveiled for the first time. The inspiration of Cleve Jones and other activists, the quilt is meant to express private grief through traditional craft in a publicly displayed and mobile memorial. The panels allowed individuals, families, and organizations to commemorate a partner, friend, or coworker whose life was cut short by AIDS. The names on the panels were read in a ceremony that lasted hours. After the march, the quilt was taken on a four-month tour, during which more panels were added, tripling its size. As of 2013, it measured 1.3 million square feet and memorialized more than 94,000 names. The project was the subject of the Academy Award-winning 1989 documentary *Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt*.

The march had a profound impact on the hundreds of thousands that attended. National Coming Out Day on October 11 was founded, and grassroots organizing was mobilized across the country. However, because most media outlets did not cover the event, most of the country never saw one of the largest civil rights marches in United States history or the largest community art project in the world.

(Top) Chuck Stallard photographer, ACT UP/Los Angeles Records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries, (Right side top) Lynn H. Ballen photographer, Jeanne Córdova Papers and Photographs, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries; (Right side bottom) Chuck Stallard photographer, ACT UP/Los Angeles Records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

One Institute is the oldest active LGBTQ+ organization in the United States and the independent community partner of ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



QUILT

D.C.



[.] This exhibition was made poassible through the generous support of Edith Windsor, Elizabeth, Koehler, and the City of West Hollyoowd.







Source 1A: DIGNITY/USA, "We Are a Gentle, Angry People, and We're Singing, Singing for our Lives," Nov. 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



Source 1B: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "'We, the People...' donation and organizing form," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

		t union, esta				91
A Co	nstitution	for the Unit	y to ed States o	f Ar 5	IE,	00
	Not "We.	the Republican	s"	-		
	Not "We.	the Christians.				
	Not even	"We, the patric	ts"			
		stitution says w				
	Lesbians	and gay men a	re people, to	0.		
	In Octob To protest. To	er we are going to march. And to sands. Maybe e	to our natio	n's capital		
	We go to	demand what under the law.	the Constitu	tion guar	antees.	
	Join us as	s we make Ame	rica a better	place to	livo	
	For all th	ie people.			****	
	100					
Check o	ne or more blo	ocks and mail to th		BEENE.	Policy	-
	made over 1977 11115, 1111	IN HETTI SELVING COMP. Block				
U I w	ant to help bui	TARRE ON A CO.	A management	ution:	my local com	mittee.
		1\$25 □\$50 □ sion. I'll see you in			er	
330000		you n	i vvasnington!			
Address_			A PROPERTY.			
MAKE C	HECKS DAVABLE			_State	Zip	-
MAILTE	IS COUPON TO	TO: MARCH ON WAS March On Washingto 7985 Santa Monto et	HINGTON	100		
		was a man a substitution.	vd. No. 109-415			

Source 1C: Tom Wilson Weinberg, "Walk on Washington," from the National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights' "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Walk on Washington

We're gonna take a walk to Washington Storm D.C. We're gonna climb the hill to Congress You and me We're gonna read the Constitution to the president We're gonna walk to Washington

We're gonna take a walk to Washington Cruise the Mall Surround the mighty obelisk Make it fall We're gonna paint the White House lavender Make the Oval Office quake We're gonna walk to Washington

There are dreams we've been chasin' Laws to disentangle We'll make waves in The Tidal Basin The Pentagon will be a Pink Triangle

We're gonna take a walk to Washington Claim the town Turn some regulations Upside down We're gonna march up to the Court House Tell those judges what to do We're gonna walk to Washington

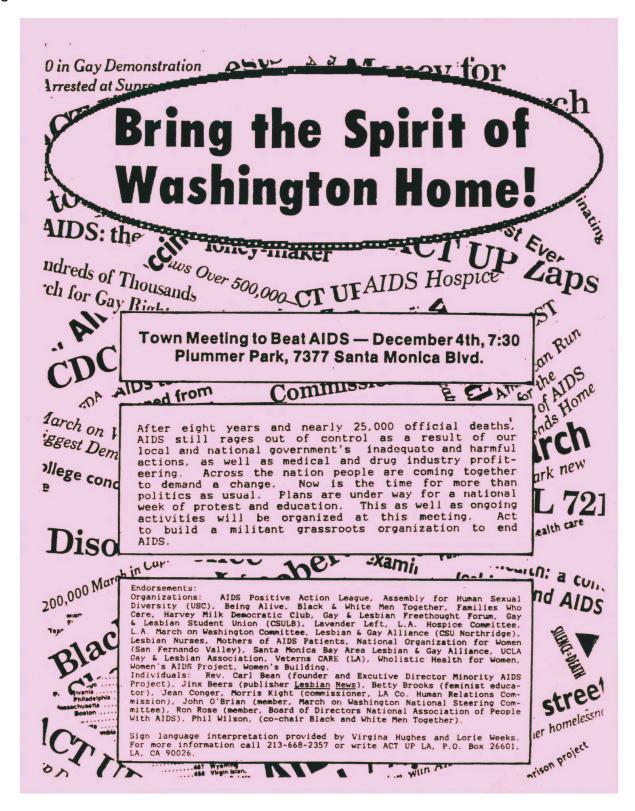
We will stride right up to Lincoln And ask him what he's got to say He'll say, "I've been sitting here thinkin And waiting four score years for this day"

We're gonna take a walk to Washington
It's our right
The time has passed for us to
Be polite
The Eleventh of October will go down in herstory
We're gonna walk to Washington (3x)

October eleven, nineteen eighty-seven Gonna walk to Washington (3x) Will you join us? Gonna walk to Washington

© Tom Wilson Weinberg, Ten Percent Review

Source 1D: ACT UP Los Angeles, "Bring the Spirit of Washington Home!," Oct. 1987. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



Source 2A: John Lorenzini (modified by Trevor Ladner), "AIDS & Civil Disobedience," from the National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights' "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



John Lorenzini, PWA chains himself to the San Francisco Federal Building, beginning the ARC/AIDS Vigil, still ongoing. 1985.

AIDS & Civil Disobedience

by John Lorenzini

There was a political beginning that November in 1984, as we sat in a livingroom. Many of the San Francisco gay community's leading strategists were there. We began to plan for a national agenda on AIDS. It would begin with grassroots organizations which would establish a public outcry that would shame the federal government into action. Most importantly, we realized that we needed to start at home with our own local federal representatives, senators and regional agencies.

San Francisco, unlike any other community, has had less of the frustrated, enraged protests seen in other cities because our city has responded to the AIDS crisis. People with AIDS have always been respected and nurtured. We have had a wealth of leadership within the People with AIDS Alliance, People with AIDS-San Francisco and from. new friends. In San Francisco, a larger variety of private, public and volunteer services have been available. We have had state and local commitments for education, research and services that has been the model for other areas. And, people with AIDS have been a vital part of the boards of directors of AIDS service organizations, the education programs and the AIDS Lobby in San Francisco

C.D. Handbook National Lesbian and Gay March on Washington 23

and Sacramento.

In 1983, as the first candlelight march was held, I entered my own person struggle around AIDS. At first, I locked myself away in shame. My anger was internalized in the form of depression, fear and failure. Then, my relationship of two years crumbled and was over. I was fired from my job because of AIDS. It had been okay for me to kick myself, but when others hit, I became angry and began to externalize that anger. Fortunately, through friends and counseling, it was anger channeled to effective use. I become involved with the People with AIDS Alliance (later, PWA-SF) and in the political arenas of the Alice B. Toklas and Harvey Milk Lesbian/Gay Democratic Club. Later, as Mobilization Against AIDS formed, I found a national focus.

It became clear that a challenge to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the agency most closely associated with AIDS, would be a vital start in trying to affect change in federal government policy. I began to dream of a protest and started talking to other people with AIDS about such a demonstration. No one seemed seriously interested and yet, it surprised me how quickly everyone began to know about my plans. It was time for serious planning and it was important to slow down the rumors and gossip so that a protest would not be sabotaged by the police.

Early on, an environmentalist and a nuclear war protester began to guide me in civil disobedience. Bill Blackburn's first priority was not gay rights, but a peaceful, nuclear-free and safe world. His experience in civil disobedience was the key to my safety in this scarey undertaking. I was to wear tennis shoes, and no leather boots, shoes or belt that might threaten the arresting officers. I was to respect the police and cooperate—they had their responsibilties and I had mine. If I had any identification on me, I could receive a fine and be released. If I had none, they would be forced to either release me or prosecute me. I decided to chain myself to the Health and Human Services Building during Lesbian/Gay Pride Week so that if they did decide to prosecute, all those at the

photo by Ellen Shub

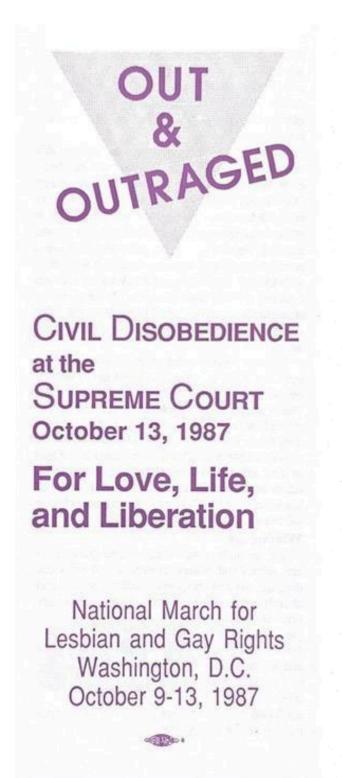
parade would know and the protest would not go unnoticed. Bill would be there with a t-shirt that would clearly identify me as a person with AIDS, and he would help chain me to the federal doorway.

My other advisor was my personal, straight physician, Dr. Paul Volberding. I clearly remember that afternoon with Paul in a stairwell on a cigarette break. I should protest where the federal government was most vulnerable. Yes, we needed more drug studies, but education was the critical issue—there was none being conducted. He would keep an eye out to follow up on any health needs if I was incarcerated for any length of time.

The chaining is history. The media was spotty, but George Miller, the Health and Human Services Regional Director did relay my protest message to HHS Secretary Margaret Heckler. Federal education money did get allocated in the next federal fiscal year. The chaining inspired more challenges to city, state and federal governments and to our movement; and we have accomplished much to be proud of.

As I write this, I find myself in an ever changing world. Two of the role players from the time of my civil disobedience have just died and I again feel alone with new people to teach, and hopefully, new people to become involved. There have been great leaders from the gay community who have been diagnosed with AIDS and there have been people with AIDS who have become great community leaders. And people have been involved—straight, gay and lesbian—who do not have AIDS and who have become invaluable in the struggle for a federal AIDS commitment that is both sane and humane. It is my greatest hope that even as times get more difficult, we who have AIDS will be proud, strong and defiant.

Source 2B: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "'OUT & OUTRAGED: Civil Disobedience at the Supreme Court' pamphlet," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



OUT AND OUTRAGED,

we will join together in protest at the Supreme Court

We act for love

because the Supreme Court has told us our love is

We act for life

because AIDS, queer-bashing, racism and womanhating are killing us

We act for liberation

We too are affected by rising racism and sexism which oppresses people of color and women; thereby the liberation of lesbians and gays is intricately linked to the struggles against racism, sexism and antisemitism. We realize that "none of us will be free until we are all free." We therefore call upon all of our sisters and brothers to actively confront racism on all levels both within our movement, and in the larger society. We demand an end to racist and sexist oppression, to all social, economic, judicial and legal oppression of people of every race, age, gender, transgenderal orientation, ability, class, ethnicity, faith, political ideology, and sexual orientation.

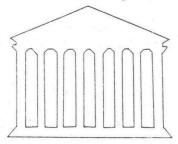
City Phone (Address	Name	_ 유 <u>교</u>	□ - ×	□la	□ C.I	
e (ess		Enclosed (checks to	ant to	man	D. Butt	want Enclos
			d is my Nationa □ \$25	orgar	on-viol	ons: \$	to tak
		ha b	donat March c	nize in	ence t	60 per	Please e part \$3 for
			tion to	my cc	rainer	100 or	e senc in a n the ac
			to help ashington,	mmur	; send	\$1 eac	more on-vio
State			Enclosed is my donation to help organize the action. (checks to National March on Washington, earmarked to "C.D.") \$10 \$25 \$75 \$100 \$100 Other	I want to organize in my community. Please contact me	I am a non-violence trainer; send me a trainer's packet	☐ C.D. Buttons: \$60 per 100 or \$1 each. Please send:	 □ I'm interested! Please send more information. □ I want to take part in a non-violence training. □ Enclosed is \$3 for the action handbook.
			ize the	ease c	traine	ase se	nation trainir ok.
Sp			actio	ontac	's pac	nd:	Ö.
2 3			, Ď	t me.	cket.		
		200					

UNITY STATEMENT

We are lesbians and gay men We have been building our communities, affirming our sexuality, uncovering how vital we are to the world we live in. Silencing, stereotypes, distortions and lies will not stop us. We are out and we are outraged. We are not going back.

Why the Supreme Court

We gather October 13, 1987, at the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C. By its actions in



Bowers v. Hard-wick, the Court embraces a legacy of prejudice. The decision's immediate effects are obvious: having sex makes us criminals. What

might be less obvious are its broader effects. This decision denies our humanity and subjects us to degradation, harassment, and violence. It hinders our struggle for basic civil rights, housing, health care, and employment. It makes it difficult, if not impossible, to retain custody of our children, and to provide foster and adoptive homes. By upholding repression against gay men and lesbians, the bigoted opinion of Justices White, Burger, Rehnquist, O'Connor, and Powell extends our country's most shameful legacy: its falure to support human dignity. This legacy includes the genocide of native peoples, slavery, denial of the vote to women and Blacks, segregation, and back-alley abortions. At the same time, the struggle in this country to uphold human dignity has created a legacy of its own. In this tradition we are here to fight for our liberation.

Why civil disobedience

The Supreme Court will not stop our loving, living, struggling, and coming out. To be lesbian or gay in some states today is to be labeled a criminal and risk arrest; to openly acknowledge that identity is to commit civil disobedience, which is

the open breaking of unjust laws. We challenge any law that denies our humanity. We challenge any institution that contributes to that denial. We choose collective non-violent civil disobedience to demonstrate the anger and determination of our community.

Merely to step in protest onto the steps of this enormous structure is to commit civil disobedience. We break this law because of its connection to the larger injustice. We act together so we can not be defeated one by one. We act in the tradition of the labor movement, the suffragist movement, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, the anti-war movement, and in solidarity with Central Americans and Black South Africans fighting for self-determination. Through these movements we have learned that substantial gains come through prolonged and persistent direct action.

We take the power that emerges as we confront our fears, name the truth, and claim the validity of our own lives. We call this non-violent action. The tradition of non-violence is marked by the strength of people who have acted with courage to defy those who would silence or destroy them, never compromising their own humanity or that of their adversaries. We refuse to be silent, isolated, or invisible. We can be threatened with violence but we will still be gay. We can be locked in jail but we will still be lesbian.

Who we are

We are high-school students and grandmothers, rabbis and bikers, prisoners and activists, drag-queens and secretaries, softball players and church-goers. We are artists, mechanics, teach-

ers, and unemployed. Our differences of race and physical ability, culture and politics, class and



age bring together perspectives and experience that enrich our struggle for change.

Plans for the action

We will gather across the street from the Supreme Court early in the morning. We will go up the long flight of steps toward the Supreme Court and bring them our message. The police, if they don't have a drastic change of heart, will stop us from reaching the justices. It is legal to demonstrate on the sidewalk in front of the Court, or in the park across the street. Any of us who go onto the steps risk arrest.

Affinity groups are encouraged to be creative within this framework. If this scenario doesn't work for you, because of disability or for other reasons, we have some alternatives that will fit into the framework—get in touch with your local civil disobedience committee or the national office, and we will provide more information.

There'll be a final meeting in D.C. to talk about any changes, last-minute information, and how each affinity group plans to participate.

What you can do now

- Join the civil disobedience committee in your area, or start one.
- Tell others about the action. Make copies of this leaflet and distribute it.
- Buy the handbook for the action. It includes a discussion of many aspects of non-violence and more information on the action
- · Send money. Organize a fund-raiser.
- · Form an affinity group with your friends.
- Start making housing and travel plans. If you're risking arrest your plans need to be flexible.

For more information, for non-violence training schedules, and to get involved with planning, contact your local march organizing group or the national office.

National Office:

National March on Washington/C.D. P.O. Box 7781 Washington, DC 20044 202/783-1828

Local Contact:

Non-violence training

All participants in the action are expected to take part in a non-violence training and be part of an affinity group. Training is usually a day-long workshop during which there is time to explore many aspects of civil disobedience and the action on October 13:

- The principles behind non-violent action and how we use it for social change.
- · More detailed plans for the day.
- Fears and concerns about arrest, the legal system, and jail.
- ·Forming an affinity group.

Affinity groups are the best way to keep track of everyone and facilitate decision making in a large action. These are small groups with about five to thirteen members who are familiar with each other and look out for each other during the action and through the legal process. All affinity groups include support people who are not risking arrest to do the things that can only be done outside of jail.

Risks

We, as gay men and lesbians, know the risks of breaking the rules. In asserting our identity we have faced being cut off from our families, losing our houses, jobs, and children, or even being thrown in jail. So too, in a civil disobedience action there are risks. There are no guarantees about how the legal system will respond to us, but we can draw on the insights gained from previous civil disobedience. Non-violence trainings will be an opportunity for those who are doing civil disobedience for the first time and those who have experience from a variety of non-violent actions to discuss possible consequences and the feelings and fears, and empowerment, of risking arrest.

We will also have a legal update and information sharing meeting in Washington, and pool information about legal support after the action. We encourage lawyers and people with useful legal experience to offer their services to the March office for the civil disobedience action. **Source 2C:** ACT UP Los Angeles, "Civil Disobedience Info Sheet, completed by Mark Rennebohm," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

	C.D. INFORMATION SHEET
	NAME: MARK RENNESOHM TELEPHONE (213)257-9311
	ADDRESS: 4822 /2 SHELBY PLACE
	DO YOU HAVE HOUSING IN WASHINGTON D.C.7 YES NO NO
	2003
	IF NOT. DO YOU NEED HOUSING? YES NO
	TELEPHONE WHERE YOU MAY BE REACHED IN WASHINGTON: (202) 223-4320
V	WHEN WILL YOU ARRIVE IN D.C.? OCT. 9 LEAVE? OCT. 14
1	WE ARE PLANNING TO JOIN FOR DINNER ON MONDAY (10/12) AND BREAKFAST ON TUESDAY (10/13). WOULD YOU LIKE TO JOIN?
1	DINNER: YES NO BREAKFAST: YES NO NO
	Do you know of anyone else interested in C.D. activities and/or training?
	NAME: TELEPHONE:
1	Address:
31	We are planning to order T-shirts for the C.D. activities. T-shirts are black in color with the pink triangle logo and the slogan: "SILENCE = DEATH"
- 11	I WOULD LIKE TO ORDER Z T-SHIRTS AT \$10.00 EACH.
	PLEASE INDICATE SIZE(S): SMALL LARGE
- 1	MEDIUM Z Ex-Le
	ENCLOSED IS A CHECK IN THE AMOUNT OF 20.00
	COMMENTS/QUESTIONS:
1	

Source 2D: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "1,000 Volunteers Needed! PEACEKEEPER TRAINING SESSIONS," Oct. 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries; and National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "'Peacekeepers," adapted from Rocky Flats Action Group nonviolence manual," 1987. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



1,000 Volunteers Needed!

PEACEKEEPER TRAINING SESSIONS

SATURDAY OCTOBER 3 GONZAGA HIGH SCHOOL, 19 I STREET, NW 10AM - 1PM
HONDAY OCTOBER 5 CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, 4TH & N. CAROLINA, SE 7 - 10PM
THURSDAY OCTOBER 8 CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, (SEE ABOVE), 7 - 10PM

Peacekeepers will serve as marshalls, information-persons and facilitators for the crowd

National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights october 11, 1987 • WASHINGTON, D.C.

Peacekeepers

Adapted from Rocky Flats Action Group nonviolence manual

In numerous demonstrations of the past it has been found that the effectiveness and nonviolence of the action has been greatly enhanced by the particiption of people with special skills. These specialized participants, or peacekeepers, perform specific facilitating roles for the action. Even if you have not decided to specialize in the role of peacekeeper, however, you may find yourself in a conflict situation in which peacekeeper skills will be useful. Therefore you might wish to read the following information on peacekeeping. In a nonviolent action everyone is, to some extent, a peacekeeper.

Peacekeepers:

- 1. Set the tone for the action. They establish a positive and affirmative atmosphere by being warm and helpful to participants, by leading songs and chants, and by providing needed information to the group as a whole.
- 2. Act as a communication network. They act as an important face-to-face communication link between the coordinators of the action and the participants as well as the internal communication system for the coordinators themselves.
- 3. Provide emergency medical and legal aid. Peace-keepers are frequently the first people on the spot when a medical or legal emergency arises. They can play an important supportive role for the person who needs assistance.
- 4. Maintain the internal self-discipline of the action. Peacekeepers facilitate the movement and action of large groups of people by directing traffic, encouraging people to walk and not run, and providing information to the group. Peacekeepers are also prepared to handle conflicts among demonstrators.
- 5. Act as mediators between authorities and demonstrators. It may be important to have people as buffers between law enforcement officials, workers, and demonstrators. Peacekeepers help to maintain the nonviolent self-discipline of the demonstration and act as mediators in confrontations between authorities and protestors. Peacekeepers have primary responsibility to the participants in the action, but they should be prepared to protect legal authorities, workers, and non-participants from demonstrators if necessary.

Some Guidelines to Help Peacekeepers Do Their Jobs:

- 1. Be warm, friendly, and helpful. The tone of the demonstration depends on how you respond to your fellow demonstrators, police, the media, and workers.
- 2. Be creative. Nonviolence does not mean being aloof or falling to act. You must be creative in your attempt to intervene and resolve a conflict.
- 3. Be firm, but not rigid. If you have agreed to be a peacekeeper you must have agreed to uphold the non-violent principles of the demonstration. This occasionally means pushing people to do things they do not want to do. Stick to your commitment to nonviolence and strongly encourage others to do the same.
- **4. Be forthright.** Deal fairly and honestly with people engaged in conflict, no matter what they have done. If you don't know the answer to something, say so.
- 5. Be calm. It is a rare person who does not become angry or afraid under stress. Don't think that you are weak if you have fears. The important thing in being a peacekeeper is learning how to control your feelings by remembering the overall goal of the action. Try to deal with fears and angers before the demonstration rather than during it.
- 6. Be forgiving. Give up resentment over the wrong you are trying to set right. Gandhi said, "Hate sin, and love the sinner." This applies to conflicts between demonstrators as well as to conflicts with police or workers.
- 7. Work as a team. You don't have to do everything yourself. Use and rely on the support you can get from other peacekeepers and from your fellow demonstrators.
- 8. Do your job. If you feel you cannot perform a specific task due to either physical, emotional, or moral reasons, inform a peacekeeper coordinator so that a person can be found to replace you. It is not a disgrace to say "no, I can't do it."

Source 2E: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "Possible Charges," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Possible Charges

The following information includes possible charges that could result from our activities at the Supreme Court. Because there have been few civil disobedience actions at the Supreme Court in recent history, and because there is overlapping jurisdiction for much of the area surrounding the building, it is difficult to predict with any certainty exactly which police force would be called into play, and what the exact charges might be. The information below is meant to give participants some information of what the possible legal consequences could involve. More information will be available at the briefing sessions before the action itself.



Title 40 of the United States Code, Section 13 (40 U.S.C. § 13) lists a number of activities which are specifically prohibited in the Supreme Court building or on the Supreme Court grounds. It is unlawful to:

- · step or climb upon, or in any way injure any statue, seat, wall, foundation, or other erection or architectural feature, or any tree, shrub, plant, or turf;
- · discharge any firearm, firework, or explosive, set fire to any combustible, make any harangue or oration, or utter loud, threatening, or abusive language;
- · parade, stand, or move in processions or assemblages, or display therein any flag, banner, or device designed or adapted to bring into public notice any party, organization, or movement.

The above statutes carry a maximum penalty of a \$ 100 fine or sixty days imprisonment or both. HOWEVER, if public property is damaged in an amount exceeding \$100, imprisonment up to five years is permitted.

Charges may also be brought under Title 22, D.C. Code section 3012 (D.C. Code § 22-3102) for unlawful entry, for entering or attempting to enter any building or property against the will of the person lawfully in charge, or for refusing to leave after so demanded by the person lawfully in charge. This statute does not apply specifically to the Supreme Court but has been applied to others demonstrating on government property. Maximum penalty is a \$100 fine, six months imprisonment, or both.

The above statutes are prosecuted in the Superior Court for the District of Columbia, the local court. Demonstrators could also be charged with violations of federal statutes which would result in prosecution in federal court. Specifically, it is a violation of Title 18, U.S. Code, section 1507 (18 U.S.C. § 1507) to picket or parade, use a sound-truck or similar device, or resort to any other demonstration, in or near a federal court, with the intent of interfering with, obstructing, or impeding the administration of justice, or with the intent of influencing any judge in the discharge of his duty. Maximum penalty is \$5000 fine or one year imprisonment or both.

Although the statutes prohibit the various activities both inside the Supreme Court and on the grounds of the Court, it is quite likely that those who participate in civil disobedience inside the Court will be dealt with more severely.

Also, some activities which are not permitted on the grounds of the Court or inside the Court are permitted on the public sidewalks surrounding the Court.



LNS/cpf

C.D. Handbook National Lesbian and Gay March on Washington

11

Source 2F: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "Scenario and Logistics," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



The Supreme Court.

photo by Ellen Shub

Scenario and Logistics

• Check-in for participants

It is important for affinity groups and individuals to check in before the action. Information on logistics and legal developments, church housing, non-violence preparation sessions, transportation, and other details about pre-action meetings will be available. Check-in provides organizers with a sense of how many people will be participating. Please fill out the affinity group sign-in sheet at the end of the handbook and have it ready to turn in. Check-in will be held at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church at 16th and Newton Sts. NW. Information will be available Sunday at the CD table at the Rally site and at the National March office.

• Non-violence Training in D.C.

Non-violence preparation sessions provide important orientation for those planning to take part in the Supreme Court action (please see "Why Non-violence Training," page 54). Participants are strongly encouraged to attend sessions in their own communities as early as possible to enable additional meetings of their affinity groups. On Saturday, October 10 and Monday, October 12, additional trainings will take place. Trainings will run for 6-7 hours, and participants should plan to attend the full sessions.

Pre-action Update Meeting

Meetings to plan jail solidarity, solidarity with people with AIDS (PWA's) and to coordinate our affinity group plans will begin on Monday at 4:30 pm. Up-to-date information will be shared at this gathering and all participants should plan to attend.

· Gathering for the Civil Disobedience

We will gather on the East Lawn of the Capitol (across the street from the Supreme Court) in the early morning. Those who do not wish to risk arrest can provide support from this location. The Supreme Court is located at First St. and Maryland Ave. NE, just north of the Capitol.

Action Scenario

Affinity groups are asked to think about particular messages they would like to convey in their presence at the Court. Waves of affinity groups approaching the steps representing different themes: AIDS research, the Hardwick Decision, Perspectives on historical Court decisions and their effects on women and Blacks, a women's action have all been suggested. Our experience and political perspectives operating within the non-violence guidelines are varied and diverse.

C.D. Handbook National Lesbian and Gay March on Washington

9

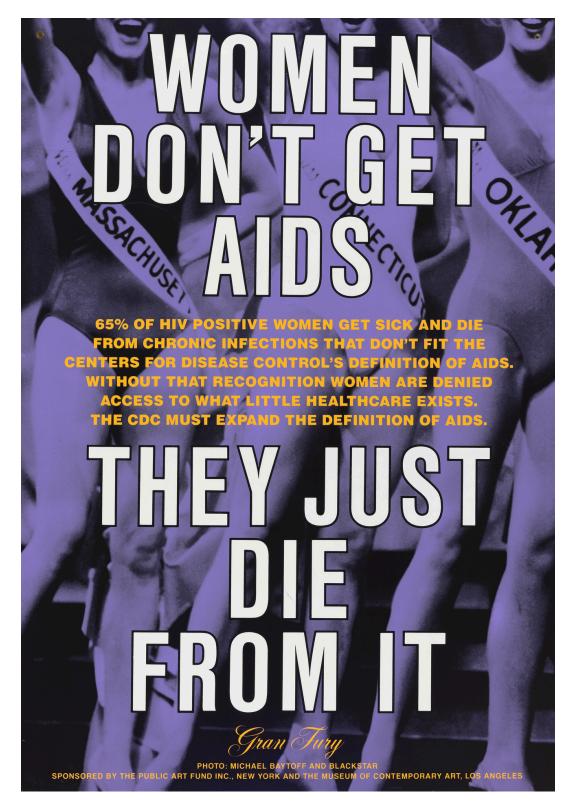
Source 3A: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights, "Dealing with Racism and Classism during an Action, Arrest & Jail," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



Dealing with Racism and Classism during an Action, Arrest & Jail

- Be aware of how police are dealing with Third World, gay, lesbian, and known movement people during arrest situations. Be prepared to come to the aid of anyone who has been singled out by the police and may be receiving harsher treatment than others.
- Realize that during the booking process questions that are being asked to determine whether or not people can be released on their own recognizance, are particularly discriminatory. These questions concentrate on your economic, social, sexual and prior arrest standing.
- Realize that bail is the most blatant example of classism. Those who have money get out of jail—those who don't stay in.

Source 3B: Gran Fury, "WOMEN DON'T GET AIDS THEY JUST DIE FROM IT," 1991. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



Source 3C: Jessica Meredith Xavier (modified by Trevor Ladner), "Stonewall 25 Revisited: Queer Politics, Process Queens and Lessons Learned," from TransSisters: The Journal of Transsexual Feminism, Autumn 1994. Periodicals collection, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Issue # 6

TransSisters: the Journal of Transsexual Feminism

STONEWALL 25 REVISITED:

QUEER POLITICS, PROCESS QUEENS AND LESSONS LEARNED

in the '93 MOW

by Jessica Meredith Xavier

Queer marches have always meant different things to different queer people. For some, its a matter of pride and politics, for others it's a time to party in public. For transgendered people, such events evince a conflicting set of emotions, from feelings of being left out to vague support to homophobic disgust. The first queer marches in this country occurred in New York and San Francisco, shortly after the Stonewall Rebellion of 1969. Gay

pride events are now held in hundreds of cities worldwide, national Marches on Washington (1979, 1987 and 1993) for the purposes of to obtain." bringing national attention to

"Silence can equal death for transgendered generally for purposes of people, and our invisibility serves only to increasing local gay and lesbian further marginalize us. Unless we seek pride through visibility. Thus continuous, direct involvement in all levels of far, there have been three queer politics, we will continue to be marginalized and denied the recognition that we activists have fought so hard and so long

gay rights issues. The first two marches were totally ignored by the national media and scarcely mentioned by the local Washington media.

During the 1993 March on Washington (MOW), I became involved in queer politics for the first time, by becoming a volunteer for the Host (local DC) Committee. I was a novice and I knew it, so I basically did what I was told, kept my eyes and ears open, worked my butt off and learned a lot about queer politics. Inclusivity was the buzz word, but the organizers of the march were almost immediately put on the defensive for leaving the term "Transgender" out of the MOW's title. At the February Steering Committee meeting in Washington, I watched Princess La Rouge, Kaz Suzat and Rena Swifthawk emotionally plead with 200 angry gay male, lesbian and bisexual activists packed into a small hotel banquet room to put "Transgender" in the title of the MOW, while the leader of a major transgender organization watched in silence. Gravely ill, Rena Swifthawk collapsed and was carried from the room shortly after pleading her case. Ten other mostly local transgenders showed up for the meeting, but it was clear we were not ready for prime time politics.

Phyllis Frye had been stating the case for transgender inclusion for nearly two decades, drawing very little overt support from our closeted community. The few national transgender organizations were prohibited from overt political activity due to their mission statements of education and their non-profit incorporation status that had to be protected. After the '87 MOW, the bisexuals were also angry at their omission from the title, so they organized, locally and nationally. Their organization was so thorough that they were ready for the '93 MOW, and were included in its title.



But there was no similar effort to organize transgenders

politically, and thus only a few voices agitated for our inclusion



Jessica Meredith Xavier is a former member of the board, treasurer and Outreach Director of the TransGender Educational Association of Greater Washington, a volunteer worker for the Host Committee of the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay & Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, and a member of Amnesty International Members for Gay and Lesbian Concerns. Her work has prviously been published in The TV-TS Tapestry Journal and Renaissance News. She is also a musician and participated in the the protest against the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival's exclusionary policy against transsexual women this year.

Source 3D: National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights (adapted from Ricky Sherover-Marcus, modified by Trevor Ladner), "Racism," from the "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Racism

Racism, the systematic mistreatment experienced by People of Color, is a result of institutionalized inequalities in the social structure. Racism is one consequence of a self-perpetuating imbalance in economic, political and social power. This imbalance consistently favors members of some ethnic and cultural groups at the expense of other groups. The consequences of this imbalance pervade all aspects of the social system and affect all facets of people's lives.

Racism operates as a strategy to divide and conquer. It helps perpetuate a social system in which some people consistently are "haves" and others are "have nots." While the "haves" receive certain material benefits from this situation, the long-range effects of racism short change everyone. Racism sets groups of people against each other and makes it difficult for us to perceive our common interests as human beings. Racism makes us forget that we all need and are entitled to good health care, stimulating education, and challenging work. Racism limits our horizons to what presently exists; it makes us suppose that current injustices are "natural" or at best inevitable. "Someone has to be unemployed; someone has to go hungry." Most importantly, racism distorts our perceptions of the possibilities for change; it makes us abandon our visions of solidarity; it robs us of

Dealing with Racism in the Movement

It should be clear that the following points are directed at the white members of the Movement. This is because we feel it essential that we remember that it is in white communities—which more often have the resources and access to vehicles for change in our society than those of color—that racism continues to run rampant. As white activists we must develop programs that consistently challenge the racism in our communities, understanding that it is there, at home, that there is the most work to be done.

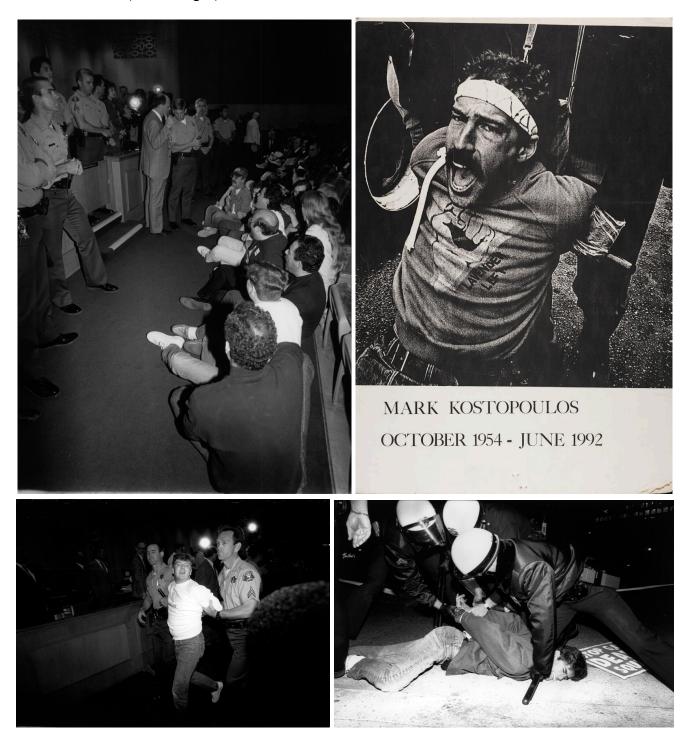
- Understand that many peace, social justice and antinuclear issues affect Third World communities in special ways.
- Learn and act upon issues of special concern to Third World communities.
- Integrate the concerns of these communities in your approach to liberation issues.
- Develop working relationships with all groups involved with social change, including Black, Hispanic and native groups.
- · Don't force your agenda on other organizations.
- In planning for events form coalitions early, which include as many groups as possible, including Black, Hispanic and native groups; include everyone in the decision-making.



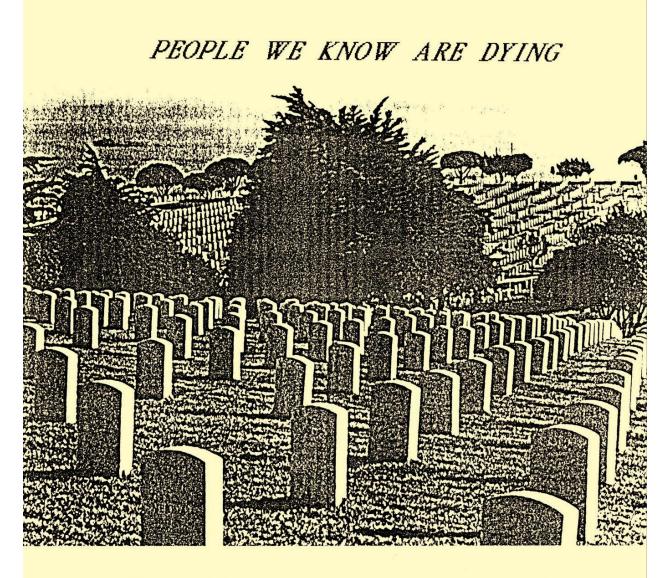
Boston Pride 1987. photo by Ellen Shub

32 C.D. Handbook National Lesbian and Gay March on Washington

Source 4A: Chuck Stallard, "Arrests of ACT UP Los Angeles protestors during a sit-in protest at the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors," May 1989. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries (top and bottom left); ACT UP Los Angeles, "Picket sign featuring an arrest of Mark Kostopoulos, postal worker and ACT UP Los Angeles co-founder, who died of AIDS complications," 1992. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries (top right); T.L. Litt, "Police arrest a member of ACT UP Los Angeles," Jan. 1990. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries (bottom right).



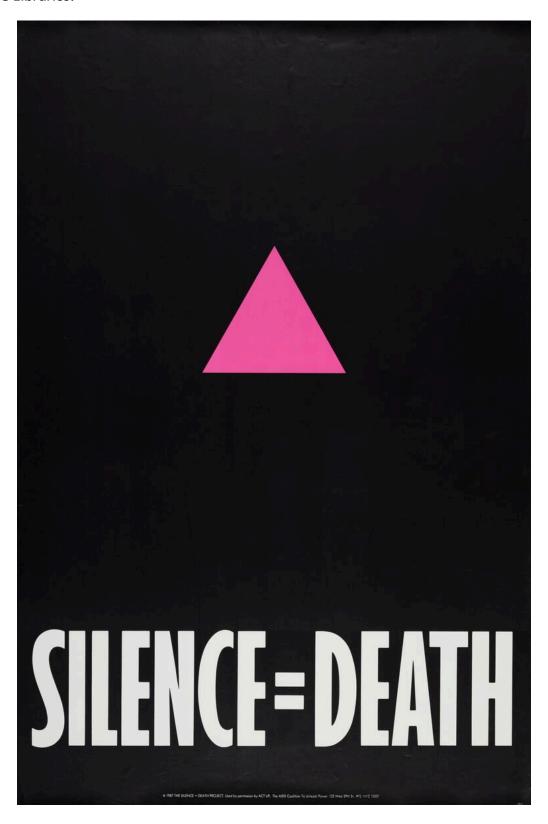
Source 4B: ACT UP Los Angeles, "PEOPLE WE KNOW ARE DYING," 1992. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



SINCE 1981, 14,642 CASES OF AIDS
HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN
LOS ANGELES COUNTY.
AS OF 29 FEBRUARY 1992,
10,339 OF THOSE PEOPLE HAVE
DIED.

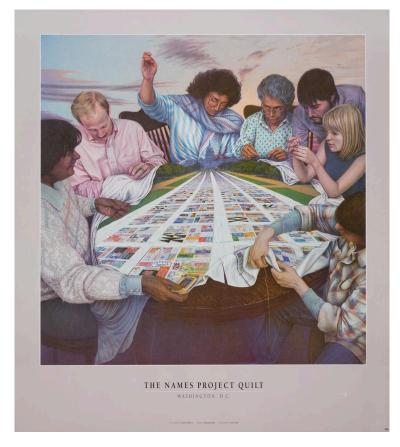
STOP AIDS! FIGHT BACK! ACT UP!

Source 4C: SILENCE=DEATH Project, "'SILENCE=DEATH,' featuring the pink triangle (turned right-side up) used to mark homosexual men in the Holocaust," 1987. ACT UP Los Angeles records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.



Created by Emily Healy in collaboration with One Institute, UCLA History-Geography Project, OUT for Safe Schools® at the LA LGBT Center, and ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Source 4D: Steve Abeyta, "The NAMES Project Quilt," c. 1987-1988. LGBTQ Poster collection, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries; and "Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt laid out on the National Mall at the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation," April 1993. Photographs, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.





Created by Emily Healy in collaboration with One Institute, UCLA History-Geography Project, OUT for Safe Schools® at the LA LGBT Center, and ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Rotation Stations Graphic Organizer

Analyzing Primary Sources: Acts of Civil Disobedience in the Fight Against AIDS

Objective: I will be able to analyze how civil disobedience advanced LGBTQ+ civil rights during the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s by examining primary sources in rotation stations.

Directions: With group members, you will be responsible for completing three tasks in each rotation station:

- > Analyze Primary Sources: use the Observe, Reflect, and Question strategy
- > Discuss Primary Sources: generate new ideas and write your findings
- > Take Action: collaborate to organize a (hypothetical) civil rights march

After a set time, your group will rotate to the next station. This process will repeat until all four sessions are completed. Once all stations are completed, your group will present the following to the class:

- March name and demands
- > Rights and responsibilities for engaging in nonviolent direct action
- Commitments to safety and inclusion
- > Poster

Following all presentations, you will be assessed by completing a <u>short essay response (5-7 paragraphs)</u> to the inquiry question: *How did civil disobedience advance LGBTQ+ civil rights during the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s?* In your essay, <u>you must cite evidence from at least 6-8 primary sources</u>.

Observe, Reflect, and Question

- > Observe: Identify and note details.
 - What do you notice first? What do you notice that you didn't expect? What do you notice that you can't explain?
- <u>Reflect</u>: Generate and test hypotheses about the source.
 - Where do you think this came from? Why do you think somebody made this? What do you think was happening when this was made? Who do you think was the audience for this item? Why do you think this item is important? What can you learn from examining this?
- Question: Ask questions to lead to more observations and reflections.
 - What do you wonder about... Who? What? When? Where? Why? How?

Source 0: Keith Griffith, "Quality Health Care Is A Civil Right," from the National March On Washington Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights' "Civil Defense Handbook," 1987. March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (October 11, 1987), records, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Quality Health Care Is A Civil Right

by Keith Griffith

One of the most important questions people living in the United States must begin to answer is how a syndrome unknown to any of us just seven years ago could have emerged so quickly as a major threat to all of our livelihoods. Why couldn't the power structure of the wealthiest country ever known, with the most advanced technology one can buy in the late 20th century, respond more effectively to AIDS?

Could it be that the power structure chose not to respond because of whom was initially affected? This is an argument frequently made, based on the fact that sexual and racial minorities and IV drug users are certainly targets of hatred in our society. While such deeply engrained attitudes no doubt greatly slowed the initial threat felt by society at large, and certainly the response rate in areas of research, funding and education, this argument does not fully explain our health care system's inability to meet the needs of people with AIDS or ARC. And frankly, how could we expect that system to respond, given a society that holds profit more sacred than human life?

Long before AIDS, there has been a debate over national health care. The question of whether health care is a right or a privilege was answered in this country long ago. The fact is, 35 million people in the U.S. do not have access to private health care coverage. The fact is, providing health services is very big business in the U.S., growing at a rate far greater than many other industries. Clearly, our health system is based more on profit than on curtailing the spread of human pain. Such a system would not easily respond to AIDS until the epidemic either became profitable, threatened the status quo of business, or more likely, both. Seven years into this epidemic, that is precisely what we have begun to see happen.

National health care surely must be a number one agenda item for progressive Lesbians, Gay men, and bisexuals and our allies. Lesbians are particularly crucial in providing leadership in this area. Women in general, Lesbians in particular, have been aware of the inadequacies of U.S. health care long before AIDS. More importantly, women have already created workable alternatives in health care that have, in fact, been models for much of the excellent AIDS care that has come into being. Working together, Lesbians, Gay men and bisexuals can forge new coalitions with others fighting for national health care.

Whether or not patients are being treated decently and given the best care possible must be viewed not just as a health issues-activists must argue from the belief that quality health care is a civil right. And until we have achieved national health care, we must fight for treatment that will be available and affordable for everyone. It will be a tough battle convincing capitalists that profits made on treatment therapies will have to be curtailed for the benefit of the ill and potentially ill.

The challenges posed by the politics of AIDS are enormous, but if we succeed in meeting them we will be able to pay lasting tribute to all of those who will die and to those already gone. Our movement for Lesbian, Gay and bisexual liberation may appear to have been sidelined by AIDS. Nothing could be further from the truth. The struggle for liberation will only grow and succeed when the challenges are there to inspire us. Certainly, the need to not only end this epidemic, but to survive, are two of the greatest challenges any of us has faced. National health care can enable many more of us to survive.



'Cut the Red Tape." San Francisco Federal Building, June 1,

Analyzing Primary Sources

As we analyze this primary source together, take notes in the right column.

Source	Analysis Notes
Source 0: Quality Health Care is a Civil Right	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:

Station 1: The National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1987)

Source 1A: Singing for our Lives	Source 1C: Walk on Washington
Source 1B: We, the People	Source 1D: Bring the Spirit of Washington Home!

Part A: Analyze Primary Sources

Source (Choose 2-3)	Analysis Notes
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:

Observe:
Reflect:
Question:

Part B: Discuss Primary Sources

With your group members, discuss the following questions about the goals and actions of the March on Washington. Then, in your own words, answer each question in 3-5 sentences.

1. What were the goals of the March on Washington as it relates to civil rights? (3-5 sentences)	2. What actions did people take in or around the March on Washington? (3-5 sentences)

Part C: Take Action

Imagine you and your group members are the lead national organizers of a new civil rights march in Washington, D.C.

Reflecting on the March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights of 1987, and current civil rights issues in the United States, your group will create a name for your march and a list of <u>at least five</u> demands that your march will present to Congress and the President.

For example, below is an excerpt of the demands from the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (1963) — organized by openly-gay African American civil rights activist, Bayard Rustin— where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his famous "I Have a Dream Speech."

WHAT WE DEMAND*

1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from the present Congress—without compromise or filibuster—to guarantee all Americans

access to all public accommodations decent housing adequate and integrated education the right to vote

- 2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.
 - 3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.
- 4. Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment—reducing Congressional representation of states where citizens are disfranchised.

Source: March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, "What We Demand," 1963. Bayard Rustin Papers, John F. Kennedy Library, National Archives and Records Administration.

М	arch on Washington for
1.	We demand
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Station 2: Civil Disobedience in the AIDS Crisis

Source 2A: AIDS & Civil Disobedience	Source 2D: Peacekeepers
Source 2B: OUT & OUTRAGED	Source 2E: Possible Charges
Source 2C: Civil Disobedience Info Sheet	Source 2F: Scenario and Logistics

Part A: Analyze Primary Sources

Source (Choose 2-3)	Analysis Notes
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:

	Observe:	
	Reflect:	
	Question:	
Part B: Discuss Primary Sources With your group members, discuss the following questions about education and organizing for civil disobedience in the AIDS crisis. Then, in your own words, answer each question in 3-5 sentences, citing		
1. How did LGBTQ+ act other about civil disoborisis? (3-5 sentences)	tivists educate each	2. In what ways did LGBTQ+ activists organize their nonviolent direct action? (3-5 sentences)

Part C: Take Action

As you prepare to take your demands to Washington, D.C., imagine you and your group members are organizing a workshop for participants on civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action. The purpose of the workshop is to educate others students on challenging "unjust laws," as stated by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and advancing civil rights.

Your group is tasked with creating a list of <u>at least five</u> rights and responsibilities for engaging in nonviolent direct action that you would present to participants of your workshop.

Example: You have the right to stay calm. If you interact with police, keep your hands visible. Avoid arguing, resisting, and emphasize that your actions are protected by the First Amendment.

	Rights and Responsibilities for Engaging in Nonviolent Direct Action
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Station 3: Race, Gender, and Class

Source 3A: Dealing with Racism and Classism

Source 3C: Stonewall 25 Revisited

Source 3B: WOMEN DON'T GET AIDS

Source 3D: Racism

Part A: Analyze Primary Sources

Source (Choose 2-3)	Analysis Notes
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:

How did civil disobedien	nce advance LGBTQ+ civil rights during the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s?
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:
Part B: Discuss Primary S	ources
With your group member activism. Then, in your or primary source analysis.	rs, discuss the following question about race, gender, and class in AIDS wn words, answer each question in 3-5 sentences, citing evidence from your
1. How did LGBTQ+ accordanizing? Discuss at	tivists approach differences in race, gender, and class in their least two of these factors. (two paragraphs; 3-5 sentences each)
i .	

Part C: Take Action

As you organize your march, your group can ensure that the demonstration is safe and inclusive for all participants. You should consider how participation will be diverse in terms of race, gender, class, religion, ability, language, sexual orientation, immigration status, etc. Reflecting on your own identities and experiences, your group will create a list of <u>at least five</u> commitments that you will uphold to ensure safe and inclusive actions.

	Commitments to Safety and Inclusion
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Station 4: Political Art, Graphics, and Photography

Source 4A: Arrest Photographs	Source 4C: SILENCE=DEATH
Source 4B: PEOPLE WE KNOW ARE DYING	Source 4D: The NAMES Project Quilt

Part A: Analyze Primary Sources

Source (Choose 2-3)	Analysis Notes
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:
	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:

	Observe:
	Reflect:
	Question:
	ers, discuss the following questions about political art, graphics, and S crisis. Then, in your own words, answer each question in 3-5 sentences, citing
support or amplify th	activists use messages and symbols in art, graphics, and photography to neir civil disobedience and direct action? (two paragraphs; 3-5 sentences
each)	

Part C: Take Action

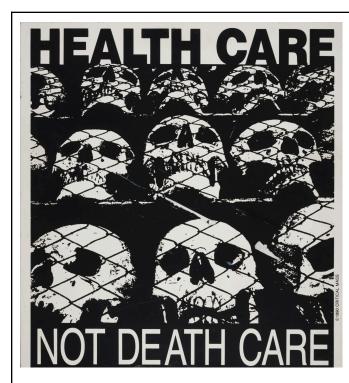
To express the demands of your march and generate engagement, your group will create a poster inspired by the art and graphics of AIDS activists, which will be used in a social media campaign and carried by participants at your march.

Using classroom supplies or a digital platform, create a poster that incorporates elements of LGBTQ+ activist art and graphics in the 1980s and 1990s. Your group will also write an artist's statement that explains the influences, choices, and intentions of your design, citing 2-3 primary sources.

In addition to the graphics above, you may explore the following:

- ACT UP Los Angeles Oral History Project, "Gallery."
- ACT UP Los Angeles Oral History Project, "Photos."
- ➤ National AIDS Memorial, "Interactive AIDS Quilt."
- > One Institute, "It's Not Over! Posters and Graphics from Early AIDS Activism," 2020.

Example:



Source: ACT UP Los Angeles, "Health Care Not Death Care," 1990. LGBTQ Poster Collection, ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

This poster was created by Critical Mass—the art and graphics committee of ACT UP Los Angeles— for the group's protest at Frontera prison in California's Chino Valley. In addition to the numerous abuses at the over-crowded women's prison, which were detailed in a legislative committee on prisons earlier in the year, Mary Lucey, a blacksmith and formerly incarcerated person in Frontera's segregated AIDS ward, brought her own testimony of maltreatment directly to ACT UP. Her experience and advocacy spurred the activist organization to articulate health care as a key need within carceral systems. According to Judy Sisneros, who was present for the protest: "ACT UP believed in universal health care and we felt that everyone should have access to the best quality health care. ... We also felt that if you lifted health care treatment for the homeless, for the undocumented, for prisoners, that it would elevate everyone else's health care treatment." Graphically, this poster makes use of an image of mass death event from a different context— stacked skulls in a memorial outside of Angkor Wat to those killed in the Cambodian genocide (1975-79)— lending an urgency and graphic power to their message.

Source: Andy Campbell, "Days of Rage," from One Institute, April 2022.

Artist's Statement (5-7 sentences)



One Institute is the oldest active LGBTQ+ organization in the United States, dedicated to telling the history and stories of queer and trans community and culture through K-12 educational initiatives, public exhibitions, and community engagement programs.

oneinstitute.org



The UCLA History-Geography Project (UCLA HGP) is a professional learning community that supports History-Social Science and Ethnic Studies educators. As a regional site of the California History-Social Science Project and part of UCLA's Center X, we work with teachers, schools, and organizations to make K–12 classrooms more inquiry-driven, culturally responsive, and civically engaged.

centerx.gseis.ucla.edu/history-geography



The Los Angeles LGBT Center's OUT for Safe Schools® program transforms school campuses into communities of support and safety for LGBTQ+ students.

schools.lalgbtcenter.org/out-for-safe-schools



ONE Archives at the USC Libraries is the largest repository of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ) materials in the world.

one.usc.edu

This lesson plan was created by a Los Angeles teacher partner as part of "Pride, Resistance, Joy: Teaching Intersectional LGBTQ+ Stories of California and Beyond," a K-12 LGBTQ+ History Teacher Symposium in July 2024, organized by One Institute, the UCLA History Geography Project, OUT for Safe Schools® at the LA LGBT Center, and ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.