



schwules  
museum

# LOVE

# AT

Queer Movements in  
Germany since  
Stonewall

# FIRST

# FIGHT!





In the summer of 2019, the exhibition will tour the Goethe-Instituts in Canada, the United States, and Mexico, and will also be presented at Schwules Museum Berlin; beginning in 2020, it will travel to other cities worldwide.



# LOVE AT FIRST FIGHT!

In the night of June 27 to 28, 1969, queer people militantly resisted a police raid on the Stonewall Inn bar. For many LGBTQIA communities around the world, the days of the uprising around Christopher Street in New York mark the beginning of the queer revolt. As a joint project of the Goethe-Institut, Schwules Museum

Berlin, and the Federal Agency for Civic Education, this exhibition takes the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall Riots as an opportunity to offer an insight into the history of the queer movements in the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and reunited

Germany since the 1960s. Particular emphasis is placed on the manifold relations with US movements.

The exhibition highlights moments of the queer movement's history without claiming to tell the only possible story. In doing so, it questions the power dynamic that is at work in the queer politics of memory, too, as the debate about the legacy of the Stonewall Riots shows. What is under fire today is the appropriation of the riots by those parts of the movement that, in their struggle for social acceptance, lost sight of the radical goals of the riots and of the cause of many of its heroes: dykes, drag queens, trans people, sex workers, and young people living in precarious conditions, among them many queer people of color. Perhaps above all else, this debate shows that civil society resistance is still necessary in the 21st century but must be reinvented again and again. On this note: remember Stonewall and happy Pride!

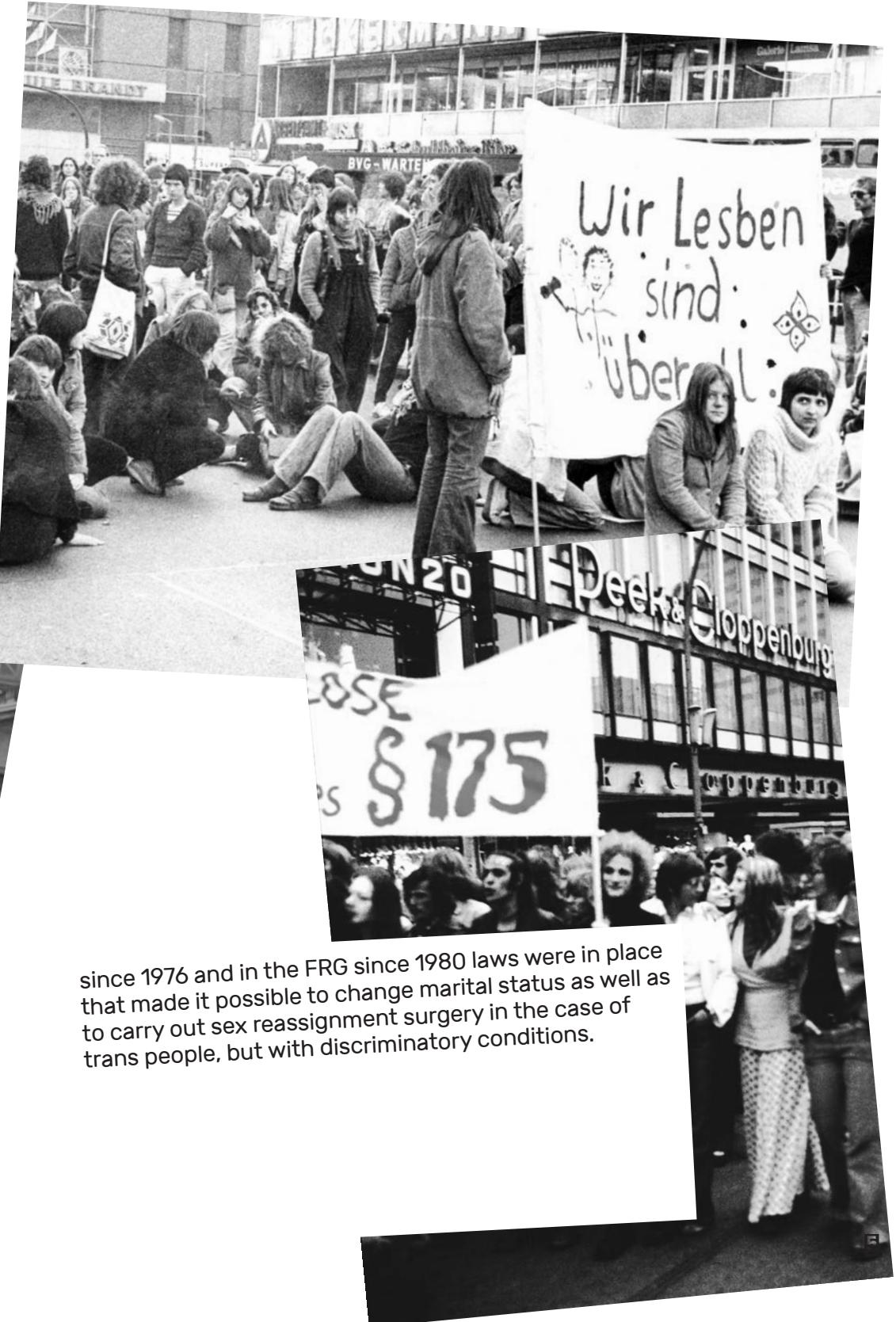
Queer Movements in Germany since Stonewall

*Lesbian feminists vigorously supported the feminist cause and pushed against the abortion ban - here at a demonstration in West Berlin.*

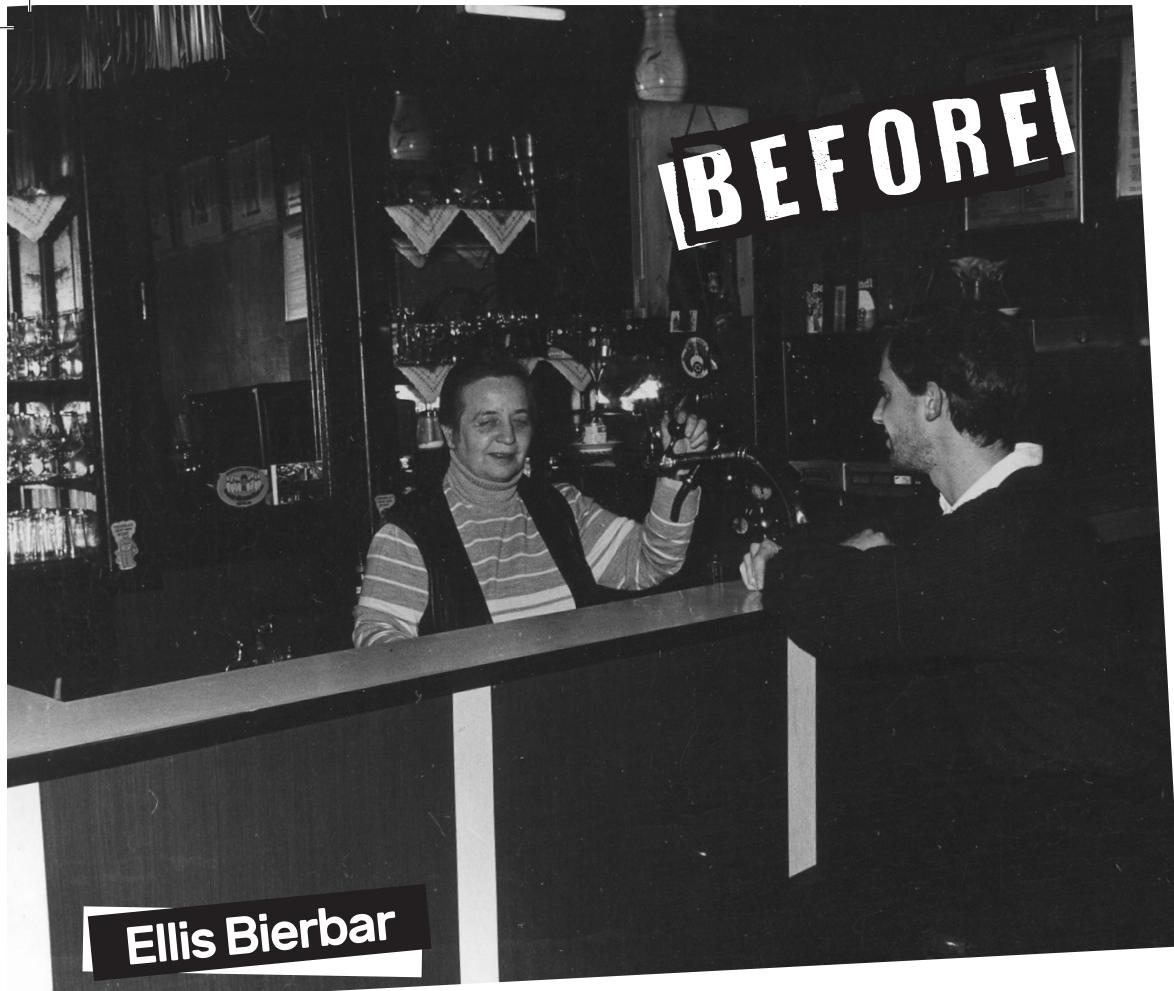


# BEFORE THE LAW

With paragraphs 175 and 175a, both German states incorporated the criminalization of male homosexuality into their postwar criminal law. The Federal Republic (FRG) adopted the restrictive version introduced by the Nazis in 1935, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) the one from the Weimar Republic. In the FRG about 50,000 people were sentenced before the liberalization in 1969, in the GDR about 4,300 by the time the law was abolished in 1968. Female homosexuality was not directly criminalized but, like gay men who had never been in conflict with the law, lesbian women's life choices were condemned by society and the state. In both German states, the nuclear family based on heterosexual marriage was propagated as the only legitimate arrangement of private life. To live a self-determined life outside this framework was particularly difficult for women. In the GDR



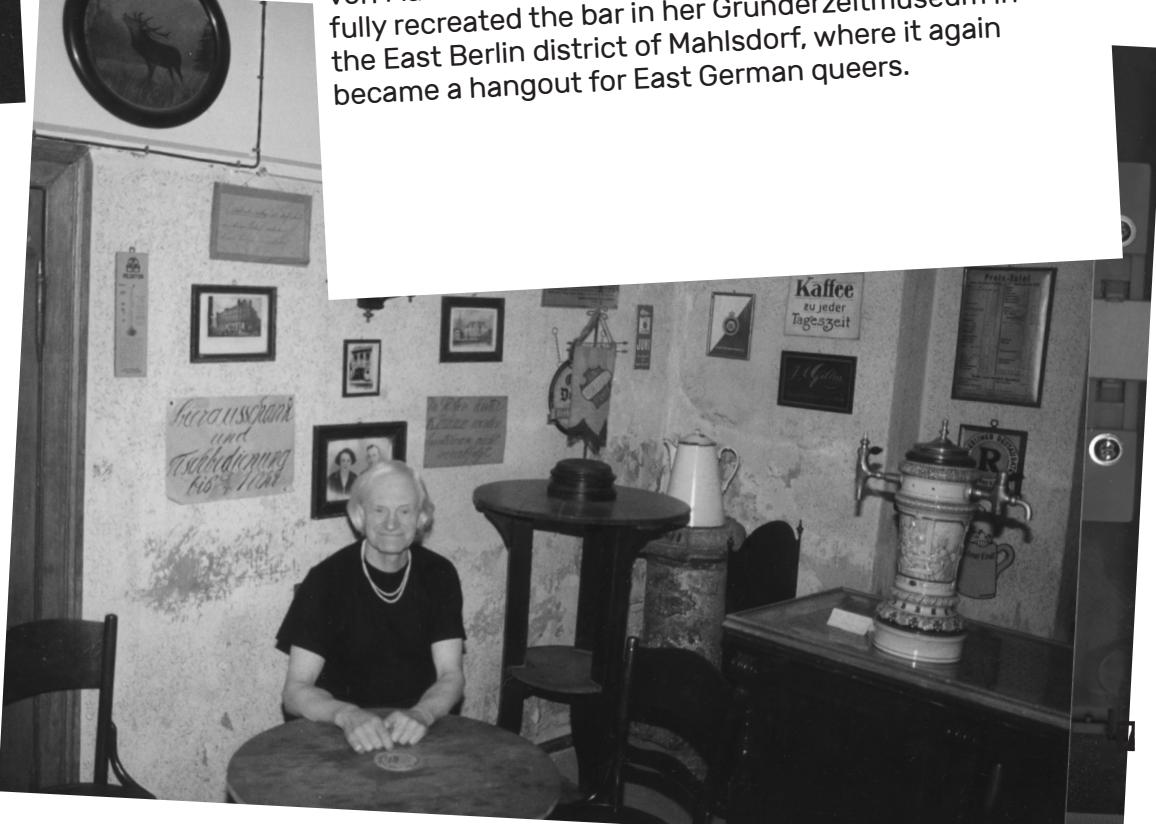
since 1976 and in the FRG since 1980 laws were in place that made it possible to change marital status as well as to carry out sex reassignment surgery in the case of trans people, but with discriminatory conditions.



Founded in the Berlin district of Kreuzberg in 1912, the dodgy pub remained open during the Nazi period and became one of the most popular venues for queer people in postwar Berlin. Though it bothered the authorities and was constantly subject to police raids, the legendary beer bar and its hostess Elisabeth Hartung, called Elli, held their ground until 1986. Famous artists and actors were seen in this unglamorous bar as were members of the leftist Kommune 1, sex workers, and the "normalos" from the block. Soon another clientele joined the motley crew: from 1966 to 1969 the bar was home to the probably first gay leather club of the FRG.



Home of sex workers, homosexuals, transvestites, and trans persons, as early as the 1920s the Mulackritze in Berlin-Mitte became a meeting place for those deemed outsiders by society. When the war ended in 1945, the old crowd returned until the GDR authorities closed the bar in 1951. At the end of the 1960s, the Mulackritze found a new home: Charlotte von Mahlsdorf saved the entire inventory and faithfully recreated the bar in her Gründerzeitmuseum in the East Berlin district of Mahlsdorf, where it again became a hangout for East German queers.





## Witch Trial

In 1974, a trial against a lesbian couple took place in the northern German town of Itzehoe. Judy Andersen and Marion Ihns were sentenced to life in prison for hiring the murder of Ihns' violent husband. Throughout the Federal Republic, lesbian and feminist activists protested against the defamatory coverage by the tabloid press and the discriminatory legal proceeding. On September 16, 1974, a group broke into the trial chanting "Haut der geilen Männerpresse eine in die Fresse!" ("Slap the male tabloid press in the face!"). With their protests on the "witch trial of Itzehoe," lesbian activists for the first time reached a broad public in the FRG.



## SYSTEM, CRITICISM & SUNDAY CLUB



## Coming Out

Due to the strong US influence on the emancipation movement after the Stonewall Riots, coming out as a "commitment" to one's queer identity became a dominant moment in the self-narrations of many LGBTQIA. It is also the title of the first GDR film to portray gay life in East Germany. Directed by Heiner Carow (1929-1997), Coming Out celebrated its premiere on November 9, 1989. Because the Berlin Wall fell on the same night, the film received no attention at first but later toured festivals around the world and won a Teddy Award and a Silver Bear at the 1990 Berlin International Film Festival, also known as Berlinale.



In 1973, the Homosexual Action Group West Berlin (HAW) organized an international meeting of homosexual activist groups. Some participants who had travelled all the way from Italy and France appeared in drag at the final demonstration, with "eye shadow and blue fingernails," as the tabloid press reported. Their appearance triggered a major strategy debate within the West German gay movement, which went down in history as the "drag queens' dispute" ("Tuntenstreit"). While some saw drag as an unnecessary and apolitical provocation that stood in the way of an alliance with the working class, others saw it as the most effective way to make one's gay identity "public." The latter wing of the HAW became henceforth known as Feminists and solidarized with the feminist women's movement. Their position did not prevail: the feminist critique of gender roles was not to play an important role in the political project of the gay movement.

IBI  
SOCIALISTS?



In the face of (sexualized) violence against women and girls perpetuated by men, martial arts became an instrument of body politics. The idea was to unlearn passivity and fear, and to develop fierce self-confidence. Entire generations of feminists were socialized in the "dojo," i.e. the Japanese martial arts training hall. The West Berlin supporters of the East Berlin group Lesbians in the Church not only provided them with feminist literature but also with self-defense workshops.



**LOVE AIDS**  
**ACT UP BERLIN / FEUER UNTERM HINTERN ♦ ACT**  
**RIOT SEX**  
**BOYKOTT!**

♦ **Boycott** **Marlboro!**



♦ **weil der Tabakkonzern Philip Morris den ultra-rechten US-Senator Jesse Helms finanziert**

♦ **weil Helms Hilfen für Menschen mit Aids ablehnt!**

♦ **weil Helms gegen Lesben und Schwule hetzt!**

**UP KÖLN / WÄRMER LEBEN ♦ ACT UP MÜNCHEN**



## **Das kalte Herz**

### **Forerunners**

Key catalysts of the West German debate included American figures such as, on the one hand, Gayle Rubin, Susie Bright, Pat Califia, Camille Paglia, and Samois, a group of lesbian BDSM enthusiasts, and, on the other, Catharine MacKinnon, Andrea Dworkin, Robin Morgan and the organization Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media. In German-speaking countries, the controversy focused primarily on the PorNO campaign launched by Alice Schwarzer and her magazine EMMA.

## **SEX WARS**

**„Pornographie macht Sexismus sexy.“**

nen gezeigt, daß Frauen...  
 ben, die von Pornographen gemacht ist.  
 Wir wußten schon eine Menge über die  
 Ungleichheit der Geschlechter, über die  
 Abstempelung von Frauen zu Sexualobjekten, über die Sexualisierung männlicher Herrschaft und weiblicher Unterdrückung, über sexuellen Mißbrauch, also vor allem Vergewaltigung, Prostitution, sexuelle Belästigung und Mißhandlung von Frauen. Aber auf Pornographie zu stoßen war, als ob wir einen geheimen Code gefunden hätten, der unser Leben gleichzeitig verändert hat, war das

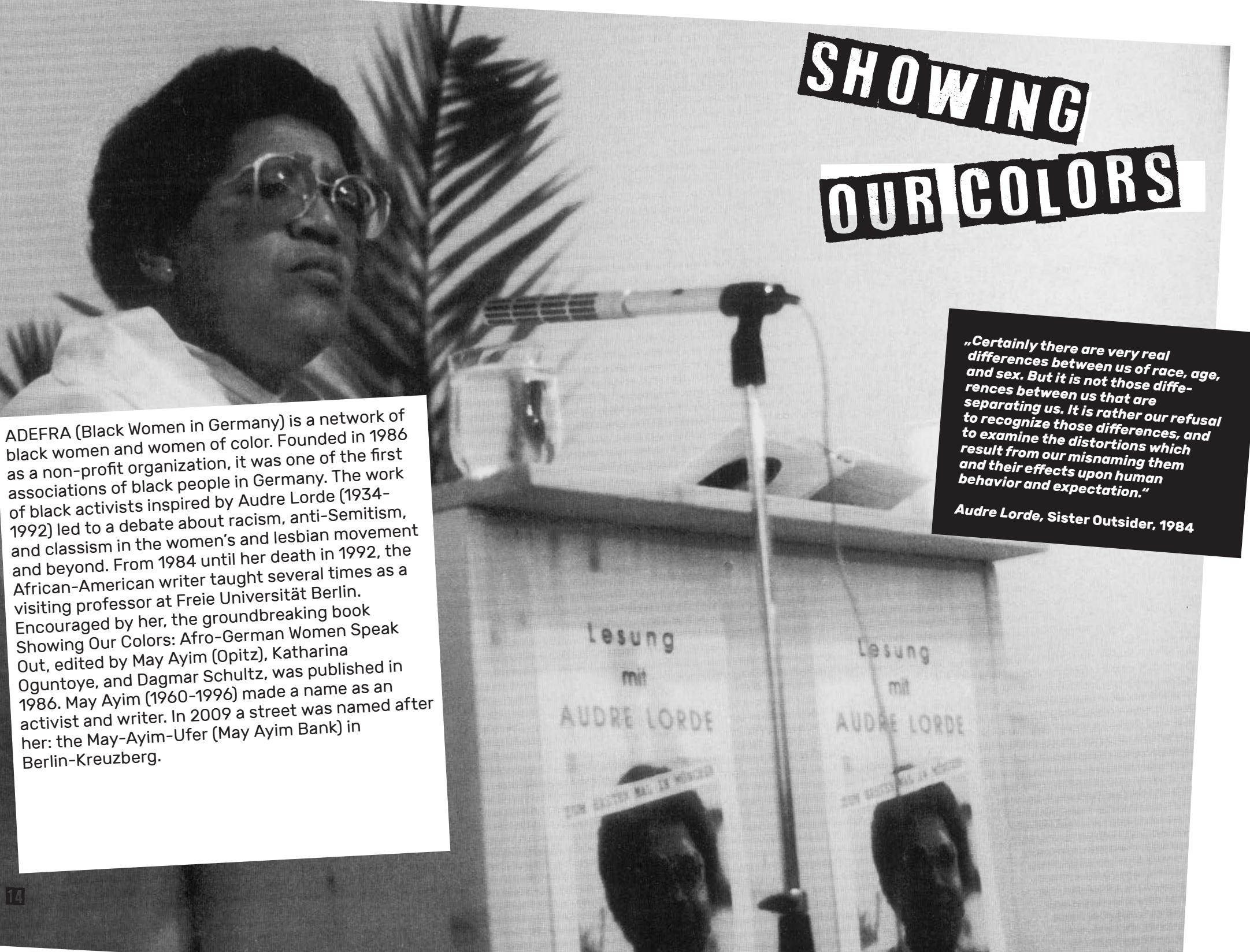
The article "The Cold Heart" by lawyer Catharine A. MacKinnon, which appeared in the magazine EMMA in 1987. In the 1980s, Andrea Dworkin to ban pornography.

Die Pornographen von heute scheinen allerdings etwas gelernt zu haben, denn die Zuschauer rennen nicht mehr kotzend herum, sondern sind die Deutschen dausturieren. Insgesamt ist es einmal, daß es den mehr in Hitler das gebrachte heute

Pornographie ist, gilt es als darf es nicht als „Faschismus“, weil wir uns Pornographie „unwissen“ wir den Frauen den Einfluß von bezeugen. Propaganda. Ja,

Pornographie ist ein Ausdruck männlicher Ideologie. Ja, Pornographie ist die Literatur des Hasses, die Dokumentation von Verbrechen. Ja, Pornographie ist ein Instrument des sexuellen Faschismus, sie ist Symbol, Ausdruck, Symptom männlicher Dominanz. Ja, Pornographie ist eine Ideologie-Träger wie jedes systematische gesellschaftliche Verhalten. — Aber all das sagt noch nicht, was Pornographie

# SHOWING OUR COLORS



ADEFRA (Black Women in Germany) is a network of black women and women of color. Founded in 1986 as a non-profit organization, it was one of the first associations of black people in Germany. The work of black activists inspired by Audre Lorde (1934-1992) led to a debate about racism, anti-Semitism, and classism in the women's and lesbian movement and beyond. From 1984 until her death in 1992, the African-American writer taught several times as a visiting professor at Freie Universität Berlin.

Encouraged by her, the groundbreaking book *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, edited by May Ayim (Opitz), Katharina Oguntoye, and Dagmar Schultz, was published in 1986. May Ayim (1960-1996) made a name as an activist and writer. In 2009 a street was named after her: the May-Ayim-Ufer (May Ayim Bank) in Berlin-Kreuzberg.

*„Certainly there are very real differences between us of race, age, and sex. But it is not those differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences, and to examine the distortions which result from our misnaming them and their effects upon human behavior and expectation.“*

*Audre Lorde, Sister Outsider, 1984*

# HONG KONG MIGRANTS PRIDE

Migrants' Pride was first launched in November 2015 with the aim of promoting the rights and welfare of the LGBTQ+ migrants within the community. It was also a call to stop violence against women of which the majority identify themselves as lesbians and transgenders. Furthermore, the first Migrants' Pride was an opportunity for the workers to strive for equality and fight against homophobia and discrimination. This was participated in by almost 300 members of lesbian migrants' groups and organisations, local Hong Kong supporters, students and advocates. In the beginning, there are three main organisations that spearheaded the event: Gabriela Hong Kong (GABRIELA-HK), Filguys-Gabriela Association (FILGUYS) and Filipino Lesbians Organisation (FILO).

In 2016, Migrants' Pride themed with 'Rise for Pride! Rise for Justice' in its vow to end homophobia and discrimination, our mobilisation doubled to almost 700! The Asian Migrants Coordinating Body (AMCB) took part in leading this event ensuring each nationality's participation.

In 2017, Migrants' Pride has strengthened further, with the theme 'Pride with Integrity, Pride for Humanity'. In 2018, they have marked a remarkable spot in history as they escalate their vows on ending homophobia and discrimination into their resolve to a call for systemic change. They have welcomed more LGBT groups and advocates as co-organisers of Migrants' Pride 2018 with the theme 'Pride, Freedom, and Change!'; In 2019, the Pride's statement is "Pride is for Living Wage, Rise with Pride for Change!"



Migrants' Pride in various nationalities, genders and beliefs that make up this growing community still have a lot of struggles to win as LGBTQs and as migrants —a society where injustice, exclusion and discrimination are non-existent. LGBTQ migrants suffer from multiple social injustices—these range from homophobia, sexual abuse to exploitation, social exclusion, and discrimination existing in their environment compounded with racism.

In the midst of adversity and pursuit of equality, their solidarity defines a wilful community. They will continue to bring LGBTQ people, migrants of all nationalities and Hong Kong locals together to celebrate sexual diversity and struggle for a common vision.

Today, They mark a pride in history, an assurance of commitment for a continuing fight for freedom. Freedom from discrimination. Freedom from social exclusion. And, freedom from social injustice towards the transformation of our society, a society that is kinder and more caring for LGBT people.



# APPLES FOR SALE

Photographic project by **Rebecca Sampson**

Apples for Sale is a photographic study of the daily life of Indonesian domestic workers in Hong Kong. With little to no leisure time or personal space, these labour migrants construct a parallel identity using social media channels. Far from home and in a completely female subculture, the women develop an ambiguous sexual identity. Sampson portrays this population in a layered multi-media narrative, consisting of documentary photography, social media footage, and text.

Over 300,000 foreign domestic workers work and live in Hong Kong. The large majority is from Indonesia and the Philippines. These women usually work twelve hours a day, six days a week, under appalling terms of employment. Although they are officially entitled to one day off a week, this law is often not observed in practice. Sleeping on a matress next to the laundry machine, in the kitchen or under the stairs, these women frequently lack private space to spend their scarce leisure time. While on a visit to Hong Kong, Sampson observed how hundreds of labour migrants – homeless for one day – spent their Sundays in the parks and public spaces of the city. The photographer spent many Sundays with them and gradually got to know them. She found herself at beauty contests, night clubs, staged weddings and lavishly decorated rental containers, where the lucky few who can afford it act out their one-day existence.

Due to the lack of personal space, and trapped in the rigid corset of their daily housekeeping duties, many women seek solace on social media, where they maintain extensively elaborated alter egos. For these women, photographs offer a powerful (and often the only) means of preserving a certain measure of autonomy. The mutual quest for intimacy and (sexual) identity is largely expressed online in the form of photographs and videos, shared on social media. Sampson collected selfies of domestic workers dressed up as comic book heroes or pop stars, as well as private videos of their daily work environment and photos of their improvised sleeping spaces. It is a world characterised by gender fluidity and a distinctly lesbian 'sub-culture', which the photographer attributes to the impossibility of maintaining a heterosexual relationship or family life in an exclusively female community. Sampson documented make-believe dream weddings between domestic workers – the one dressed up as princess bride, the other as the groom – and portrayed 'families' consisting of young girls and tomboys who lovingly tend to their dolls, as if they were their children.

The portraits made by Sampson and by the domestic workers themselves form a sharp contrast with the exemplary passport photos attached to their application forms, which Sampson was able to obtain by pretending to be a potential employer. These documents – for which the women pay steep fees to private brokers – reveal gross deficiencies in the local labour law. The artist juxtaposed the photographs provided by the agency – obediently smiling ladies wearing an apron with the text 'Apples for Sale' – with the images posted by these workers on social media. The discrepancy between the constructed typology of the model housekeeper, and images of their desperate attempts to escape from their dreary everyday life, begs the question which of the two images is furthest removed from reality.

[www.rebeccasampson.com](http://www.rebeccasampson.com)

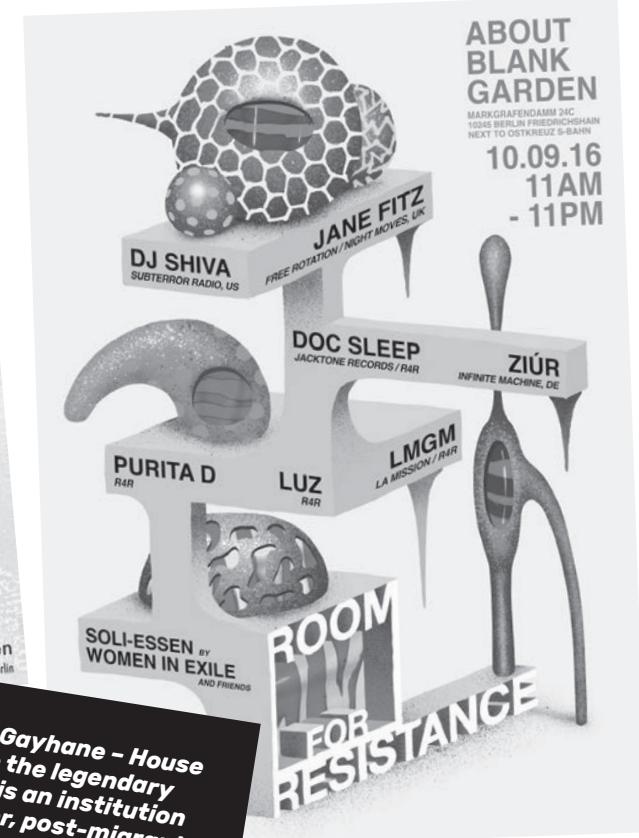
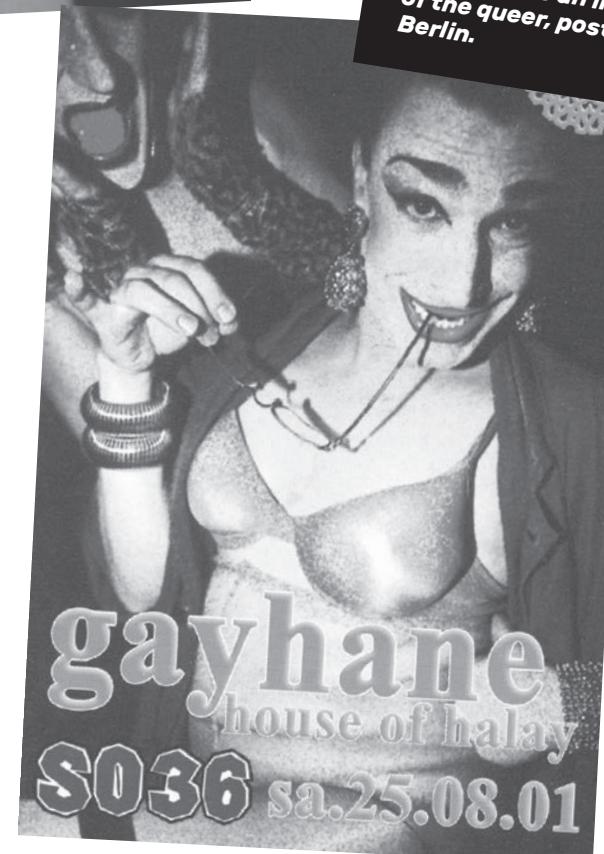
Hinde Haest, Foam Museum Amsterdam

# QUEERRUPTIONS

HOE\_MIES VOL.  
STAY GOL

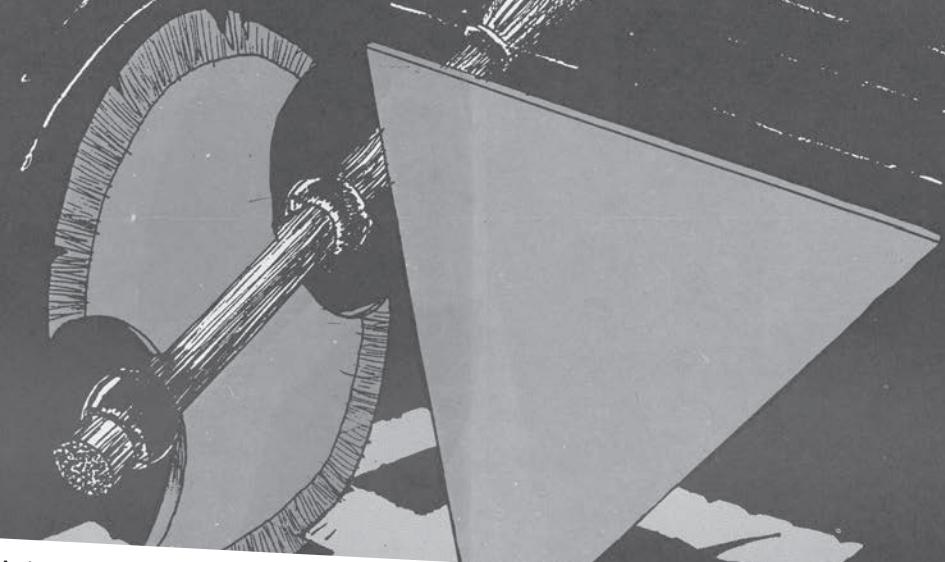
NYE 31-12-2018  
ARENA CLUB  
AB 23 UHR

Our own experience of discrimination does not prevent us from discriminating against others. Organizations of queer black people and people of color such as Gladt e.V. criticize discriminatory behavior and structural exclusion in queer communities whose actors often do not want to recognize that they, too, reproduce the racism of mainstream society. It is equally important for these organizations to create their own spaces and empowerment networks. Events such as the trans film festival TransFormations decentralize perspectives of privilege and give space to marginalized experiences; demonstrations like behindert und verrückt feiern Pride Parade (Mad and Disability Pride Parade) address the queer scene's ableism. Party series such as the hip-hop hoe\_mies, which caters specifically to "women and gender-queer people of color," seek to offer safer spaces to these communities.

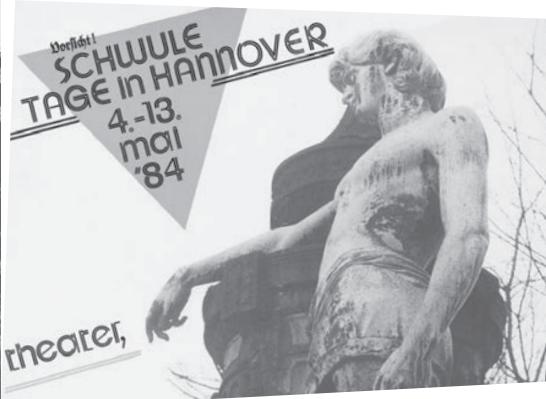


# PINK TRIANGLE

**"Denounce what happened to gay men during fascism! The discrimination continues! Wear the pink triangle!"**  
**(Appeal in HAW Info 18, 1975)**

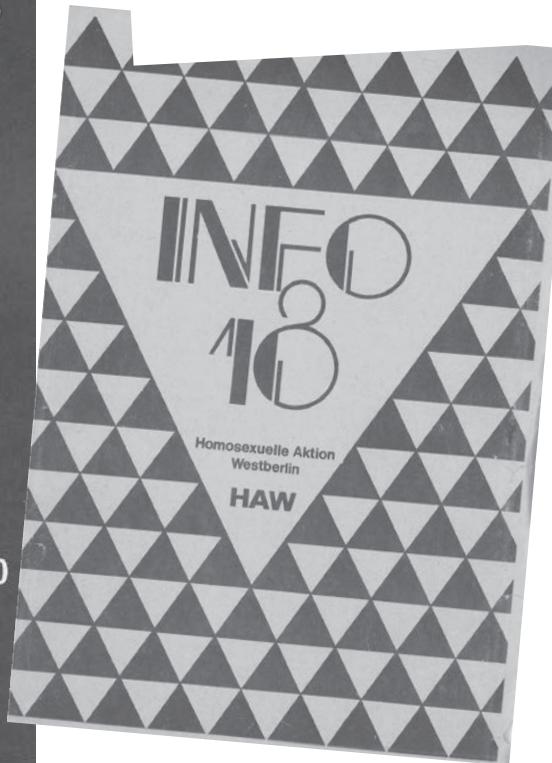


A pink triangle (Rosa Winkel) was used to mark prisoners sentenced under paragraphs 175/175a and sent to Nazi concentration camps. In 1972, Johann Neumann published the book *The Men with the Pink Triangle* under the pseudonym Heinz Heger. It was the first testimony of a homosexual concentration camp survivor, Josef Kohout, and contributed to a "rediscovery" of the persecution of homosexual men in Nazi Germany. In the mid-1970s, the pink triangle gained popularity as a symbol of the West German gay movement thanks to, among others, an appeal by the Homosexual Action Group West Berlin (HAW) in its magazine HAW Info in 1975. In the



theater,  
film,  
video  
phono  
und...

GDR, too, the Homosexual Interest Group Berlin (HIB) called on its members to wear the triangle at the May Day demonstration in 1976. During the AIDS crisis, ACT UP's iconic logo with a reversed pink triangle and the slogan "Silence=Death" gave the triangle international significance. Today, along with the rainbow flag, the pink triangle is one of the most recognizable LGBTQIA symbols and is even used in product marketing by mainstream companies.

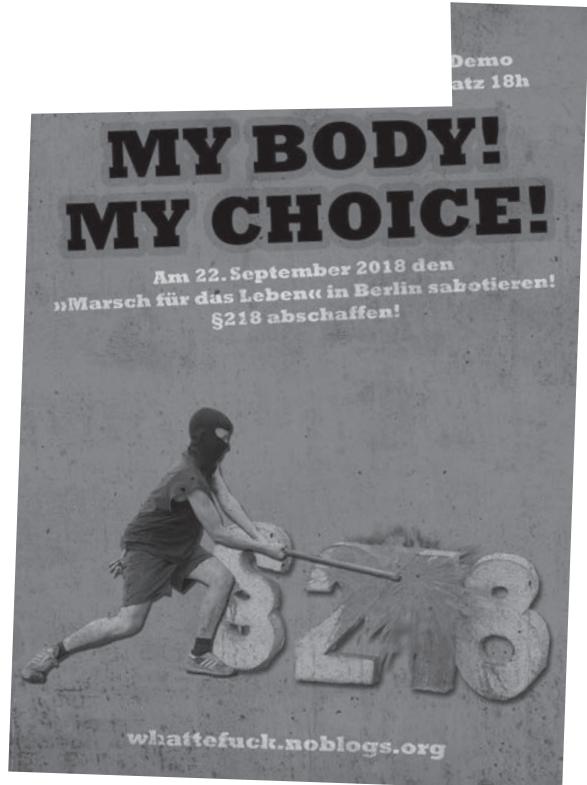




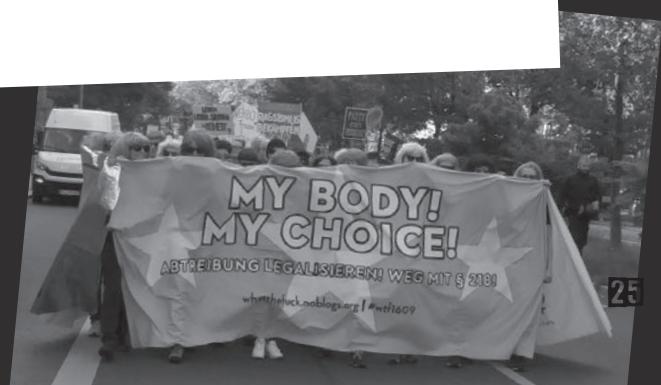
Conservative, Christian-fundamentalist, and rightwing organizations and parties that regard the heterosexual nuclear family as the “germ cell of the nation” and see it threatened are growing stronger. These groups resemble each other in their anti-feminism: parties like the Alternative for Germany (AfD) want to abolish gender studies programs in universities; allegedly “worried parents” protest against sexual and gender diversity education in school curricula; and the pro-life movement demands a ban on abortions and advocates traditional gender roles.



The photographer Petra Gall captured the rallies against §218. She is also the great documentarian of the West Berlin women's and lesbian scene and of the underground (women's) music scene of the 1980s.



The What-the-Fuck! alliance mobilizes against the most important rally of Christian-fundamentalist pro-life groups in Germany, the annual March for Life in Berlin. With the slogan “my body my choice,” the alliance advocates the right to sexual self-determination and gender self-identification and demands the abolition of paragraphs 218 (which criminalizes abortion, save in exceptional cases) and 219 (which complicates access to information about abortion). The struggle of the feminist movements of the 1970s, for which the legalization of abortion was a central demand, continues.



## Colophon

# LOVE AT FIRST FIGHT!

Queer as German Folk (Title of the German exhibition: Love at First Fight!) is a project of the Goethe-Institut North America in collaboration with Schwules Museum, Berlin and the Federal Agency for Civic Education, Berlin as well as local partner organizations in Chicago, Guadalajara, Mexico City, Montreal, New York, San Francisco, Toronto, and Washington DC.

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Wong Ka Ying

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### UNSERE PARTNER



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1/25 (Cover) Final demonstration of the Pentecost meeting of the Homosexual Action Group West Berlin (HAW), West Berlin, 1973, image: Rüdiger Trautsch, SMU Berlin // Booth of the lesbian group at the Peace Workshop of the Erlöserkirche, East Berlin, 1983, image: Bettina Dziggel, RHG\_FO\_GZ\_0419, Robert Havemann Gesellschaft Berlin // ADEFRA National Meeting in Cologne, 1987, image: Daniela Tourkazi // Walpurgis Night demonstration, West Berlin, 1983, image: Petra Gall, SMU Berlin

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