

UC Davis

UC Davis Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Red Spectrum: Homonationalism, Victimhood, and White Gay Men

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6x10x5bh>

Author

Buchanan, Blu

Publication Date

2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

The Red Spectrum: Homonationalism, Victimhood, and White Gay Men

By

BLU BUCHANAN
DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Sociology

in the

OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA DAVIS

Approved:

Bruce D. Haynes, Chair

Drew Halfmann

Laura Grindstaff

Tom Waidzunas

Committee in Charge 2022

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to acknowledge that my labor occurred on occupied Patwin land within a white supremacist, settler-colonial state. May the land be returned to its rightful stewards, the [Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation](#). I hope that this work will be another tool for the freeing of the land and its people.

I would also like to thank my family, both blood and chosen in guiding me through this work and supporting me both emotionally and materially. Doing this work required a lot of healing, and at every step of the way I had folks help me to learn and enforce boundaries and how and when to dive deeply into painful texts. I especially want to thank my Mama, who has made all this possible with her unwavering support. I also want to extend my thanks to my partners, Steven Blevins and Sean Pestoff, who have been an integral part of my life in so many ways, academically, politically, and socially.

To my committee members I extend my unending thanks. They saw my potential as a scholar and took the time to develop and hone that potential. In particular I want to honor the labor of my chair, Bruce Haynes, who spent innumerable conversations working through complex topics (both academic and personal). Without his advice, I would never have the confidence or the grounding to speak truth to power.

Finally, as a disabled academic I'd like to thank all my structures of support that have made this project possible. In a university which is profoundly ableist I have found systems of medical and social support that have made this work possible.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Sexual Citizenship and the Nationalist Body	19
Chapter 2: The Big Tent Comes In Rainbow	55
Chapter 3: Was Atlas Gay? Libertarians For Gay Rights	89
Chapter 4: For White (Gay) Men: The National Socialist League	133
Conclusion: Mapping The Wild Woods	170
References	174
Figures	222
Appendix	233

Abstract

This study examines how the projects of whiteness and masculinity shape white gay men's political participation in right-wing movements. Drawing on multiple archives from across the United States, I trace three major gay organizations - the Log Cabin Republicans, the Libertarians for Gay Rights, and the National Socialist League - and the discursive tactics each employs to recruit and retain participants. My findings reveal: first, that white gay men rely on traditional images of the masculine white citizen to carve out a place within the nation, marking themselves as significantly distinct from the LGBT community as a whole. Second, that misogyny and sexism both play a significant role in driving white gay men to participate in right-wing politics. Third, that white gay men on the right have adapted and expanded the definition of citizenship to include themselves without significantly disrupting the white national project as a whole. Lastly, that an expanded use of "racial projects" (Omi and Winant 1986, 1994; Winant 2004) can help us understand each of these organizations as engaged in contests of racial and gendered legitimacy - as a limited, structured response to the historical projects of whiteness and masculinity which preempt the rise of the gay right.

Introduction

There is a general belief among the public that the LGBT community is, inherently, progressive (Robinson, 2004; Phillips 2016; Stack and Edmonson 2018; Nir 2018; Hobson 2016). This belief is largely rooted in the way we talk about gay marriage, which is often associated by both journalists and researchers alike with “progressive” politics (Gandhi 2006; Florida 2002; PEW 2016; PEW 2018; Gallup 2014). This association with progressive politics pervades our political thinking, from small Rust Belt towns arguing that supporting LGBT rights will foster a future-forward economy (South Bend City Council Minutes 2010), to framing the Trump administration’s trans military ban as a “progressive” issue rather than as a conservative one (Warncke 2018). Yet this conflation of “LGBT” and “progressive” leaves us no explanation for those within the LGBT community who participate in right-wing (sometimes far-right) politics.

Explaining contemporary gay right-wing figures like Milo Yiannopoulos and Jack Donovan requires examining the broader development of the gay right. Yiannopoulos, a (former) darling of the national far-right and Breitbart editor enacts a feminine gay male persona - leveraging this performance of self to advocate for a politics that is distinctly misogynist and white nationalist. In contrast, Jack Donovan is the picture of a man’s man - actively rejecting the title of “gay” Donovan organizes among white nationalists in the Pacific Northwest as a self-proclaimed “androphile.” Despite embodying very different gender expressions, Yiannopoulos and Donovan are connected by particular historical and social commitments; it is these underlying conditions that are the main focus of this project. . Contradicting the general perception of gay men as progressive actors, these

figures are often understood primarily as newly emerging outliers. Rather than see them as aberrations, I explain how everything from the constitution of the category of conservative and homosexual to the activation of gay right-wing political organizations demonstrates a longstanding concern with navigating stigma and retrenching status and “proper” forms of masculinity and citizenship. In order to explain how white gay men are being drawn into (and have historically constituted) these right-wing politics, we need to analyze whiteness, gender, and sexuality as historical projects. How can we explain how Yiannopoulos and Donovan, and others like them, are connected by sexual practice and political predilection but participate in right wing politics in different ways?

Study Questions and Findings

Given how gay right-wing figures are perceived both within their community and by the wider public *The Red Spectrum* uses historical sociology to examine the gay right within the United States. Drawing on both primary sources from archival research and secondary sources, I ask the following question: “*How can we explain the creation and maintenance of a gay conservative subjectivity amidst competing racial, gender, and sexual projects within the nation-state?*” Although scholars have discussed the interrelationship between whiteness, masculinity, and the privileged boundaries surrounding the category of “heterosexuality” (Pascoe 2007; Ward 2008; Anderson 2008¹) we have yet to see how these analyses translate to the political commitments of white gay men. Each of these analyses also provide us a glimpse into the lives of white men and their

¹ I am compelled to acknowledge that Anderson has allegedly engaged in behavior that is exploitative and violent. I use his work as sparingly as possible and only where necessary to discuss the permeable nature of masculinity and heterosexuality.

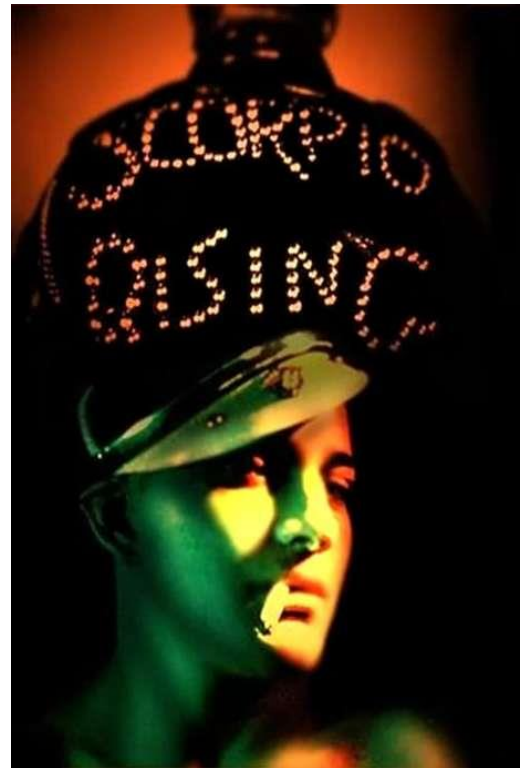
participation in gender and racial politics. This study extends Pascoe, Anderson, and Ward's research, exploring how the processes they observe around boundary-making, category constitution, and social hierarchy apply to organizations dominated by white gay men and organized around their politics on the right.

Some of my findings extend these scholars' analyses. Pascoe's work on boundary-making among high school boys, and the ritualized use of "fag" as a slur to discipline other men, appears to apply to white gay men on the right - becoming a more overt tactic the further to the right one goes on the political spectrum (2007). Adult white men, the focus of this study, appear to continue this form of disciplining well into adulthood. Perhaps one of the most straightforward examples comes from a National Socialist League member, who says, "I accept myself, and I accept the part I have to play in the straight world. I'm a man, and I have my silly moments and my fun, but I'm no faggot."² In other places we see this manifesting in boundaries around clothing, mannerisms, and promotional materials. Ward, in exploring the sexual practices of white men who sleep with men, found that when these men were pursuing same-race encounters they utilized a "language of equality" to build rapport with other white men (2008). In one example, Ward shares a Craigslist ad example,

"Seeking a MASCULINE JACK OFF BUD to STR8 PORN - 29. Hot masculine white dude here...looking for another hot white dude to come by my place, and work out a hot load side by side. Straight Porn only. Prefer str8, surfer, etc. Not usually into gay dudes." (Ward 2008: 425).

² Entertainment West, No. 119, box 1, folder 2, National Socialist League Collection, Coll 2013-024, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, USC Libraries, University of Southern California.

Here she describes how archetypes like the “surfer” exemplify white masculinity. In my project white gay men on the right also draw on the language of sameness - of shared masculine pursuits and social location - in order to make claims on the nation-state and citizenship. The archetypes they emulate, the businessman, property-owner, and even the leather-man all draw on both the nation-state and the rhetoric of sameness. While the Log Cabin Republicans and the Libertarians for Gay Rights tend to avoid raunchy, explicit language, we can see these archetypes manifesting in works referenced by the National Socialist League like Kenneth Angers’ short film *Scorpio Rising* which details the erotic adventures of a gay Neo-Nazi biker club (1963). In doing so they also reject the idea they are feminine, racialized, or left-wing because of their erotic and sexual activities. Even the category of who is “gay” becomes unsettled (Anderson 2008)



on the right, as men who have sex with men on the right construct alternatives to identity-based sexuality in an effort to assert their other, more privileged statuses.

In other ways, my findings complicate the story as it has been told so far. Both Ward and Anderson’s studies take place in private, or semi-private locations. The results from my study show how the right to “private” space is already prefigured by access to

whiteness and masculinity - and that this public/private divide is extremely important to the framing of the white gay man as both a citizen and as a man. It also explores in greater depth the ways in which white gay men on the right rely on their position *contra women* in order to establish their value and status within a heteronormative nation-state. Finally, by troubling the relationship between the public and private spheres - between the bedroom, the backroom, and the tearoom - this study explores how sexual practices orient and shape politics within the nation-state structure. Throughout the rest of the introduction, I will be discussing my methodology, case selection, and this study's remaining chapters.

Methodology

Exploring these questions requires a critical and rigorous methodology that engages with the fraught nature of right-wing archives and my own positionality. Before answering any questions about archives and data, it is important to first define what I mean by right-wing. This definition has guided where and how I have collected data, and informed my choices around case selection and evaluation. This is no easy matter, as Blee and Creasap note in their survey of conservative and right-wing movements (2010). Without an established and agreed upon definition, scholars are often reliant on the self-identification of the groups they study or their own criteria for what they consider to be right-wing. Blee and Creasap define right-wing movements as ones "that focus specifically on race/ethnicity and/or promote violence as a primary tactic or goal." In comparison they define conservative movements as ones "that support patriotism, free enterprise capitalism, and/or a traditional moral order and for which violence is not a

frequent tactic or goal” (2010: 170-171). What connects both of these definitions is that these movements attempt to return to a set of traditional, idealized hierarchies and values - be it the “wild wild West” imagery invoked by conservative libertarians or the antebellum South imagery invoked by far-right white nationalists - and that to accomplish this return violence, in its many forms is a useful but fuzzy tactic. This definition provides some guidance in evaluating social movements, but relies on unclear notions of violence and distinctions between projects like race and capitalism that seem at odds with the historical record.

How, for example, do scholars studying right-wing violence differentiate between the fist fights and stabbings which occur during confrontations between Proud Boys and anti-fascists and the political violence of denying people reproductive autonomy?

Traditionally, when looking at violence, scholars have focused on interpersonal conflict or war - clear instances of physical risk and harm. Mary Jackman (199: 276) argues “in the absence of a clear, explicit conceptualization of violence, implicit assumptions about the nature of the phenomenon have shaped the research agenda.” These assumptions produce an overreliance on measuring physical injury between individuals instead of other kinds of harm (Jackson 2002: 387).

Throughout this project, violence is understood as incarnations of harm which are socially mediated, context dependent, and influenced by power relationships. It is in this context that I use Rory McVeigh’s description of right-wing movements as “organizing on behalf of preserving or expanding the rights and privilege of its members” (2009: 32). By understanding how these actors and movements are placed within the larger context

of social and political power - and simultaneously within competing claims of legitimacy - it is possible to identify the difference between the violence of, say, loss of white status and the violence of systematic dehumanization. Throughout this project, right-wing will refer to social movements which fall under McVeigh's definition. Utilizing this definition, all three of my cases - Log Cabin Republicans, Libertarians for Gay Rights, and the National Socialist League - all fall under the umbrella of gay right wing social movement organizations.

Understanding these movements meant accessing primary sources from across the United States, some by way of travel and some by having materials reproduced and sent to me. The ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archive in Los Angeles, the GLBT Historical Society Archives in San Francisco, the Gerber-Hart Museum and Archive in Chicago, and the the Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Studies at the University of Minnesota constitute the physical archives I visited in working through this study.

I began my project at the Gerber-Hart Museum and Archive, casting a wide net by examining documents related to gay political organizing in Chicago. Before I could assess the viability of this project I had to figure out if right-wing gay organizations were included within the archival records. This search yielded fragments of information, a pamphlet on gay libertarianism in one folder, a reference to Log Cabin Republicans in another. I paired this with another wide search in the GLBT Historical Society archive, which produced a number of archival sources related to the Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns. This archive provided a cataloged and curated set of personal

correspondences, newspaper clippings, conference recruitment materials and proceedings, advertisements, and ephemera (including photographs). In both Chicago and San Francisco I scheduled archival visits and photographed pertinent records for later analysis. Because of the limits of research funding and time, I focused primarily on taking pictures and writing some initial notes in each location.

After becoming more familiar with the general history of right-wing gay organizing I was able to move from general research into political documents in LGBT archives towards identifying specific right-wing organizations I wanted to investigate, in particular the Log Cabin Republicans and the National Socialist League. This investigation took me to two key archival sites. The first of these was the Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection, which houses a repository of Log Cabin Republican documents ranging from newsletters and organizing notes from its earliest groups to the meeting minutes, surveys, and strategic planning documents of the organization up to 2012. The collection includes “historical, administrative, financial and educational materials covering its founding in California, expansion into numerous local and state chapters, and its growth into a national organization based in Washington DC” (Jean-Tretter Collection Finding Aid). I first digitized as many documents as I could, resulting in over 3000 image files. Later these files, as well as those from the Gerber-Hart and GLBT Historical Archive, were run through Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software to make them text searchable and prepare them for input into NVivo software for coding.

In addition to the Jean-Nickolaus collection, my archival search yielded another body of archival material - this time at the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archive in Los

Angeles. This archive contains one of the last remaining collections related to the National Socialist League. After conducting a research trip, the box contained “periodicals, correspondence, manuscripts, clippings, flyers, catalogs, brochures, subscription forms, greeting cards and mass mailings created by the National Socialist League (NSL) and other related organizations” (NSL Finding Aid). Again I took photographs and initial notes on the contents of the collection and then ran the photographed images through OCR in order to prepare the materials for input into my qualitative data management and analysis system.

Combined with physically visiting these different archives, I also drew materials from online and from photocopies of materials sent to me by archivists. As my search deepened regarding the Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns I found reference to other organizations in and around San Diego. I reached out to the organizers of the Lambda Archives in San Diego and they reproduced a series of newspaper articles related to the Thomas Jefferson Libertarian Club, the earliest recorded organization put together by and for gay and lesbian libertarians. I also found a radio interview of key National Socialist League actors from 1976 through the Pacifica Radio Archive, and had them digitize and send me a reproduction electronically. All these reproductions were incorporated into the material I categorized and coded in my analysis.

This archival work had its limitations, as groups like the Outright Libertarians or the Log Cabin Republicans after 2012 did not have any public archives to access. Instead I used data drawn from open forums like Twitter to explore the public-facing presence of these organizations from their first web presence till the present. This data includes

photographs, tweets, blog posts, and references to coalitional organizations and policies. Alongside this social media data I used Ruby programming to download and process longitudinal data from the Wayback Machine - an archive which records snapshots of websites over time - in order to see how these websites present their key issues and public positions in response to historical events. I scraped websites related to these groups in order to assess these changes, and coded the website content for themes in conjunction with the other material already added to my qualitative data analysis software.

Supplementing both the physical archives and the online websites and social media presence of these organizations, I also listened to radio interviews, podcasts, and youtube videos related to right-wing gay organizing in order to understand the general milieu in which these organizations operated. While these were not included in my specific coding of the themes within each organization, they helped to immerse me in the overall language and concerns of right-wing gay organizers today.

That doesn't necessarily mean that these archives are exhaustive sources for understanding gay men's involvement in right-wing politics. Archives which codify the remains of queer history are partial, incomplete and often skewed towards progressive movements. Archives which discuss right-wing conservatism, the far-right, and fascism, including websites and other online platforms are often focused on the explicit political projects of the organization and so ignore or fail to record the experiences and meaning-making of right-wing gay men. But by triangulating these archives, it is possible to

reconstruct an image of the events and forces that have shaped these men's participation in right-wing social movements.

As a researcher and scholar I am not outside of the social projects I am studying. Drawing from feminist historical scholars, it's important to also position myself in relation to my archives and object of study (Nakano-Glenn 2004; Stoler 2002; Rolin 2009). In parallel to feminist work on ethnography, the application of standpoint theory is necessary for studying historical phenomenon because one's positionality helps to determine the types of questions we ask, the recognition of our power in relation to the archives we access, and the material realities we shape through our scholarship.³

I began this project grounded in a particular positionality and subjectivity. As a Black trans scholar, you might expect that I would study populations whose experiences reflect my own. Following in the footsteps of other feminist scholars (Nader 1972; Frankenberg 1993) I've instead asked how the powerful are both constructed by others and themselves, and how structurally advantaged groups leverage the language of oppression to reify their position. The world I navigate is white, masculine, and cis – and I define myself and am defined by my struggle to survive these structures. As Kimberlé Crenshaw has so poignantly articulated, the intersections of these power relations create identity and experience, and thus my interest is focused on the systems which constitute difference (Crenshaw 1989).

³ While the orientation of ethnography is often the present moment, and thus often understood to be influenced by positionality, it is no less important to take into account one's positionality in relation to the past and the objects and archives which are constructed with an audience in mind.

Even beyond these relationships of power, I have (or had) positions and politics which overlap with those I study here. While I identify myself as a radical leftist academic now, I grew up religiously and politically conservative. As early as fifth grade, I supported George Bush in his campaign, and later organized with a Young Republican group for his re-election. In middle and high school I was homeschooled and socialized among Southern Baptist homeschoolers in Broward County, Florida. In my first year of college I attended a pro-life March on Washington. Participating in various conservative movements as a child and young adult has made me sensitive to the meaning-making and discourses of the right in the United States, especially as I had to navigate these spaces as a Black person with outwardly feminine characteristics. While it is easy to chalk these actions up to self-hatred and internalized homophobia, these experiences taught me the importance of understanding complex political phenomena in structural ways - knowing that how we speak and act politically shapes our imagined futures. Instead of relegating these political actions to “ignorance” these experiences helped me to realize that they make sense for those participating in them because of core differences in how participants think about the world they live within.

I situate myself within this work because I argue there is no opting out of the structures of racial, gender, and sexual domination. My interest in this project is not just in exploring the systems which authorize, legitimate, and bound “proper” forms of the state, gay masculinity, and whiteness - it’s an exploration of the effect those systems have on the oppressed. As W.E.B. Du Bois draws out in his concept of “double

consciousness,”⁴ I assess the myriad ways in which the power and authority of racial and sexual structures set the stage for people like myself – Black, queer, and trans – as we navigate access to institutional resources, state visibility, and citizenship (Du Bois 1903). No more unnamed, but central to the interpolation of “proper citizens,” I utilize racial and gender projects to render whiteness, gay masculinity, and their political interventions visible and accessible to those hoping to understand the current moment and intervene in its increasing violence.

These are the commitments and social locations I carry with me into my analysis of archival materials. After gathering up these historical records, I have applied a text and discourse analysis to draw out major themes around whiteness, masculinity, and citizenship in order to better understand how white gay men participating in four organizations on the right have constructed themselves, and the Other⁵, within national political discourse.

Case Selection

But why American gay political organizations, particularly on the right? One reason is that these organizations are vastly understudied. While most scholarship follows the organization, agenda setting, and success (or failure) of progressive gay social

⁴ In *Souls of Black Folks* Du Bois describes double consciousness as such, “It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” (pg. 2-3)

⁵ A term I draw from Edward Said’s “Orientalism” https://sites.evergreen.edu/politicalshakespeares/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2014/12/Said_full.pdf

organizations (McVeigh 2009) the aforementioned bias in recording and reporting on conservative gay political organizations means that scholars have little insight into how these organizations act and promote their agendas. Considering the impact American economic and cultural imperialism has had on other parts of the world (Stoler 1995; Immerwahr 2019), it is important to understand how the current rightward shift is representative of global processes. While that falls outside the scope of this particular project, I provide in my project an entry into the relationship between the discourse of the American Right and the discourse we see in other nations like France, the Netherlands, and Germany.

But why not start with these other examples of the right? Why choose an ostensibly liberal nation with a history of “fighting fascism” and which has exhibited a relatively stable political structure? This historical stability is related to the conquest and control of resources made possible by racial apartheid, colonial expansion, and imperialism both here and abroad and so it is critical to ask how conservatism, as a political project, has evolved over time in response to the expansion and contraction of the category of “elites” (Mills 1956).

America has also shaped the political projects around modernity, sexuality, and sexual difference - in conversation with nations like Germany and the United Kingdom - as these categories have been redefined over the past century and exported to other places being incorporated within the expansion of Western, capitalist projects. Historically we see a loosening of social structure and integration, an increasing interest in the science of sex and its categories, and new spaces in which homosexuality can be

both practiced and identified (Foucault 1976; D'Emilio 1983). We also see a reactionary, repressive movement during World War Two and after it.

During the intervening years, we have seen queer liberation movements sweep across the world, most visibly – and perhaps with the most resounding impact – here in the United States. Queer people have increased their visibility and claims upon the social and state spheres. Happening simultaneously with the globalization of labor and the rise of neoliberalism (Eng 2010), these claims have been co-opted and resisted by the nation-state. The most recent marker of this visibility is the Supreme Court decision supporting the right of same-sex partners to marry (*Obergefell v. Hodges* 2015). Just a few short years later we have seen the reversal of a number of protections for the LGBT community as a whole (Department of Health and Human Services Memo 2018; DOJ Amicus 15-3775), as we've seen gay men in particular moving towards more conservative ideologies (Adamson 2017; Rogers 2017; Nash 2016).

For these reasons I explore three historical organizations of the gay right-wing, the Log Cabin Republicans, Libertarians for Gay Rights, and the National Socialist League. These three organizations, based in the United States and each founded during the rise of a national gay rights movement, help us to understand these political and social transformations by rooting our investigation in the longer development of race, gender, and sexuality within the U.S. nation-state.

The white gay men participating in these social movements, like Milo Yiannopoulos and Jack Donovan, have also demonstrated a split in their kinds of

participation since the 1970s. This study suggests two central threads have emerged within the political tapestry of the white gay right. The first are conservative and right-wing libertarian gay men, often embodied by various organizations like the Log Cabin Republicans, who articulate that despite their sexual orientation (or because of it) they should defend American constitutionalism, the right to bear arms, and what they call fiscal responsibility. The other thread in this tapestry are the gay men who, for various reasons, are called further to the right than the Republican Party. In the phrasing of Vegas Tenold, an author who explored the rise of the far-right in America, these interrelated movements can together be described as “the suits” and “the boots” of right-wing gay organizing (2018). This dissertation will explore both sides of this coin, first discussing the history of right wing gay organizing, and then examine how gay men participating in fascist organizing make use of these narratives - sometimes successfully, and sometimes to their ruin.

Chapter Outline

This study then will lay out the results of this archival work, starting with the historical shift in the way right-wing gay men identified and how this represented changes in what both “conservative” and “homosexual” meant in terms of sexual, racial, and gender difference. Taking on Bobbio’s understanding of right-wing social movements as ones which are fundamentally anti-egalitarian, I explore how conservatism as a political ideology infuses right-wing social movements regardless of self-identification (1994). This chapter, titled “Sexual Citizenship: Constructing a Nationalist Political Body,” explores how changing categories of race, gender, and

sexuality determine conservative organizations interest in acknowledging and incorporating white gay men. What strategic purposes around membership, political direction, or authority do these navigations serve? Exploring these questions through political propaganda, personal memoirs, and newsletters, I argue that conservative political organizations participate in a reification of these differences.

The second chapter, “The Big Tent Comes In Rainbow,” explores the political changes which have happened within the Log Cabin Republicans since their founding in 1979. Over the past 25 years in particular, there has been an incredible rise in the visibility and influence of this organization; and understanding how these discourses appeal to white gay men can help to understand our current political landscape. In particular, this chapter explores how the Log Cabin Republicans as an organization deploy certain kinds of racial, gender, and national discourse in order to obtain a place under the ‘Big Tent’ of the Grand Ol Party. This chapter explores these deployments, and their relationship to mainstream conservative gay politics.

The third chapter, “Was Atlas Gay? Libertarians for Gay Rights” I move a bit further afield. The Libertarian Party, founded in 1971, depicted itself as “pro-gay rights” since its inception. This chapter explores how Libertarians for Gay Rights sought to harness a newly emergent political constituency with appeals to freedom and liberty, and how the “victimless crimes” narrative within the Party lent itself to certain kinds of agenda-setting. It also expands on how property and neoliberalism show up in the way white gay libertarians understand themselves and their organizing.

The fourth chapter, “For White (Gay) Men Only: The National Socialist League” lays out the founding, heyday, and decline of America’s first explicitly homosexual neo-Nazi organization. What kinds of discursive devices are leveraged by this group? What is the political imaginary (both past and future) that moves NSL participants to action? This chapter will address the relationships between desire and politics, the ways whiteness and masculinity shape these relationships, and how militarism and bodily autonomy become central tenants to desirable citizenship.

In the last chapter “Mapping The Wild Woods” I bring together the insights of the previous chapters to discuss how the strategies adopted by these social movement organizations represent not some significant change in framing but are woven into the way the category of homosexuality and right-wing conservatism are defined and understood. Throughout I tie these historical strategies to contemporary examples of the increasing presence of gay men in right-wing movements in order to trace how these strategies are being recycled and updated in contemporary social and political projects. In doing so I demonstrate how figures like Milo Yiannopoulos and Jack Donovan, rather than aberrations, are a product of larger social and historical forces.

Chapter 1: Sexual Citizenship and the Nationalist Body

"...you are hung up on words, on labels: "gay", "homosexual", "lesbian." You think they tell you who a person sleeps with, but they don't tell you that. Like all labels, they refer to one thing and one thing only: Where does a person so identified fit in the food chain? In the pecking order. Not ideology or sexual taste, but something much simpler: clout."

Al Pacino as Roy Cohn, *Angels in America* 2003

"[Y]ou might say that the future of the West sort of depends on us faggots leaping back in the closet and churning out a few kids."

Milo Yiannopoulos, Breitbart, June 2015

In this chapter I set out to explain the rise of white gay conservatives as a social and political identity. To do this I examine how broader historical forces like race, gender, and sexuality have shaped the two categories which constitute this identity: homosexuality (implicitly white and male) and conservatism (implicitly straight, white, and male). This means situating both categories as evolving concepts which exert influence on each other, and which - despite the popular perception of contradiction - have often been bedfellows. As the real life Roy Cohn, a closeted gay man and rabid anti-Communist prosecutor exemplifies, this partnership has had a long history and has been paired in ways that continue to shape the field of American politics today (Von Hoffman 1988). Similarly, we see that those like Yiannopoulos tie the very existence of gay men to the project of Western Civilization. The delicate balance here lies between reification of categories and the useful ways categorization helps researchers and analysts account for difference and change over time. One way to navigate this is to ground analysis in the shifting of these categories over time, by providing an intellectual history of how white men have participated in and understood the categories of

“conservative” and “homosexual.” Are these categories intertwined historically and politically, and how are they racialized and gendered? This chapter will bring us up to the 1950s and early 60s, when homosexuality and conservatism had solidified into clear, if contested, political identities.

Methodology

Before we can unpack the unique, and sometimes intertwined, categories of conservatism and homosexuality, it's important to clarify a few key terms which will come up repeatedly in this analysis. The first of these is “homosexual.” This term is out of date within the current context, in which gay is usually used but important to developing a richer historical analysis of this category. In working through this history I explore the creation of the “homosexual” first, as medicalized discourse, and then how this category is rearticulated through the language of the homophile and then later recast as “gay.” While homosexual and homophile are not inherently gender specific, wherever the term gay is used, I am referencing men who identify as sexually and/or romantically attracted to other men. Where homosexual or homophile become updated in current parlance to lesbian I will use that term in this history.

It is also important to explain a bit more about what I mean by white men's relationship to the categories of conservatism and homosexuality. Whiteness is not ahistorical, and in fact it is a category that was also being consolidated through colonial expansion in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whiteness, understood by Omi and Winant as a “racial project” - rooted not in biology but in communal efforts to define groups and their stratified place in society using perceived biological

differences - means that it is a category constructed by collective action rather than any inherent biological truth (2014). Being constructed in this way means that it can expand and contract over time; a process we can see with the inclusion and exclusion of ethnic groups like Italians over the history of the United States. So who am I talking about when I discuss white gay men? I deploy the term “white” to mean any individual given membership to the white category on the basis of perceived positive biological, inheritable traits and who are accorded right, status, and property based on those perceived traits. Thus this exploration of homosexuality and conservatism is specifically focused on how white men experience and produce a particular intellectual and social history of these categories.

Similarly, these historical explorations are focused on the particular gender project constituting masculinity. Gender, the overarching frame shaping masculinity, is a set of conventionalized scripts which we assign to others based on our perception of their sexed bodies; scripts we utilize or transform in our everyday interactions with each other (West and Zimmerman 1987). U.S. society bifurcates gender into two categories, masculinity and femininity, expecting different behaviors and expressions from those identified by sexual and social norms as men or women (Connell 2016). While masculinity is always constructed through broader relationships of gender (Connell 2016), here I am interested in and focused on masculinity in particular as a project because it undergirds and legitimizes their identity and material existence. One explanation of masculinity is that it is a set of material and social benefits ascribed to those sexed bodies who do masculinity properly - that is, are dominant, aggressive,

decisive, and primal/rational.⁶ This understanding of masculinity is what R.W. Connell calls “hegemonic masculinity,” in that its performance is most valued within broader society.

While masculinity has not always been caught up within expectations of heterosexuality, heterosexuality is compulsory today for inclusion in hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2016). Therefore, white gay men, the subjects of this study, do not operate from a place of hegemonic masculinity. Their performance of masculinity falls within the category of “subordinate” masculinity because it fails to meet the criteria of heterosexuality demanded by current hegemonic masculinity. But that does not mean white gay men simply accept that their masculinity is subordinate (Oselin & Barber 2019). Instead, as I demonstrate throughout this dissertation they navigate their subordinate status by appealing to hegemonic norms, expectations, and roles. Thus femininity will continue to play a role in the discussion but as something rejected and refused, stigmatized and stigmatizing, for this particular group. This study looks for explicit mentions of masculinity and male embodiment, while also burrowing deep into the contextual meanings of “rationality” and “citizenship” which have traditionally been the sole purview of white men within the U.S. political landscape. Thus the unfurling of these two categories in this chapter should - must - be understood as partial and related

⁶ John Pettegrew explores how men are constructed both as primal beasts, close to nature and reactive, as well as arbiters of reason in *Brutes in Suits* (2007). These contradictions are part and parcel of why masculinity is often so hard to define.

to how our later right-wing social movement organizations, dominated by white gay men, understand and articulate themselves in terms of conservatism and homosexuality.

In this chapter I lay out a historical reading of these two categories. In doing so I aim to lay out a well-researched foundation for understanding the right-wing social movements I explore later in this dissertation. While much of the primary archival documents I explore are specifically related to these organizations, this chapter puts those documents in conversation with the political science, history, and sociological scholars I share in this chapter. I draw from, but do not replicate, sociology's genealogical method in order to situate these organizational archives in terms of the larger field in which white men have seen the categories of conservative and homosexual as useful markers of social and historical identity.

This methodology, originating from Nietzsche and made popular by the historian Michel Foucault, focuses on tracing the development and meaning of particular ideas and institutions over time (Foucault 1978). These scholars, while developing this method, have a deeply exclusionary history of using this method to highlight and universalize white masculinity and European colonial history. While the genealogical approach has been critiqued by some sociologists for its challenge to objectivity and disruptive relationship to "social facts," its strength lies in unsettling categories which have been naturalized into immutable, timeless characteristics (Williams 1960; Pavlich 1995; Dean 2003; Mukerji 2007). We have also seen feminist and post-colonial studies scholars use this method while challenging its methodological roots (Stoler 2002; Said 1978). Laura Ann Stoler, for example, uses this genealogical method to craft a counter-history to the

colonial, white supremacist practices and policies which historically shaped erotic social life (2002). Karl Mannheim has similarly articulated how political traditions like conservatism should be understood less by their ideological cohesiveness and more by these underlying forces of modernity and the way people produce knowledge and politics from these patterning structures (1986).

It's for precisely this reason I am exploring the historical construction of these categories by tracing their shifting meanings over time. Tracing the historical roots of conservatism and homosexuality starts where many historical projects begin - in an archive. This chapter draws on both digital and physical LGBT archives from across the United States, encapsulating political propaganda, personal memoirs, and newsletters. It also draws on the historical and genealogical work of political scientists, historians, and cultural theorists in order to develop a contextual framework for analysis.

By tracing the emergence of the conservative and homosexual from their initial constructions to their meeting point we can denaturalize the historical process and examine the emergent lineages of thought which constitute this political and social subjectivity. This historical excursion will not encompass the construction of conservatism⁷ and homosexuality⁸ outside what is pertinent to understanding how white

⁷ For a sample of the history of non-white participation in conservatism see Corey Fields' 2016 book, *Black Elephants in the Room: The Unexpected Politics of African American Republicans*, Peter Eisenstadt's 2015 book *Black Conservatism: Essays in Intellectual and Political History*, or Geraldo Cadava's 2020 volume *The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, from Nixon to Trump*. Alongside these readings is a deeply informative set of histories on white women's inclusion in conservatism, like that of Kathleen Blee's 2003 *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*, Michelle Nickerson's 2014 *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*, and Catherine Rymph's 2006 volume *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right*.

⁸ Similarly, while the history laid out in this chapter focuses on how homosexuality is constructed for white men, there is a deep and critical investigation of how this construction shapes, and is shaped by,

American gay men construct their own political and social selves. This should not be taken to mean such histories do not exist but rather lie beyond the scope of this project.

The Political and Social Crisis of Modernity

I demonstrate throughout this chapter that both of these terms emerge from the ongoing crises and contradictions of modernity. “Modernity” in this case refers to the ways industrialized and industrializing societies take part in a unique configuration of beliefs, values, and norms emerging from the European “Age of Reason.” It is primarily characterized by capitalist production, scientific-rational thinking, and technical-bureaucratic organization (Giddens 1998). This restructuring of society has had profound impacts on social life, impacts that sociologists who make up the disciplinary canon - from Marx to Du Bois - have attempted to confront, understand, and sometimes to address. In the following sections, I identify these underlying conflicts and how they work together. In doing so, I address how the intersecting historical social forces are internalized and externalized as a particular social and political identity, the gay conservative.

Constructing Conservatism

women’s participation. Here I refer to Marti Lybeck’s 2014 *Desiring Emancipation: New Women and Homosexuality in Germany, 1890-1933*, Oram and Turnbull’s 2001 *The Lesbian History Sourcebook: Love and Sex Between Women in Britain from 1780-1970*, and Lillian Faderman’s fantastic 2012 text *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America*. The history of homosexuality is similarly reflected and transformed as it moved across racial lines, producing another set of unique subjectivities. You can find examples of this in Siobhan Sommerville’s 2000 book *Queering the Colorline: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*, Roderick Ferguson’s 2003 *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*, José Muñoz’s 2020 *The Sense of Brown*, and Thaddeus Russell’s fantastic 2008 treatise “The Color of Discipline: Civil Rights and Black Sexuality” in *The American Quarterly*.

The rise of conservatism is linked to post-French Revolution political thinking - to a reactionary response to shifting social and political hierarchies - and the desire by elites to justify the maintenance of established power relations. Both historians and sociologists have wrestled with how to understand and track conservatism over time; is it enough to self-identify as a conservative? Make an appeal to tradition? Accrue power through established political practices? This history of conservatism will demonstrate that each of these is an aspect of, but not enough to encapsulate, conservatism as a political and social identity. In this case, the historical record demonstrates that contemporary American conservatives are seeking to rejuvenate, to resuscitate, a connection between the white American nation and the state, between an imagined (white) community and a set of institutions and governmental practices. This animus arises from deeply held anxieties present since the foundation of the settler-colonial⁹ American nation-state, and represents the deeply ambivalent relationship between powerful American elites and the supposed premises of “liberty and freedom for all” necessary to win a war against Colonial Britain and re-establish relations of economic and social exploitation in the newly independent colonies.

The roots of conservative political thought run deep within the United States, even preceding its official formation as a nation-state. Political theorists often trace the rise of the conservative tradition to the French Revolution and the responses of Edmund Burke and others to the social upset and disintegration which emerged from it, and in

⁹ I use the term settler-colonial here in the same manner as Patrick Wolfe, “to indicate the difference between colonial systems of extraction and ones which not only sought to exploit land, labor, and resources but also to destroy and replace Indigenous peoples (1999).”

doing so must recognize that this response is deeply embedded in the solidification of the nation-state itself as a marker of social and political difference (Robin 2016; Neill 2021; Smith 2020; Frohnen et al., 2006). Prior to this period, conservatism as such had no touchpoint - no political framework - from which to act. Following the creation of the nation-state white men and women were identified by their nationality, although for many women their nationality was tied to the national citizenship of their husbands first and foremost (Naturalization Act of 1790). This frame of reference was deeply influential for early American politics, as the founders of the settler-colonial American state were deeply concerned with avoiding what they considered the “excesses” of the French Revolution and the cyclical dissolution of government accompanying revolutionary episodes (Allit 2009).

The settler-colonial nature of the early American political field informs the commitments and framing of early governmental organizers. As Dana Nelson argues, these early organizers had the monumental task of creating a shared identity among colonists, an identity which was defined largely through its contrasts - it's through racial and gender projects at the level of settler colonial government that we see the creation of the white, propertied, American man (1999). These projects manifest themselves as legal and social contracts constituting particular populations. Conservative politics during this period adhered to various structures which marked out elites as proper citizens - sticking not to certain political parties but along pre-existing cleavages in gender, race, and sexuality.

This holds true across the spectrum of American conservatism, from neo-cons to neo-fascists. Because conservatism is oriented towards the maintenance and reproduction of power, it is heavily invested in both definitional boundaries (what counts as X and what does not) as well as policing how these categories are embodied, expressed, and materially stratified in relation to the nation-state. The formation of the Ku Klux Klan for instance, in both its original iteration and its second formulation, formed as a conservative reaction to the end of slavery; policing sexuality, race, and gender in place of the explicit institutions which had preceded them (McVeigh 2009).

Patrick Allit, a political historian, specifically argues that tracking conservatism in the United States goes far beyond simply identifying political parties (2009). Depending on the time period, most major parties within the United States have expressed some form of conservative thought. An example of this, the stance taken by Democrats at the beginning of the 1990s, particularly around the “War on Drugs,” was deeply conservative - despite the fact that at the time Republicans were seen as the conservative party. While Democrats have developed a narrative as the less conservative party, they implemented the Violent Crime Control Act and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, which drastically increased the infrastructure of the prison industrial complex and impacted poor neighborhoods and communities of color disproportionately (H.R.3355). This was the end result of political strategies which rested on the idea that these Democratic interventions were going to save and protect the current moral and economic order.

It is notable though that conservatism has always been invested in the politics of governance writ large (Neil 2019). This sits alongside the work of political theorists like

Corey Robin, who have argued that conservatism is not a static set of issues or party relations but an expression of deeper beliefs about human nature and the right of the powerful to dominate the less powerful (Robin 2016). Narrowing this somewhat wide frame, Allit describes some key features of conservatism in the United States. First, he argues 1) that conservatism has repeatedly demonstrated a deep distrust of democracy and egalitarianism; 2) American conservatives also generally tend to believe that civilization is fragile and easily disrupted; which 3) Manifests itself particularly in fears of social dissolution. These qualities, he argues, characterize conservatism across historical periods, even across changing political periods and new geopolitical moments (2009).

Even with these well-defined parameters, it can be difficult to parse out conservative political movements from liberal ones. One reason for this within the context of the United States is that political traditions, from liberalism¹⁰ to conservatism have attempted to solve the problem of the “Other” created by establishing a settler-colonial nation-state. The nation-state is a unique pairing of the idea of a nation, or group bound together by things like shared language, rituals, and culture and a state, the apparatus of political governance (Anderson 2016). The expectation that the nation and the state are combined is a unique product of modernity, and the feelings and activities it encourages can be understood as nationalism. Expanding on this, nationalism is “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining (1) political and economic autonomy

¹⁰ Liberalism is defined as a political philosophy that emphasizes the rights of the individual and their equality under the law, and which locates the legitimacy of the government in the consent of its people (Courtland, Gaus, Schmidtz 2022). It is not uncommon to find liberalism in right-wing movements, for example libertarians, but most often this liberalism is preempted by conservative definitions of what individuals count and are represented by the law.

(or independence) and citizenship rights, (2) ethnocultural identity, and (3) social unity, on behalf of a population that is deemed by some of its members to constitute a nation” (Giddens 1985; Maleševic & Trošt 2018).

Both American liberalism and conservatism are preoccupied by concerns over who counts, as both a citizen and human being, and it is because of this that it can be difficult to distinguish between liberalism and conservatism within the American political tradition. No matter which political tradition one is describing, they are both historically tied to white supremacy, patriarchy, and ethno-nationalism. Liberalism expands governance beyond the sovereign - it turns all property owning men into kings in miniature, with duties and responsibilities to each other as equals. Conservatism, emerging alongside the nation-state, seeks to enshrine the qualities of domination (masculinity, white colonialism, property ownership) in either cultural or biological timelessness. Mondon and Winter argue that the difficulty in distinguishing between these two categories benefits the maintenance of the political and social status quo (2020). Essentially, it allows social movement and political organizations to shift their participation in racial and gender projects without fundamentally transforming the relationships which guide who matters. Ward provides a helpful example here with her interrogation of how whiteness manifests in racially diverse LGBT organizations. The LGBT Centers she studied actively described themselves as racially diverse, and subscribed to a corporate diversity model in their messaging, Ward finds, however, that the standards and metrics by which they evaluated success were based on the cultural norms of whiteness (2008: 582-83). Even when those norms were being stigmatized in

other organizations, particularly conservative and right-wing spaces, it was harder for whites to identify this liberal form of race stratification as violent or exclusionary. Stigma, in this case, is an attribute that is deeply discrediting within a relational structure of meaning (Goffman 1963: 12). Here liberalism operates as an abeyance strategy which advances exploitation and stratification while decreasing stigma and earning higher levels of buy-in from political participants (Taylor 1989; Simi and Futrell 2020). Abeyance here is a term used in social movement literature to describe a “holding process by which movements sustain themselves in non-receptive political environments and provide continuity from one stage of mobilization to another” (Taylor 1989: 761). Ishay Landa, as well as Mondon and Winter, argue that the cyclical emergence of fascist and right-wing social movements occur because of exactly these abeyance strategies - the transformation of conservative institutions into liberal ones in order to avoid stigma until the political climate shifts (2010; 2020). This does not mean that conservatism and liberalism are the same - but that they shape the American political imagination by reinforcing particular political and social measures of success.

Conservatism plays a particular role in crafting these boundaries. To apprehend the unique tradition of conservatism, it is important to understand how it is talked about by scholars. Texts about conservatism tend to focus on its intellectual history, and this is reflected in the history of conservatism laid out so far. But the intellectual history of the word is only one aspect of the political and social life of this term. Allitt points out that before the twentieth century, few Americans identified themselves as “conservatives” (2009). Moreover, until the 1950s there was no such thing as a “conservative

movement” within American politics (Nash 2006). While conservative thought, and conservative figures, existed in American politics prior to the 1950s, it was only during the middle of the twentieth century that “conservative” coalesced into a legible social movement and group identification. This development, as we will see, mirrors the establishment of other kinds of political identifications - including that of the gay or homosexual subject.

The historical construction of the “conservative” then is both an intellectual history, and a political project engaged in by actors on the ground as negotiations over the term and its boundaries happened within and through various organizations. George Nash charts these contests within the conservative intellectual movement post-WWII (2006). Early twentieth century conservative thinkers like F.A. Hayek, Richard Weaver, and Leo Strauss laid the groundwork for organizers to gather potential recruits in right-wing “salons” - networks of individuals who kept correspondence and provided material support to early conservative social movement efforts (Nash 2006).

Out of these early efforts, largely focused on developing and mobilizing young, university-aged (white) men, a number of conservative organizations sprung up to organize the intellectual and social energy at hand (Story and Laurie 2008; Nash 2006). It’s during this period that “Conservative” comes to indicate a set of social relationships, in addition to an intellectual orientation. It’s also during this period of boundary-making that we see the first fissures between groups that identify as conservative (Allit 2009; Nash 2006).

After the 1950s we see how “conservative” becomes a social label which references not simply a political stance or orientation but a political category which structures affective, social, and political relationships. Despite contestation between conservatives on who is *properly* conservative, or how conservative goals are to be achieved, their mutual investment and point of departure remains; they are actors oriented towards establishing or re-establishing a stratified hierarchy (cultural or biological) based on various locations of social exception. While strategies, frames, and tactics may differ depending on the time period, the underlying meaning-making which sets conservatives apart as a group remains the naturalizing of systemic domination.

This naturalization is maintained by a taxonomy of difference which requires the identification of graded populations of inclusion and exclusion. By graded populations, conservative taxonomies of difference do not simply demarcate who counts, but to what degree (Treitler 2013; for an example lauding this kind of thinking, see Rubin’s *Darwinian Politics: The Evolution of Freedom*). These degrees are shaped by the usefulness and proximity of populations to white masculinity; a category which is simultaneously “obviously” at the top of the epistemic and evolutionary hierarchy while constantly under threat of being toppled from below.

Constructing Homosexuality

Conservatism is not the only political category to emerge as a product of modernity, amidst the creation of the nation-state and its attendant colonial and imperial European projects. Sexuality increasingly came under the purview of nation-state

institutions, institutions which expanded further and further into traditionally unregulated parts of European life (Lowe 2015; Foucault 1976; Stoler 2002; Anderson 2016). This regulation represented a fundamental shift in the everyday experiences of Europeans, and in the colonial administrations they set up around the globe in order to steal land, exploit labor, and funnel raw materials to the rapidly industrializing metropole (Marx 1867; Wolfe 1999).

These administrations were increasingly concerned with who European colonists were having sex with and what kind of relationships or children might be produced by those sexual encounters (Stoler 2002). This not only meant creating laws and policies disciplining the sex lives of European colonists, but helped to simultaneously cement the colonial and racial status of those indigenous groups they ruled over (Said 1978; Fanon 1967). Colonial administrations adopted the language of the Occident and Orient, of white and non-white, of masculine empire and feminine colonial asset in order to naturalize their extractive regimes (Said 1978; Prashad 2001; Nelson 1999). But these binaries were not how people experienced sexuality and desire on the ground, and the products of this social and sexual contact posed deep problems for colonial apparatuses that sought to normalize racial and colonial differences in order to avoid miscegenation and through eugenics promote a proper (read, white) citizenry (Nelson 1995; Somerville 2000; Stokes 2001).

These rules were not focused only on acts which would later be categorized as “homosexual,” but on sexuality at large. This is an important distinction to make at the beginning of a historical examination of “homosexuality” - the earlier term “sodomy”

referred to non-reproductive sexual acts which led to moral degeneracy. It was seen as a social and religious failing rather than a permanent or biological state. Rather than a population, people who had sex with people of the same sex were a collection of individuals who had fallen prey to moral degeneracy. This meant they could be recuperated, that their acts, while constructed as deviant, were lapses rather than a permanent state of stigma (Chitty 2020; Halperin 1990). Men and women who committed sodomy were still productive and reproductive members of society, and while it was a sin to commit sodomy, it did not bar you from marriage and other mechanisms of social reproduction. This shifts as forces like the British Empire codify anti-sodomy laws into their military code as a crime punishable by hanging, as such acts were thought to undermine the power of the British Empire with “unmanly” acts, particularly when citizen-soldiers were far from home (Han and O’Mahoney 2018; McClintock 1995). It is during the mid-19th century that this shift is completed with the invention of the “homosexual,” a permanent threat to both God and Country.

Within the American context, scholars often trace concern over the control of sexual bodies to the early twentieth-century (Seidman 2015). Scholars of race and sexuality trace these concerns much earlier, to the beginning of the 19th Century and the founding of the United States (Somerville 2000; Snorton 2018). The consolidation of the U.S. nation-state coincides with the cementing of the masculine white heterosexual man. Across the 19th century whiteness is being linked to heterosexuality, masculinity and binary sexed bodies (Nelson 1999; Snorton 2018). White men are being constructed as a group not simply by their physical attributes but by their ability to control and

dominate others, to extract productive and reproductive labor from those around them. This is encoded in the legal and social structure of early American society, and proximity to this status affords proximity to the ability to own and act on others (Nakano-Glenn 2004; Jones-Rogers 2020; Steinberg 2001).¹¹ During this period, particularly in frontier areas of the expanding settler-colony, white men were expected to be “civilized” by their white wives (Kaplan 2005; Pettegrew 2007). This civilizing was also about bringing these men into the reproductive, heterosexual apparatus of the nation-state and away from contact with both racial others and other men (Kaplan 2005; Stoler 2002).

The technologies controlling reproduction and sexuality were also being honed during this period. In particular, the United States ended their participation in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in 1808 - after which white slave-owners turned to breeding their chattel slaves (U.S. House Bill 77, 1807). This breeding program, and attendant anxieties around sexuality, would shape the way Black bodies were understood till the present (Morgan 2004; Snorton 2018). White masculinity was being constructed in opposition to Black femininity through these programs, as they were understood not only in terms of physical skin or sex differences but in who had the ability to exert domination over the world around them. Following the Civil War and the emancipation of enslaved people in the United States the focus of many white racial projects shifted from breeding and reproducing laborers to attempts to eliminate and control Black reproduction while

¹¹ For example, as Jones-Rogers discusses in her book *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South* this proximity to white men also afforded white women the ability to dominate Black men and women. A later instance of this is the early suffrage movement, which articulated the need to be given the vote because that vote had been extended to Black men following the Civil War (Wells 2020; Finnegan 1999; Samek 2020)

demanding white reproduction. This demand for white reproduction fell firmly not on white men, but on white women. The construction of white men as both rational, enlightened political actors sat alongside popular descriptions of them as highly sexual, animalistic actors with little ability to control their desires without the presence of women (Pettegrew 2007; Dudink, Hagemann, and Clark 2012; Devlin 2005). It's here that we see the consolidation of the heterosexual family unit as the best way to harness white reproductive labor for the nation-state.

This intertwining of race science and sexuality within the American context culminates in early twentieth-century narratives in which Black people, both men and women were not seen by the white public as properly heterosexual or cisgender (Russell 2008; Snorton 2018; Franke 1999). Historians of the time discuss the sexual and gender tourism of this time, in which white people, including white men, would venture up into places like Harlem¹² to experience the speakeasys and queer spaces where they could consume gender and sexual deviance (Russell 2008; Schwarz 2003; Garber 1991; Chauncey 1995). The general perception by the white public of Black sexual and gender deviance was not a product of one-off behaviors or sins - the sodomite of religious reference earlier - but was perceived as a scientific and medical truth about non-white groups in general, and Black people in particular. This contrasted with the stringent rules of masculinity and heterosexuality enforced in white American spaces, often because these forms of gender and sexual difference were seen as not-quite-white and thus

¹² For a fascinating exploration of how this shaped gay men's spaces, see Allen Drexel's chapter, "Before Paris Burned: Race, Class, and Male Homosexuality on the Chicago South Side, 1935-1960," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*.

something which should be kept as a private affair (Mason 2001; Howard 2019). It's here at the beginning of the twentieth-century we begin to see the entrance of homosexuality from Germany and the United Kingdom into the national imagination and concern about homosexuality among white men being thought of as a secret plague on the national body.

The term "homosexual" is coined first in the 1850s in Germany, although between the medical and scientific fields - and later to a lesser extent community organizers and members - its definitional reach far exceeds the national borders it began within (Beachy 2014: 6). German medical practitioners like Johann Ludvig Casper were arguing that some "sodomites" had a permanent, biological attraction to the same sex (Beachy 2014: 6). While this debate primarily focused on men because sexual drive was assumed to be the purview of men (echoing the sentiment discussed earlier in which women were "civilizing," non-desiring subjects) it also included women who were attracted to women. Over the next fifty years other scholars like the famed psychiatrist Richard von Kraft-Ebbing, former jurist and civil servant Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, and doctor Magnus Hirschfeld would come to articulate a perspective on same sex attraction fundamentally at odds with earlier religious frameworks (Beachy 2014). This is exemplified by Hirschfeld's position that sexuality and gender expression were biological and immutable (Hirschfeld 2000). This new frame propelled Hirschfeld to call for the decriminalization of homosexuality, and the formation of the, *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee* (the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee) in 1897.

This medical model did not spring forth fully formed from nowhere. The early thinkers concerned with homosexuality in Europe drew heavily on medicine as a discipline in hopes of lending credence and weight to their claims (Beachy 2014; Hirschfeld 1922-23). Their work was then picked up, not just by psychiatrists and the medical establishment, but also by the general public. Although these early thinkers argued for a biological basis for same-gender attraction, and thus for the idea that activity between same-gender partners should be decriminalized as it was part of “natural human variation” this biological argument also lent itself to eugenic political projects like the extermination of homosexuals (identified with a pink triangle) and “asocials” (women who had sex with women, identified with a black triangle) by Nazi Germany (Plant 1986). This distinction emerges from the way sexuality, and more specifically erotic desire, was constructed. Homosexuals were men driven by sexual desire for other men, while women who were sexually attracted to other women could only be understood as asocial because they refused to participate in compulsory heterosexuality.

In tandem with the scientific classification of a different *kind* of person based on sexuality - the homosexual - there were similar developments focused on the application of scientific principles to human sexuality in Britain with Havelock Ellis. Ellis’ work on human sexuality, including his work on homosexuality, was translated into German in 1896 (Ellis 1896). Ellis’ work was censored in Britain, and he worked with F.A. Davis Publishing in Philadelphia to publish his work abroad (Calder-Marshall 2011). Of particular interest to the American case, his study was one of the first major works on

human sexuality read widely throughout the United States, and contributed deeply to the work done by scholars like Alfred Kinsey (Calder-Marshall 2011). Thus we can see in the graph below the rising reference to homosexuality, particularly as it related to men, in American literature beginning after the introduction of Ellis' work.

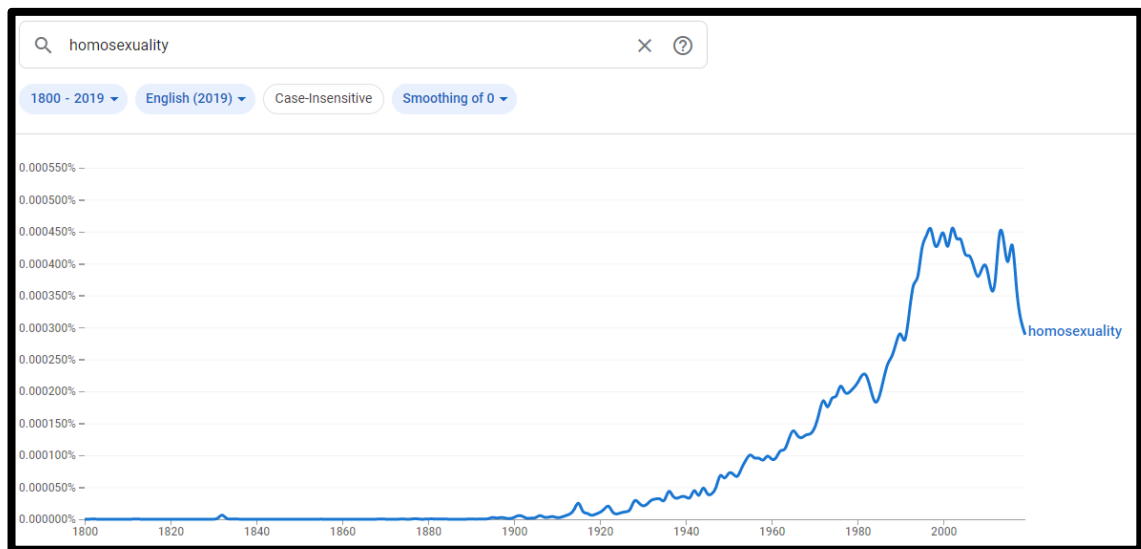


Figure 2. "Homosexuality" references across Google Books

These conversations happening between scientists across national lines helps us trace how men and women become labeled "a homosexual" - a member of this distinct sexual group.

Because of the work of Havelock Ellis, the United States had been exposed to the idea of "the homosexual" by the 1930s. One clear indication that this category had gained traction, particularly for men, can be found in the recruitment and draft of men into the military during World War II. Allan Bérubé a historian of homosexuality and World War II, found "With so many men available, the armed forces decided to exclude certain groups...[including] following the advice of psychiatrists—homosexuals" (1990).

Important to note here, that the prior to this the military had no criteria against homosexuality, as it was not yet considered an identity category upon which one could discriminate. Equally important is the role that psychiatrists played in the institutionalization of the term and the influence of an increasingly medical model which would come to dominate the term “homosexuality” for decades following the war.

After World War II, the timeline of homosexuality splits. Whereas it was held primarily as a medical and psychiatric term prior to the 1940s, it begins to shape the organizing and self-identification of everyday Americans by the late 40s. The American medical institution would continue to include homosexuality as a diagnosable mental illness for men and women until the reform of one of its primary texts, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, in its revised third edition in 1980 (DSM 1980).

Instead of focusing on the continuation of the medical model, my focus emphasizes the adoption of the term homosexual by those who are affected by, and regulated through, this term. While the medical community would continue to explore homosexuality as a mental illness for decades there was a new and rapidly evolving sense of self-awareness among people who previously operated by a “love that dare not speak its name.” In contrast to the authority held by the medical establishment within the popular (non-homosexual) audience, homosexuality for those categorized under its framework began to see themselves as a social community, a collective of people with shared traits and commitments (D’Emilio 1983). Bérubé and Valocchi argue eloquently

that wartime changes in American society, particularly the rapid urbanization and growth of industrial labor, made this sense of community possible for the first time (1990; 2020).

Perhaps one of the clearest indications of this split between the medical model and that adopted by this newly forming community comes from the writings of Harry Hay, a founder alongside Rudi Gernreich of the Mattachine Society (Timmons 1990). The Society, organized into a cell structure reminiscent of the Communist organizing spaces from which Hays hailed, was one of the first American organizations intent on collective action and organizing around a shared sexual minority identity (D'Emilio 1983). Founded in 1948, the Mattachine Society laid the groundwork from which future organizers would draw their frame of reference. The group consisted of homosexuals across lines of gender and race, with women and men of color present in organizing meetings and discussions.¹³ Although it started based on the premise of developing a shared sense of social identity, the Mattachine Society quickly became an institution of white gay men as Black men and lesbian women left or were pushed out of the group (White 2009}. Even as the definition of homosexual was being reclaimed as a social identity it was one that was being appropriated and deployed for and by white gay men.

As C. Todd White documents, the group's roots in communist organizing and in the political, strategic development of a consciously "homosexual" or "homophile" community was its origin story; but as the social forces shaping American political life shifted so did the organization. It's this "root" that has led so many historians to argue

¹³ From the records I can find, I cannot find any indication that women of color were present in these spaces.

that “The gay movement began on the left” (Robinson 2004). While this is broadly true, from the beginning of the emergence of homosexual politics there were white gay men like Dale Jennings who considered themselves to the right on the political spectrum. Dale Jennings was a member of the Mattachine Society, Republican, and firm believer in the idea that homosexuals were meant to be integrated into the overall warp and weft of American life.

The Mattachine Society and their later rival organizations like the Daughters of Bilitis¹⁴ and the Society for Individual Rights maintained a near hegemonic grasp over early political contestations around homosexuality. This grasp unraveled during the 1960s, and had almost completely dissolved by the end of the decade. This dissolution was facilitated by a shift towards national politics, lesbians and queer people of color creating their own organizing spaces, and movement isomorphism experienced between homosexual and homophile movements and movements for racial, anti-colonial, and gender justice.

Real Gay, Real Conservative

As both conservative and homosexual come to identify communities with particular characteristics and relationships between their members, they are also being passively and actively connected by those who see themselves reflected in both terms. Despite current claims from conservative gay thinkers, that more conservative gay men need to “come out” to shift the association between gay men and the left there is, in

¹⁴ The Daughters of Bilitis were primarily a white lesbian organization, and as later lesbian of color organizations arose the organization lost its position as representing the interests of all lesbians.

fact, a long history of gay conservatives within the United States (Bawer 1994; Sullivan 1996). Here I want to outline the agenda-setting that has motivated conservative gay men – that have helped them bind together their sense of self in both communities – following the consolidation of conservative and homosexual identities in the United States.

To be white, gay, and conservative was not necessarily contradictory or unusual in 1960s organizing spaces. Many of the appeals made by groups like the Mattachine Society were fundamentally conservative in their appeal to state power and the cultural and legal power of tradition (White 2009). Robert Sloane, president of Mattachine Midwest said in his 1965 introductory address that “We have an appointment with destiny in our generation, just as the patriots of 1776 had it in theirs” (Gerber-Hart Mattachine Midwest records). This quote is one of a number of references throughout the address which makes explicit references to American legal and political traditions as the grounds of a rights-based claim to citizenship. In this way, Sloane can make the argument that the homophile is no different from the patriot. We can see this same merging of gay nationalism in a speech given by Jim Bradford, a later president of the same organization:

“A very large part of the fight depends on us. The Constitution and the Illinois statutes are quite clear in not discriminating against us. Those who “administer” the law are the ones who must be educated and enlisted in the fight for equality. Our system is still functioning despite the efforts of some police, some judges and some lawyers.”

Rather than challenging the co-construction of whiteness, masculinity, and citizenship on which this patriotism is based, the above example of an early homonationalist orientation

demonstrates that groups like Mattachine were not sharply divided by political identity.

Homonationalism combines three central concepts, hetero- and homonormativity, coined by Michael Warner and Lisa Duggan respectively, and nationalism.

Heteronormativity is a system by which heterosexuality is normalized, privileged, and enforced as a system of domination (Warner 1991: 3-17). Homonormativity is a political orientation “that does not contest dominant heteronormativity assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption” (2003: 50). These concepts, combined with nationalism, pinpoint the effort by state and social movement actors to leverage non-heterosexual identities in the service of the national project.

Originally discussed in relation to the active efforts of the Israeli government to “pinkwash,” or leverage, its stated acceptance of LGBTQ people in order to erase its racial and colonial history, homonationalism is no less present in U.S. politics (Puar 2007).

We can see in the above framing that Mattachine was willing to actively participate in framing homosexuals as part of the American nation-state project. This division would develop out of a shift in gay political organizing in the post-Stonewall era and would lead to the creation of uniquely conservative gay social movement organizations predicated upon whiteness and masculinity.

The proliferation of gay organizing in the 1970s occurred on both the left and the right. This diversification of political and organizing bodies led to the emergence of groups like the National Socialist League (NSL) in 1974, the Libertarians for Gay Rights in 1975, and the first Log Cabin Republican groups in 1978. The exuberance characterizing

gay men's participation in political life was not limited to the left at all, and during this period we see perhaps the widest range of gay political participation, from gay liberation to gay Nazism.

This shifted during the 1980s. Although, with the exception of the NSL, these conservative gay organizations weathered the storms of the 1980s, they did not get away scot free. If the 1970s was a period of political activation and the coalescing of a sense of communal identity, the 1980s was marked by austerity and the danger of an increasingly well-organized religious right. Add to this the start of the AIDS crisis in 1981, with its rapid and deadly toll on the gay men, and the broad political focus of the 1970s shifted to political commitments that were primarily oriented around the failures of the United States government to deal with AIDS. This transformation made conservative politics less appealing, which is reflected in the membership numbers of gay conservative organizations, how much energy and resources they could dedicate to recruiting and retaining members, and the collapse of organizations like the National Socialist League. The revitalization of this organizing would come at the end of the 80s with increased efforts to build a national network of conservative gay groups.

A turning point for gay conservatives emerges with a major shift in AIDS treatment and care in the early 90s. The intervention of protease inhibitors, discussed at length by gay conservative thinker Andrew Sullivan, made it possible to live with a disease which once had been considered a death sentence (1996). Organizing, like the kind characterized by ACT UP, was deemed "no longer necessary" as prominent gay conservatives attacked these kinds of organizations as childish and unnecessary (Hunter

and Madsen 1989; Sullivan 1996; Bawer 1993). Considered a childish holdover from the past, the focus of gay conservatives shifted from the necropolitics of AIDS organizing to the biopolitical goals of inclusion and assimilation - about determining, not what death looks like, but what constitutes the good life.

“Since roughly 1990, the issues that have come to dominate gay politics are precisely the issues that gay conservatives put on the table: gay marriage and gays in the military. As Andrew Sullivan and Bruce Bawer and their fellow gay conservatives have argued, the right to marry and the right to serve are profoundly conservative ideas.” (Robinson pg. 6)

This concern with biopolitical goals like marriage and military inclusion carried through to the 2000s, with the additional goal-setting that gay men in particular required inclusion in order to defend against the outside “threats” posed by the racialized, religious Other following the events of September 11, 2001 (Bawer 2006; Bernard 2001). We can see shift in the writings of Bruce Bawer, a prominent gay conservative, whose latest book is titled, *The Victims' Revolution: The Rise of Identity Studies and the Closing of the Liberal Mind*. In it he argues sternly that the development of identities which conflict with “objective truth,” the “great books,” and the Constitution - in identities which are not invested first and foremost in one’s identity as an American (2012). Such hyphenated identities, he proposes, are at odds not only with conservatism but with the very heart and soul of the nation-state.

This shift towards a biopolitical agenda, and an explicitly conservative platform, marks the development of an organized national conservative gay politics shaping agenda-setting for more than thirty years. That these were the goals set by these organizations is not coincidental, rather they reflect an underlying effort by movement

actors to assert an alternative homosexual image finally in line with the already present lines of stratification within American society.

Emergent Politics: The Specter of the Gay Conservative

Earlier in the chapter I argued that the categories of the conservative and homosexual arise from the conditions of modernity. These conditions - liberal nation-state formation, capitalist production, and scientific knowledge-making - are each social and historical forces which require our participation and investment. So what role does the white gay conservative have in the production and reproduction of modernity and its underlying forces? Here I argue that this bridging identity reflects a historical process attempting to resolve the internal tensions within each category.

I want to shift our attention to what problems each of these categories pose as products of modernity, and how white gay conservatism helps to address these problems. The problem for homosexuality's inclusion within modernity is the challenges it poses to the nation-state and capitalist systems of production. The construct of the nation-state is one shaped by horizontal connections between citizens, and within what Canaday discusses as the "straight state" this relationship is defined in the United States by shared heterosexuality (Anderson 1983; Canaday 2009). Heterosexuality becomes a characteristic of citizenship, and is given a privileged status within the nation-state as a

source of reproduction and labor control, as well as a fundamental mechanism for crafting and regulating familial structures (Ward 2020).

Situated opposite this useful tool of nation-state building, the specter of homosexuality was a risk to the nation-state; connected to deviance, non-citizenship, and the status of racial and gender “Other” (Johnson 2006; Russell 2008; Canaday 2009). Homosexuality's connection to racial and gender deviance - Blackness and femininity in this case - make it a threat because it makes individuals non-citizens (again, white men of property). Gay conservatism is a strategy for regaining that status and sloughing off connections to these Others. It is for this reason that McCarthyism targets homosexuality as a danger to the nation-state and why organizations like the CIA have often monitored homosexual organizing spaces (Johnson 2006; ONE Folder 1978). In order to resolve the danger posed by homosexuality, gay conservatism - with its connection to the maintenance of hierarchy, status, and stratification - helps to resolve this status by situating the homosexual as a patriot in defense of hierarchy. As conservatism transformed to include capitalism as a core principle, the goal of gay conservatism is to make homosexuality indispensable to maintaining the status quo.

Homosexuality's historical depiction as a danger to capitalism and its reproductive capacity also creates a problem for those who are trying to bridge the space between conservatism and homosexuality (Johnson 2006; Canaday 2009). The threat posed by homosexuality is that it identifies a non-productive population, a danger to the production of the nation-state's workers and consumers and thus the economy writ large. Stephen Valocchi argues that homosexuality and gay identity movements have

been deeply shaped by capitalism, and that the historical shifts we see in this identity are representative of economic transformations. These transformations in identity are not uniform across the political spectrum of gay social movements. Gay conservatives have confronted the anti-capitalist associations of homosexuality by placing themselves as useful to capitalist expansion and consumption.

To include conservatives within modernity requires resolving its tension with capitalism and scientific-rational thinking. Conservatism, which has a long history of supporting economic stratification, has not always supported this stratification based on capitalist systems of production (Allit 2009; Robin 2018). That conservatism can be found defending both feudal and capitalist systems of production demonstrates the living nature of this tradition - as capitalist forms of economic activity become dominant we see an increasing shift in conservative thought towards the defense of capitalism and a naturalization of its mechanisms (Allit 2009; Robin 2018). This shift is facilitated by the translation of historically privileged populations into a functional capitalist class.

One of the central populations transformed by capitalism into a land and property-owning class are white men. Conservatism naturalizes this shift by attributing superior cultural, scientific, and personal attributes to this group (Stoler 2010; Nelson 1999; Robin 2018). But following the bifurcation of this population by scientific-rational knowledge production into homosexual and heterosexual populations these same capitalist processes naturalized by conservatism are seen as benefiting a non-natural population. Suddenly conservatism is forced to stigmatize a group it has ardently defended - white men. That this means stigmatizing property-owners, businessmen, and

capitalists poses a problem for the inclusion of conservatism within modern society. Gay conservatism highlights this contradiction and argues that the material interests of conservatives, and the maintenance of social and economic stratification, are best served by adhering to the principles of capitalism when it maintains the power of a historical (thus naturalized) group of people.

Delving deeper into the contradictions between conservatism and scientific-rational knowledge production, conservatism faces a social structure that is increasingly pluralistic. By this, I mean that traditionally powerful populations are increasingly being sub-divided by rational-scientific thinking. When, as David Dietrich argues, conservative movement frames rest upon the naturalization of privilege, how is power supposed to be identified, collected, gathered, maintained, and mobilized in the face of this increasing division (2014)? Snow and Benford define frames as “interpretive schemata that enable participants to locate, perceive, and label occurrences” (Snow et al. 1986). These frames work by “selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment” (Snow & Benford 1992). Frame analysis, an analytical tool developed by Erving Goffman, identifies how social movements shape the collective experience of reality for participants and their onlookers (Goffman 1986; Sumerau and Grollman 2020). Within the United States, a milieu which situates white men at the top of the social and economic hierarchy, conservatives have to figure out what to do when this group is split by axes of differentiation like sexual identity.

The historical answer to this is that homosexuality would preclude white homosexuals from what Nelson discusses as “the fraternity of white men” (1999). Upholding scientific-rational models of homosexuals as a biological population, conservatives have traditionally stigmatized these men as fundamentally more like the gendered and racialized Other than heterosexual white men. In doing so, conservatives could continue to uphold the logic of natural difference between populations. This response though continues to divide both the numbers and the social and political strength of white men as a whole, as each new form of difference sloughs off another layer of supporters.

Gay conservatism offers a different response to the problem of scientific-rational knowledge production and the maintenance of hierarchy. This strategy acknowledges - to different degrees - scientific-rational categories but relegates these differences to the private, rather than public sphere. Manifesting in a variety of ways, from undermining scientific-rational claims of biological differences (see Donovan for examples) to arguing these biological differences lie outside the purview of the public domain conservatives are wrestling for control of (see Veh for examples), we can see clear evidence that conservatism is wrestling with scientific-rational differentiation. All of these responses fall under multicultural white supremacy, a term used by Dylan Rodriguez to mark how white supremacy has transformed following the Civil Rights period in the United States (2021). This period, which he titles White Reconstruction, is marked by the increasing “capacious, flexible, and promiscuously inclusive” forms of domination. This reclamation avoids stigmatizing white men as a whole by drawing on their position as holders of

private property and their shared material interests with other white men - by unifying that which has been traditionally upset by scientific-rational taxonomies.

Conclusion

Homosexuality and conservatism emerge from the forces of modernity, of nation-state formation, capital accumulation, and scientific-rational knowledge production. Their unique histories demonstrate different interpretations and deployments of these forces, but their shared roots in modernity demonstrate that they are not fundamentally oppositional. While many, like Canaday, Richardson, and others have demonstrated that homosexuality's consolidation created a ranked set of populations organized by their usefulness to the nation-state this does not preclude the white gay man from participating in the conservative goal of naturalizing stratification; it simply requires shifting the line of inequality (2009; 2017). This shifting takes work by social movement organizations and actors who, responding to these historical constructions, have attempted to manage stigma and internal contradictions in each term by combining, remixing, and redeploying them to respond to the iterative crises facing modernity and their own loss of status as partially minoritized actors.

In more complex ways, these histories demonstrate that the conditions for homonationalism were present in the United States for much longer than previously discussed by most scholars (for other examples exploring early forms of homonationalism see Serykh 2017 and Simpson 2017). Before the War on Terror, before 9/11, before the centralization of gay conservative goal-setting in the 90s, before the proliferation of gay conservative groups across the nation, even before homosexual and

homophile organizations took to the national stage there have been discursive and organizational threads tying the interests of homosexuals to that of the conservative political project. Thus homonationalism, rather than a state of exception relegated to a particular period of time, appears to be fundamentally intertwined with the constitution of the gay political subject in the United States. This chapter has not yet explained how gay conservative social movements, their actors and leaders, and other conservative organizers have taken these terms and breathed life into them. Following the consolidation of these identities, what did it mean to be a gay conservative and how has this changed over the decades following their first identification? In the following chapters I explore how conservative gay organizations have wrestled with the meaning and politics of gay conservative life.

Chapter 2: The Big Tent Comes In Rainbow

“...I just got an award, or an endorsement yesterday from [the LGBT community]. You saw that? They gave me the endorsement yesterday. I’ve done very well with that community and some of my biggest supporters are of that community, and I talk to them a lot about it. I think I’ve done really very well with that community, as you know, Peter Thiel and so many others, they’re – they’re with me all the way, and I just got a big endorsement from the Log Cabin group.”

Donald Trump, interview with the *Washington Blade*, Aug. 20, 2019

“When Donald Trump assumed the presidency, conservative religious leaders drew up “wish lists” of steps they hoped he’d take to oppose abortion and rein in the LGBTQ-rights movement. With a flurry of recent actions, Trump’s administration is now winning their praise for aggressively fulfilling many of their goals.”

The Associated Press, Aug. 20, 2019

Just over a year ahead of the presidential elections, and well in advance of the Republican National Convention at which they usually announce endorsements, the Log Cabin Republicans (LCR) declared their endorsement of Donald Trump for the 2020 Republican presidential candidacy (LCR Press Release, Aug 16, 2020; Kabel and Homan, Aug 15, 2020). That same day Mat Staver, president of the legal advocacy organization Liberty Counsel, said Trump had fulfilled about 90% of the conservative goals they had compiled - a list whose two primary targets were the reproductive rights of women and the “reining in” of the LGBTQ-rights movement (Crary, Aug 20 2019). Over the following week, a number of prominent figures within the organization publicly cut ties with LCR over the endorsement, and the Log Cabin stance that Donald Trump had done “more for LGBT people” than any president before him. Casey Pick, one of the figures who has distanced herself from the organization since her time as programs director from 2010-2013, describes the endorsement as one more sign that the LCR “increasingly fulfills the

stereotypes that used to be hurled at Log Cabin Republicans: overwhelmingly gay men who are indifferent to the experiences of women, transgender Americans, or LGBT people who lack the financial or social resources to protect them from the discrimination that they so often deny even exists” (Aviles 2019).

More than simply a moment of public spectacle, the endorsement marks an overall break with previous organizational patterns. The Log Cabin Republicans have refused to endorse presidential candidates (including Donald Trump) in the past for a variety of reasons, and on contentious nominations they have always waited for the Republican National Convention (RNC) before stating their position. This also represents another historical break, in which Republican candidates who have a strong evangelical or right-wing Christian base are often critiqued and examined closely by LCR. The organization, which views itself as the “conscience” of the Republican Party, has often found itself at odds - if not all out ideological war - with Evangelicals and what LCR terms “the religious right.” Considering this history it is all the more shocking that they would endorse a candidate who, in the last election, won the Evangelical vote by 81% (Martínez and Smith 2016).

Having discussed the intertwined construction of the category of homosexuality and conservatism this chapter examines how these categorical negotiations manifest on the ground, at the level of social movement organizations and their participants. As discussed earlier, these two historical categories experience unique issues arising from modernity but are not fundamentally oppositional to each other. If white gay men in these movements attempt to bridge the social and political spaces between

homosexuality and conservatism by participating in the naturalizing of stratification and situating themselves as helpmates to the nation-state project what does that look like at the organizational level? This chapter attempts to explain how the Log Cabin Republicans arrived at this socio-political moment, focusing heavily on the period of time from its inception in 1978 to the beginning of the 2010s.

My data is drawn from two main sources. The first is the official Log Cabin Republican archive, housed in the University of Minnesota's Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Studies. This data spans from just before the founding of the first Log Cabin Republican clubs to newsletters and meeting minutes for the organization in 2012. In addition to this material, I also draw directly from the Log Cabin website, established in 2001, including newsletters, updates, and announcements.¹⁵ By overlapping these sources I track how the Log Cabin Republicans utilize whiteness, masculinity, and victimhood to make themselves legible citizens of the nation-state.

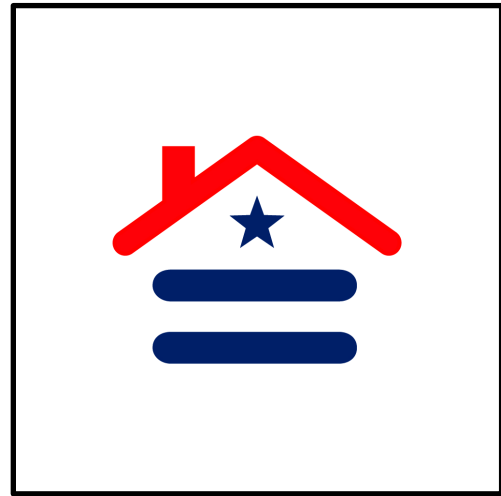
I evaluate my data in two ways: first, by coding thematic elements within the archival texts themselves; and then by situating it within the broader political context within which that text emerged. By interpolating historical texts with the broader political field, I evaluate Log Cabin Republican strategies and situate them alongside broader trends in gay politics. From this, I demonstrate that Log Cabin Republicans

¹⁵ I obtained this data by scraping the data from the WayBackMachine archive, a site which stores images of websites over time and allows for archival web research. After batch-downloading the logcabin.org data I then coded the data using NVivo12.

played a role in broader racial and gender projects like white reconstruction by advocating a “big tent” form of multicultural white supremacy.

The Log Cabin Republicans

These emergent themes develop from particular historical roots, and are best understood by looking at the long duree of the organization’s history. Interestingly, there are no scholarly histories of the Log Cabin Republicans; much of the following section is pieced together from primary sources in order to establish how the organization



came into existence and how it has changed over time.

Figure 3. LCR Logo

This history will begin with the founding of the organization and end just after the 2012 election, which is the limit of the physical Log Cabin archive located in the Tretter Collection at the University of Minnesota.

The organization coalesced in two parts of California in 1977-78, in Southern California with the formation of the Log Cabin Club of Los Angeles and in Northern California with the Concerned Republicans for Individual Rights in San Francisco. Both of these groups originally gathered in response to the Briggs Initiative, a push to ban homosexual people from teaching in California schools (Prop 6). The Briggs Initiative was organized primarily by those on the religious right, who had dubbed themselves the “Silent Majority” and had spokespeople like Anita Bryant, in order to combat what they

labeled as a “rising tide of deviance” in schools across the nation. (Fetner 2008) Hoping to make an example out of California, the Briggs Initiative sparked significant pushback from gay and lesbian Californians on both the left and the right. While many may know the story of San Francisco Board of Supervisors member Harvey Milk, who was assassinated in 1978, and his battle against the Briggs Initiative, it is less well known that this was the galvanizing force for the first Log Cabin Republican clubs.

For the first decade of its life, the Log Cabin Republicans was not a single organization, but rather a set of loosely connected clubs scattered across California and in communication with like-minded political clubs in places like Chicago (Chicago Area Republican Gay Organization - CARGO) and Dallas (the Metroplex). Broadly, these clubs were meant to influence local and state level politics - specifically, to demonstrate the importance of gay votes to local Republican candidates and their political apparatuses. These local efforts, however, lacked the coordination and representation to play a role in national level politics or to set up a clear, consistent agenda representing the interests of gay and lesbian Republicans writ large.

Early attempts to form a national body faced repeated barriers. The first attempt to form a national organization of gay and lesbian Republicans emerged from a Washington D.C. meeting on October 10th, 1987. Organized by CARGO - the Chicago Area Republican Gay Organization - it was attended by approximately forty people with seven organized clubs represented. With only one negative vote, the group agreed that the purpose of this new group was “to promote the concerns of gay men and women

within the Republican Party and to promote the concerns of the Republican Party among gay men and women.”¹⁶

This meeting culminated in the creation of an Interim Board and the formal beginning of the United Republicans for Equity and Privacy in 1988.¹⁷ This board of gay men talked about agenda-setting and the self-organizing principles which were to guide UREP. That the group was to be a clearinghouse – meant to coordinate and assist smaller gay Republican organizations at the local level – was agreed upon by all members. Less agreed upon was if the group was defined first as a Republican organization or a gay organization. Bob Zowanda, a member of the board, stated strongly that UREP needed to be identified as a Republican organization. This was contested by other board members who wanted the organization to “maintain a balance [between gay and Republican identity] in order to be effective.”¹⁸ These members drew first and foremost on the Black and Hispanic caucuses of the Republican Party to demonstrate how groups could be “dual purposed” as both identity and political groups.

Although the group largely imagined itself as a dual purposed group, during the meeting the board voted unanimously to include “Republican” in the new organization name, while 11 members voted to prohibit the words gay or lesbian in the title (with one member dissenting). Although the group imagined itself as dual purposed, and that building a base of gay and lesbian members were critical to its financial power and

¹⁶ “CARGO Minutes,” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

¹⁷ “CARGO Minutes,” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

¹⁸ “CARGO Minutes,” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

longevity, it also wanted to manage stigma from within the Republican Party and to increase chances of coalition-building.

This split over organizational identity was just one division within this meeting. When the board tried to discuss next steps, even members who previously agreed about the organizational identity couldn't agree on whether or not the organizational structure should be focused primarily on grassroots organizing and coordinating with local groups across the nation or if its purpose was to represent these groups to the national Republican Party. One, Peter Thompson, felt the organization would have more financial impact if it focused on "trench work" at the local level. His detractors argued that having a Washington D.C. presence and focusing explicitly on national-level organizing was the goal for this kind of group. The question of organizational structure was eventually deferred till the next meeting of the board.

The second meeting four months later, hosted by the Metroplex Republicans in Dallas, had a lot of organizational work ahead of it. It began by crafting a definition for a local club, "Any group of ten (10) or more individuals who are registered Republican, all of whom reside in a county (state) not then having a club as a member of _____ may apply for membership to the Board of Directors of UREP..."¹⁹ These groups could then be approved into the national group, to be incorporated in the District of Columbia.

The 1990s represented a time of growth and consolidation for the Log Cabin Republicans. Chapters expanded across the United States and the issues nearest and

¹⁹ "UREP." Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

dearest to the Log Cabin agenda were mainstreamed into the overall field of gay and lesbian social movement organizing. In particular, inclusion in the military, marriage, AIDS research funding, and the passing of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) were front and center in their organizing across this decade. What is perhaps most curious about this agenda was how much it reflected a broader turn towards more conservative agenda setting within the gay rights movement as a whole. As groups like Queer Nation and ACT UP receded in prominence the movement increasingly oriented itself around nationalist and state-centric appeals, ones that fell firmly in line with the mission and orientation of LCR. How did this organization situate itself within these changing times?

UREPs National Governing Board approved the dissolution of UREP and the reconstitution of the group as the Log Cabin Federation in 1990.²⁰ The annual meeting also charted out a five point plan for Log Cabin Federation inclusion within the Republican Party. This newly formed Federation operated without a national office till 1993, when the Federation was incorporated as a 501(c)(4) non-profit organization and shifted away from a federation model towards a more sharply constructed local/national structure. The new national body understood itself in relation to the Republican Party through a shared set of principles and values:

“WE ARE REPUBLICAN BECAUSE...”

²⁰ “Log Cabin Federation,” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

- We believe that the proper functions of government are limited to doing for the people those things which they cannot do for themselves.
- We believe that government is most effective when it is closest to the people - for that keeps government small, responsible, and respectful of the individual's right to privately pursue their own destiny.
- We believe that the competitive free enterprise system and the encouragement of individual initiative is the key to personal and national prosperity and freedom. We cannot long enjoy political liberty, unless we likewise possess economic liberty.
- We believe that personal incentive must not be interfered with, and that people must be allowed to exercise their motivations and express their abilities.
- We believe in strong civil equality that protects justice and opportunity for all, regardless of sexual orientation, race, creed, age, sex or national origin.
- We believe we must keep those principles of our heritage worth retaining, yet always be receptive to new ideas with an outlook broad enough to accommodate thoughtful change and varying points of view.
- We believe that Americans value, and should preserve, their feeling of national strength and pride, and at the same time share with people everywhere a desire for peace and freedom and the extension of human rights throughout the world.

This credo served LCR throughout the '90s, during which time they continued to expand and recruit new members. In 1999 the conversation turned to a few key areas: the presidential election, employment non-discrimination, AIDs research funding, and combatting a resurgent religious right.

One clear case in which this agenda-setting was at odds with the Republican Party at large was around the election and re-election of George Bush. Although LCR met with George Bush prior to his presidential election campaign in 2000 and endorsed him following the Republican National Convention, he served as a flashpoint around which members debated their organizational and political principles. Bush promised in

2000 to be a “compassionate conservative,” and records in the LCR archive suggest that the organization was hopeful about his presidency because: “he kept the Clinton Administration Executive Order which prohibited discrimination against gay and lesbian federal workers, appointed gay people throughout his administration, supported benefits to gay and lesbian partners of those killed in the 9/11 attacks, and had proposed a \$15 billion plan to tackle the global AIDs pandemic.”²¹ These same records note a souring of this initial hope, arguing that the legislative decision of Lawrence V. Texas, which overturned sodomy laws in the United States, fomented support on the “radical right” to pressure Bush to advocate for a Constitutional Amendment banning same-sex marriages.²²

This turn of events caused a furor among LCR members, exposing splits between local chapters and national leadership and between different actors in the organization. These debates concluded in the organization choosing to not endorse Bush in his 2004 bid for re-election. Members like Philip Bradley recounted how this decision reshaped LCR priorities: “In a meeting/retreat in Columbus, OH in 2005 we agreed unanimously at the time that we had to be gay first and Republican second...”²³. This was at odds with other Log Cabin Republicans who argued that their status as gay was, itself, contingent on their identity as Americans and Westerners.

²¹ “LCR 1999-2001.” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

²² Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

²³ Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

This push against the religious right was complicated by the events of 9/11. Log Cabin Republicans began identifying “national defense” as a key part of their platform and organizing, reinvigorating their attempts to overturn the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in the U.S. military. This period marked their most overt turn toward homonationalism, perhaps most clearly identified because it located threats to the rights of “gay citizens” outside of the United States - in the specter of the Brown, Muslim homophobe (Puar 2007). As discussed in Chapter One, homonationalism represents an effort by state and social movement actors to leverage non-hetero sexual identities in the service of the national project. Randall Bernard, the San Francisco chapter president, said this following the attacks, “In fact, isn’t our war on terrorism really a fight for the values of Western and American culture and against those with a narrow-minded world-view?” This explicit language is possible because of nationalist claims of victimhood (“we were attacked”) that make it possible to justify calls for retaliatory violence that would otherwise violate the ubiquity of dog whistle politics during the period (López 2014; Wetts and Willer 2019). It is worth noting though that these homonationalist claims have existed since the Log Cabin Republicans’ inception, but have traditionally been directed toward those perceived to be internal threats to the nation-state. We can see this later in Bernard’s statement, “Gay Republicans have a duty to educate the anti-American liberals in our community and religious fanatics at home and abroad. We must convince them, through words and deeds, of the superiority of **OUR** values.” This turn, from identifying outside threats to a focus on internal elements which threaten


“Western” values, roots the war on terror in time-honored anxieties about the decline of America and its settler-colonial culture.

UB

4

OUR REAL CHALLENGE


The President's Message
By *Randall K. Bernard*



W

e face a new threat...a threat that challenges the very core values we hold dear as Americans. We are at a crossroads. We can either stand united as a people, promoting our common values, or we can let fear and inaction divide us.

The Prime Minister of Italy angered many people recently when he told the press that Western culture was superior to that of the Islamic fundamentalist world-view. The comment angered those trying to build a worldwide coalition to fight the suddenly very real terrorist threat to Western targets. Yet, no matter how ill timed his comments were, his message rings true. In fact, isn't our war on terrorism really a fight for the values of Western and American culture and against those with a narrow-minded world-view?



We, as gay Americans, have an important role in this struggle. We must continue to fight for those values we hold dear...those values that make us American and those ideals we choose as Republicans. It's time we re-double our efforts to educate those among us who have a warped world view. Gay Republicans have a duty to educate the anti-American liberals in our community and religious fanatics at home and abroad. We must convince them, through words and deeds, of the superiority of **OUR** values. We must prove that individual liberty, with responsibility, is the foundation of a successful society.

We Must Never Forget September 11th!

Several of our Republican officeholders deserve applause for their recent actions, which make our mission a bit easier...President Bush for his decisive leadership and appointment of an openly gay man as the Ambassador to Romania, Senator McCain for his moving eulogy at San Francisco resi

Figure 4. Log Cabin Republicans of San Francisco Presidential Message Oct. 2001

The LCR, reinvigorated and united around the framework of national defense ran aground elsewhere: growing tension with the rising religious right in America. There was

little resolution following the 2004 election of George Bush, and by 2008 there were a number of concerns facing the Log Cabin Republicans. Four chapters had closed down or become defunct in 2007, and “many chapters are struggling...many are not paying dues to the national office. Some have endured a series of leadership changes.”²⁴ These internal issues were complemented by a wider perception that the Log Cabin Republicans were not meaningfully contributing to right-wing gay organizing. The 2008 failure to elect John McCain to the office of United States President highlighted all of these organizing fault lines.

In response, LCR crafted a strategy for increasing their relevance by returning to grassroots organizing, transforming their image, and broadening their funding sources. This strategy helped the organization weather this period, but not without new competitors for right-wing gay representation. This crisis, as well as the broader trend towards right-wing direct organizing emerging out of the Tea Party Movement, produced another issue for the Log Cabin Republicans - the rise of GOProud. This organization, started by former employees of LCR, framed itself as an alternative gay Republican organization with a stronger adherence to explicit right-wing beliefs. GOProud imagined a more active role for the gay Republican in the so-called “culture wars.” One reporter said of the organization that its target was “gay conservatives who aren’t interested in waiting around for the Log Cabin to get rebuilt” (Soller 2009).

²⁴ “Chapter & Membership Committee 2008,” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies.

The Log Cabin Republicans responded to the emergence of this new organization by emphasizing their own work and their primacy as a long-established gay conservative group.²⁵ Although many of the documents produced during this time do not reveal the personal perspectives of organization members, internal memos and emails suggest significant concern. For example, we see a message from David Trebring to the LCR board members, “Gentlemen...I would suggest we not expend too much effort on GoProud, and work on our own agenda/message/political outreach, and raise money for our PAC.”²⁶ In contrast, others like Scott Ables suggested that GOProud could overtake the Log Cabin Republicans if the older group did not take action to rescue their public image and political relevance. This internal debate gave new drive and energy towards chapter and national organizing.

By serving as a foil to the Log Cabin Republicans, GOProud served an important role in pushing it further to the right. Even though they dissolved in 2014, they ushered in an LCR that was considerably less concerned with moderating “the far right” and more interested in finding their place among these actors. A review of the political statements from the Log Cabin Republicans from 2012 to 2014 reveals an increasingly radicalized organization, which saw its inclusion in Republican politics as mediated less by appeals to reason and moderation and more by its willingness to propose and support political and social violence. This has been marked by a series of public mass resignations from key

²⁵ “Media Briefing and Talking Points 2009.” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies.

²⁶ “LCR 2009.” Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

figures who once represented token representation of women and trans in their organization (Krakow and Rosenberg 2019; Ogles 2019; Aviles 2019).

Although this organization, chronologically, was the last to form of the three studied here, they are introduced first because of their reach and impact on politics well beyond the gay community. They are also highlighted first because, out of the three cases I explore, they had the most mainstream organizational set up and agenda-setting. As a result, LCR also appears to the general public and to mainstream conservatives at large to be the most moderate of the right-wing gay organizations presented in this dissertation. There are three main themes which emerge from the archival data I have examined, all three of which undergird the political language of the organization.

Multicultural White Supremacy

The first of these themes that emerges from the data is how the LCR represented a multicultural form of white supremacy. Elaborating on the work of Omi and Winant, Melamed, and Rodriguez, the historical transformation of this organization mirrors transformations in whiteness and masculinity since the Civil Rights era (2014; 2011; 2020). Omi and Winant lay the foundation for understanding this phenomenon through their concept of the “racial project.” This term identifies “efforts to shape the ways in which human identities and social structures are racially signified, and the reciprocal ways that racial meaning becomes embedded in social structures” (37).

Winant goes on to explore how racial projects emerge, are maintained, and transformed as groups engage with what it means to “be” white (2001). As I mention in

Chapter One, I deploy the term “white” to mean any individual deemed to share positive biological, inheritable traits and who are accorded right, status, and property based on those perceived biological differences. Winant argues that these projects, particularly following World War II and the Civil Rights Movement, have reflected an increasing anxiety over what it means to be included in the white category in the United States. This “new racial order” conflicts intensely with previously established forms of white dominance, thus representing a “profound shift in the global logic of race” according to Winant (Location 1899). He goes on to demonstrate how racial projects, like those linking whiteness to biological difference or those which center whiteness as a process of social distinction, wax or wane depending on their ability to respond to attempts to destabilize (or, as he terms *deconstruct*) whiteness.

That Winant sees white racial projects from the lens of a political typology (neoconservative, liberal, and abolitionist) is telling. Here, he argues that neoconservative white racial projects tend to emphasize “colorblind” policies, which claim that any positive attempts to address racial inequality are racist. He says, “It opened up the political space that has by now become familiar in terms of the critique of ‘reverse racism,’ ‘race-thinking,’ and ‘racial preferences of any kind’” (Location 1972). These neoconservative white racial projects certainly can be found throughout the organizational evolution of the Log Cabin Republicans, although they differ from other versions of this project in that the group is originally founded on the logic of Republican caucuses created to represent and organize racial groups within the Republican Party. A key aspect of the difference between white gay men in the Log Cabin Republicans and

the Black and Hispanic caucuses they model themselves after is the private nature of their difference. Whereas gender and race serve as visible, public markers of non-citizenship Log Cabin Republicans can situate their difference within the private sphere and thus maintain their claims on normative Republican politics. This difference is especially pronounced at the beginning of LCR organizing, when organizers wrestled with whether or not they were a gay or a Republican organization.²⁷

The further LCR invested in this colorblind racial project, the further they in turn moved from their initial political site of emergence. How can they articulate themselves as a minoritized, stigmatized group within the Republican Party without relying on the model of racial inclusion? In order to answer that question, we have to move away from an analysis of white racial projects to the field of white supremacy in which they operate. Jodi Melamed provides this larger framework, which complements and challenges Winant's analysis of white racial projects by pushing us not only to see the period following the Civil Rights Era as one that breaks fundamentally with the racial order which came before it, but that this break itself is structured by a new and flexible apparatus of white supremacy (2011).

Log Cabin Republicans typify this shift among marginalized white social movement organizations. Instead of relying on a solidified white status to lay claim to the nation-state they instead draws on two main strategies: the first being an appeal to a universal citizen whose characteristic white masculinity remain hidden and the second

²⁷ Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

being the threats (internal and external) which the organization identifies in common with other right-wing groups (Eng 2010; Rondini 2018). This claimmaking reflects Melamed's argument that, rather than a shift from racial dictatorship to racial democracy (a frame established by Omi and Winant), the period following the Civil Rights Era was not simply a period of competing white racial projects fueled by white anxieties about what it meant to be white. Rather, these projects themselves were structured by other historical forces that required white supremacy to, as Melamed says, "represent and destroy" (2011). Thus, the success of white racial projects was defined by their ability to invisibilize whiteness and to identify and represent threats to that status in racial others.

Rodriguez takes Melamed's intervention seriously, but pushes us to think of this new period as one of "White Reconstruction" (Rodriguez 2020). This term refers to "an alternative conceptualization and naming of the long-half century that is commonly referenced as the "post-civil rights" period" (2020: 4). It also refers to a recurrent and adaptive set of ideological and material commitments that "shapes white social and ontological self- and world- making" (Rodriguez 2020: 3). It is, at its heart, a project of rearticulation - a reformulation of where and how whiteness should matter and its resources and advantages distributed. White Reconstruction following the Civil Rights Movement is a response to the loss of explicit control, power, and status which Omi and Winant describe as the period of American "racial dictatorship" (2014). It attempts to reformulate white identity through state support, institutional structure, and economic neoliberalism in order to establish whiteness as a ubiquitous norm against which all other racial groups are measured.

The Log Cabin Republicans emerge during this period of White Reconstruction, and participate in expanding a newer, broader structure of whiteness. This broadening, which Rodriguez describes as a “multicultural white supremacy,” “indexes how the logics, protocols, compulsory normativities, and gendered racial violence of hegemonic institutions...become increasingly capacious, flexible, and promiscuously inclusive as monopoly-based systems of racial dominance...are abolished and displaced in the name of (liberal, teleological, national-to-global) racial progress” (2020: 17).

The Log Cabin Republicans are situated within and responsive to White Reconstruction. As Victor Ray argues, “organizations magnify the power and depth of racial projects and are a primary terrain of racial contestation” (30). These racial projects, he argues, are produced and disciplined through the interaction between schemas and resources²⁸ (Sewell 1992); when organizations pair racial meanings with material outcomes - especially when these decisions produce positive results for the organization - they produce a cycle of reinforcement between schemas and resources. As Cheryl Harris points out, whiteness itself is a resource to be leveraged (1993). The Log Cabin Republicans do not draw explicitly on this resource; rather, they deemphasize the majority white demographics of the organization emphasizing a “race neutral” colorblind policy-setting agenda while simultaneously deemphasizing the necessary impact of such a position. Instead of focusing on the embodied and organizational whiteness of the Log

²⁸ Here schemas here refer to Giddens notion of “generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social life” (1984) and resources refer to 1) “objects, animate or inanimate, naturally occurring or manufactured, that can be used to enhance or maintain power” and 2) “physical strength, dexterity, knowledge, and emotional commitments that can be used to enhance or maintain power, including knowledge of the means of gaining, retaining, controlling, and propagating either human or nonhuman resources.” (Sewell 1992: 9-10)

Cabin Republicans, they draw upon whiteness in the abstract. Throughout their archival documents they appeal to a shared and common heritage. They also utilize this abstracted whiteness to frame their social movement claims as beneficial to a “universal man.” This universal man is constituted within racial schemas as both white and classless (but simultaneously implicitly propertied). This allows for the maintenance of white supremacy under White Reconstruction, as it dog whistles who such messaging is for and reframes explicitly universal claims within a white racial frame (Eng 2010: López 2014).

The cyclical process Ray describes within organizations can also be explored through a cultural lens. Jane Ward describes the establishment of cultural dimensions of whiteness within organizations (2008). While Ward investigates white normativity in non-profit settings where there is often an explicitly anti-racist orientation, the cultural insights she provides into organizational culture are helpful to investigating how whiteness emerges as a cultural norm in other settings. In particular, it helps to frame both the invisibilization of whiteness and its persistence - even organizations that are not explicitly anti-racist have found that since the end of the racial dictatorship period they benefit from not appearing exclusionary or supportive of solely dominant groups (2008b). This maps onto the claimsmaking of the Log Cabin Republicans, whose focus on the universal man allows them to simultaneously sidestep the label of racial and gender exclusivity while maintaining an agenda which only incidentally (if at all) benefits non-dominant groups. One clear example of this norm setting comes from two Log Cabin Republican board members, who describe a “Country Club” or “Locker Room” mentality

within the organization as an impediment to the growth and success of the organization (Log Cabin Republicans Board Meeting Notes November 7-9, 1997). You can see this most explicitly in the meeting minutes of the Log Cabin Board of Directors in late 1997:

Internal Weaknesses

RK [Robert Kabel]: clubs need to stop acting like locker rooms; help clubs attract women

MC [Monty Cornell]: locker room mentality; using too much inappropriate language

Although the organization publicly argues that it is open and inclusionary, an important tool for destigmatizing its political positionality, it maintains a de facto structure which recruits and retains white gay men and actively represents their interests.

Combining Ray and Ward’s analytical tools with the broader theoretical insights of our earlier theorists like Rodriguez, Melamed, and Omi and Winant, we can see how organizational structures and culture both constitute and amplify the project of White Reconstruction. Organizational moves away from explicit whiteness to white goal-setting and white cultural practices represent abeyance strategies similar to the ones undertaken by groups like the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil Rights Era (2020). These strategies, as I discuss in Chapter One, are best defined by Verta Taylor as “a holding process by which movements sustain themselves in non-receptive political environments and provide continuity from one stage of mobilization to another” (Taylor 1989: 761). Instead of thinking of this as representative of a reduction in white supremacy, these abeyance strategies are simply a different way of doing white supremacy - a hibernation and gestation period in which white racial projects attempt to transform outright racial terror into a benevolent, soft-gloved racism. Rather than a qualitatively different form of

right-wing organizing from “extreme” groups like the Klan, Log Cabin Republicans and conservatives more generally are located within a larger field of social darwinism, authoritarianism, and moral majority frameworks. This new, softer version uses a bigger and less restrictive set of criteria for inclusion in whiteness; this newer, broader version of white supremacy only conditionally includes new members as long as they help it become harder to trace, identify, and challenge.

It is this gestational period within which the Log Cabin Republicans came into being and emerged as a full-fledged national organization. By participating in these abeyance strategies, they demonstrated their commitment to the project of white supremacy and hoped to (re)secure their place within the safe confines of whiteness, a place made dubious by the connections between queerness, blackness, and femininity. As these white racial projects matured into more overt forms of white supremacy, we can see that the Log Cabin Republicans practiced clearer and more explicit appeals to whiteness, nationalism, and bioessentialism.²⁹ While an analysis of these transformations as broader phenomena over the past decade is outside the scope of this chapter and this dissertation, what we do know is that abeyance strategies are changes in organizational practice under the pressure of public scrutiny and stigma and *not* a fundamental change in the nature, beliefs, or practices of an organization. Specifically, I demonstrate how focusing on institutional and organizational changes across this time period allows us to track the emergence of a (white) nationalist discourse positioning white gay men as both

²⁹ Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

a cultural and sexual minority and a fundamental part of a repositioned, repackaged white dominance.

In order to understand the current political and social moment, and the relationship between racial and sexual politics both in and outside the bedroom, this project explores majority-white gay men's organizations through the lens of White Reconstruction and the unique opportunity for white gay men to serve a purpose for the (re)building of a white America.

Defense of Masculinity

Achieving inclusion within this newly flexible, multicultural model of white supremacy was not simply about positioning the Log Cabin Republicans as an organization amenable and helpful to white interests. As Priya Kandaswamy describes, all racial projects are projects of gender and sexuality in that if the foundations of race as we know it emerge from the colonial establishment of modernity, "the making of race and the making of gender [are] thus inseparable rather than isolated processes" (2012: 30). As we saw earlier when LCR board members were reflecting on how the "locker room" culture posed issues for their recruitment, this white misogynist culture reproduced both whiteness and masculinity as the norm.

This misogynist culture rests alongside an often-overlooked aspect of the Log Cabin Republicans, that since their inception they have included women within their organization.³⁰ Explaining how this women are included within the organization but

³⁰ Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

placed firmly outside it by misogyny and patriarchy is relatively straightforward - although women have been present and their contributions are visible in the archival documents of the LCR, the organization's agenda-setting and national leadership have remained firmly masculinist. Any issues affecting lesbian women are subsumed beneath the general needs of the "gay conservative" agenda. Joan Acker provides the theoretical tools to unpack this practice, as she points out how organizations which rely on disembodied "workers" center and support the experiences of men's labor, gender, and sexuality (Acker 1990). A clear example of how this disembodied agenda-setting produces an apparatus that is exclusionary to women, and femininity more broadly, is how their "Women's Committee" functioned between 2008 and 2009. This "Women's Committee," did not include any women and of the Board of Director meetings for these years, only one 2008 meeting included an actual report with implementation and evaluation goals.³¹ This is also indicated by the Log Cabin Republican gender demographics, with men representing 71% of the organization in 2008 (Muse 2008).

Digging deeper, searching archival sources for mentions of issues particular to women - especially topics like abortion - yield few results in the Log Cabin archive. The official stance of the organization is neutral on abortion, and they have walked a fine line in attempting to mobilize feminists around issues of "privacy and non-intrusion" while distancing themselves from issues of reproductive autonomy. This fine line has not been without controversy. In 1992 the Log Cabin Federation, a precursor of the national Log Cabin Republican group, was embroiled in an internal debate about whether or not the

³¹ Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

organization should take a stance on abortion (“Log Cabin Federation” Folder, Log Cabin Republicans Collection). Two central and contradictory views emerge from this debate; on the one hand, some argue that abortion is fundamentally an issue of individual liberties and privacy, while others argued that connecting gay rights with abortion was a product of “PC” (politically correct) culture and actively dissociated the subject of abortion from other issues of privacy.

On a grassroots, local level the Log Cabin Republicans have made room for anti-abortion positions, but only when such interventions have been proposed by women in the organization. An example can be found in a 1989 Log Cabin Republican Orange County newsletter, in which two proposals regarding reproductive rights are put forward for review by the organization’s “Health Committee.” The first, by Celeste Grieg, is a “Right to Life” resolution which argues that human life begins at conception, calls for eliminating public funding for abortions and organizations that advocate abortions, argues for required parental consent for a minor’s abortion and father’s right to block abortions, and demands support for judges who respect traditional family values. The second proposal, titled “Restore Office of Family Planning Budget” by Harriett Stinson, argues that family planning and education decrease the abortion rate, that family planning and contraception should be provided to low-income women, and that such family planning is a fiscally sound decision as she cites the average cost of unplanned pregnancy as \$3,321 in comparison to \$62 for birth control. So called “women’s issues” are thus primarily framed as a question of capital rather than identity or social subject position.

These resolutions had to be debated by the Health Committee. After VP Richard Reinsch motioned to determine if quorum was present and the group failed to meet the necessary number of participants, the resolution was publicly debated and voted on, but all final decisions would be made by the Resolutions Committee. During this debate resolutions, including Grieg's, were supported 2 to 1 and Stinson's proposal was roundly defeated. In the Resolutions Committee all the resolutions from the Health Committee were tabled. While neither of these proposals was acted on, an instructive outcome in its own right, the second proposal was completely struck down by coordinated intervention from a more conservative network within the organization. The first proposal, on the "Right to Life," made it through initial review and was tabled by the Resolutions Committee. That Stinson's proposal was defeated so squarely suggests that issues seen as overly focused on "special" interventions - even when consistent with a mainstream Republican platform at the time - were subsumed under a desire for a universalist front.

In addition to abortion, we can also see the organization wrestling with the issue of breast cancer and its specific impact on the lesbian community. In 1991 LCR-California (a statewide organization) referenced the dual "AIDS and breast cancer epidemics" and later a local Orange County chapter participated in Susan B. Komen breast cancer walks as a chance to support a cause that "has a real impact on the women of our community."³² Although breast cancer appeared to be a less controversial area in

³² "LCR-California 1991," and "Concerned Republicans for Individual Rights 2001" in Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

which to support women, it remained an almost unmentioned issue at the national level until the 2009 organizing crisis. The Log Cabin Republicans crafted a ten-point plan to engage their membership, which referenced to the higher rate of breast cancer experienced by the lesbian community. This segment is cut, however, in the editorial process and never becomes part of the national-level agenda setting of the group. Women, included for their participation in local level organizing, were simultaneously subsumed into the “universal” goals of the Log Cabin Republicans and any issues which identified them as having particular needs or concerns were rejected as minoritarian or too difference-focused.

As Muse argues in her dissertation on collective identity conflict in the Log Cabin Republicans, the masculinist orientation of the organization is both a result of internal and external dynamics which discourage women’s participation (2008). The organizational frames used by LCR are less effective at defending women from outside stigma, and because of their multiply marginalized status it takes a unique combination of organizational frames to handle the conflict between their statuses as lesbian women and Republicans (Muse 2008). As a reminder, frames are “interpretive schemata that enable participants to locate, perceive, and label occurrences” (Snow et al. 1986), “selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment” (Snow & Benford 1992). Of note is that issues raised by lesbians are deemed politically unviable, largely because they cannot be framed as universal. Whereas the issues forefronted by the LCR reinforce the idea of a general lack of access to universal, fundamental rights (like those

of private property) the issues facing lesbian participants are seen as niche and too close to the conservative counternarrative of “special rights.” Rather than emphasize the “special” or “unique” status of men, they are instead framed as a universal referent. In doing so, men are not actively forefronted; instead they are made a ubiquitous norm from which to compare other experiences and expressions of gender. That lesbian identity cannot be invisibilized in the same way, and issues seen as only affecting women are seen as “divisive” drives Log Cabin Republicans to organize in masculinist ways that help them to conserve access to capital and institutional and political resources.

This masculinist orientation also shapes the behavior and expression of men in the organization. As Radojcic notes:

“Many members of...the Log Cabin Republicans emphasize that they do not identify with gay stereotypes, especially those that characterize gay men as effeminate, promiscuous, or highly sexually active. One respondent notes, “I don’t identify with all the stereotypes. I don’t look and act like [effeminate] gay people do on television.” He suggests that he is not like other stereotypical gay men, yet by relying on these stereotypes of gay men as effeminate, he also legitimizes the notion that gay men are somehow less masculine than straight men by accepting it to be true.” (2015: 130)

The Log Cabin Republican archives are less clear in their rejection of femininity than Muse’s interviewees. Although less overt, the layout of their newsletters and their public presentation of self demonstrate certain class, race, and gender expectations. Of the more than 3,000 pages of documents analyzed the majority of the images were of men in suits and ties, with a significant majority in button downs or polos. In only a handful of instances were members depicted more casually and in none of the images was a member depicted in a way which would violate normative expectations of masculine gender. This uniformity across decades of documents, particularly recruiting and

organizational newsletters, indicates not necessarily the gender presentation of the individuals in question but how the organization wants to appear to their wider audience. The masculine normativity which pervades this organization perpetuates misogyny and femmephobia through both its agenda-setting and its relegation of women and femininity to subordinate, “local” positions of authority.

The Big Tent

These two, intertwined projects - of multicultural white supremacy and defense of masculinity - are active efforts to find a place for LCR under the “big tent” of the GOP. The period following the Civil Rights Era is one in which the meaning and status of white masculinity is in flux, and this opening creates the discursive and material space for the white men of the Log Cabin Republicans to argue that they serve a purpose within the larger Republican projects of nationalism, whiteness, and masculinity.

To be even partially successful in this project, Log Cabin Republicans need not only to demonstrate positive use for the political party but also to navigate stigma. As others (see Radojicic 2015; Walsh-Haines 2007; and Mejdrich 2018) have noted, one of the central themes emerging from Log Cabin Republican organizing is stigma management.

Sociologists studying stigma management have explored a number of techniques used to lessen, manage, or eliminate stigma (Goffman 1986; Tyler and Slater 2018; Hinshaw 2009). For example, Goffman describes how familiarity, uniqueness, information control, passing, and covering are all strategies deployed by stigmatized

groups to divert attention from attributes which deviate from the norm and come with negative consequences (1986). Stigma management strategies do not solely fall under the purview of individuals or populations; they also manifest themselves as strategies used by social movement organizations. Here, the strategies of multicultural white supremacy and masculinist political organizing increase the familiarity of LCR messages with their broader audience of white Republican men, while at the same time managing sources of information that might increase the perceived deviancy of white gay men from the norms and standards of the population as a whole. These strategies also shape how white men in the Log Cabin Republicans engage in “white social and ontological self- and world- making” (Rodriguez 2020) through the shared use of destigmatizing frames.

Scholars like Courtney Muse have examined how Log Cabin Republicans manage conflicting identities in their organizing, arguing effectively that gay men who participate in the organization have a plethora of tools at their disposal that allow them to resolve conflict and tension in their identity - tools that are denied or limited in the case of lesbian women who participate in the LCR (2008). Some of the primary emergent frames from Muse’s work are “equality,” “radical right-wing,” and “congruency” (for the full set of frames which emerged from her research, see Appendix A). Taking these frames within a structural and textual analysis of LCR documents, these frames speak to abeyance, passing, and shared out-group strategies that fall firmly under racial and gendered projects of inclusion within the overall project of the GOP. Here, as Sumerau and Grollman argue, we can see how the Log Cabin Republicans as an organization are

shaped by terms of “conditional acceptance” - they are responding to GOP demands for a minority rights movement which increases diversity without fundamentally changing the nature and structure of stratification within society (2020).

While the nature and severity of this stigma has waxed and waned over time, it remains a critical component in shaping the framing and strategizing of the organization. This stigma, for LCR participants, is seen as coming from two main antagonists - the rest of the gay community, and heterosexual Republicans. One interviewee argues, “We need ‘firepower’ to explain why we’re gay Republicans. We need to know how to argue when confronted by the extreme right in the republican party (and the left in the gay community)” (Washington Blade 1988). The metaphor of battle in this quote is an apt one for a political and social identity whose members view themselves as under attack *because of their proximal relationship to normativity*.

Conclusion

An examination of white reconstruction, naturalization of masculinity, and the crafting shared social and political victimhood narratives positions the Log Cabin Republicans as a bridge between the categories of conservatism and homosexuality in the American nation-state. These mechanisms demonstrate how these categories are bridged, the mechanisms by which this group of gay conservatives actually practice their merged identities as gay and conservative men. Instead of oppositional, the organizational messages in the Log Cabin Republicans situate these categories as

necessarily intertwined and whose success or failure as political and social categories are linked.

These mechanisms are deeply rooted. Log Cabin practices which position the group as part of white reconstruction have involved not only racial but sexual and gender projects as well. Together, they constitute an attempt to frame the Log Cabin Republicans in ways that decrease stigma and leverage shared characteristics in order to accrue institutional resources and legitimacy. These strategies push to create a more inclusive form of stratification, that reinforces the naturalness of white supremacy and masculine domination while simultaneously gesturing to a selectively chosen set of “diverse” actors and organizations.

The process of reconstruction and the anxieties over the transformation of (white) American life have created an opening in the field of political power in which victimhood narratives are crafted and prioritized by their ability to transform power while maintaining its essential characteristics. These narratives create a sense of organizational identity, which allows social movement organizations to persist over time. Victimhood framing does not just retarget systems of violence by identifying the proper objects of violence, but also helps the powerful to maintain their status by creating states of exception - where the powerful are “victims” (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen 2007). As sociologists have found that “...advantaged group members may engage in competitive victimhood as a strategy to maintain their power and dominance and avoid giving up privilege (because if the advantaged group is the ‘real’ victim in society, there is no need to empower the disadvantaged minority)” (Kahalon et al 2019: 455). This means that

although narratives of victimhood may be relatively stable in their content, their deployment and use is fundamentally shaped by the relationship the group has to already-accrued privileges and social status. Thus, social movement scholarship must take into account not simply the historical nature of grievances and agenda-setting but how such claims are part of the transformation *and maintenance of* social stratification.

In the next chapter the project turns to a slightly different case. Rather than the explicitly conservative framing mechanisms which are documented in the Log Cabin case, it will examine how framing mechanisms which appear universal and which do not advocate for benefits for any particular group on the basis of culture or other markers of difference (e.g. race, gender, class) produce a right-wing, conservative understanding of the political and social world. Here I turn to the Libertarians for Gay Rights and its various iterations over the past five decades to explore the mechanisms they use to bridge homosexuality with the mainstream right-wing conservative libertarianism that can be found across the United States.

Chapter 3: Was Atlas Gay? Libertarians For Gay Rights

"I believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism...the basis of conservatism is a desire for less government interference or less centralized authority or more individual freedom and this is a pretty general description of what libertarianism is."

Ronald Reagan, *Reason* Interview, 1975

"I think homosexuals are natural libertarians, if not anarchists. I mean, we have no stake in this sort of progressive statist establishment. I don't want to subsidize your pregnancy. Sorry, ladies."

Milo Yiannopoulos, "Anarchopolco" Conference, undated

The Libertarian Party in the United States is a conundrum - not only because of its status as a third party in an essentially two party system - but because it resists traditional political spectrum categorization (Lester 1994; Cole 1995). It is also a fascinating case study because of its rejection of positive, protection-based rights for gays and lesbians, something which has characterized the battleground between Democrats and Republicans over the past 50 years. Instead, gay libertarians have articulated a non-interventionist platform that focuses on how the reduction of state power is a net political good for gay citizens.

Despite these differences, gay libertarians face a similar struggle to those within the Log Cabin Republicans - how to bridge their own brand of right-wing conservatism with their inclusion within homosexuality. While I will spend some time later in the chapter articulating how and why gay libertarianism is both right-wing and conservative, I want to draw out that this fundamental problematic exists for this group of political actors, and that in order to resolve these tension with modernity and its categories they have to strategically frame themselves as actors which bind these two categories together.

This chapter focuses on the Libertarians for Gay Rights and its organizational descendents: the Thomas Jefferson Libertarian Club, Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns, and the OutRight Libertarians.³³ These groups differ in how they construct connections between the conservative, right-wing political field and their homosexuality. Their approach to widening the benefits of white supremacy and patriarchy reflect similarities to the earlier Log Cabin case - they are concerned with being included within their wider party politics and describe themselves as useful to consolidating political and social power. At the same time they differ in the strategies they use to accomplish or practice this positioning. They rely significantly more on colorblindness, structured ignorance, and the language of property to make sense of themselves and their political organizing efforts.

Why American Libertarianism Is Right-Wing

Before exploring the general history of the Libertarian Party in the United States, there are some key distinctions that need to be unpacked. This project locates the Libertarian Party on the right, although the organization itself does not identify as a right-wing institution. As the political philosopher Phillip Cole discusses, libertarianism as a philosophical tradition has elements of both left and right-wing thought (1995). To distinguish between “liberal” libertarianism and “conservative” libertarianism, he crafts a litmus test focused on the question of moral equality. He argues the “liberal” version of

³³ It should be noted that libertarianism (small l) is distinct from Libertarianism (big L), as the first refers to a more general political and economic set of principles while the second refers here to the American political party which coalesced around these principles and which can frequently be at odds with those who consider themselves libertarian.

Libertarianism “regards all people as moral equals, and regards success or failure in the market as undeserved in any moral sense” in comparison to “conservative”

Libertarianism, “which regards success and failure in the market as deserved in a moral sense” (Cole 1995). This sits alongside the work of political theorists like Corey Robin, who have argued that one of the hallmarks of conservative and right-wing politics is the belief that economic and political systems of stratification are natural and good (2018).

The distinction proposed by Cole rests on the libertarian political tenet that individual action, uninhibited by restrictions of power or government, will produce the most freedom. I argue there is a deeper conservative tradition within United States libertarianism, and that American political life has always operated on the premise that economic activity and status is a sign of moral worth (Weber 2011; Bowler 2013). This worth may be drawn from an established connection between prosperity and godliness, or it may be linked between economic productivity and other values of high moral esteem (Smith 1776; Weber 2011).

The conservative threads through American libertarianism emerge from the American colonial project, rugged individualism, and private property. Murray Rothbard, a prominent libertarian thinker and writer, establishes the “unique” set of conditions which allowed for libertarianism to take root in colonial America - “What defeated these despotic and feudal thrusts into the new territory was, at bottom, rather simple: the vastness of the fertile and uninhabited land that lay waiting to be settled” (1970). As discussed earlier in Chapter 1, settler-colonialism is a system which Patrick Wolfe describes as markedly different from other systems of colonial extraction - one that not

only sought to exploit land, labor, and resources but also to destroy and replace Indigenous peoples (1999). Rothbard reminds us that American settler-colonialism is founded on the idea of *terra nullius*, that the land is empty and waiting to be taken. This locates the creation of the American libertarian political self within the frontier, the “untamed” and “unused” expanses facilitating a sense of individual autonomy and independence. Ayn Rand reinforces this idea in her remarks to the 1974 graduating class of West Point underscore this fundamental connection:

“If you are born in a magnificent country which you don’t know what to do with, you believe that it is a property right; it is not. And, since the Indians did not have any property rights—they didn’t have the concept of property; they didn’t even have a settled society, they were predominantly nomadic tribes; they were a primitive tribal culture, if you want to call it that—if so, they didn’t have any rights to the land, and there was no reason for anyone to grant them rights which they had not conceived and were not using.”

“Any white person who brings the elements of civilization had the right to take over this continent, and it is great that some people did, and discovered here what they couldn’t do anywhere else in the world and what the Indians, if there are any racist Indians today, do not believe to this day: respect for individual rights.”

This is further encapsulated in Rothbard’s critique of Rev. Roger Williams, an early example for Rothbard of libertarian impulses in American life. “Williams had pioneered in scrupulously purchasing all the land from the Indians voluntarily—a method of land acquisition in sharp contrast to the brutal methods of extermination beloved by the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. But the problem was that the Indians had erroneous theories of property. As collective tribes they laid claim to vast reaches of land on which they had only hunted. Not having transformed the land itself, they were not entitled to all of the land that they sold” (Rothbard 1970). This position, an extension of the

“Manifest Destiny” claimed by the settler-colonial states, embeds colonial understandings of property and, more bluntly, the human, within libertarian thinking.

Intertwined with the racial project of colonialism and “manifest destiny,” American libertarians like Rothbard also ground their historical memory of America explicitly in terms of John Locke’s conception of private property (1689). After self-ownership, property rights are held as sacred and inviolable by libertarians. Rothbard puts it thus, “Secondly, libertarians believe that every individual has the right to claim the ownership of whatever goods he has created or found in a natural, unused state: this establishes an absolute property right, not only in his own person but also in the things that he finds or creates” (Rothbard 1971). Locke’s concept of private property was drawn heavily upon as a justification for American colonial expansion, and is also intimately linked to the expansion of the Third Reich into Poland (Kakel 2015, Whitman 2018). Tracing the language of property through right-wing political formations in both North America and Europe helps us to see a line of continuity between ostensibly “freedom”-oriented language and conservative claims of moral worth and the “human.”

While the first principle of libertarianism is self-ownership - something shared in common with anarchist and other political traditions - its second emphasis, on property rights, Rothbard marks out as uniquely “right-wing.” He says, “The emphasis on the rights of private property of course locates this libertarian creed as emphatically “right-wing,” as does the right of free contract, implying absolute adherence to freedom of enterprise and the free-market economy” (Rothbard 1971). The main difference between what he terms right-libertarianism and other political formulations is that “the leftist tends to

regard the State as an evil enforcer of private-property rights, the right-libertarian, on the contrary, regards it as the prime aggressor on such rights” (Rothbard 1971).

In their adherence to capitalism, property-rights, and rugged individualism, libertarians display a commitment to right-wing politics. While different groups of libertarians place more or less emphasis on certain aspects of this creed, the political organization which is the focus of this chapter has operated firmly within a “right-libertarian” tradition. Because of this, even without self-identification as a right-wing organization, the Libertarian party - and its LGBT caucuses and satellite groups - fit within the parameters for an examination of gay right-wing politics.

Methodology

Having made the case for why the American formation of libertarianism is right-wing, I want to turn to where I draw my historical and archival sources and how I go about evaluating these various images and texts. I draw my primary sources from the Gerber Hart Archive in Chicago, the GLBT Historical Society Archive in San Francisco, and from digital archives scraped from the websites of gay libertarian organizations. I draw less from the Gerber Hart Archive, as it was the first place I encountered gay libertarian pamphlets in my archival search but which had few additional documents on the subject, while I draw much more heavily on the [Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns Collection](#) in the GLBT Historical Archive and from contemporary archival sources found online.

My online archival sources for the Outright Libertarians were drawn from a Ruby coding program, which accessed the WayBackMachine - a resource which captures historical website data over time - and stored these historical pages to evaluate changes in their messaging and platform over time. I specifically scraped “outrightusa.org,” “outrightlibertarians.blogspot.com,” and “outrightusa.com” for raw primary data spanning from 1998 to 2022.

Using qualitative textual analysis I placed these primary sources within the broader historical and social context within which they were produced. In doing so, I coded for emergent patterns in attitudes, references to authoritative concepts, and meaning-making frames like sexuality, gender, race, and nationalism within these materials. What emerged from this initial coding then was examined further to create sub-codes relating to trends within each iteration of these gay libertarian organizations.

In tandem with these codes, I analyzed these materials for social movement frames. Drawing on Goffman’s concept of framing devices, I examined how gay libertarian organizations identified pertinent problems facing their constituencies, as well as the recommendations they made for solving these problems (1972). Social movement scholars discuss the process of identifying these important issues as developing a diagnostic frame, while proposed solutions and plans of action fall under the prognostic frame (Snow & Benford 1988; 2000). These two kinds of frames are essential to framing successful collective action (Buechler 2000; Cress & Snow 2000; Snow & Benford 1988; Wilson 1973).

There are limitations to this data collection that necessarily influence this chapter. While some records include correspondence and personal evaluations of organization events, much of the data I draw from is public-facing and made to recruit and retain members. Rather than speak to the internal dynamics shaping these social movement organizations, I am limited to speaking to the discursive strategies employed to speak to both the Libertarian Party and the broader public.

The History of the American Libertarian Party

I focus here on the historical formation of the American Libertarian party to contextualize gay organizing within its ranks. Murray Rothbard and other historical scholars of libertarianism trace the history of American libertarianism to the settling of North America by European forces who brought particular “Western” practices of governance to bear on their colonial surroundings (Boaz 1997; Rothbard ???). But what about Libertarianism (big L) and its specific organizational history? Prior to the establishment of the Libertarian Party in 1971 (“About,” LP.org), it’s possible to see libertarian thought fomenting in various other political organizations. Broadly there are three major groups developing the roots of this version of libertarianism in the first half of the twentieth-century: the Austrian Economists, those like Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek; a key set of libertarian authors, in particular Rose Wilder Lane, Isabel Paterson, and Ayn Rand; and the American Economists like Milton Friedman and Murray Rothbard (Doherty 2007). Alongside these groups were various business investors, capitalists, intellectuals, and individuals disgruntled and dismayed by the shift in governance facilitated by the New Deal (Doherty 2007; Boaz 1997a). These groups were

connected by a web of correspondence and initial organizations spearheaded by singular individuals who often found themselves at odds with other libertarians, as well as the general public (Buckley Jr & Bozell 1993; Boaz 1997b; Machan 1982).

Post-World War II there was an effort by certain actors in right-wing politics, like Frank Meyer, to bring together “traditionalist” and “libertarian” groups under a broader umbrella of anti-Communism and small government. This attempt to recraft the field of right-wing politics, aptly called “Fusionism,” is described by some as ultimately a failed project (Pasour 2006: 338-339). We can see one pronounced example of this failure with the expulsion of the “libertarian uprising” which occurred in the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) in 1969. As one Libertarian Party member argues in 1973, the Libertarian Party’s formation “really began in 1969, when libertarians started breaking away from the Young Americans for Freedom” (Pilati 1973). This groundswell of libertarian organizing was put down within the organization, but represented a new collective who, alongside others in the newly coalescing libertarian political field, called themselves “the new right” (Lichtman 2008: 287). In fact, although attempts at fusion between “traditionalist” and “libertarian” groups failed it also shaped the coming libertarian movement by privileging right-libertarianism focused on philosophies like market capitalism and anarcho-capitalism (Rothbard 2010; Doherty 2007).

Not only did this represent a shift in who called, and was called, a libertarian, but it also represented a distinct shift from earlier efforts to organize American libertarians. Rather than organizing initiated by wealthy investors, like the National Industrial Conference Board (NICB), or charismatic figures, like Ayn Rand, this late 60s version was

oriented around grassroots and youth movements (Doherty 2007). This avoided the frequent breakdowns between individuals and groups who followed different strands of libertarian thought and laid the groundwork for a more unified libertarian front and the establishment of standard principles around which these “new right” libertarians could articulate criticism of, and alternatives to, both Democratic and Republican platforms (Robinson 2017; Lichtman 2008).

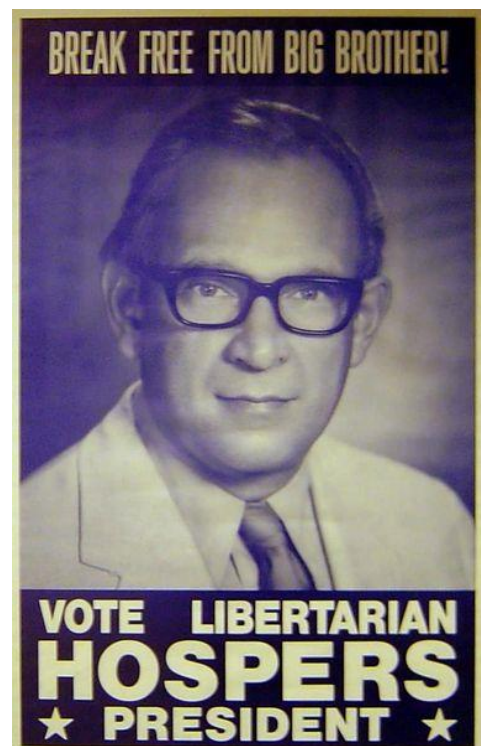
Amidst concerns over the Nixon administration, the Vietnam War and conscription, and the end of the gold standard (Doherty 2007; Lichtman 2008), the Libertarian Party was officially created in December of 1971 with the selection and implementation of a temporary Steering Committee of the Libertarian Party, who worked to create the first National Convention in 1972 and select and field presidential and vice presidential candidates (“Libertarian Party” Library of Congress). The first Presidential and Vice Presidential ticket nominated by this new party was composed of

Figure 5. Hospers

Presidential Poster

University of Southern California (USC) philosophy professor John Hospers and media producer Tonie Nathan (Doherty 2007: 392). This ticket is of particular

interest because John Hospers is often cited as openly gay by the Libertarian Party, and “thus was the first such candidate to win an electoral vote” (LPedia.org “John Hospers”;



Walker 2016; LPNevada.org 2015). This claim is disputed, and no clear archival evidence exists that suggests Hospers ever publicly identified as gay. Nevertheless, this narrative has served an important role in describing the inclusiveness and social liberalism of the Libertarian Party and in guarding against claims that the Party has been prominently shaped by right-wing ideological concerns. It also demonstrates the conflicting place such social identifiers play within Libertarian Party politics.

Alongside drafting bylaws, fielding candidates, and building educational and material resources the newly created Libertarian Party had to wrestle with the breadth of actors, and ideologies, represented in those interested in the party. This is perhaps best exemplified by the change in their “Statement of Principles.” Originally, the statement of principles tentatively adopted by organizers stated that “government has only one legitimate function, the protection of individual rights” (Hospers Statement of Principles 1972). This was rewritten in 1974 following the Dallas Accords, which attempted to craft a statement of principles that would include those like anarcho-capitalists who did not believe there was any legitimate function to the government. It consisted of “formal and informal agreements made at the 1974 Libertarian National Convention...The accord was a compromise between members of the party's larger minarchist and smaller anarchist factions who were desirous to reach some kind of accommodation in order to avoid a split in the new party” (“Dallas Accords,” LPedia.org). This part of Libertarian political history is important for two reasons: one, because it established “changing the role of any existing state from a positive duty to a negative one and officially adopting a position of agnosticism on the ultimate existence of the

state“ and two, because it sought to compromise between those who wanted a limited government and those who wanted to get rid of the state altogether. Despite this attempt at “big tent” political support, Libertarians within the party have noted that since the party’s inception and the founding of the Accords the number of anarchist members has steadily been replaced by conservative participants (Antman 2008).

Since the Dallas Accords, the Libertarian Party has grown considerably, fielding third party candidates in national and local elections (Boaz 1997a). While they have had very little influence on national elections, apart from the single electoral vote cast for the Libertarian ticket in 1972 by Roger MacBride, they have seen significant gains in their influence on various local elections (Doherty 2007: 393). Their impact on national elections, while small, has also grown increasingly over the last decade. Gary Johnson’s campaigns in 2012 became the party’s first national candidate to break a million votes, and in 2016 he “went on to achieve a Libertarian high-water mark: four and a half million votes...” (Craig 2021).

Throughout the course of the Libertarian Party’s life, the group has taken a relatively positive stance regarding homosexuality. This stance has led to a vocal presence of gay, lesbian (and later trans) participants in the party. What makes the Libertarian Party’s stance unique from other political party platforms in the United States is that it neither demands nor condemns differences in sexual orientation. In its 2018 platform, you can see this at work:

“Sexual orientation, preference, gender, or gender identity should have no impact on the government’s treatment of individuals, such as in current marriage, child custody, adoption, immigration, or military service laws.”

This plank of their platform demonstrates how their official position has been to treat various social identities as non-factors in political and economic regulation beyond the necessity of protecting individual rights like privacy.

It should be noted that this longstanding history of inclusion is outward facing, by which I mean the Libertarian Party has explicitly supported the rights of individuals to act sexually as they want consensually with any adult. This public stance does not mean it has not experienced internal struggle over these issues. As Outright records show, just in the past 20 years there have been moves made by conservatives within the Party to field politicians like Bob Barr, who helped to write the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) (H.R. 3396 1996; Miller 2008). Similarly there was push back from within the Libertarian Party when it took a stance against Proposition 8 in 2008 (Voter Information Guide 2008; Shipley 2008; Power 2008). In 2015 there was serious concern within the Libertarian Party that it had no more to address in the subject of gay liberation now that marriage equality had been achieved (Shackford 2015; Shipley 2015). Just recently in 2021 Outright Libertarians called for the expulsion of Jeremy Kauffman, a member of The Free State's board of directors and member of the Libertarian Party of New Hampshire, who had recently said "if 1,000 transpeople were murdered every year but there were no taxes, we'd live in a substantially more moral world" (Outright USA Board 2021). In a different encounter, Kauffman responded to commentary given by an underage Outright member by saying, "100% guaranteed this guy would suck my cock if given the opportunity" (Board of Directors 2021). This is more than an attack on an Outright

member by someone within the party, but signifies an increasing right-wing turn in the Party that seems to be leaving Outright behind.

Kauffman is connected to the Mises Caucus, which has emerged as a major conservative influence in the Libertarian Party. Their statement of purpose says,

“Our purpose is to promote economic literacy within the Libertarian Party as taught by the Austrian school of economics, to stress the importance of sound economics as critical to the Libertarian Party message, and to advocate applying the science of human action—praxeology—in Libertarian Party efforts to counter the statism of both Democrats and Republicans.”

While this statement suggests that they simply want to emphasize economic literacy, as taught by the Austrian school of economics, their actual platforming and actions are calling for a transformation away from “low self esteem” messaging towards explicit, inflammatory messaging that draws on the conservative roots of Libertarianism in the United States in order to increase the perceived relevance of the party and to appeal to an increasingly polarized national audience. This turn is hinted at in Planks 6 and 7 of their platform:

Plank 6 – Lifestyle Choices: We take no stance on the personal, cultural, or social preferences of individuals or groups. One’s lifestyle is merely an extension of their property rights. Thus, no individual or group can rightfully claim jurisdiction over the lifestyle of another. We assert only that any and all lifestyle choices must not violate the property rights of others.

Plank 7 – Identity Politics: We categorically reject all forms of identity politics as nothing more than weaponized tribal collectivism that is antithetical to individualism.

It appears that this caucus is operating from a playbook established in 2018 by Hans-Hermann Hoppe and the Ludwig von Mises Institute in the chapter, “Libertarianism and the Alt-Right: In Search of a Libertarian Strategy for Social Change” (2018). In this text Hoppe argues that while alt-right individuals are operating from a sense of “psychology and sociology” but without a sense of theory, mainstream Libertarianism is all theory without the practical knowledge of human behavior (2018: 79). This “practical” knowledge is what he wants Libertarians to act on by “crushing ‘the ‘Anti-fascist’ mob,” “abolishing all ‘affirmative action’ and ‘non-discrimination’ laws and regulations,” stopping “mass immigration” and getting “rid of all welfare parasites and bums” (Hoppe 2018: 90-98). These are just a few of the 10 interventions he justifies using the idea that immigrants, “criminals,” “bums,” and others are “bad neighbors.” In doing so, he makes the explicit argument that lack of economic success is a sign of deficient moral worth. With the Mises Caucus having won a coup within the American Libertarian Party in June of 2022 it may signal a fundamental shift in the relationship between groups like Outright and the Party.

Libertarians for Gay Rights and Its Descendants

Many libertarians trace a longstanding inclusion of gay and lesbian people through the writings of Classical Liberal philosophers like Jeremy Bentham, who spoke explicitly of homosexuality and criminalization, as well as extrapolating the positions of others like John Stuart Mill to include sexual behavior under the umbrella of sovereign individual activities (Raico 1975: 6). This inclusion-by-principle, historian Ralph Raico argues, sets the Libertarian Party apart from all others in the United States as one that does not need

recovering from homophobia but has always been oriented towards the universal freedoms of all. In some ways, this holds up under historical scrutiny - within the overall history of the Libertarian Party in the United States, there has always been a gay and lesbian presence. That said, Libertarians have had their work cut out for them in recruiting and specifically tailoring their messaging to gay and lesbian Americans.

One struggle for Libertarians attempting to draw in these members was the major difference in how they understood political selfhood and progress. The idea of freedom from the state, rather than protections provided by the state, often ran counter to the organizing principles of the day. As one Libertarian flier notes:

“...since much of gay civil rights activism has been focused on legislative protection of gays, the “movement” has often been at odds with the Libertarian insistence that protective legislation only invites the government into our bedrooms. The paradox presented by the gay movement should make for an interesting and eye-opening look at what the Libertarian Party at least two of its candidates represent.” -Libertarian Party Flier, 1982

“...the ‘LGBT rights movement’ has abandoned the equal rights issues of marriage, adoption, military service, and spousal immigration, in favor of special rights like employment regulation and additional hate crime penalties.”
Mike Shipley, Chair of Outright Libertarians, March 29, 2007

While these contradictions posed a problem for those gay Libertarians who straddled both of these political communities, we can see the unique framing which attempted to bridge these divides. We can see some of these differences in a statement crafted by gay liberationist and Libertarian Mike James for the 1974 Tucille campaign and reprinted in Ralph Raico’s foundational 1976 work “Gay Rights: A Libertarian Approach.” The statement is summarized by a few brief points:

- Repeal of all laws regarding consensual sexual acts between adults (with the age of consent reasonably defined). This would include abolition of laws prohibiting prostitution and solicitation, whether gay or straight.
- Repeal of legislation prohibiting unions between members of the same sex, and the extension to such unions of all legal rights and privileges presently enjoyed by partners in heterosexual marriages.
- An end to the use of loitering statutes and entrapment procedures as a means of harassing gays and prostitutes.
- An end to the collection by government agencies of data on the sexual preferences of individuals.
- Elimination of regulations specifying homosexuality as a justification for denying or revoking state licenses (for doctors, lawyers, teachers, hairdressers, etc.).
- Repeal of laws prohibiting cross-dressing.
- Recognition of the right of a homosexual parent to be considered for custody of his or her natural child, and of the child to choose the homosexual parent as guardian.
- Elimination of laws specifying homosexuality as grounds for denying the right of adoption.
- Equality of treatment of gay people in regard to government service, including particularly membership in the armed forces.
- Release of all individuals presently detained or imprisoned for any victimless crime.

This list of commitments is, as Raico notes, absent a number of strategies which are characterized as “leftist.” Their position allows for hiring discrimination, denial of access to public accommodations, refusal of healthcare, and housing. Because they value the rights of private individuals above all else, they are unwilling to impose any restrictions on acts of bigotry or prejudice. This was met by criticism from other gay liberationists. We can see Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns responding to these critiques by arguing for a different historical understanding of the gay liberation movement itself.

“The gay liberation movement was founded on the principle of the individual’s right to own and control his/her property, i.e. their bodies, free from government intervention and regardless of the anti-gay attitudes of the majority collective. Failing to allow their opponents these same basic property rights (the right to do with their jobs, houses, or businesses as they see fit), gay leftists not only hypocritically contradict that foundation of gay liberation, but weaken that

foundation to the point of collapse. When government no longer serves solely to protect the rights of the individual, but as a tool to enforce the views of one collective over another, then totalitarianism is just around the corner.” -Letter from Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns, 1982 (tentative date)

This rewriting shifts the emphasis of the gay liberation movement from claims like collective, redistributive justice towards property rights and individualism. Instead of grounding gay liberation in a collective sense of peoplehood or social identity - as articulated by folks like Harry Hay, founder of the Mattachine Society - this position emphasizes a different set of historical and social mechanisms focused away from systematic oppression and towards what Libertarians consider a more fundamental conflict, between free individuals and the State.

So who exactly were the actors attempting to shift this political framework of justice and freedom to emphasize these points on personal property, limited government, and laissez faire markets? Rather than a single consistent set of actors, we see a series of emergent organizations over time. The first of these is the “Libertarians for Gay Rights” caucus formed after the 1974 Libertarian National Convention; explicitly in order to recruit and retain gay participants within the larger political party. Out of this caucus, Ralph Raico wrote his 1976 pamphlet on the libertarian approach to gay rights.

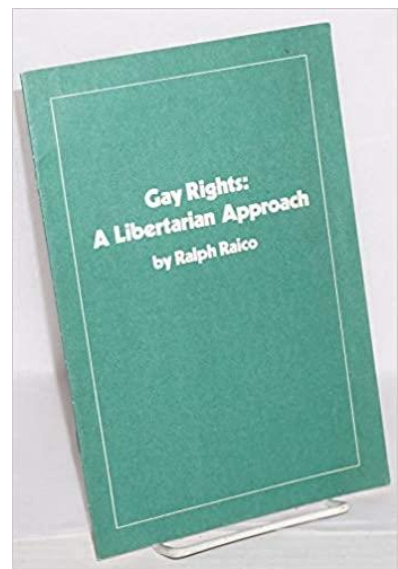


Figure 6. Original LGR Pamphlet

In addition to this work within the Party, there were social movement organizations outside its official boundaries working to establish ties between gays and

lesbians and Libertarians more generally. The first of these was the Thomas Jefferson Libertarian Club, founded in 1980 by Ron Umbaugh, a San Diego resident and gay libertarian who sought to connect with others who shared his views on limited government. While little archival information is available about this group, there is historical evidence of its existence and operations in the Southern California area (*LA Times* 1981; *Update* 1982; *Metro* 1983). As such, it's important to recognize its role as the first American libertarian organization founded specifically for gay and lesbian participants.

Considered a successor to this group, an international organization emerged in 1981 called "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns."³⁴ This group was founded in the home of Daniel Nolan in Colorado Springs following the national Libertarian Convention in Denver Colorado.³⁵ In contrast to Libertarians for Gay Rights, this organization had a more clear focus on providing a platform and voice to lesbian and gay members (rather than simply advocating on their behalf). It simultaneously had a significantly further reach and influence than the nascent Thomas Jefferson Libertarian Club. With this unique position, LGLC was able to position the Libertarian movement within the context of AIDS and other major social movement events of the day.

After its initial founding Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns (LGLC) was coordinated by Bob Waldrop out of Salt Lake City from 1981-1983.³⁶ George Meyer

³⁴ "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns," GLBT Historical Archive, San Francisco, CA.

³⁵ "Correspondence," in "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns," GLBT Historical Archive, San Francisco.

³⁶ "Correspondence," in "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns," GLBT Historical Archive, San Francisco.

stated in a communication that he helped to revive the organization in August of 1983, a revival that appears to have coincided with the organization's move from Salt Lake to Washington D.C. and the installation of Meyer as their National Coordinator. It operated out of D.C. for a year before finally settling in San Francisco in 1985. By the mid-80s the organization had approximately 400 subscribers to its monthly *LGLC Newsletter* and chapters in New York City, Washington D.C., Los Angeles, and San Francisco.³⁷ The first convention, held by LGLC was in San Francisco in 1985, was attended by 60 gay and lesbian libertarians from across the United States and Canada.³⁸ This growth period came to an end by 1986 when only two chapters, NYC and SF, remained active. Their second, and last, convention was held in San Francisco May of 1987. This time only twenty nine attendees participated, and by the end of that year it appears they ended all attempts at organizing.³⁹

The last and perhaps longest lived social movement organization to emerge within the libertarian context is that of the Outright Libertarians. This group, founded in 1998 by Allan Wallace, Doyle Jones, Mark Cole, Helen Eaves, Jeff Collins, Helmut Forren, Corbett Griffith, and Lloyd Russell in Atlanta, GA (Power 2006). Allan Wallace recalls that the seeds of this organization were planted back in June of 1993, "LP activist Ron Crickenberger started the first outreach to the Georgia gay community by having an Advocates OPH booth at the Atlanta Gay Pride Festival on behalf of the Libertarian

³⁷ "Correspondence," in "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns," GLBT Historical Archive, San Francisco.

³⁸ "Correspondence," in "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns," GLBT Historical Archive, San Francisco.

³⁹ "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns," GLBT Historical Archive, San Francisco.

Party of Georgia” (“Brief Timeline,” 2008). The outreach continued for two more years before he asked Allan Wallace to continue outreach efforts to the local gay community.

Figure 7. Original Outright Members (not included, Helen Eaves)

Wallace took on this directive and at Atlanta Pride in 1998 he asked for a number of volunteers to start a new organization loosely based on the Log Cabin Republican concept, but for Libertarians” (“Brief Timeline,” 2008). This group originally fielded the name “Stonewall Libertarians,” but said they learned of another group that already had that name. The organization thus started as an group focused on outreach, to bring together GSM (gender and sexual minority) community members and the Libertarian Party. Their mission statement says:

“As Outright Libertarians we serve as a two--way bridge between the Libertarian



Party and those with differing sexual orientations or gender identities. Through activism and outreach we find freethinking individuals in the gender and sexual minority (GSM) community and introduce them to the Libertarian Party. By being active within the Libertarian Party, we work to keep the party platform inclusive of equal rights for GSM people. We also work with the Libertarian Party to protect individual freedom and demand equal rights and responsibilities for all persons.”

They have kept to this general mission statement for the past 24 years. Starting from their base of operations in Atlanta, they spread their influence and organizational network to 27 chapters by 2014 (Shipley 2014).⁴⁰

Perhaps even more important than the general organizational and historical details of the group is its response to the specific issues which impact gay libertarians. By 2003 Outright had articulated nine areas which affected gender and sexual minority (GSM)⁴¹ individuals:

- Sodomy Laws
- Marriage
- Domestic Partner Benefits
- Adoption
- Affirmative Action
- Taxes and AIDS funding
- Violent Crimes/Hate Crimes
- Gays in the Military
- The Boy Scouts and Freedom of Association

Some of these issues, like the repeal of sodomy laws, marriage, and gays in the military were in line with mainstream efforts for equality. For example, Outright took a very clear stance on the repeal of Proposition 8, which passed in California in 2008 (Power 2008). Not only did they articulate how this would be detrimental to GSM community members, but they also actively worked to educate those within the Libertarian Party who remained on the fence (Power 2008; Outright 2008). There were some Libertarians who argued that support for the proposition would facilitate “getting the government out of marriage” (Power 2008). Rob Power, an Outright member, argues that achieving

⁴⁰ To find a list of all the chapters listed by Outright in 2014 please see Appendix B.

⁴¹ Outright uses the term “GSM” to include those who participate in non-normative sexual practices like BDSM.

such a goal by sacrificing equal treatment of gays and lesbians would be a fundamental “blind spot” (2008).

This agreement certainly does not continue through other issues in their platform. Issues like state-funded AIDS research, violent crimes/hate crimes, the Boy Scouts, and affirmative action were in direct opposition to the frameworks being used by non-Libertarian gay organizers. Let’s turn to these areas of disagreement and explore how Outright, and gay libertarians more broadly, articulate their position.

The first, and perhaps longest point of disagreement has been the Libertarian Party and Outright’s stance against government funding of AIDS research and services (Outright USA 2003). A significant portion of the AIDS related social movement activism of the 1980s and early 90s was focused on getting the attention of the government in order to demand research funding and access to services and lifesaving treatments (Schulman 2021; Gould 2009). That AIDS affected those who were socially and economically marginalized meant that most Americans saw funding of AIDS research as “supporting homosexuality” or, broadly, immorality (Schulman 2021). Gay libertarians avoid the explicit deployment of morality in their social movement framing by emphasizing the right to personal choice; meaning that AIDS research and funding should be a product of free market association.

Defending this position from other gay organizers requires developing a non-State centered network of funding. Instead they rely on personal generosity and charity

to provide the necessary funding to develop this kind of work. You can see this in a issues statement they issued:

The government takes what we pay in taxes, skims off at least 70%, then doles out a little of the remainder to the people and causes that concern us. If the government would just cut the cost of its wasteful and needless bureaucracy and let us keep the money it would save, there is little doubt that AIDS services and research would be fully funded from the voluntary gifts of the GLBT community and "gay friendly" people. (Outright "Issues" 2002)

In this example, Outright makes the argument that capitalism, aided by voluntary participation and giving, produces the best results for research outcomes. Key to this argument is that, unlike companies, government funding schemes take significant portions of those funds and use them to reproduce the State's position of power. Instead this position argues that the regulatory mechanisms of capitalism would be better suited to managing not just the research process but all forms of economic activity. Throughout the Outright archive there is no mention of instances in which this expectation of capitalistic regulation has failed to yield moral or social benefits. For example, Martin Shkreli, a hedge fund manager who became famous in 2015-2016 for purchasing the rights to a major HIV medication and then hiking up the price of that medication by 5,000%, is not considered an example of the lack of regulatory mechanisms within this system (Shkreli 2022). Daraprim, the medication he bought rights to, once cost \$13.50 a pill. Following his purchase Shkreli hiked up the cost to \$750 a pill (Pollack 2015). Let's compare this to another Outright statement on why the Libertarian Party and Outright is against government funding for AIDS research and services. Here, Outright argues, "We have also proven that we will give to causes that we believe in, in spite of our heavy tax burden" (Outright "Issues," 2002). Outright participated for the first time in the AIDS

Walk San Francisco in 2008, raising just slightly more than \$1,000 (August 8, 2008, Power). By 2015 that means the money they raised would pay for approximately a pill and a half for one individual.

I draw out this distinction not to simply highlight a contradiction in the messaging of Outright and the Libertarian Party more generally, but to also underline how their messaging is shaped both by the presence of some examples and the absence of others. They have also remained silent on moves by Texas legislators to make PrEP (Pre-exposure prophylaxis to significantly reduce one's likelihood of becoming HIV+) optional for insurance companies. This reframing of healthcare as something which lies outside government regulation or participation is directly at odds with other gay social movement organizations, including the Log Cabin Republicans.

Another point of difference is the stance Outright has taken on hate crime legislation since it's beginning. The Libertarian Party states that this legislation is "legalized discrimination against the victims of some violent crimes in favor of others" (May 3, 2007, Miller; Sept. 18, 2007, Power). Whereas groups like the Log Cabin Republicans have called for expanded hate crimes legislation under the auspices of protecting gays and lesbians, Outright argues that this kind of legal framework only expands the reach of the State without performing its basic function, addressing violence against marginalized people. The group says, "The LP's approach is often hard hitting, direct to the central issue. Outright's approach is more understanding, we are more willing to explain the failings of government solutions and to show how some things that look good for us on the surface may actually work against us" (FAQ, 2003). Rather than

encourage State intervention, Outright argues for private gun ownership and free association organizations like the Pink Pistols as a response to interpersonal violence. Perhaps the clearest evidence of this their amplification of a Pink Pistols interview following the 2009 pass of the Hate Crime bill, “That law was designed to make gays and lesbians feel good. It won’t protect them. If they want protection, they’ll have to sign up with a group formed for precisely that purpose. I’m talking about my favorite gay rights group in the entire country, the Pink Pistols.” (2009 just-like-government)

The last major platform difference I will highlight is that gay libertarians have been staunchly against the implementation of legislation like the “Employment Non-Discrimination Act” (ENDA). One tweet from them said, “ENDA is a big fat steaming pile of wage slavery. Merging state and corporate power is NOT working” (Outright, Nov. 14, 2013). This merging is not bad because it will inhibit corporate power, but because for gay libertarians they believe it will unnecessarily increase the power of the state over those corporations. Within their framework capitalism is equality. One writer says, “Isn't it ironic how Democratic party socialists, who claim to be pro-gay politicians, manage to produce little to nothing...while "evil, greedy businesses" which are so often maligned by the Democrats have been driving forward equal treatment of gays on and off the job?” (Oct. 6, 2006, Miller). For these gay libertarians the idea of state protection is advocating for “special rights” under the law - a common right-wing talking point - and that instances of discrimination should be left to market forces driving migration and labor. They believe that providing benefits and protections for GSM individuals is a natural outgrowth of capitalist expansion and competition. Ben Miller says, “while big-

government sorts in the old parties express shock and amazement that free market enterprise is light years ahead of big, centrally-planned government programs run by politicians, we Libertarians just grin, nod, and wink...As always, free markets equal free people” (Miller 2006). It should be noted that Outright differs from this stance only when businesses receive taxpayer funding, in which case they demand equal treatment under the law because those businesses have been supported by government taxation.

These breakaway issues place gay libertarians outside the usual diagnostic and prognostic frames used by other mainstream gay social movement organizations (Snow & Benford 1988; 2000) while putting them in close proximity to the Libertarian Party’s statement of principles. That proximity has not always been assured though. In 2008 the Libertarian Party recruited Bob Barr, an author of the Defense of Marriage Act, to their organization. This caused a significant amount of controversy in Outreach, that resolved itself in the continuing endorsement of Dr. George Phillies and the welcoming of Barr into the Party with the hopes that he continues to grow into - and past - the Libertarian mainstream (Outright Press Release 2008).

These conflicts within the Party are certainly not a thing of the past and reflect an increasing concern with how to translate libertarian principles into concerted, national action. Some gay libertarians, like billionaire Peter Thiel, have moved into funding explicit right-wing politicians (Mac and Lerer 2022). Others, like the self-described “cultural libertarian” Milo Yiannopoulos attached themselves to the rise of Alt-Right actors over the past decade. Beyond these singular individuals, groups like Outright have appeared to resist increasing radicalization to the right. This may be explained by the difference

between them and other groups studied in this dissertation; Libertarians for Gay Rights and its descendants have operated in general alignment with its larger party and so have been able to focus more of their energy pushing outward on the larger gay public. That said, their position advocating for a third party, and with a framework which articulates negative rights - the absence of government oppression - rather than ensuring access to basic necessities seems to be at odds with the general social movement narrative fostered within American gay spaces.

It remains to be seen how Outright, and gay libertarians more generally, will fare in the recent shifts happening within the Libertarian Party. In a statement issued by the Outright USA board members following the 2022 Libertarian Party National Convention they state that “former and current board members of Outright USA were physically assaulted and verbally harassed, LNC staff physically and sexually assaulted (verified), and former POTUS candidates besmirch[ed] GSM liberty activists to huge captive audiences...thus we have lost a political home.” Their statement echoes others like party member Aaron Ross Powell, who tweeted:



The Outright Board seems to agree with Powell’s assessment, as they have said the party “[has] taken an unfortunate turn towards malicious cultural conservatism, vitriolic traditionalism, and other political (and physical) harassment of many members of our

community...” (June 2, 2022, Outright USA Board). Included in this statement was an official announcement that Outright Libertarians terminated their relationship with the Libertarian Party and changed their name, temporarily, to Outright USA till a new name can be voted on by their membership. This is a major development, and one which breaks fully with all earlier history of GSM organizing in and around the Libertarian Party. Despite its historical significance, this right-wing radicalization is not emerging out of nowhere. Explaining and deconstructing this event requires moving into a deeper analysis of the framing devices within the Party at large and the gay libertarian organizations in particular.

Everyone’s An Exception

As explored elsewhere, the era following the Civil Rights movement is one defined by an increasingly capacious and expansive set of logics which defend and enshrine whiteness (Rodriguez 2020). This category shapes who is and is not “white,” a term I use to signify any individual deemed to share positive biological, inheritable traits and who are accorded right, status, and property based on those perceived biological differences. That the Libertarian Party and its internal and external gay organizations emerge during this period of White Reconstruction, and the ubiquity with which institutionalized whiteness shapes our everyday lives, requires explanation and investigation (Bonilla-Silva YEAR). How might whiteness shape the manner in which these organizations recruit and retain members? In an American National Election Studies (ANES) survey in 2000 and 2004, 89% and 81% of libertarians identified as white. In 2013 an American Values Survey found that 94% of those who identified as

libertarian in their survey also described themselves as non-hispanic whites. Surveys conducted internally by *Reason*⁴² suggest a less significant split, particularly among millennials (Reason-Rupe Poll Database 2015).

Data on the racial makeup of groups like Libertarians for Gay Rights and its later iterations is even more difficult to come across. Discussion of LGR meetings does not contain any demographic data. Similarly Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns does not identify its racial makeup in any official way. Image and textual analysis of the correspondence, convention, and chapter documents suggests almost a complete absence of non-white participants.⁴³ In the data I've gathered on the Outright Libertarians a visual analysis of event photographs and officer introductions suggests that among the 50 images only 4 contained individuals who would be read as part of a racial minority.

While these numbers are difficult to come by because libertarians in general deemphasize these social markers of difference, it's clear that historically the larger libertarian movement - and the Libertarian Party - have been rooted in white social movement organizing. Libertarians have often framed the issue of race in a colorblind manner; to name or invoke race is to be racist yourself. Bonilla-Silva identifies this particular racial project following the Civil Rights era, and in particular a response which reasserts whiteness by creating conditions under which whiteness is normalized and institutionalized but difficult to change because naming or discussing race becomes a

⁴² This is a major Libertarian publication, supported by the Reason Foundation.

⁴³ "Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns," GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, CA.

stigmatized practice. This can be found broadly within libertarian traditions, for example when Ayn Rand was asked why there were only a few Black members in her audience she said, "I'm not a racist; I don't try to appeal to certain ethnic groups. I'm interested only in human beings and their minds" (Rand 2005). Outright and other gay libertarian organizations do not frame it quite so strongly, but they do significant work to frame their claimsmaking in universalist terms, that the political format they are championing results in the best outcomes for all people regardless of racial status.

Some of the earliest examples of race thinking by Outright occurs following the murder of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman in 2012. While race is not referred to explicitly in their discussion of the event, they retweet descriptions of Martin as a gay basher and violent attacker. This particular incident is interesting to read through a racial lens, as it highlights a case in which an armed vigilante who claimed he was "protecting himself and his neighborhood" is pitted against a young Black man. In this case it is pitting libertarian values of self-defense and direct action against those of egalitarianism and the right of all people to defend themselves. By removing state actors like the police it is hard for libertarian frames of violence to make sense of the deadly interaction between these two actors. This incoherence reflects what McGoey terms, the logic of "strategic ignorance," in which ignorance can "serve as a productive asset, helping individuals and institutions to command resources, deny liability...and to assert expertise in the face of unpredictable outcomes" (553).

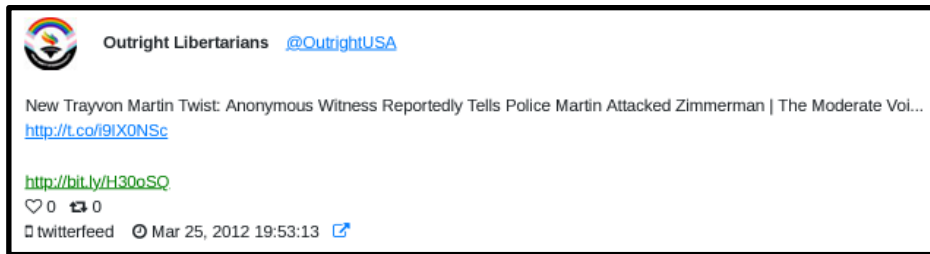


Figure 8. Outright Tweet About Trayvon Martin

That gay libertarians express this strategic ignorance in their messaging helps us understand how what Mueller describes as “racial non-knowing” functions to reinstate whiteness through ignorance and inactivity. By ignoring that race - its institutions, logics, and materials - impact life well beyond their manifestation in the state Outright not only becomes unable to address or locate race but this inability to reflect on how race shapes their own posting practices they benefit from “racial non-knowing.”

It’s worth addressing that they move away from using this neoliberal, colorblind framework after 2014. They begin to post about events like Juneteenth, Black Pride Day, and Black History Month⁴⁴ on their Twitter account. A throughline between their organizational presentation pre-2014 and post-2014 is the reliance on universalized interventions rather than ones which take into account the unique history and struggle of the racial group they identify. Unpacking this a bit further, although it appears that they are responding to increased pressure to identify structures of anti-blackness their response is the same as the other interventions, like endorsing personal gun ownership, they propose in response to homophobic or trans antagonistic attacks. It is particularly

⁴⁴ Their Twitter account only seems to issue positive statements naming race when it has to do with Black events, holidays, or issues.

suggestive that they are responding to current events because of a distinct lack in messaging towards any other U.S. racial group.

What this achieves is transforming race from a structural and historical force into simply a difference in physical expression. This makes addressing structures like white supremacy, that operate both within and outside of state violence, incredibly difficult for these actors to apprehend and address. As scholars like Du Bois, Harris, Moreton-Robinson, and Lipsitz establish, the project of whiteness far exceeds identifying differences in physical expression (1920; 1993; 2015; 2006). Capitalism's basis in colonial extraction and anti-black violence demonstrates that whiteness is also fundamentally intertwined with property rights - that property ownership is an essential aspect of whiteness itself (Harris 1993). Outright, by framing the issue of race as a difference in color or expression, cannot address the relationship between whiteness and property without undermining their foundation for individual freedom, property rights. It is because of this that any attempt to articulate a redistribution of land, wealth, or resources is seen as a marginalized group attempting to secure "special rights."

A central mechanism by which gay libertarians solve this contradiction is through narrative exceptionalism - a reliance on meritocracy, colorblindness, and the "non-racial" nature of capitalism. Put another way, they argue that under unrestrained market capitalism and absent government intervention every individual, regardless of race will have an equal chance to become wealthy. The implication of what I think of as the "RuPaul Exception" is the moral claim that if our class system has an equal racial distribution, a natural product of free association, it is no longer racially violent. This idea

that one can invest in oneself and “pull yourself up by the bootstraps” pairs with other examples of tokenism to emphasize individual progress while occluding the ongoing oppression of groups or categories of individuals. Out of this narrative practice, any form of racial difference which persists absent the State is acceptable. The metrics of success for the gay libertarian is freedom of association, meaning that wealth disparities or access inequality does not factor into questions of political efficacy. Within these metrics the advancement and accrual of capital and Tension” resources by a select few demonstrates the success in eliminating racial economic and social stratification.

Not only do we see gay libertarians engaged in colorblind racial projects, but we see these projects being paired with neo-colonial efforts to deregulate transnational capital. The earlier exploration of the roots of American libertarianism describes how necessary “Western Civilization” and colonialism is to the libertarian political project. While attempts to found “new” libertarian countries like the Republic of Minerva (Strauss 1984), Liberland (Liberland.org/en 2022), and Operation Atlantis (Simpson 2016) are not explicitly linked to gay libertarians, new projects which follow this same set of principles - like gay

Figure 9. Outright Media Ft. ‘Rachel



OUTRIGHT LIBERTARIANS
DON'T HATE US BECAUSE WE'RE FABULOUS.

libertarian Peter Thiel's "Seasteading Institute" - represent an increasing participation by gay libertarians in neo-colonial placemaking.

Although Libertarians for Gay Rights and its descendents have not moved as far to the right over recent years as groups like the Log Cabin Republicans their fundamental logics reflect a conservative concern with "forced" redistribution of material and social resources. The methods of stigma management they have developed, particularly through their deployment of universal rights discourse, demonstrate how they avoid stigma by positioning themselves within white masculine normativity. As mentioned in Chapter One, Goffman describes stigma as an attribute that is deeply discrediting within a relational structure of meaning (1963: 12) The consequences of this narrative foundation is the maintenance of white supremacy under the guise of race-blind interventions into systemic and historical institutions of whiteness.

Crafting Gender

Gender, and masculinity in particular, shows up in interesting ways in the gay libertarian case. The Libertarian Party has, at least over the last few decades, skewed a two to one presence of men to women (2000, 2004, 2013, 2015). The early gay libertarian social movement organizations were dominated by men, including through the first decade or so of Outright Libertarians existence. Over the past ten year period though, there has been an increasing presence of women and non-binary individuals participating in their Executive Committee. Despite this presence the explicit policy statements and agenda setting by the organization has only changed a little bit, reflecting

that while the organization has made significant changes in how they put together their messaging the core principles continue to be shaped by the original founders of Outright. Tracking the impact of masculinity on these organizations requires us to look more closely at the issues that these organizations determine are worth organizational energy and labor.

Unlike our earlier discussion of how the Log Cabin Republicans handled the issue of abortion, all of the gay libertarian social movement organizations in this study have taken a strong stand supporting individual reproductive rights. Despite this clear cut platform difference, quotes like those featured in the chapter epigraph circulate in the organizational space of gay libertarians. While these libertarians do not believe in blocking an individual's reproductive choices directly, they are more than willing to allow those choices to be limited by economic circumstances. All of Outright's messaging focuses on the idea that anyone should be able to make choices about their body and health; but the practical, material aspects of reproductive choice are usually elided. Universal references to "bodily autonomy" erase the particular historical and material barriers that women, and others with uteruses, face in gaining access to this autonomy. This reflects Acker's theoretical and empirical assessment that such universal categories replicate, even while obscuring, the power and status of cisgender men (1999). The recent repeal of *Roe v. Wade* by the Supreme Court has prompted Outright, for example, to promote DIY guides to manufacturing abortion drugs but without any suggestion of equal access or distribution (Outright 2022). This framing allows gay libertarians, like those in Outright, to express support for reproductive rights without

challenging the moral or ethical questions that spring up when individuals have differential access to privacy and property.

In addition to examining areas in which a concern with gender and sex might materialize, like abortion, we can also see how gender is discussed as it relates to feminism. A quote from Ayn Rand illuminates the roots of this position from within the broader libertarian movement:

“I am profoundly antifeminist, because it’s a phony movement....It wants to have its cake and eat it too. It wants “independence” for women - government-funded independence, supported by taxes. Extorted from whom? From men whose equals they claim to be. But men did not get established in this country with the help of government.” - Ayn Rand, *Ayn Rand Answers: The Best of Her Q&A* (2005)

While gay libertarians often draw on the work of libertarian women, the social consequences of their positions reinforce the idea of the universal economic man.

How, if at all, does this larger sentiment manifest in organizations like Libertarians for Gay Rights, LGLC, and Outright? An analysis of their Twitter presence shows only a few references to feminism prior to 2014, with most posts referring to memorializing feminists like Tammy Bruce, Joan Kennedy Taylor, and Betty Dodson (Nov. 13, 2012, Outright; Dec. 12, 2012, Outright 2012; Dec. 19, 2013, Outright). Only two other posts exist discussing feminism prior to 2014: the first about how “transsexuals successfully censor feminist writers who criticize them” and the second an interview with lesbian libertarian Camille Paglia on the dangers of gay “political correctness” (Dec. 13, 2013, May). The next time we see feminism discussed by Outright is nearly six years later, when it attempts to address the claims of TERFs (trans-exclusionary radical feminists)

who are trying to describe trans women as sexual predators. This demonstrates a radical shift in language around gender - from a messaging that is cis-normative and which locates gender and sex within the realm of biological determinism to a defense of non-normative genders. This shift is also marked by their 2015 move away from “LGBT” to “GSM” language in their organization’s messaging. Their last mention of feminism was in 2021 where they reposted a tweet by the libertarian Cato Institute with a quote by their Vice President, “A libertarian must necessarily be a feminist, in the sense of being an advocate of equality under the law for all men and women” (March 9, 2021).

The presentation of gender throughout the archival materials focuses on gender as a form of self-expression. Gay libertarians disproportionately describe gender through the lens of expression and identity. For example, one tweet from Outright said, “Big brother has no right to inspect your body or socially engineer your expression/presentation” (2021). Digging more deeply into this tweet, the suggestion is that one’s social expression or presentation is not a product of social engineering of one kind or another but rather an expression of some deeper individual truth. This gender narrative ignores two key factors which sociological theory has shown to be important to the enactment of gender: one, that gender is a form of labor and one which requires access to particular materials and two, that gender is an interactive and communal process of meaning-making (West and Zimmerman 1987; Connell 2010; Jules Joanne Gleeson and Elle O'Rourke 2021; Butler 1993; Butler 1990; Acker 1990; Fausto-Sterling 2020). Doing so allows gay libertarians to avoid discussing the unequal accrual of material and social advantages by cisgender men through non-State institutions while

continuing to present themselves as inclusive of multiple genders. This crafts a masculinity which is both invisible and unaddressable from within the organization; relegating women and feminine participants to articulate gender-specific needs through the lens of the universal man.

Victims of The State

Finally, alongside an analysis of masculinity and whiteness within these organizations it is important to explore how grievances - and in particular, victimhood - play a role in shaping the way gay libertarians think about themselves and the political and social world they navigate. As other paradigms of contention argue that conflict in society comes from class, race, or gender, the American libertarian framework centers the main conflict as one between free citizens and the State. Across gay libertarian archives we can see that all other forms of discrimination are seen as lesser, derivative practices emerging from the consolidation of State power and interference.

Whereas Log Cabin Republicans frame themselves as victims of the religious right within the Republican Party and larger “Republican-phobia” in the gay community, Outright and gay libertarian organizations more broadly understand their status as stigmatized by “big government” and the “duopoly” representing the Democratic and Republican establishments. This position reflects their right-wing roots in anti-Communist and anti-welfare organizing. They are also unabashed in recognizing minor levels of stigma within the Libertarian Party, for example like their experience with the Party welcoming Barr. This stigma though has usually been offset by the fact such

instances tend to be the exception rather than the rule. To a lesser extent they also describe themselves as stigmatized by the general perception of Libertarianism within gay spaces, although this stigma is usually framed less as a form of victimization than reflecting a political inertia. They do not get labeled negatively in the same way by others within the gay community, but often find that others do not really know what it means to be Libertarian.

In some ways this position is unique among the groups I study, because gay libertarians avoid what is considered divisionary “identity politics” by emphasizing that everyone is subject to State violence. This allows for the recognition of different historical and material experiences of stigma, while identifying the producer of these problems not as a product of individual or social processes but governmental ones.

“Our community needs to wake up and figure out that we are a biologically determined permanent minority of less than 1/10 of the population. Given that fact, we can't rely on big government, whether autocratic or democratic, to protect us.” (Power 2007)

The frame deployed here is interesting in a number of ways. The first is the use of bioessentialism to naturalize the presence of gender and sexual minorities within the nation-state. This is at odds with later framing, but is effective at establishing a sense of universal urgency and foreclosing discussion of the cultural or social specificity of gender and sexual production. The second fascinating component of this quote is that it demonstrates not only how gay libertarians think of stigma and victimhood, but also demonstrates a key aspect of conservative thought, a fundamental distrust of democracy. In situating GSM individuals as a permanent minority, the writer suggests that democracy itself is a threat to the lives of minoritized individuals. Thus the only safe

government is one which is whittled down to what most Libertarians believe is its most basic function, protecting individual property rights.

The implications of this victimhood framework tell us something crucial about the way gay libertarians understand the nature of human activity. For gay libertarians violence should be avoided unless it protects the rights of private individuals. It is natural for humans to impinge on each other's freedoms, but for Outright these conflicts constitute the only reason for government intervention. Inequality is **not** considered violence, as it is produced by market forces and therefore considered amoral by gay libertarian frames.



Figure 10. Outright Tweet Identifying The State As Violent

The culmination of the grievance structure for gay libertarian organizations is a universal man at once both unstoppably strong and constantly under threat and victimized by the State. This universal man can express themselves in many ways, through race, gender, culture, and yet remains distilled to a rational, propertied actor who acts in their own self-interest. Gay libertarians argue that resolving victimization requires market freedom and the advancement of capitalism.

Conclusion

Gay libertarian organizations expose the continued efforts by their participants to frame continued forms of dominance in otherwise color-blind language. Relegating winners and losers of economic activity to the random outcomes of the invisible hand of the market avoids the critique of other kinds of conservatism; that they are naturalizing dominance and stratification. Libertarians for Gay Rights and its descendents are emblematic of these mechanisms because they recognize that stratification and dominance occur in everyday social interactions but locate the central contention as one between the State and free individuals. Any attempt to form a sense of positive rights, implementing any form of structural or distributive change, is seen as “buying in” to State power and domination.

Under these conditions which center choice as the ultimate good, without resting the concept upon any historical or institutional grounds means that asking how private property is acquired and maintained is left outside the gay libertarian diagnostic and prognostic frames. It allows for non-State forms of social domination free reign to enact stratification based on group “common sense” and provides respite from this transactional social life by arguing that private property allows people space to be themselves. For those who do not, or cannot, access private property the very ability to be counted as “human” becomes tenuous.

The implications of these arguments are far reaching. Gay libertarians are not only located within the United States. LGLC has records of correspondence with the Libertarian Alliance in the United Kingdom and Libertarian International, an organization based in Virginia with board members from locations as far-flung as Brazil, South Africa,

Australia, and Belgium. Later communications show communications between Outright Libertarians and “Gays and Lesbians for Individual Liberty” (GLIL) They are also not fully encapsulated by gay libertarian organizations; which is clear when we look at the overlap between groups like the Pink Pistols and Outright.

Returning to the initial questions guiding this project, what does learning about gay libertarians allow us to explain about how people navigate the twin categories of conservatism and homosexuality? One key contribution of studying these social movement organizations is to reveal how “classical liberalism” or libertarianism contains reactionary, conservative threads which bind it to other right-wing social movements. It also provides a framework for understanding how the language of individualism can be used to naturalize stratification and social inequality. Even further, this analysis provides insight into how gay libertarians remix the elements of modernity - de-emphasizing the authority of the nation-state and its mechanisms of control while highlighting and relying on the authority drawn from capitalist processes.

While the chapter provides important insights into the way Libertarians for Gay Rights and its descendents understand themselves within a broader political field and how they connect gender and sexual deviance with their political identities it does not tell us about the motivational frames which determine participation in these social movement organizations. It also cannot explain what gay men in right-wing movements do when they use other, more clearly conservative forms of authority, to drive their participation. As we turn to an analysis of gay Neo-Nazis we'll explore what it looks like

when whiteness, masculinity, and privacy become insitutionalized through a pro-State framework.

Chapter 4: For White (Gay) Men Only: The National Socialist League

For (White) Gay Men Only: The National Socialist League

"...freedom for all responsible citizens cannot be achieved without a unity of purpose, self-discipline, and individual dignity - qualities to be realized only in a self-aware White society; and that, to attain his share of freedom, the sexual nonconformist must shed the image of freak, firebrand, and street faggot for that of the responsible fellow citizen."

-Russell Veh, Founder of the National Socialist League

"If Homosexuals can be Capitalists, if we can be Communists...then why can't we be National Socialists?" -National Socialist League brochure, undated

In 2004 a Mormon woman named Sheri Dew was invited to lead the invocation at the start of the Republican Party national convention (Wenger 2004). Dew, renowned for comparing "gays" and their supporters with Nazis, is just one of many conservatives who conflate homosexuality and fascism. While this position may seem normative for the Republican Party, it is deeply rooted in the American response to fascism and the post-World War II obsession with explaining its rise along psychoanalytic lines (Redlich 1998; Machtan 2001; Paxton 2004; Hewitt 1996).

Depicting fascism as a cultural and psychic disease was part of broader attempts to distance American political life from the "extreme" political field of war-ravaged Europe. Medicalizing fascism allowed many Americans to feel secure in their place as winners of the Second World War and to firmly establish a postwar image of (white) American heterosexuality, masculinity, and virility

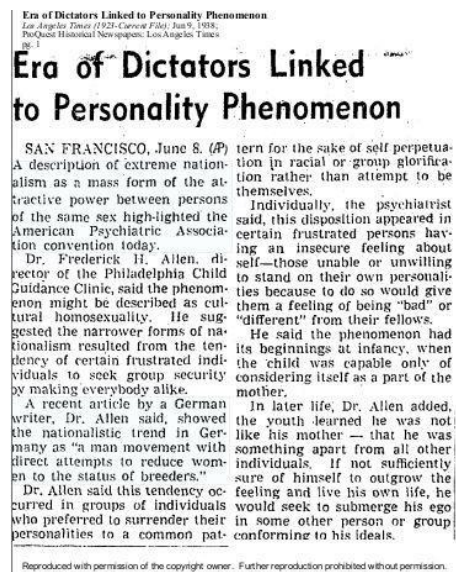


Figure 11. L.A. Times Article, 1938

(Canaday 2011; Bérubé 1990). This interpretation was also bolstered by initial accounts of the war, which focused on the negative, “perverse” homosexuality of Ernst Röhm, head of the Nazi Sturmabteilung (SA), as well as reports of greater levels of sexual and gender diversity among Germans leading up to the emergence of the Nazi Party in the 1930s (Beachy 2014; Jensen 2002; Wackerfuss 2015; Lively and Abrams 1995; Igra 1945). Conflating homosexuality with decadence and political and cultural decay, already a common theme emerging from early twentieth-century American sexological work, was reinforced by the war and persisted for decades afterward in legal and social policy (Terry 1999; Johnson 2006; Bronski 2011; Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock 2012). Even today, right-wing social actors deploy terms like *homofascist* or *gay Nazi* against those who are pursuing governmental channels to promote protections for LGBT people (e.g., Peck 2016; Wong 2014).

Before exploring what an actual gay Nazi organization looks like, it is important to situate the organization in relation to the others studied in this project. Each of the organizations explored so far appeals to some aspect of the “mainstream” right wing movement. In this chapter, I analyze how the National Socialist League (NSL), the first neo-Nazi organization founded by and for white gay men, appealed to whiteness and masculinity in ways that connect it ideologically and organizationally to other right-wing gay movements. The NSL perhaps represents gay fascism at its most organized (so far), and emerges just as ‘gay’ coalesced as a political subject, identity, and actor on the United States political stage (from 1974 until its last gasps in 1989/90). It is yet another organization representing a set of strategic responses to where homosexual men can

find a home in right-wing, conservative political movements. In tracking this trajectory historically, I argue that a sense of victimhood, a homonationalist orientation, and an adherence to the selective use of the public and private sphere promote the idea of white gay men as exceptionally deserving subjects of the nation-state.

Defining Fascism

Just as the public has wrestled with the nature of fascism, scholars have also debated how to conceptualize and identify fascism in comparison to other political frameworks. Does fascism consist of the messaging and explicit political framing deployed by these movements? Do we privilege what fascists say, or what they do? Some, like Roger Griffin (1991), emphasize fascism as an ideological and political project—characterized first and foremost by its symbolic and meaning-making structures. Others, like Ernst Fraenkel (1941) and Jane Caplan (1988), tend to focus primarily on the bureaucratic and organizational aspects unique to fascism. Here, fascism refers to a specific political project that idealizes violence, embraces crony capitalism, and naturalizes social and economic stratification. But what about resisting the conflation of sexuality with fascism?

Historians who have resisted this conflation have largely focused on the consequences of fascism for non-normative sexualities. Richard Plant's (1986) foundational book, *The Pink Triangle*, is representative of this kind of work, describing how the Nazis targeted, imprisoned, and killed sexual and gender minorities during the war. His work marked a shift in the study of fascism and its relationship to

homosexuality in particular. Scholars have since described the heterosexism built into fascist party politics and the later neo-Nazi movement (Settingington 2013; Benadusi 2012; Sedgwick 1994). This framing has also emerged in popular discourse, with the pink triangle (which denoted concentration camp prisoners who were homosexual) becoming a symbol of the struggle against state-sponsored homo-antagonism and the ongoing fight for queer liberation (Jensen 2002).

For those in sexuality studies, the response to psychoanalytic and sexological claims that “deviance” is the root of homosexuality—and thus that homosexuality is also at the heart of fascism—has led to a different line of inquiry. Their focus has largely been on the influence capitalism has had on the category “gay identity” (Valocchi 2017; D’Emilio 1983). Within this framework, capitalism—through increased urbanization, increased anonymity due to highly mobile populations, and the creation of scientific “populations”—crafted gay identity. As such, both gay identity and fascism are produced by the mechanisms (and contradictions) within capitalism, and so while they are created by similar historical forces they are not directly related to each other.

Both the historiographies of fascism and sexuality speak to different aspects of fascism’s relationship to non-normative sexual practices, but neither does justice to the complexity of gay politics during the Second World War or after. American gay men’s relationship to fascism is tense and contested, undergirded by questions of citizenship and nationalism, the private and the public, whiteness, and masculinity. Parsing this relationship requires the scholarly tools created by those who put queerness and capitalism into conversation with other forces like race, colonialism, and gender (Capó

2017; Hanhardt 2013; Hobson 2016). This article situates itself among this third group—as an extension of Jasbir Puar’s (2007) analysis of homonationalism, originally a framework crafted to identify techniques of conditional acceptance for non-normative gender and sexual identities to advance state-endorsed racial, colonial, and imperial projects. Puar’s work locates these techniques among a mainstream, state-oriented set of social movements in the period following the start of the “war on terror.” Here we find evidence of homonationalism decades before, amidst an explicitly right-wing, fascist organization. Both sexuality and fascism studies can benefit from an analysis of the mechanisms that maintain right-wing political projects within the LGBT “community.”

Any attempt to grasp fascism “at its root,” in the tradition of Angela Davis (1989), requires us to look beyond the surface of fascist policies to the ways that fascism as a category expands and contracts, a moving boundary that, like the categories of whiteness and masculinity, is shaped by contention. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Omi and Winant argue that “racial projects” are “simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines.” These racial projects accord meaning, status, resources, and moral worth to those atop the racial hierarchy, and those who occupy this position fall into the category of white (2014). I ask how fascism shapes the transformation of categories like whiteness, masculinity, and citizenship over time. Pushing to understand fascism in this way creates an analytic framework flexible enough to track this political project as it recuperates, adapts, and reinvents itself.

I apply this framework to the study of the National Socialist League (NSL), a Far Right gay organization, from roughly 1974 to the late 1980s, and focus on how the NSL negotiated a place for gay men in fascist movement building. This group, a self-described “homophile organization for the Gay American Nazi,” worked to bring early gay identity under the umbrella of fascism.⁴⁵ By exploring the relationship between sexuality and politics in the United States’s first gay neo-Nazi organization, it is possible to ask broader questions about intracommunal violence and how the politics of social position and fascism are deeply intertwined.

Answering these questions requires, first, positioning the group within a broader field of Los Angeles homophile organizations that compete with the NSL for the time, resources, and attention of local, national, and international recruits. Second, I turn to the NSL’s internal documents and recruitment materials to show how the NSL navigated stigma and the complex waters of gay politics and American fascism in the 1970s and 1980s. I argue that they utilize three major tactics: (1) the deployment of homonationalist frames, (2) the imposition of boundaries between private and public spheres, and (3) the avowal of their shared white masculinity with other neo-Nazis. Finally, I will address the ways in which the flexibility of fascism, and the widening of its “tent,” both pose problems in our current political moment and have precipitated the rise of a new wave of white gay fascists.

The Fabric of Gay Organizing in Los Angeles

⁴⁵ N.S. Kampfruf, 1974, box 1, folder 7.

Beginning in the postwar years and extending throughout the life of the NSL, Los Angeles harbored a burgeoning gay community and represented a powerhouse of social and political organizing across the ideological spectrum (Faderman and Timmons 2006; Hurewitz 2008; White 2009). The city has deep roots in homophile political life, reaching back to the late 1940s and the Mattachine Society, one of the first major American homophile organizations in existence. The term *homophile* here is discrete from *homosexual*—a term commonly used as a medical and diagnostic term by doctors of the time—as it focused more on the relationship between partners. This term would later be replaced by *gay*, which would become a more common term by the late 1960s. As a self-defined homophile organization that advanced the belief that “we are an oppressed cultural minority,” “the Mattachine Society endeavored first and foremost to ‘change the hearts of men, both homosexual and heterosexual.’” In more concrete terms, the society set out to “1) unify homosexuals ‘isolated from their own kind,’ 2) educate both homosexuals and the general heterosexual populace, and 3) provide leadership to the whole mass of social deviants” (White 2009: 17–18). This agenda served as the central frame of the organization’s recruitment, one that dominated the identity construction of participants in the earlier Los Angeles homophile movement. What is often thought of as the gay liberation movement emerged from this orientation, and specifically from the neighborhoods of Silver Lake and Echo Park (for more on the leftist organizing in this area, see Hurewitz’s *Bohemian Los Angeles*, 2008).

Despite the Mattachine Society’s recognition as the first organized homophile organization, it was not simply a group of leftists. Dale Jennings, one of the original

members of the society and a long-time Republican, disagreed with early articulations of gay people as a unified group. According to C. Todd White (2009: 19) in *Pre-Gay L.A.*, “Dale Jennings in particular resisted the notion that homosexuals comprised a people. How could they possibly hope to unify ‘a people’ around what they did in bed? The idea to him was laughable.” Jennings was an important figure, not just in the Mattachine Society but also in broader Los Angeles gay politics from the 1940s leading up to the formation of the NSL. He was the center of a very public court case in 1952, in which he argued he was entrapped by a police officer on the vice squad. In response to Jennings’s case and with the guidance of his lawyer, George Shibley, the Mattachine Society formed the Citizens’ Committee to Outlaw Entrapment (CCOE). In addition to describing homosexuals as a social minority facing oppression by the state, the CCOE also created what White describes as a “libertarian-based code of ethics.” This ethical code was pointedly nationalist, with frequent mentions of America and citizenship, arguing that the rights of a social minority are guaranteed by their place within the American body politic. These appeals were grounded not just in legal precedent but also in a deep cultural connection between whiteness, masculinity, and citizenship (Chapman 2004; Barros 2006; Habermas 1991). A fundamentally conservative orientation, this framework relied on nationalism and its attendant “right to privacy.” But it also worked; just ten days after the trial began on June 23 the judge dismissed the charges and Jennings was set free (White 2009: 26). This frame was also important to laying the groundwork on which the NSL organized, as it normalized the idea that political rights were contingent on self-control, restraint, and respectability.

While there were varying political perspectives within the Mattachine Society, there was a trend toward more conservative stances as the organization developed, especially as red-baiting became more prevalent in the 1950s and disavowals of communism more necessary (Hay 1996; White 2009: 41–61). During this period, the Mattachine Society occupied a central place in gay L.A. political movements, although its importance declined with its splintering and the emergence of other competing political groups after 1952. This makes sense, considering the growing McCarthy-era “Red Scare” and the national push to drive out political dissidents, particularly leftists. The original vision of inclusion and education espoused by the society influenced the splinter organizations that followed, like ONE INC. (a magazine focused on the homophile community founded in 1952), the Institute for the Study of Human Resources (founded in 1964), and the Homosexual Resource Center (founded in 1968). These three organizations inherited the Mattachine Society’s principles—and often drew their political philosophy directly from the central organizers of the society—but approached the goals of homosexual uplift in different ways (White 2009).

By the 1970s more groups branched out not only to represent different demographics within the gay community but also to meet different political needs. Christopher Street West (CSW), the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), gay communist and socialist organizations—and yes, the National Socialist League—were all drawing on the same upswell of political action emerging post-1960s (Hurewitz 2008). These organizations were niche and in competition for resources and political power. Out of this contestation the National Socialist League emerged to challenge the liberal

assumptions of early gay rights organizing, just as “gay” coalesced as a subject, identity, and actor on the political stage of the United States.

The National Socialist League

In 1974 Jim Cherry founded the National Socialist League in Southern California for the explicit purpose of bringing gay men into the American neo-Nazi movement.⁴⁶ Until its demise in 1989/1990, the NSL perhaps represented gay fascism at its most organized.⁴⁷ What can be determined about the NSL is limited, both because of its desire for anonymity—members were frequently described as “harassed” or “persecuted” and encouraged to use fake names in their classified ads—and because much of the remaining archival material, located in the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archive, is focused on recruitment and organizational matters. This material was offered to the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archive by someone peripherally associated with the NSL through two friends whom he met in 1974. The archive, then, is also shaped by his choices in what to save and what to discard. What emerges from those choices is sixteen years of semi-quarterly newsletters, internal memos from 1977 to 1978, and correspondence between the NSL and Christopher Street West. These are all that remain of the organization, and so assessing its strength and breadth is incredibly difficult. Documents often go unsigned, names are often redacted or initialed, and

⁴⁶ N.S. *Kampfruf*, 1974, box 1, folder 7.

⁴⁷ N.S. *Mobilizer*, 1974, box 1, folder 8.

pseudonyms are common practice. Because of the nature of the materials, it is also important to keep in mind that the collection is highly curated.

On the other hand, even a highly curated collection can yield insight into gay fascist organizing. One example of this is their newsletter's "Impact" section, in which media outlets reporting on the NSL are highlighted to show the broader impact the organization is having and thus why it is important to sign up and become a member (see fig. 1). Much of the material is focused on recruitment and aimed to draw in and solidify the NSL's relationship with its membership. The collection thus reveals less about the personal values and intentions of particular members than about how the organization created and maintained its public face. Given this, the data is particularly appropriate to use in assessing the ways the organization recruited its membership.

The NSL began in Los Angeles before spreading to other areas around California and across the United States. According to internal documents written by someone with the initials J.S., "the primary appeal of the NSL is to recruit gays to the forefront of the White Racist Struggle."⁴⁸ The organization operated under a strict hierarchy, and a man named Russell Veh headed that hierarchy for most of its existence. Veh, born in Tennessee and raised in Ohio, describes himself to a reporter as a high school graduate who had been involved in left-wing groups as a teenager (including as a pamphleteer for

⁴⁸ N.S. Kampfruf, 1974, box 1, folder 7.

Students for a Democratic Society). Veh seemed “deliberately vague” on how a left-wing teenager transformed into what the reporter describes as an “embryonic totalitarian.”⁴⁹

Veh illuminated a bit more on the period of time between his left-wing organizing and his emergence as the head of the NSL in an interview with the *Gay Times*.⁵⁰ He had run an organization of his own in Ohio called the American White Nationalist Party (AWNP) when he was imprisoned for nonpayment of mail-order books. After prison, and with the collapse of the AWP, he came across an ad in the *Advocate* for the NSL that said “Nazi Anyone?” with a post office box number. With no organizational ties left in Ohio, he decided to travel to California and get involved with the NSL.⁵¹ A charismatic young man, he quickly established himself as a leader in the group and became the central figure publicly representing the organization as well as its de facto political leader. Veh directed and operated the organization, playing a central role throughout the NSL’s lifespan until the organization’s final newsletter in 1990.

Under Veh’s guidance, the National Socialist League established clear guidelines for membership and recruitment. To qualify for NSL membership one had to be a white male (“free” of Jewish blood) and at least twenty-one years old.⁵² This was changed to eighteen after the age of consent was lowered, and then changed again in 1981 to any white person who had no Jewish ancestry. Although its mission was the recruitment of gay men to neo-Nazism, the NSL prided itself on being open to straight men as well. Still,

⁴⁹ *Los Angeles Factfinder*, April 15, 1976, box 1, folder 2.

⁵⁰ *Gay Times* article, box 1, folder 2.

⁵¹ *Los Angeles Factfinder*, April 15, 1976, box 1, folder 2.

⁵² Subscription Form, box 1, folder 4.

archival documents, and the classified sections, suggest that gay men were the primary audience for their newsletters. Despite claims of “open admission,” the NSL only targeted white men, underscoring the gendered nature of this form of fascist organizing. Although one reporter noted that there were women at an NSL “mixer,” he described them as neither wanted nor encouraged by organizers.⁵³ This appears to be the general stance taken by the organization, which does not mention women in their newsletters unless it is to portray them as potential victims of racialized sexual violence or part of a universal white population.

The organization also required members to pay dues, which in turn provided funds to print the newsletter, their main mechanism for recruitment. Considering the niche nature of the organization, the newsletter had a fairly wide circulation. As of 1978 the NSL claimed it “had members or ‘correspondents’ in 29 states and five foreign countries.” Although this number seems to be greatly inflated based on the scant historical documents pertaining to the organization’s internal operation, there is evidence that the newsletter was circulated in San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. The *Gay Crusader*, a San Francisco newsletter, claimed the NSL had recruited nearly four hundred individuals in San Francisco in its first year of operation.⁵⁴ However, actual membership numbers have been incredibly difficult to verify because organizational rolls are absent from the archive and tight list security is a common feature of right-wing

⁵³ *Los Angeles Factfinder*, April 15, 1976, box 1, folder 2.

⁵⁴ *Gay Crusader*, box 1, folder 2.

organizations. Given these limits, I prioritize reports from local news sources and event descriptions in describing the reach and impact of the NSL.

The organization's central chapter in Los Angeles was well organized and put on multiple events and actions during the 1970s, including social mixers, political actions, flyering, as well as film-watching events. The NSL also produced the *N.S. Kampfruf*, later known as the *N.S. Mobilizer*, one of the group's largest projects. This newsletter is one of the primary remaining documents of the organization and one of the most tangible sources of NSL history. Other events, like their attempts to participate in the 1978 L.A. Pride festivities, are documented through handwritten letters and in the community newspapers of the time.

To understand the political and social stances the NSL championed, we must look at the twelve-point central NSL credo (see fig. 2). While the organization embraced a relatively flexible set of personal positions, this credo outlined the necessary doctrinal beliefs of the NSL. Some aspects of this credo mirror language consistent with fascist organizing within America broadly. For example, the formulation of specific racial scapegoats, the framing of white people as racial victims, and its attempts to both resist and utilize science are all traditional in terms of Euro-American formulations of fascism. These basic tenets establish a discursive political connection to other neo-Nazi organizations. They do not merely distinguish the NSL from other fascist organizations in the United States; these tenets also place the group within a broader fabric of neo-Nazi life and political thought.

(Reprinted by popular request)

NATIONAL SOCIALISM: WHAT WE STAND FOR

As a league (not a party), the National Socialist League imposes no "party line" on its members. But we feel it necessary to set forth--in a dozen plainly worded paragraphs--the basic beliefs that unite the charter members of our movement and give direction to our organization:

1. We believe...that no meaningful freedom can be won under the fraudulent dogmas of Liberalism and Communism, both of which are Jewish in their origins and depend for their rank and file upon the envious hoards of innate second-raters, who swarm over the planet.
2. That a key tactic of our nation's Communist and Jewish enemies is to fragment White society by turning women against men; the young against the old; the poor against the rich; consumers against producers; workers against employers; civilians against soldiers; heterosexuals against homosexuals--all the while denying that race itself is a valid source of unity or a meaningful point of difference.
3. That a conspiracy of Leftist politicians, educators and news-controllers has narrowed the field of choice within our "democracy," so that now we are ruled by two corrupt and interchangeable parties, each striving to outdo the other in eagerness for "detente" with Communist animal farms, in the size of welfare deficits to bribe Black savages, in the endless discovery of new "rights" and the corresponding neglect of duties; that this narrowed field of choice now forbids the White majority any choice even in questions central to its own survival.
4. That loyalty to one's race is a man's highest duty, a fact twisted by the Liberal educational system into White feelings of self-hatred and inferiority, at the very moment every other race is being taught pride in itself and hatred for the White man's civilization, values and accomplishments.
5. That, far from needing to beg "forgiveness" of the non-White world, our race deserves the world's gratitude--as light-giver of civilization, founder of the concept of representative government, father of science, explorer of the planets, and Earth's master architect, painter, sculptor, poet and musician; and that Liberal historians, try as they will, cannot hide this truth.
6. That patriotism is also a duty which each man owes his place of birth; and the National Socialism--a harmony of patriotism, racial pride, and social consciousness--is the greatest gift we can offer to our beloved land as she nears the ultimate show-down with her enemies worldwide.
7. That human evolution and the strength of society depend on the natural ascendance of the vigorous and the creative...and the natural *submission* of the puny, the stupid, and the lazy; and that the world's wealth and resources must not be squandered upon the very elements whom *nature* has rejected.
8. That the Jews, in their twin guise as capitalist and Communist, have whip-sawed all the world in a campaign to make Jewry the dominant force on the planet; and that nowhere is their power more awesome nor their tactics more blatant than here in America.
9. That, in the annals of the heroes of our race, the presence of Adolf Hitler looms large and remains a spiritual beacon for National Socialists everywhere.
10. That National Socialism is a *unifying* creed for all proud, self-aware White men, and this unity must include *White sexual nonconformists*, whose numbers, strength and courage are indispensable in the struggle for White survival.
11. That petty laws against victimless crime--outdated and ineffectual--serve further to *divide* White society; and that such laws must come to an end *swiftly and permanently*, freeing the police for their proper role in the urban war that rages all around us and bringing Whites together in a common front.
12. Finally, that true political and social freedom for all *responsible* citizens cannot be achieved without unity of purpose, self-discipline, and individual dignity--qualities to be realized only in a self-aware White society; and that, to attain his share of freedom, the sexual nonconformist must shed the image of freak, Third World militant, and street faggot for that of responsible citizen.



Figure 12. NSL Twelve Point Credo

Right-Wing Homonationalism

The NSL faced a significant problem in recruitment: how to reconcile homosexuality with a political milieu well-known for its explicit homo-antagonism. Incorporating men who identified as homophiles, homosexuals, or, in the organization's terms, "sexual nonconformist[s]" into the overall structure of fascist thought took discursive and political work. The NSL needed to link itself with past fascist movements, while connecting with a current broad fascist base, and that project required more than a similar nomenclature. The concept of homonationalism does this work; it connects nationalist projects to non-normative sexual practices and in doing so argues that the nation-state benefits politically from using and incorporating nonheterosexual projects (Puar 2007). Creating and entrenching a homonationalist orientation toward fascist movements at large proved to be one mechanism for managing that stigma. As we've discussed previously, stigma is an attribute that is deeply discrediting within a relational structure of meaning (Goffman 1963: 12) By framing gay fascists as useful to both the white "race" and to the state writ large, the organization situated itself as an appendage of the larger ethno-state struggle—as a national homosexuality.

Post-1945, fascism in the United States required a flexible political apparatus, and the NSL established itself among its peers by capitalizing on this need. We can see this in the abeyance strategies of white supremacist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations, as well as the writings of George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder of the American Nazi Party (Simi and Futrell 2020; Rockwell 2013). This coalition building and stigma management was especially important for the

group's proliferation, considering the initial barriers it faced. It had been demonized by other homophile and Far Right organizations since its inception. Demonstrating its ideological commitment to both white supremacy and fascism, the NSL created an internal document, ostensibly to prepare recruits for questions about their participation in a neo-Nazi organization. The document, "Gay Nazism in the United States: The Untold Story," outlined a new kind of historical revisionism and a response to the disavowal of organizations like the National Socialist White People's Party.⁵⁵ In it they argue that portraying Nazi Germany as an anti-homosexual regime is patently false. Rather than think about this document in terms of veracity, it is perhaps more constructive to think about what social meanings it allowed for: the collective mythos that NSL members acted on.

In this document they argue that anti-homosexual stigma is based on competing interpretations of older fascist forms and texts as well as religious precepts. These competing ideas about fascism produced a situation in which the NSL was offered little financial or organizational support. It is important to note that this stigma was not uniform, and that a variety of organizations supported the NSL on the grounds that it was doing important work for white supremacy. This is in line with Abby Ferber's (1998: 46-47) general description that white supremacist organizations "share common ideologies and goals and an overriding commitment to maintaining white supremacy. There are ongoing debates among the groups, but also sustained efforts to forge shared

⁵⁵ "Gay Nazism in the United States: The Untold Story," Correspondence and Manuscripts 1943-2011, box 1, folder 3. Hereafter, "Gay Nazism."

objectives.” Their commitment to homonationalism served as the means through which gay fascists spoke to a shared set of ideological commitments with other American fascists.

The authors of the NSL document centrally argued that mainstream or academic history incorrectly focuses on the written rules of the Reich. Instead, NSL organizers argued, the best way to gauge the political culture of the Nazi regime was to look at Adolf Hitler’s own practices. Rather than deal with the large-scale bureaucratic principles of the Third Reich and the laws it enforced, the NSL argued that National Socialism “[is], to a large extent, Adolf Hitler.”⁵⁶ By focusing on the charismatic figure of Hitler, the general practices of the Reich could be absolved by way of Hitler’s interpersonal relationships with homosexual men. One quotation renders this historical retelling particularly visible:

The Fuehrer never condemned homosexuality in Mein Kampf. Other circumstantial evidence is that two gays, Ernest Rohm and Rudolf Hess, were his closest associates. Not only were they both practicing homosexuals, but also they were two of the few whom Hitler ever addressed in the familiar “du.” Hitler would run to Hess, an “old auntie” figure known in homosexual circles as “Fraulein Anna,” to excitedly show presents and sketches.⁵⁷

In this case NSL leadership translated and anachronized Hitler’s relationships. The term *gay* did not exist at the time Hitler was in power and certainly was not in use in Germany. This term was chosen by their authors to do particular kinds of political and discursive work. They identify and connect the gay fascists of the 1970s to the fascists of the white

⁵⁶ “Gay Nazism.”

⁵⁷ “Gay Nazism.”

supremacist Nazi past, thereby identifying a historical lineage and legitimizing the NSL within the realm of fascist organizing.⁵⁸

This revisionist history firmly locates the role of white gay men within National Socialism both as culture bearers and as part of the necessary military machinery of the white nation-state. Once NSL organizers made room within National Socialism to claim a stake in citizenship and the nation, arguing for the participation of gay men in the nation-state became an easy discursive project. This is visually and textually enforced

throughout the NSL newsletter *N.S.*

Mobilizer (see fig. 3). In almost every issue

there is some reference to American

imagery, such as the flag, Lady Liberty, or

“God and Country”.⁵⁹ These images are

often defaced in some way, suggesting a

contentious relationship between what the

National Socialist League idealizes as the

perfect formation of the nation-state and

how they imagine it manifests under the

“negative” influence of racial others. One

contested image is of the Statue of Liberty, which

Vol. 5 1978

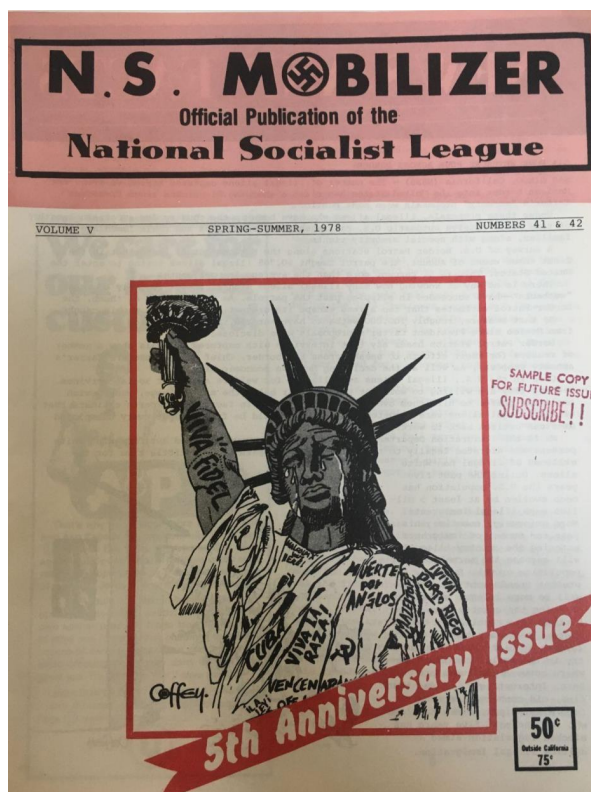


Figure 13. NSL Newsletter Cover,

⁵⁸ “Gay Nazism.”

⁵⁹ *N.S. Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8.

appears twice as a cartoon caricature of a Black woman, and once as a more traditional image of a white woman, but crying and covered in graffiti with phrases like “Viva la raza,” or “Long live the people,” and “Muérte por anglos” or “Death to whites”.⁶⁰ These messages, embodying the white nationalist fear of “white genocide,” suggest to white viewers a sense of urgent, animalistic struggle. Any animosity the NSL holds toward the nation-state is not because of the faultiness of the nationalist frame but because it must be “reclaimed” and white gay men’s rightful claims to citizenship and personhood acknowledged.

The explicit goal of the NSL was to promote a nationalist orientation toward the United States, while simultaneously imagining white gay men’s inclusion within a nation “free” of non-white and feminine influences, perceived as the root cause of the “sexual nonconformist’s” oppression. The NSL’s homonationalism rests on the idea of a strong state that simultaneously preserves the privacy of certain individual members. Here the NSL differentiates between public and private life. The problem of fascist distinctions between public and private life is not clear when understood through the lens of sexuality. Yet this boundary is key to maintaining the NSL’s homonationalism and manifests along the lines of both race and gender.

Private and Public Spheres

One key aspect of fascism is typically that its participants encourage unfettered governmental access to the personal lives of citizens. But American individualism means

⁶⁰ *N.S. Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8.

that American fascism, and the National Socialist League, must negotiate that relation differently (e.g., Rockwell 2013; Pierce 1978). Scholars like James Whitman (2017), Carroll Kakel (2013), and Stefan Kühl (2002) have explored the nineteenth- and twentieth-century context of American fascism, and argued that white supremacy has always been a foundational aspect of the American formulation of fascism. This white supremacist fascism requires a strong boundary between public and private spheres. Growing out of the first iteration of the Ku Klux Klan, this American fascism arose first and foremost as a paramilitary effort to police Black and Brown bodies in defense of the nation. A French reporter, Charles Vibbert (1930: 332), said, “The Ku Klux Klan are the fascists of America’ as they were founded specifically to combat Black enfranchisement.” The famous Black American poet Langston Hughes (1995) describes those killed at the hands of US expansion, slavery, and segregation as those lost due to “our native fascisms.” While these connections are anecdotal ones drawn by contemporaries of the second Klan, such comparisons demand that we look at how American fascism uses a particular understanding of private and public life to legitimize itself.

To define this boundary, we need to understand who is permitted to move back and forth uninhibitedly between the two spheres of life, and how racial categorization plays a role group access to public or private spaces. Historically, whiteness and masculinity were prerequisites to full participation in public life as early as the founding of the United States (Fox n.d.; Ngai 2005; Nakano Glenn 2004). This history is important because the study of fascism often focuses on a global geopolitics that presupposes geographically distanced relationships. For example, Hannah Arendt (1951) discussed

fascism as a “continental imperialism,” a reproduction of imperial logic on the European continent. But the geospatial difference between the metropole and the periphery, the colonizer and the colonized, obscures the relationship of fascism to Orientalism and anti-Blackness. The rise of the first Ku Klux Klan occurred not in reaction to some far-off other but to the threat of the colonial other in and at home. Wherever I reference the *other*, I am drawing on Edward Said’s understanding of the Other as that which is defined in opposition to the rational, masculine, scientific, European, West. Management of that other and the potential for “contamination”—including an obsession with miscegenation and the “plot by Jews” to contaminate the white race with “race mixing”—drove both the creation of the first Klan and the varied efforts by the state to legislate citizenship and sex. Thus American concerns about the public and private spheres are deeply related to the projects of whiteness, masculinity, and the nation-state.

The NSL is mired in these historical demands. As a result of this negotiation, they needed to establish a clear boundary between the public and private sphere. Their logic followed: what one did in the privacy of one’s own home was an indifferent criterion—one could become a patriot through commitment to the broader community, race, and nation. The NSL prioritized this division to align itself with an individualizing, conservative frame, arguing that sexual nonconformity did not disrupt traditional divisions between the public and private spheres. The NSL instead explicitly relied on that division to both claim rights under the state and orient the violence of the state toward the “proper” other: “11. That petty laws against victimless crime—outdated and ineffectual—serve to further divide White society; and that such laws must come to an

end swiftly and permanently, freeing the police for their proper role in the urban war that rages all around us and bringing Whites together in a common front.”⁶¹ Here, NSL leadership reinscribed the public/private divide, arguing that no matter the ethical or moral concerns of citizens regarding sexuality, homosexuality fell within the private sphere and thus outside the purview of the state (unlike the racial other). The pursuit of a positive relationship with the state was directly predicated on the idea that the right and proper use of state violence, in the form of both police and military institutions, should be the control or elimination of racial Others, and that policing homosexuality diverted resources away from their role in establishing and protecting a white society united across lines of sexual preference.

In any consideration of the private and public spheres as understood by manifestations of American fascism, we must situate who has the power to demarcate these two spheres. For the NSL whiteness was a necessary prerequisite for what they considered “responsible” citizenship. They actively sought to break any association between sexual practice and citizenship. Fascism offers the chance for every man to rule his house and his private life as long as he is willing to subjugate himself to the will of the state and, for American fascists, to the goals of what they consider “the white race.” “Sexual nonconformists” are fine, as long as they are willing to subordinate themselves to the goals of the organization. Because they are “masters” of their own house, they can

⁶¹ *N.S. Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8.

simultaneously participate in fascism while claiming to protect individual “freedom” within the private sphere of the bedroom.

Also, homosexual fascists serve a purpose. They are important to the struggle because of not just what they contribute as individuals but also what they can contribute to the overall cause, the racial “struggle for White survival.” This danger narrative around white erasure operates as a signpost for white supremacists. By leveraging shared feelings of danger and threat, white supremacists motivate their participants through a sense of crisis (Rondini 2018). While this sentiment is common among white nationalists, it is usually leveraged to promote heterosexuality, often directly tying white survival to biological reproduction of children, thereby supporting the social reproduction of the state. Interestingly, this frame is subverted by the NSL, who argued that they serve a functional purpose for the future state and white populations because of their ability as white men to be a vanguard group and cultural touchstone for white people generally.

Thus we see both an extension of and intervention with Corey Robin’s (2017) concept of the “private life of power.” By positing that reactionary social movements come from people who occupy a place of social privilege, Robin helps explain why white men would be interested in turning the attention of the state on subordinate groups (in this case along racial lines). But how can we explain the relationship of white gay men to these reactionary movements, as they simultaneously benefit from racial and gender privileges while being subordinate to the heterosexism of the state and society at large?

White Masculinity

Deeply concerned with doing masculinity properly, the NSL drew on hyper-masculine white figures to situate itself against the image of the effeminate, racialized “street faggot” (see fig. 4). This focus on masculinity is rooted primarily in their belief that “sexual nonconformists” were included within the white body politic—the society of responsible citizens—by rejecting other forms of nonconformity associated with gender, specifically femininity. This emerges perhaps most prominently in the idea of masculinity and responsibility. The NSL newsletters and the group’s credo explicitly identify dignified masculinity as aspirational and celebrate

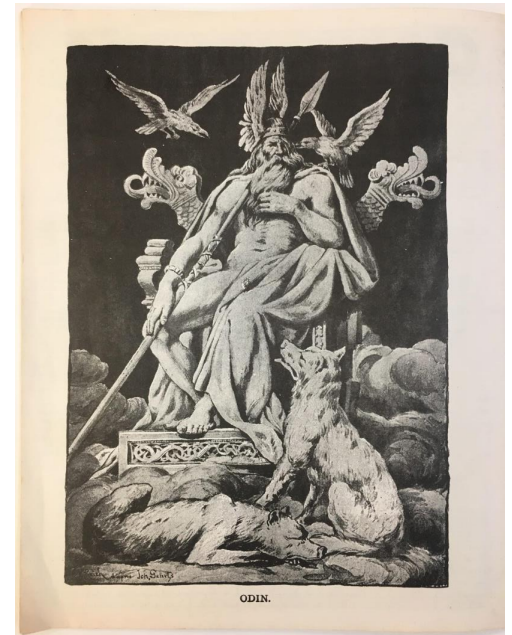


Figure 14. Illustration of Odin

Enlightenment ideals of masculinity. On the surface, such claims seem contradictory to the traditional understanding of fascism (Laqueur 1978). While, traditionally, fascism eschews Enlightenment ideals of rationality in favor of more “instinctual” forms of politics, the NSL pairs the two alongside each other. With the rise of the cultural turn in public thought and the emergence of critical narratives of history, white men—specifically white men—reclaimed the Enlightenment and scientific discourse as signs of their contribution to global life. This defensive posture is clearly demonstrated in the NSL’s stated beliefs: “5. That, far from needing to beg “forgiveness” of the non-White world, our race deserves the world’s gratitude—as light-giver of civilization, founder of the concept of representative government, father of science, explorer of the planets, and

Earth's master architect, painter, sculptor, poet, and musician; and that Liberal historians, try as they will, cannot hide this truth" (emphasis mine).⁶² Important to this framing is the image of the patriarch, the father, who exhibits mastery and power over all forms of productive and reproductive activity. This patriarch archetype exists to defend NSL participants from labeling by outsiders as "soft," "feminine," or simply women. We can see this in Veh's stance on why white gay men were better for the eugenic and reproductive projects of white supremacy:

"We need homosexuals today to keep the population down. In fact, we could use maybe twice as many more. Because we're not reproducing mongrels, or little half-breed kids, or racial rejects...." - Russell Veh, *Entertainment West*, 1974

This statement resonates with broader understandings of women in neo-Nazi organizations. Ridgeway encapsulates this in a quote from a *National Alliance* newsletter: "A woman's battlefield is the maternity ward...[and her] greatest 'diploma' is to give birth to the 'superman' or 'superwoman.'" *National Alliance* (ADL 1998: 6) Within this context, Ridgeway argues that the futurity white women represent comes with anxieties about controlling white women's sexuality. According to more general research on white supremacist organizations by Ridgeway (1990:19), "White women are implored to serve their race by reproducing future generations of white men and women. Interracial sexuality is defined as the 'ultimate abomination,' and the greatest threat to white people. Images of white women stolen away by black men are the ever present symbol of this threat."

⁶² N.S. *Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8.

This fear stems in part from white women's sex acts themselves, but the central problem for white supremacists and fascists within America appears to be the failure to keep private sex acts from spilling into the public sphere. This anxiety is deeply rooted in American colonial history (Nakano-Glenn 2002; Ngai 2004). Ann Stoler, in breaking down the role of white women in the American colonial project, argues that the fear of race-mixing on "the frontier" – at the borders of empires and nation-states – led to practices which emphasized the role of women in "domesticating" men and producing white children for the nation (2002). Because of heterosexuality across the lines of race can produce "mixed-race" children, heterosexuality also poses a threat to the goals of white supremacist organizations.

This threat does not just motivate white women in these organizations to act to preserve their partial inclusion within "the master race." It also operates as one of Blee's "danger narratives" - motivating white supremacist terror from white men. In what sociologist Lisa Wade characterizes as a lethal display of White male "benevolent sexism," Dylan Roof told his victims: "I have to do it. You rape our women, and you're taking our country. And you have to go." This danger narrative motivated a heterosexual white man to take the lives of eight churchgoers at a Bible study, and it operates in conjunction with fears of what movement participants call "white genocide."

Homosexual men like those in the NSL use danger narratives like those regarding the sexuality of white women not necessarily as barriers to entry into white supremacy but as an opportunity to advance their social necessity and value to the movement. Not only does the occasional interracial act between men "stay private," they offer the

opportunity to bond white men together in both political and sexual solidarity. Recent research by Jane Ward has explored the racial politics of casual sexual encounters between white men and partners of various races in the 2000s. Ward describes the difference between white men seeking partners who are white – and the presumption of sharing in traditional, hegemonic acts of white masculinity – and white men seeking partners who are not white – in which equality is replaced by a language of dominance (Ward 2008). The practices which help to maintain a sense of “‘authentic’ heterosexuality” among men who have sex with men create political and organizational ramifications when we track how shared sexual practices focused on reinforcing “authentic heterosexuality” can also be found among gay white supremacists.

The relationship built between white men, gay and straight, on the far right relies on their mutual rejection of femininity. Tracking this negotiation within the NSL draws out how masculinity and whiteness are connected to the politics of fascism. By creating a distinct separation between the public and private spheres, these early gay fascists establish themselves as worthy citizens and reject the stigma that comes with femininity. In doing so, they position themselves as useful participants in the white nationalist movement.

However, not every white gay man is included in the privileges of private, patriarchal performance. In addition to the lines that the organization drew to protect the “white race,” NSL leadership also actively disavowed white gay men who participated in femininity. Like other gay organizations at the time, the NSL decried the “street faggot” as one form of unacceptable marginalized masculinity (Connell and

Messerschmidt 2005). This fear of the faggot was part of a broader concern among men during this period, on the left and the right (Kissack 1995). I argue that the accusation of “street faggotry” is similar to the dynamic established by high school men studied by sociologist C. J. Pascoe (2011), as a method of disciplining a failure not of sexual practice but of gender production. This imagined performance of the feminine street faggot features prominently in the NSL imaginary. For example, the last line of their twelve-point credo reads: “12. . . . the sexual non-conformist must shed the image of freak, Third World militant, and street faggot for that of responsible citizen” (emphasis mine).⁶³ Pascoe’s work helps us unpack the ways in which these labels are a set of “failed masculinities,” something which a white man can shed simply by performing one’s gender and moral worth appropriately. The term *street faggot* is deployed by NSL members to erect boundaries around proper masculine performance. Pascoe describes the “fag” label as what Judith Butler (1993) calls “an abject” position, a position outside masculinity that actually constitutes normative and hegemonic forms by delineating the boundaries of appropriate masculine behavior. Thus the boys in their study established masculinity in part through “the daily interactional work of repudiating the threatening specter of the fag” (Pascoe 2011: 81). We can see this same repudiation happening at the organizational level for the NSL. In a February 1975 issue of the magazine *Gay Scene NYC*, Veh made clear that the disdain for “street faggots” was linked to feminized gender performances when he wrote derisively of “Swishes, transsexuals, drag queens, street

⁶³ N.S. *Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8.

hippies, long hairs, gay pride parades, pickets, and demonstration rallies.”⁶⁴ Arguing that this gave the “legitimate” gay community a bad name, Veh specifically targeted femininity and its implicit connections to anti-statism, freakishness, and the racial other. In one newsletter he laments the advocacy work of a Christian minister who “bless[es] the leading public role of low-comedy drag queens and glitterfreak mulattoes, who have stolen the ‘image’ of the American sexual non-conformist.”⁶⁵

Thus Veh links the notion of the “street faggot” to non-white, “impure” racial performance. Similarly, the “Third World militant” combined fears of the racial other with concern over the stability and reproduction of US settler-colonial hegemony. As Kathleen Belew (2018) notes of right-wing organizing in the 1970s, national concerns about preventing communism in the United States were directly tied to opposing anticolonial revolutions abroad. The NSL combines these fears of the external “Third World” with a recognition of the threat of internal anticolonialism to the power and status of the United States.

If the “street faggot” embodies an out-of-control, overly public performance of difference oriented against the nation-state, the responsible “sexual nonconformist” represents an individual driven by duty and reason to protect and purge the state of those dangerous racial “others.” Thus the NSL participates in what Belew terms “paramilitary masculinity”—the merging of masculinity with militancy (2018). This distinction is helpful in bridging sexuality and fascism studies, identifying the kinds of

⁶⁴ *Gay Scene NYC*, box 1, folder 2.

⁶⁵ *N.S. Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8.

difference which can be incorporated versus those that are unassimilable to the nation-state. Not only does the NSL exclude women from its ranks, its enforcement of masculinity is highly regulated and produces a white masculinity which is actively inimical to women and to femininity more broadly.

Coalition Building for White Masculine Supremacy

Fascism blurs the divide between the private sphere and public life; its party politics requires individuals to subdue their will to the will of the party. During a time when there was a growing sense of anti-statism among white power groups, it would seem increasingly difficult for fascist organizations to find a place within the fabric of white power politics (107). The NSL attempted to resolve this tension through demarcating which aspects of identity are public and which are private. This allowed them to build coalitions with people in groups as varied as the Minutemen and the Klan. Of particular interest in this case is how race and sexuality are contested, and how effective claims on whiteness and masculinity allowed NSL members to argue for their inclusion in fascism, enabling coalition building with other white supremacist organizations that otherwise were unsupportive of LGBT movements.

The *N.S. Mobilizer* documents a number of these rhetorical arguments. The 1974 World Union of National Socialists in Arlington, Virginia, had heavily critiqued Russell Veh and the National Socialist League for their support of homosexuality. In response, Veh published a letter written by a Reverend Becker, from Greenville, North Carolina, addressed to the World Union of National Socialists. "Personally," he wrote, "I have no

knowledge of Cmdr. Russell Veh's private life. A man should not be judged for what he does in bed, or for his sexual preferences in any case, but rather on his merit and value to the Movement."⁶⁶ By invoking the distinctions between private and public life, Becker argues that there is no reason white supremacist groups cannot work together, even if they are ideologically distinct. Again, these groups expressed a sense of mutual respect and a shared sense of purpose with the NSL on the basis of white masculinity and service to the state while remaining antagonistic to homosexuals as a collective.

Even organizations as profoundly distinct as the Minutemen and the KKK were willing to set aside their concerns over sexual orientation as long as it served organizational goals. Robert de Pugh, founder of the Minutemen, announced in a 1977 edition of the *Advocate* that his time in prison changed his thinking: "He now sees no reason why homosexual men cannot 'join the ranks of embattled White patriots.'" Pugh's statement accompanied an announcement that a federation of Far Right groups in Ohio refused to make sexual preference a condition of membership or an issue of their collective creed.⁶⁷ For both Pugh and the federation, the issue of sexuality became subsumed by the public struggle against perceived racial threat. Likewise, members of the Ku Klux Klan demonstrated a similar commitment. In one issue called "Inside Shelton's Klan: Gays in Hoods and Robes," the NSL interviewed one of its members who

⁶⁶ Correspondence and Manuscripts 1943–2011, box 1, folder 3; Related Organizations 1970–1974, box 1, folder 11; *N.S. Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8. Reverend Becker to World Union of National Socialists.

⁶⁷ Correspondence and Manuscripts 1943–2011, box 1, folder 3; Related Organizations 1970–1974, box 1, folder 11; *N.S. Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8. Robert De Pugh to the *Advocate*.

was also affiliated with the United Klans of America.⁶⁸ In it they argued that a number of gay men were part of the organization, and that the groups could work together in the future if the moral imperatives of the Klan could be subsumed to the overall goals of the white supremacist project. The imperative to forge shared objectives between groups as ideologically distinct as the Minutemen, KKK, and NSL led to surprising coalitional decisions among these groups.

Each of these examples highlights the groups' shared desire that the public participate in the cause of white supremacy. That goal took precedence over features that might otherwise have divided fascist organizations (like their participants' sexualities), effectively broadening the tent of white supremacist and fascist organizing within the United States on the basis of a negotiated line between public and private spheres.

The frames, "interpretive schemata that enable participants to locate, perceive, and label occurrences [which]...selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment" ((Snow et al. 1986; Snow & Benford 1992). and organizing strategies used by the NSL are important to an analysis of the Far Right, providing the backdrop against which fascist coalition building happens today. The strategies used by people like Matthew Heimbach, a contemporary white nationalist and organizer of the 2017 "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, have built a kind of "rainbow coalition" within the white

⁶⁸ *NS Mobilizer*, issues 1974–1983, box 1, folder 8.

constituents of the Far Right. While many have argued that the differences between organizations are enough to keep white supremacist and fascist organizations fractured, we can see that such coalitions were built and maintained using the public/private divide as a central and binding mechanism. The public/private divide may in turn enable (limited) mobility within fascism for white gay men going forward, while simultaneously enabling the surveillance, repression, and erasure of other LGBT people.

Conclusion

From its inception in 1974 to its complete dissolution by the late 1980s, the National Socialist League pushed back against the idea that to be gay meant that one was liberal or leftist. Its meetings were well attended enough for gay Nazis to show up en masse to contentious events like LA Pride, and to circulate a large number of newsletters nationally, forming coalitions with a variety of other white supremacist organizations. If reports are to be believed, the NSL was well-enough funded and organized enough to strike terror in the hearts of minoritized people up and down the California coast and elsewhere in the United States. However, despite their organizing they did eventually shut down. According to one NSL leader: “Two primary problems characterize the NSL. One is chronic financial difficulties. Second problem is that much of the group’s history has been a continual battle for access to the media.”⁶⁹ Ongoing financial difficulties eventually limited the circulation efforts of the NSL, and the organization became defunct—not with a bang, but with a whimper. After being run out of Echo Park in Los Angeles on May Day of 1980, followed by an incident on May 12 in

⁶⁹ “Gay Nazism.”

which red paint, and supposedly an unexploded pipe bomb, were thrown at their Hollywood location, Russell Veh and his compatriots moved to a different, undisclosed location north of the city.⁷⁰ Although the organization continued to receive media attention up through the 1990s (contrary to their claims of coordinated censorship), they were denied access to media outlets on their own terms. Because of this, the media shaped the public platform of the NSL, making them look foolish and extremist rather than politically viable.

We can make sense of the NSL's longevity, and the potential for such groups to rise again, by wrestling with how fascist discourse speaks to the discontent and alienation of white gay men. The NSL helped normalize white gay men on the Far Right by shifting the frame of fascism to include these men within the broader project of fascist revival. Thus a practical understanding of the NSL furthers the analysis of homonationalism within the US context and provides a deeper understanding of fascism's relationship with nonheteronormative sexual communities. In more grounded, practical terms it also highlights the particular segments within the American gay community who might be susceptible to this kind of organizing. Rather than seeing gay Nazis as unusual, or "lone wolves," we must reckon with an organization that actively promoted and disseminated Nazi ideology as perfectly complementary to the identity of white gay men.

⁷⁰ *N.S. Mobilizer*, Spring 1980, box 1, folder 8, *NS Mobilizer*, issues 1974-1

This case also offers a window into the relationship between homosexuality and the Far Right transnationally. Their newsletters contained communications with a number of Far Right European groups—from the Dutch party *Nederlandse Volks-Unie*, the Italian newsletter *Mondo Romano fascismo*, the French journal *Nouvelle école*, to the Portuguese propaganda group *Edições Último Reduto*. That the NSL had positive correspondence with these groups demonstrates that the pro-gay and pro-fascist materials in their newsletter found support among groups across Europe.

The NSL represented more than a gay fascist organization. Its efforts to create a collective mythos that could widen the definition of fascism to incorporate elements of American ideology and to include gay men in nationalist projects demonstrate the flexibility of fascist discourse. Conservative politics are too often thought of as rigid and slow to change. This empirical example highlights fascism's ability to adapt to changing social conditions and the emergence of new population categories. The NSL also highlights the ways in which whiteness can be understood as a master status, and that, under the perception of threat, the differences between white actors (such as sexual identity) become significantly less influential to white supremacist organizing. Perhaps most importantly, the organization created the possibility of an American form of "multicultural" fascism that in turn set the tone for white gay men's participation in fascist and Far Right social movements in the ensuing decades.

Each of the previous chapters have discussed the social and historical tensions that white gay men have faced in their efforts to find a home within the right-wing political field. They have also drawn out the framing practices which each organization

have used to recruit and retain participants and make sense of themselves amidst stigma from both non-right-wing gays and from right-wing political groups. In the following conclusion I'll be drawing out the connections between and across all three organizations and discussing, in part, how knowing these historical and organizational strategies informs the resurgent right-wing and the place that white gay men continue to carve out in that political milieu.

Conclusion: Mapping the Wild Woods

"In the decades ahead many gays will be coming out in a new way. They will be scaling the walls of the political stockade where they once needed shelter and exploring the wild woods. The wildest of these is likely to be what we used to call the Right but which might better be called populism and which will often have an authoritarian streak."

Matthew Parris, *The Times*, May 11, 2002

"I know the right doesn't like victimhood, and we should by no means wallow in it like the left does. I don't want to see any of you setting up a safe space for white people. Unless you're doing it to troll, in which case, by all means, go ahead."

Lucien Wintrich, "[It's Okay to Be White](#)," November 29, 2017

Throughout my analysis of these three political organizations and their archival traces my goal has been to outline the circuits of organizing and recruitment which have shaped gay men's participation in right-wing movements - to walk the wild woods and show that they may not, in fact, be as wild as we might believe. These meanings, historically contingent and shaped by social projects like whiteness, construct a frame within which these men are recruited and participate in various forms of social action. Like a logging forest, planted in neat rows, there are patterns which emerge from intensive study of these organizations which provide a window into the broader processes of racialization, sexuality, masculinity, and radicalization.

Contrary to traditional understandings of gay political affiliation as emerging from a fundamentally progressive social position, one which privileges coalition-building around shared stigma or stratification, the politics of white gay conservatives rest instead upon a complex set of vying projects which orient them towards the protection of the nation-state, whiteness, and traditional forms of masculinity. There are three central framing devices which operate to influence these political decisions; one, that

victimhood (both real and imagined) plays an important role in shaping the agenda-setting of right-wing gay organizations. The second, which I call **anti-femininity**, is an intense boundary-setting around femininity and its “proper” role in politics. This boundary-setting entails not simply relegating femininity to the margins but an active policing and strategizing of femininity in order to ensure these organizations are positioned as closely as possible to the hegemonic masculinity enshrined in right-wing politics. The last is a fundamental organizing principle which white gay men share with others on the political right, that all politics are an arena for **social darwinism**.

Throughout this study all three of these frames have emerged over and over again, through various mechanisms and around various political issues. These frames structure right-wing gay organizing while also serving to connect the interests of gay right-wing participants with the overall material and social interests of the right-wing broadly. While the forms these frames take draw deeply on the cultural and social mores of the gay community, they operate as connective tissue pulling often resistant or contradictory interests and groups together. Thus they serve a dual purpose in organizing the principles of these groups while also signaling parallel commitments to traditional forms of stratification.

By unearthing the history of gay right-wing organizations, my analysis advances a more complex understanding of sexual identity and political identification. In particular, I demonstrate the necessity for reframing the connection between sexuality and politics *as a project*. Similar to Omi and Winant’s racial project framework, the concept of sexual projects pushes back against both the understanding of our sexuality as something

pertinent only to the private sphere and against the neoliberal concept of sexuality as an ever multiplying set of individualized decisions. Instead it sees sexuality as a set of inherently political decisions - ones which occur within and alongside the political decision making of whiteness, private property, and masculinity.

Empirically, I have developed a set of comparative historical analyses of gay right-wing organizations - and am one of the first to draw out the historically right-wing elements within gay social movement organizing in the United States. This intervention is important not simply for its unique ability to describe and outline gay life in these political circles, it also pushes back on the historiographic and archival tendency to erase these movements from the collective memory of the LGBT community. This analysis also lays the groundwork for understanding the prominent right-wing gay men who over the past decade have become part of the public conversation about free speech, racial violence, and the future of American social and political life.

These theoretical and empirical contributions do have some limitations. As mentioned before, a dearth of consolidated records on right-wing gay organizations has made it difficult to achieve the same level of saturation for each organization. While the Log Cabin Republicans have established an archive with the Tretter Collection at the University of Minnesota with more than a dozen boxes pertaining to their history, much less was available for the National Socialist League or the Libertarians for Gay Rights.

Another limitation to this project is due to the nature of the data I've analyzed. Although where possible I try to speak to the meaning-making process at work for the

men in these organizations the documents I draw from are mainly internal documents or recruitment and member newsletters. Thus I have often been restricted to talking about the organizational structure rather than actual members. Future research would benefit from including interview data to more rigorously engage with how participants understand their role in these kinds of organizations.

Despite these limitations, tracking the framing processes of these organizations is critical to our understanding of the ebb and flow of right-wing politics in the United States. With a country that is increasingly polarized along partisan lines, lines made ever sharper by vigilante white supremacist violence and intensified social death, being able to understand how the frames explored in this project authorize violence is as critical as a map through a deadly maze.

Equally important to the practical task of navigation, this study also suggests that the labels we use to identify “extreme” right-wing actors and those situated more firmly within mainstream politics overemphasize the differences between these groups. Rather, as Dylan Rodriguez points out in *White Reconstruction* these groups represent an ongoing struggle to rearticulate masculine white supremacy within the conditions imposed by the end of Jim Crow segregation (2020). Seeing these groups, from the National Socialist League to the Log Cabin Republicans, as different branches - as part of a multicultural white supremacy - allows political scholars to see the living, breathing, active ways that race, gender, and sexuality can be found throughout our political structure.

References

Internet References

Ruby Programming: <https://rubygems.org/>

Data Scraping Program: <https://github.com/hartator/wayback-machine-downloader>

WayBack Archive: <http://www.wayback.com/>, search entry “outrightusa.org”

WayBack Archive: <http://www.wayback.com/>, entry “outrightusa.com”

WayBack Archive: <http://www.wayback.com/>, entry “outrightlibertarians.blogspot.com”

WayBack Archive: <http://www.wayback.com/>, search entry “logcabin.org.”

Textual References

Acker, Joan. 1990. “Hierarchies, Jobs, and Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.” *Gender & Society* 4:139–58.

Adamson, Göran. 2019. “Why Do Right-Wing Populist Parties Prosper? Twenty-One Suggestions to the Anti-Racist.” *Society* 56:47–58.

Allitt, Patrick. 2009. *The Conservatives: Ideas & Personalities Throughout American History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 2016. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 3rd Edition. Verso.

[Anderson, Eric. 2008. “Being Masculine Is Not About Who You Sleep with...:’ Heterosexual Athletes Contesting Masculinity and the One-Time Rule of Homosexuality.” *Sex Roles* 58:104–15. doi: 10.1007/s11199-007-9337-7.](#)

Anon. 1963. Scorpio Rising.

Anon. 1972. Lucifer Rising.

Anon. 1976. The National Socialist League / Russel Veh. Los Angeles, CA.

Anon. 1997. Log Cabin Republican Convention. Washington D.C.: C-SPAN.

[Anon. 2001. "Aryan \(American\) Resistance Corps." Retrieved \(https://web.archive.org/web/20010428213850/http://www.geocities.com/ARCOrg/\).](https://web.archive.org/web/20010428213850/http://www.geocities.com/ARCOrg/)

Anon. 2004. Gay Republicans.

Anon. 2009. Log Cabin Republicans 2009 Convention and Liberty Education Forum 4. C-SPAN.

Anon. 2012. A Fundamental Freedom Book Forum. Washington D.C.: C-SPAN.

Anon. 2013. Log Cabin Republicans / PBS NewsHour ENDA Debate. Youtube.

Anon. 2016a. Log Cabin Republicans / KABC / Donald Trump and LGBT Politics. Youtube.

Anon. 2016b. "Outright Libertarians USA Bylaws."

Anon. 2017a. LP Conference Call: Outreach to Gender and Sexual Minorities. Youtube.

Anon. 2017b. Outright Libertarians: How To Be An Effective Ally Webinar. Youtube.

Anon. 2018. I'm Gay...Conservative...So What?

[Anon. 2020. "The Dallas Accord." LPedia. Retrieved July 21, 2020 \(lpedia.org/wiki/Dallas_Accord\).](http://lpedia.org/wiki/Dallas_Accord)

Anon. n.d. "Ganz - 2017 - Libertarians Have More in Common with the Alt-Righ.Pdf."

[Antman, Less. May 12, 2008. "The Dallas Accord Is Dead."
https://archive.lewrockwell.com/orig9/antman1.html](https://archive.lewrockwell.com/orig9/antman1.html)

Arendt, Hannah. 1951. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Schocken Books.

[Aviles, Gwen. 2019. "Gay conservative group loses several leaders after Trump endorsement." NBC News. https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/gay-conservative-group-loses-several-leaders-after-trump-endorsement-n1044886](https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/gay-conservative-group-loses-several-leaders-after-trump-endorsement-n1044886)

[Bagci, S. Cigdem, Z. Ecem Piyale, and Ezgi Şen. 2018. "Collective Victimhood Beliefs among Majority and Minority Groups: Links to Ingroup and Outgroup Attitudes and Attribution of Responsibility for Conflict." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 66:95–197. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.05.003.](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.05.003)

Barros, D. Benjamin. 2006. "Home as a Legal Concept." *Santa Clara Law Review* 46, no. 2: 255–306.

Batchis, Wayne. 2016. *The Right's First Amendment: The Politics of Free Speech & The Return of Conservative Libertarianism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bawer, Bruce. 1993. *A Place at the Table: The Gay Individual in American Society*. New York, NY: Touchstone Press.

- Bawer, Bruce. 2006. *While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam Is Destroying the West from Within*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- 2012. *The Victims' Revolution: The Rise of Identity Studies and the Closing of the Liberal Mind*. New York, NY: Harper Collins Press

Beachy, Robert. 2014. *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity*. Knopf Press.

- Belew, Kathleen. 2018. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Benadusi, Lorenzo. 2012. *The Enemy of the New Man: Homosexuality in Fascist Italy*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Berbrier, Mitch. 2002. "Making Minorities: Cultural Space, Stigma Transformation Frames, and the Categorical Status Claims of Deaf, Gay, and White Supremacist Activists in Late Twentieth Century America." *Sociological Forum* 17(4):553–91.
- Berezin, Mabel. 2019. "Fascism and Populism: Are They Useful Categories for Comparative Sociological Analysis?" *Annual Review of Sociology* 345–61.
- Bergland, David. 1997. *Libertarianism in One Lesson*. Orpheus Publications.
- Berlant, Lauren. 1997. *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Bérubé, Allan. 1990. *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Beusch, Danny. 2008. "Queering Nazism or Nazi Queers: A Sociological Study of an Online Gay Nazi Fetish Group." Sociology Dissertation, University of Warwick.
- Blackwood, Evelyn. 1985. "Breaking the Mirror: The Construction of Lesbianism and the Discourse on Homosexuality." *The Journal of Homosexuality* 11(3/4).
- Blee, Kathleen. 2003. *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- 2018. *Understanding Racist Activism: Theory, Methods, and Research*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Blee, Kathleen, and Kimberly Creasap. 2010. "Conservative and Right-Wing Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:269–86.

[Bloch, Katrina Rebecca, Tiffany Taylor, and Karen Martinez. 2020. "Playing the Race Card: White Injury, White Victimhood and the Paradox of Colour-Blind Ideology in Anti-Immigrant Discourse." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43\(7\):1130–48. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2019.1648844.](#)

[Boaz, David. 1997a. "A History of Libertarianism." *Libertarianism.Org*. Retrieved July 21, 2020 \(<https://www.libertarianism.org/publications/essays/history-libertarianism>\).](#)

- 1997b. *Libertarianism: A Primer*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- [2015a. "Libertarians and the Long Road to Gay Rights." *Cato At Liberty*. Retrieved \(<https://www.cato.org/blog/libertarians-long-road-gay-rights>\).](#)
- 2015b. *The Libertarian Mind: A Manifesto for Freedom*. Second Edition. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Boaz, David and David Kirby. Oct. 18, 2006. "The Libertarian Vote." *Policy Analysis*. 580. Cato Institute.
<http://marketliberal.org/LP/Docs/2006%20The%20Libertarian%20Vote.pdf>

[Boutcher, Steven, J. Craig Jenkins, and Nella Van Dyke. 2017. "Strain, Ethnic Competition, and Power Devaluation: White Supremacist Protest in the U.S., 1948–1997." *Social Movement Studies* 16\(6\):686–703. doi: 10.1080/14742837.2017.1279959.](#)

Bowler, Kate. 2013. *Blessed: A History of the American Prosperity Gospel*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- [Boyd, Susan B. 2004. "The Perils of Rights Discourse: A Response to Kitinger and Wilkinson." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 4\(1\):211--217. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2004.00043.x.](#)
- [Brayton, Sean. 2007. "MTV's Jackass: Transgression, Abjection and the Economy of White Masculinity." *Journal of Gender Studies* 18\(1\):57–72. doi: 10.1080/09589230601116190.](#)
- Brennan, Jason. 2012. *Libertarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Brennan, Jason, Bas van der Vossen, and David Schmitz, eds. 2018. *The Routledge Handbook of Libertarianism*. Vol. 15. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- Brinkley, Alan. 1994. "The Problem of American Conservatism." *The American Historical Review* 99(2):409–29.
- Brinkmeyer Jr., Robert H. 2009. *The Fourth Ghost: White Southern Writers and European Fascism, 1930-1950*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Bronski, Michael. 2011. *A Queer History of the United States*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Brooks, Erinn, Kim Ebert, and Tyler Flockhart. 2017. "Examining the Reach of Color Blindness: Ideological Flexibility, Frame Alignment, and Legitimacy Among Racially Conservative and Extremist Organizations." *The Sociological Quarterly* 58 (2): 254–276.
- Brown, Elizabeth Nolan. June 13, 2016. "Millennials Bringing More Racial Diversity to Libertarianism." *Reason Magazine*.
<https://reason.com/2016/06/13/race-and-sex-data-for-libertarians/>
- [Brown, John. 2020. "Neoliberalization, De-Democratization, and Populist Responses in Western Europe, the US, and Latin America." *Critical Sociology* 46\(7–8\):1173–87. doi: 10.1177/0896920520927456.](#)

Brown, Wendy. 1988. *Manhood and Politics: A Feminist Reading in Political Theory*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- 1992. "Finding the Man in the State." *Feminist Studies* 18(1):7-34.
- 2019. *In The Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Anti-Democratic Politics in the West*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

[Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. "Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40\(8\):1191-1226. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1294700.](#)

Buchanan, Patrick. 1992. "1992 Republican National Convention Speech," Houston, TX.

Buckley Jr., William F. 2017. *American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century*. 3rd Edition. New York, NY: Routledge.

Buckley Jr., William F., and Patricia Bozell. 1993. *Happy Days Were Here Again: Reflections of a Libertarian Journalist*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.

[Burtin, Olivier. 2021. "Fascism Has an American History, Too." *Reviews in American History* 49\(3\):494-520. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1353/rah.2021.0048>.](#)

Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* New York: Routledge.

- 2006 *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Cadava, Geraldo. 2020. *The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, from Nixon to Trump*. Ecco Publishing.

Calhoun, Craig. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

- Canaday, Margot. 2009. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Caplan, Jane. 1988. *Government without Administration: State and Civil Service in Weimar and Nazi Germany*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Capó Jr., Julio. 2017. *Welcome to Fairyland: Queer Miami Before 1940*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Carter, Julian B. 2007. *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Carter, Scott J., Cameron Lippard, and Andrew F. Baird. 2019. "Veiled Threats: Colorblind Frames and Group Threat in Affirmative Action Discourse." *Social Problems*. doi:10.1093/socpro/spy020.
- [Caruso, Loris, and Lorenzo Cini. 2020. "Rethinking the Link Between Structure and Collective Action. Capitalism, Politics, and the Theory of Social Movements." *Critical Sociology* 46\(7-8\):1005-23. doi: 10.1177/0896920520911434.](#)
- Cervini, Eric. 2020. *The Deviant's War: The Homosexual VS. The United States of America*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Chauncey, George. 1995. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.
- Chapman, Tony. 2004. *Gender and Domestic Life: Changing Practices in Families and Households*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chen, Mel Y. 2012. *Animacies: Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Chirumbolo, Antonio, Nonna Mayer, and Hans De Witte. 2006. "Do Right- and Left-Wing Extremists Have Anything In Common?" Pp. 248-68 in [ADD TITLE]

- Chitty, Christopher. 2020. *Sexual Hegemony: Statecraft, Sodomy, and Capital in the Rise of the World System*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Churchill, Robert H. 2011. *To Shake Their Guns In The Tyrant's Face: Libertarian Political Violence and the Origins of the Militia Movement*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Cimino, Kenneth W. 2012. *Gay Conservatives: Group Consciousness and Assimilation*. 2nd Edition. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- Clarkson, Jay. 2006. "'Everyday Joe' versus 'Pissy, Bitchy, Queens': Gay Masculinity on StraightActing.Com." *Journal of Men's Studies* 14(2):191-207.
- Colasacco, Brett. 2018. "Before Trump: On Comparing Fascism and Trumpism." *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 12(1):27-53.
- Cole, Phillip A. 1995. "Find One's Way Around The Political Compass (Or Why Libertarianism Is Right-Wing)." *Journal of Societal and Evolutionary Systems* 18(3):207-11.
- Coles, Tony. 2009. "Negotiating the Field of Masculinity: The Production and Reproduction of Multiple Dominant Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* 12(1):30-44.
- Comegna, Anthony, ed. 2017. *Liberty and Power: A Libertarian Approach To The Past*. Washington D.C.: Cato Institute.
- Connell, Catherine. 2010. "Doing, Undoing, or Redoing Gender? Learning from the Workplace Experience of Transpeople," *Gender & Society* 24(1): 31-55.
- Connell, R.W.. 1992. "A Very Straight Gay: Masculinity, Homosexual Experience, and the Dynamics of Gender." *American Sociological Review* 57(6):735-51.

Connell, Raewyn. 2016. "Masculinities in Global Perspective: Hegemony, Contestation, and Changing Structures of Power." *Theory and Society* 45:303–18. Doi: 10.1007/s11186-016-9275-x.

Cortese, Daniel. 2006. *Are We Thinking Straight? The Politics of Straightness on a Lesbian and Gay Social Movement Organization*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Courtland, Shane, Gaus, Gerald, and David Schmidtz. 2022. "Liberalism" in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberalism/>

Cower, Rob. 2020. "Vulnerability and the Discourse of 'Forgotten People': Populism, Population and Cultural Change." *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*.

Craffey, Matthew. 2014. "Op-Ed: Why LGBT and the GOP Are Better Together." *The Advocate*, September 30. <https://www.advocate.com/commentary/2014/09/30/op-ed-why-lgbt-and-gop-are-better-together>

Craib, Raymond B. 2022. *Adventure Capitalism: A History of Libertarian Exist, from the Era of Decolonization to the Digital Age*. Oakland, CA: PM Press.

Crary, David. August 20, 2020. "Trump steadily fulfills goals on religious right wish list." *Associated Press*. <https://apnews.com/article/religion-ronald-reagan-donald-trump-us-news-ap-top-news-c8626c6bdbab4e3f8232ea1499a6954b>

Crozier, Ivan Dalley. 2000. "Taking Prisoners: Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud, and the Construction of Homosexuality, 1897-1951." *Social History of Medicine* 13(3):447–66.

- 2001. "The Medical Construction of Homosexuality and Its Relation to the Law in Nineteenth-Century England." *Medical History* 45:61–82.

Daddow, Oliver, and Isabelle Hertner. 2021. "Interpreting Toxic Masculinity in Political Parties: A Framework for Analysis." *Party Politics* 27(4):743–54.

[Davidson, Neil, and Richard Saull. 2016. "Neoliberalism and the Far-Right: A Contradictory Embrace." *Critical Sociology* 43\(4-5\):202-24. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920516671180>.](#)

Davis, Angela. 1989. *Women, Culture and Politics*. New York: Vintage.

[Dean, Tim. 2015. "No Sex Please, We're American." *American Literary History* 27\(3\):614-24. doi: \[10.1093/alh/ajv030\]\(https://doi.org/10.1093/alh/ajv030\).](#)

Della Posta, Daniel. 2018. "Gay Acquaintanceship and Attitudes toward Homosexuality: A Conservative Test." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 4:1-12.

D'Emilio, John. 1983. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970*. 2nd Edition. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Devlin, Athena. 2005. *Between Profits and Primitivism: Shaping White Middle-Class Masculinity in the United States, 1880-1917*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Dietrich, David R. 2014. *Rebellious Conservatives: Social Movements in Defense of Privilege*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Doherty, Brian. 2007. *Radicals For Capitalism: A Freewheeling History of the Modern American Libertarian Movement*. Philadelphia, PA: PublicAffairs.

Dolmage, Jay Timothy. 2018. *Disabled Upon Arrival: Eugenics, Immigration, and the Construction of Race and Disability*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press.

Donovan, Jack. 2011. *No Man's Land: Masculinity Maligned, Reimagined and Misrepresented*. Milwaukie, OR: Dissonant Hum

- 2012a. *Androphilia: Rejecting the Gay Identity and Reclaiming Masculinity*. 3rd Edition. Milwaukie, OR: Dissonant Hum.
- 2012b. *The Way of Men*. Milwaukie, OR: Dissonant Hum.

[Drabold, Will. 2016. "Read Peter Thiel's Speech at the Republican Convention." *Time Magazine*. https://time.com/4417679/republican-convention-peter-thiel-transcript/](https://time.com/4417679/republican-convention-peter-thiel-transcript/)

[Dreher, Rod. 2021. "Queer as Volk." *The American Conservative*. Retrieved \(https://www.theamericanconservative.com/dreher/jack-murphy-queer-as-volk-gay-beard/?fbclid=IwAR30GXNxCWudeu7F8AAW4kSwgUrXoFfujVB5_RSYA9IREb0MKclYOqwlcAk\).](https://www.theamericanconservative.com/dreher/jack-murphy-queer-as-volk-gay-beard/?fbclid=IwAR30GXNxCWudeu7F8AAW4kSwgUrXoFfujVB5_RSYA9IREb0MKclYOqwlcAk)

Drexel, Allen. 1997. "Before Paris Burned: Race, Class, and Male Homosexuality on the Chicago South Side, 1935-1960," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 2011 (orig. 1903). *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York, NY: Tribeca Books.

- 1920. *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil*. New York, NY: Verso Books.

Dudink, Stefan, Karen Hagemann, and Anna Clark, eds. 2012. *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*. 2nd Edition. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Duggan, Lisa. 2003. *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Duncan, Craig, and Tibor R. Machan. 2005. *Libertarianism: For and Against*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Durham, Martin. 2007. *White Rage: The Extreme Right and American Politics*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

[Eatwell, Roger. 2006. "Explaining Fascism and Ethnic Cleansing: The Three Dimensions of Charisma and the Four Dark Sides of Nationalism." *Political Studies Review* 4\(3\):263–78. doi: 10.1111/j.1478-9299.2006.00109.x.](#)

Edsall, Thomas Byrne, and Mary D. Edsall. 1991. *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics*. New York, NY: Norton.

[Eguchi, Shinsuke. 2009. "Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: The Rhetorical Strategy of 'Straight-Acting' among Gay Men." *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 38\(3\):193–209. doi: 10.1080/17475759.2009.508892.](#)

Eisenstadt, Peter. 2015. *Black Conservatism: Essays in Intellectual and Political History*. New York, NY, Routledge Press.

[el-Ojeili, Chamsy, and Dylan Taylor. 2020. "The Extremism Industry: A Political Logic of Post-Hegemonic Liberalism." *Critical Sociology* 46\(7–8\):1141–55. doi: 10.1177/0896920520912459.](#)

Eng, David L. 2010. *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Enloe, Cynthia. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. 2nd Edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Faderman, Lillian. 2012. *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Faderman, Lillian, and Stuart Timmons. 2009. *Gay L.A. A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, And Lipstick Lesbians*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Falomir-Pichastor, Juan Manuel, Jacques Berent, and Joel Anderson. 2019. "Perceived Men's Feminization and Attitudes Toward Homosexuality: Heterosexual Men's Reactions to the Decline of the Anti-Femininity Norm of Masculinity." *Sex Roles* 81:208–22.

[Faruque, M. Omar. 2020. "Nationalist Imaginaries and Political Mobilization Against Global Extractive Capital." *Critical Sociology* 46\(7–8\):1251–66. doi: 10.1177/0896920520925860.](#)

Fassin, Didier, and Richard Rechtman. 2009. *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Conditions of Victimhood*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2020. *Sexing The Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. Revised Edition. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.

Fee, Dwight. 1992. "Masculinities, Identity, and the Politics of Essentialism: A Social Constructionist Critique of the Men's Movement." *Feminism & Psychology* 2(2):171-76.

Ferber, Abby. 1999. *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

2000. "Racial Warriors and Weekend Warriors: The Construction of Masculinity in Mythopoetic and White Supremacist Discourse." *Men and Masculinities* 3(1):30-56.

Ferguson, Roderick. 2019. *One-Dimensional Queer*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.

- [2014. "The Distributions of Whiteness." *American Quarterly* 68\(4\):1101-6. doi: 10.1353/aq.2014.0064.](#)
- 2003. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

[Ferguson, Roderick A., and Grace Kyungwon Hong. 2012. "The Sexual and Racial Contradictions of Neoliberalism." *Journal of Homosexuality* 59\(7\):1057-64. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2012.699848.](#)

[Ferree, Myra Marx. 2020. "The Crisis of Masculinity for Gendered Democracies: Before, During, and After Trump." *Sociological Forum* 1-20. doi: 10.1111/socf.12599.](#)

Fetner, Tina. 2008. *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.

Fields, Corey. 2016. *Black Elephants in the Room: The Unexpected Politics of African*

- American Republicans*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Finnegan, Margaret. 1999. *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture & Votes for Women*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Floyd, Kevin. 2009. *The Reification of Desire: Toward a Queer Marxism*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction. Vol. 1*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Fox, James W. Jr. n.d. "Naturalization Act (1790)." Encyclopedia.com. [bit.ly/2FAF8vq](https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedia-entries/naturalization-act-1790) (accessed March 28, 2022).
- Fraenkel, Ernst. 1941. *The Dual State*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Franke, Katherine M. 1999. "Becoming a Citizen: Reconstruction Era Regulation of African American Marriages," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 11: 251-309.
- Fredrickson, George M. 1997. *The Comparative Imagination: On The History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Freeden, Michael. 1996. *Ideologies and Political Theories: A Conceptual Approach*. New York, NY: Clarendon Press.
- Freeden, Michael, Lyman Tower Sargent, and Marc Stears, eds. 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Freunde, Leon, and Nuria Berges Bosh. 2020. "Homonationalism in Europe? A Quantitative Comparison of the Values of Europeans." *Sexuality and Culture* 24(1):1292-1314.
- Frohnen, Bruce, Jeremy Beer, and Jeffery O. Nelson, eds. 2006. *American Conservatism: An Encyclopedia*. Wilmington, Delaware: ISI Books.

Fuglestad, Eirik Magnus. 2018. "The Nation as Propertied Community: The Emergence of Nationalism in the United States and Norway." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 18(3):237–61.

- 2020. "A New Sociology of Nationalism: The Sociology of Property and Nation." *Nations and Nationalism* 1–12.

[Gallagher, Edward Sean. 2012. "Refulgent Respectability: A Social Movement Analysis of Gay Conservatives." Dissertation, Fordham University. <https://research.library.fordham.edu/dissertations/AAI3544396/>](https://research.library.fordham.edu/dissertations/AAI3544396/)

[Gambetti, Zeynep. 2020. "Exploratory Notes on the Origins of New Fascisms." *Critical Times* 3\(1\). doi: 10.1215/26410478-8189841.](https://doi.org/10.1215/26410478-8189841)

Ganz, John. 2017. "Libertarians Have More in Common with the Alt-Right than They Want You to Think." *The Washington Post*, September 19.

Garber, Eric. 1991. "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey. New York: Penguin Books.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gillespie, Nathan, and Matt Welch. 2011. *The Declaration of Independents: How Libertarian Politics Can Fix What's Wrong With America*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.

Giroux, Henry A. 2018. *American Nightmare: Facing the Challenge of Fascism*. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books.

Gleeson, Jules Joanne and Elle O'Rourke (eds). 2021. *Transgender Marxism*. London, UK: Pluto Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity*. London, UK: Penguin Publishing.

- 1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Goldstein, Richard. 2002. *Homocons: The Rise of the Gay Right*. Verso.

Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, eds. 2001. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Gordon, Avery. 2008. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. 2nd Edition. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

[Greenwood, Ashley. 2019. "Authority, Discourse and the Construction of Victimhood." *Social Identities* 25\(6\):746–58. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2018.1564265>.](#)

Griffin, Roger. 1991. *The Nature of Fascism*. London: Routledge.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1991. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. 6th Edition. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Haider, Carmen. 1934. *Do We Want Fascism: Studies in Fascism, Ideology and Practice*. Literary Licensing, LLC.

Halberstam, Judith. 2005. "Shame and White Gay Masculinity." *Social Text* 23(3–4): 219–33.

Halberstam, Judith. 2011. "'The Killer in Me Is the Killer in You': Homosexuality and Fascism." Pp. 148–72 in *The Queer Art of Failure*, John Hope Franklin Center Books. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hall, Stuart. 1986. "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10(2):5–27.

Halperin, David M. 1990. *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

- 2012. *How To Be Gay*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[Hammarén, Nils, and Thomas Johansson. 2014. "Homosociality: In Between Power and Intimacy." *SAGE Open* 1-11. doi: 10.1177/2158244013518057.](#)

Hamowy, Ronald, ed. 2008. *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hanhardt, Christina. 2013. *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Harris, Cheryl. 1993. "Whiteness As Property." *Harvard Law Review* 106(8):1701-91.

Harris, Daniel. 1997. *The Rise and Fall of Gay Culture*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books.

Hartmann, Michael. 2004. *The Sociology of Elites*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Hay, Harry. 1996. *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of Its Founder*, edited by Will Roscoe. Boston: Beacon.

Haywood, Chris, Thomas Johansson, Nils Hammarén, Marcus Herz, and Andreas Ottemo. 2018. *The Conundrum of Masculinity: Hegemony, Homosociality, Homophobia and Heteronormativity*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Heersink, Boris, and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2020. "Whiteness and the Emergence of the Republican Party in the Early Twentieth-Century South." *Studies in American Political Development* 34:71-90.

- Hemmer Jr., Joseph J. 1995. "Hate Speech - the Egalitarian/Libertarian Dilemma." *The Howard Journal of Communication* 5(4):307-30.
- Heppell, Timothy, and Michael Hill. 2005. "Ideological Typologies of Contemporary British Conservatism." *Political Studies Review* 3:335-55.
- Hequembourg, Amy, and Jorge Ardití. 1999. "Fractured Resistances: The Debate over Assimilationism among Gays and Lesbians in the United States." *The Sociological Quarterly* 40(4):663-80.
- Herzog, Dagmar. 2005. *Sex After Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hewitt, Andrew. 1996. *Political Inversions: Homosexuality, Fascism, and the Modernist Imaginary*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hirschfeld, Magnus. 1920 (2nd ed, 2000). *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Translated by Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. Prometheus Books
- Hinkson, Kasia. 2021. "The Colorblind Rainbow: Whiteness in the Gay Rights Movement." *Journal of Homosexuality* 68(9):1393-1416.
- Hinshaw, Stephen. 2009. *The mark of shame: Stigma of mental illness and an agenda for change*. Oxford University Press.
- Hipsher, Patricia L. 2007. "Heretical Social Movement Organizations and Their Framing Strategies." *Sociological Inquiry* 77(2):241-63.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge University Press.
- Hobson, Emily. 2016. *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Holland, Sharon Patricia. 2012. *The Erotic Life of Racism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hollis-Brusky, Amanda. 2015. *Ideas with Consequences: The Federalist Society and the Conservative Counterrevolution*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hooper, Charlotte. 2001. *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Hoover, Kenneth R. 1987. "The Rise of Conservative Capitalism: Ideological Tensions within the Reagan and Thatcher Governments." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29(2): 245–68.
- Hoppe, Hans-Hermann. 2018. *Getting Libertarianism Right*. Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute.
- Horrocks, Roger. 1994. *Masculinity in Crisis: Myths, Fantasies and Realities*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- HoSang, Daniel Martinez, Oneka LaBennett, and Laura Pulido, eds. 2012. *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- HoSang, Daniel Martinez, and Joseph E. Lowndes. 2019. *Producers, Parasites, Patriots: Race and the New Right-Wing Politics of Precarity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hoskin, Rhea Ashley. 2019. "Femmephobia: The Role of Anti-Feminity and Gender Policing in LGBTQ+ People's Experiences of Discrimination." *Sex Roles* 81:686–703.
- 2020. "'Femininity? It's the Aesthetic of Subordination': Examining Femmephobia, the Gender Binary, and Experiences of Oppression Among Sexual and Gender Minorities." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 49: 2319–2339.

- Howard, Clayton. 2019. *The Closet and the Cul-de-Sac: The Politics of Sexual Privacy in Northern California*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- H.R. 3355. 1994. U.S. House of Representatives Bill.
<https://www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/house-bill/3355/text>
- H.R. 3396. 1996. U.S. House of Representatives Bill.
<https://www.congress.gov/bill/104th-congress/house-bill/3396#:~:text=Defense%20of%20Marriage%20Act%20%2D%20Amends,%20claim%20arising%20from%20such>
- Huang, Jon, Samuel Jacoby, Michael Strickland, and K. K. Rebecca Lai. 2016. "Election 2016: Exit Polls." *The New York Times*.
- Hübinette, Tobias. 2020. "White Masculinity." in *Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." *Political Psychology* 22(1):127-56.
- Hughes, Langston. 1995. *Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender: Essays on Race, Politics, and Culture, 1942-1962*, edited by Christopher C. De Santis. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- [Hughey, Matthew W. 2012. "Black Guys and White Guise: The Discursive Construction of White Masculinity." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 41\(1\):95-124. doi: 10.1177/0891241611431580.](#)
- [2014. "Identity Isomorphism: Role Schemas and White Masculinity Formation." *Sociological Inquiry* 84\(2\):264-93. doi: 10.1111/soin.12034.](#)
- Hurewitz, Daniel. 2008. *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Igra, Samuel. 1945. *Germany's National Vice*. London: Quality.

Jean-Tretter Collection. "Log Cabin Republicans Records."

<https://archives.lib.umn.edu/repositories/13/resources/2030>

Jensen, Erik. 2002. "The Pink Triangle and Political Consciousness: Gays, Lesbians, and the Memory of Nazi Persecution." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11 (1-2): 319-49.

Johnson, David K. 2006. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Jones-Rogers, Stephanie E. 2019. *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

[Kabel, Robert, and Jill Homan. August 15, 2020. "Trump met his commitments to LGBTQ Americans. He has our endorsement." *Washington Post*.
\[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-met-his-commitments-to-lgbtq-americans-he-has-our-endorsement/2019/08/15/fb9b741c-bf96-11e9-a5c6-1e74f7ec4a93_story.html\]\(https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-met-his-commitments-to-lgbtq-americans-he-has-our-endorsement/2019/08/15/fb9b741c-bf96-11e9-a5c6-1e74f7ec4a93_story.html\)](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-met-his-commitments-to-lgbtq-americans-he-has-our-endorsement/2019/08/15/fb9b741c-bf96-11e9-a5c6-1e74f7ec4a93_story.html)

[Kahalon, Rotem, Nurit Shnabel, Samer Halabi, and Ilanit SimanTov-Nachlieli. 2019. "Power Matters: The Role of Power and Morality Needs in Competitive Victimhood among Advantaged and Disadvantaged Groups." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 58:452-72. Doi: 10.1111/bjso.12276.](https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12276)

Kakell III, Carroll P. 2013. *The American West and the Nazi East: A Comparative and Interpretive Perspective*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kandaswamy, Priya. 2012. "Gendering Racial Formation." Pp. 23-43 in *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kaplan, Jeffrey, ed. 2000. *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Karlen, Arno. 1971. *Sexuality and Homosexuality: A New View*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Kelly, Annie. 2017. "The Alt-Right: Reactionary Rehabilitation for White Masculinity." *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 66:68–78.

Kerl, Eric. November 2, 2020. "Four Theses on American Fascism." *Rampant*.

Kibbe, Matt. 2014. *Don't Hurt People and Don't Take Their Stuff: A Libertarian Manifesto*. Harper Collins E-Books.

[King, Mike. 2015. "The 'Knockout Game': Moral Panic and the Politics of White Victimhood." *Race and Class* 56\(4\):85–94. doi: 10.1177/0306396814567411.](#)

Kirby, David, and Emily Ekins. 2012. "Libertarian Roots of the Tea Party." CATO Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/libertarian-roots-tea-party>

Kirk, Marshall, and Hunter Madsen. 1989. *After The Ball: How America Will Conquer Its Fear & Hatred of Gays in the 90s*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Kissack, Terence. 1995. "Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front 1969-1971." *Radical History Review* 62:104–34.

Kitch, Sally L. 2009. *The Specter of Sex: Gendered Foundations of Racial Formation in the United States*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

[Klausner, Manuel. 1975. "Inside Ronald Reagan." <https://reason.com/1975/07/01/inside-ronald-reagan/>](#)

[Kolber, J. 2016. "Having It Both Ways: White Denial of Racial Salience While Claiming Oppression." *Sociology Compass* 11. doi: 10.1111/soc4.12448.](#)

Koselleck, Reinhart. 2004. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Krakov, Morgan and Eli Rosenberg. Aug. 20, 2019. "Her GOP group endorsed Trump, so she resigned. She wouldn't be able to 'look her children in the eye.'" *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/08/20/her-gop-group-endorsed-trump-so-she-resigned-she-wouldnt-able-look-her-children-eye/>

Krutzsch, Brett. 2019. *Dying To Be Normal: Gay Martyrs and the Transformation of American Sexual Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kühl, Stefan. 1994. *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kühne, Thomas. 2017. *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship: Hitler's Soldiers, Male Bonding and Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

[Kuntsman, Adi. 2008. "The Soldier and the Terrorist: Sexy Nationalism, Queer Violence." *Sexualities* 11\(1/2\):142–70. doi: 10.1177/1363460707085468.](#)

Kusz, Kyle W. 2001. "'I Want To Be The Minority': The Politics of Youthful White Masculinities in Sport and Popular Culture in 1990s America." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 25(4):390–416.

Lakoff, George. 1995. "Metaphor, Morality, and Politics, Or Why Conservatives Have Left Liberals in the Dust." *Social Research* 62(2):177–213.

Lampo, David. 2012. *A Fundamental Freedom: Why Republicans, Conservatives, and Libertarians Should Support Gay Rights*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Landa, Ishay. 2010. *The Apprentice's Sorcerer: Liberal Tradition and Fascism*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill.

- Lanzerotti, Rachel, Michael Mayer, Wendy Ormiston, and Laura Podwoski. 2002. "Racism in Queer Communities: What Can White People Do?" *Race, Gender, & Class* 9(1):55–71.
- Laqueur, Walter, ed. 1976. *Fascism, A Reader's Guide: Analyses, Interpretations, Bibliography*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Leach, C. W., Iyer, A., & Pedersen, A. 2007. "Angry opposition to government redress: When the structurally advantaged perceive themselves as relatively deprived." *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 46: 191–204.
- Lemmings, David, and Ann Brooks, eds. 2014. *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- [Lentin, Alana. 2016. "Racism in Public or Public Racism: Doing Antiracism in 'Post-Racial' Times." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39\(1\):33–48. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1096409.](#)
- Lester, J. C. 1994. "The Evolution of the Political Compass." *Journal of Societal and Evolutionary Systems* 17(3):231–41.
- Levin, Michael. 2005. *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean*. 2nd Edition. New Century Foundation.
- Lewis, Matt. August 23, 2017. "The Insidious Libertarian-to-Alt-Right Pipeline." *The Daily Beast*, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-insidious-libertarian-to-alt-right-pipeline>
- Lichtman, Allan J. 2008. *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*. New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Lipsitz, George. 2006. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit From Identity Politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Lively, Scott, and Kevin Abrams. 1995. *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party*. Springfield, MA: Veritas Aeterna.

Lizotte, Mary-Kate, and Thomas Warren. 2021. "Understanding the Appeal of Libertarianism: Gender and Race Differences in the Endorsement of Libertarian Principles." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 21(1):640–59.

[Lloyd, David. 2020. "From the Critique of Violence to the Critique of Rights." *Critical Times* 3\(1\). Doi: 10.1215/26410478-8189873.](https://doi.org/10.1215/26410478-8189873)

[Lockhart, Jeffrey. 2022. "The Gay Right: A Framework for Understanding Right Wing LGBT Organizations." *The Journal of Homosexuality*. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2022.2086749.](https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2086749)

Log Cabin Republicans Collection. Tretter Audio and Video Inventory, Tretter-448. Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies.

https://archives.lib.umn.edu/repositories/13/archival_objects/1257343

[Log Cabin Republicans. August 16, 2020. "Log Cabin Republicans Endorse Trump For Reelection in 2020. https://logcabin.org/pressrelease/trump-endorsement/](https://logcabin.org/pressrelease/trump-endorsement/)

- [February 19, 2015. Log Cabin Republicans Statement on Exclusion from CPAC. LCR Press Releases. N.p., Web. http://logcabin.org/pressrelease/log-cabin-republicans-statement-on-exclusion-from-cpac/](http://logcabin.org/pressrelease/log-cabin-republicans-statement-on-exclusion-from-cpac/)

López, Ian Haney. 2014. *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism & Wrecked The Middle Class*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Loughery, John. 1998. *The Other Side of Silence: Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth-Century History*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, LLC.

[LPNevada. 2015.](https://www.lpnevada.org/)

<https://www.lpnevada.org/the-libertarian-party-of-nevada-and-out-for-liberty-celebrate-the-supreme-court-decision>

- Lundberg, George A. 1927. "The Demographic and Economic Basis of Political Radicalism and Conservatism." *American Journal of Sociology* 32(5):719–32.
- Lybeck, Marti. 2014. *Desiring Emancipation: New Women and Homosexuality in Germany, 1890-1933*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- [Lybeck, Rick. 2018. "A Public Pedagogy of White Victimhood: \(Im\)Moral Facts, Settler Identity, and Genocide Denial in Dakota Homeland." *Qualitative Inquiry* 24\(8\):543–57. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800417735659>.](#)
- [Lynch, Orla, and Carmel Joyce. 2018. "Functions of Collective Victimhood: Political Violence and the Case of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *International Review of Victimology* 24\(2\):183–97. doi: \[10.1177/0269758018758396\]\(https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758018758396\).](#)
- Mac, Ryan and Lisa Lerer. Feb. 16, 2022. "Peter Thiel, the Right's Would-Be Kingmaker." *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/technology/republican-trump-peter-thiel.html>
- Machan, Tibor R. 1982. *The Libertarian Reader*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Machtan, Lothar. 2001. *The Hidden Hitler*, translated by John Brownjohn. Oxford: Perseus Books.
- Maleševic, Siniša. 2019. *Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis*. Cambridge University Press.
- Maleševic, Siniša, and Tamara Pavasovic Trošt. 2018. "Nation-State and Nationalism." in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*.
- Mannheim, Karl. 1986. *Conservatism: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- Markowitz, Sally. 2001. "Pelvic Politics: Sexual Dimorphism and Racial Difference." *Signs* 26(2):389–414.

["Martin Shkreli." 2022. AP News. https://apnews.com/hub/martin-shkreli](https://apnews.com/hub/martin-shkreli)

[Martínez, Jessica and Gregory Smith. November 9, 2016. "How the faithful voted: A preliminary 2016 analysis." Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/how-the-faithful-voted-a-preliminary-2016-analysis/](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/how-the-faithful-voted-a-preliminary-2016-analysis/)

Marx, Anthony W. 2005. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Mason, Carol. 2007. "Reproducing the Souls of White Folk." *Hypatia* 22(2):98–121.

May, Caroline. Dec. 19, 2013. "Paglia: Duck Dynasty uproar 'utterly fascist, utterly Stalinist.'" *The Daily Caller*. <https://dailycaller.com/2013/12/19/paglia-duck-dynasty-uproar-utterly-fascist-utterly-stalinist/>

Mayhew, Robert (ed). 2005. *Ayn Rand Answers: The Best of Her Q&A*. New York, NY: New American Library.

[Maxwell, Alexander. 2015. "The Nation as a 'Gentleman's Agreement': Masculinity and Nationality in Nineteenth-Century Hungary." *Men and Masculinities* 18\(5\):536–58. Doi: 10.1177/1097184X15575156.](https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X15575156)

McClennen, Sophia A. 2021. "The Conservative Urge to Be a Victim: Why Right-Wing Victimhood Is Spreading so Fast." Salon, December 27.

McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

McCloskey, Deirdre. 2011. *Bourgeois Dignity: Why Economics Can't Explain The Modern World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

McGoey, Linsey. 2012. "The Logic of Strategic Ignorance." *The British Journal of Sociology* 63(3):553–57.

[McGraw, Seamus. 2001. "Coming Out of the Bunker: Gay Nazis Form a Growing Subculture, Via Web." The Forward. Retrieved \(http://www.geocities.ws/seamusmcgraw/gaynazi.html\).](http://www.geocities.ws/seamusmcgraw/gaynazi.html)

McGurn, William. 2009. "Gay, Proud and Conservative." *Wall Street Journal*.

McLaughlin, Neil. 1996. "Nazism, Nationalism, and the Sociology of Emotions: Escape from Freedom Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 14(3):341–261.

McManus, Matthew. 2020. *The Rise of Post-Modern Conservatism: Neoliberalism, Post-Modern Culture, and Reactionary Politics*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave McMillan.

McVeigh, Rory. 2004. "Structured Ignorance and Organized Racism in the United States." *Social Forces* 82(3):895–936.

McVeigh, Rory, and Kevin Estep. 2020. *The Politics of Losing: Trump, the Klan, and the Mainstreaming of Resentment*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Meeker, Martin. 2006. *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Mehta, Seema. March 1, 2015. "Gay Group Wins Formal Recognition from State Republican Party." *Los Angeles Times*.

Mejdrich, Austin P. 2018. "Blurring the Spectrum: Exploring Queer Conservatism." Master's Thesis, Eastern Illinois University.

Melamed, Jodi. 2011. *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Metzl, Jonathan M. 2019. *Dying of Whiteness: How the Politics of Racial Resentment Is Killing America's Heartland*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.
- Micocci, Andrea, and Flavia De Mario. 2017. *The Fascist Nature of Neoliberalism*. Routledge.
- Miller, Nathan F., and Jack Donovan. 2009. *Blood Brotherhood and Other Rites of Male Alliance*. 2nd Edition. Portland, OR: Dissonant Hum.
- Miller, Brian. 2008. "Outright Press Release on Bob Barr's Candidacy." <https://web.archive.org/web/20101018085528/http://outrightlibertarians.blogspot.com/2008/05/outright-press-release-on-bob-barrs.html>
- [Miller-Idriss, Cynthia. 2017. "Soldier, Sailor, Rebel, Rule-Breaker: Masculinity and the Body in the German Far Right." *Gender and Education* 29\(2\):199–215. doi: 10.1080/09540253.2016.1274381.](#)
- "Millennials: The Politically Unclaimed Generation," Reason-Rupe Spring 2014 Millennial Survey. <https://reason.com/wp-content/uploads/assets/db/2014-millennials-report.pdf>
- Minkowitz, Donna. 2017. "How the Alt-Right Is Using Sex and Camp to Attract Gay Men to Fascism." *Slate*.
- Mogul, Joey, Andrea Ritchie, and Kay Whitlock. 2012. *Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States*. Boston: Beacon.
- Mondon, Aurelien, and Aaron Winter. 2020. *Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far Right Became Mainstream*. Verso.
- Monhan, Martin. 2018. "'Tory-Normativity' and Gay Rights Advocacy in the British Conservative Party since the 1950s." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*.

- Moran, Les, and Beverly Skeggs. 2004. *Sexuality and the Politics of Violence and Safety*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 2015. *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen, Maryrose Casey, and Fiona Nicoll, eds. 2008. *Transnational Whiteness Matters*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Morgan, Jennifer. 2004. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mosse, George L. 1996. *The Image of Man*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Mueller, Jennifer C. 2018. "Advancing a Sociology of Ignorance in the Study of Racism and Racial Non-Knowing." *Sociology Compass*.
- 2020. "Racial Ideology or Racial Ignorance? An Alternative Theory to Racial Cognition." *Sociological Theory* 38(2):142–69.
- Muñoz, José. 2020. *The Sense of Brown*. Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press.
- Murray, Charles. 1997. *What It Means to Be a Libertarian: A Personal Interpretation*. New York, NY: Broadway Books.
- Muse, Courtney Sanders. 2008. "Elephant in the Room: Organizational Framing and Personal and Collective Identity Conflict Resolution among Log Cabin Republicans." Dissertation, Vanderbilt University.
- [Nagel, Joane. 1998. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21\(2\):242–69. doi: 10.1080/014198798330007.](#)
- [2017. "The Continuing Significance of Masculinity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40\(9\):1450–59. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1308530.](#)

- Nakano Glenn, Evelyn. 2004. *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Nardi, Peter, ed. 2000. *Gay Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Narveson, Jan. 2001. *The Libertarian Idea*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Neill, Edmund. 2021. *Conservatism*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
- Nelson, Dana. 1998. *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ngai, Mai. 2005. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Nickerson, Michelle. 2014. *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Nisbet, Robert A. 1952. "Conservatism and Sociology." *American Journal of Sociology* 58(2):167-75.
- 1986. *Conservatism: Dream and Reality*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.
- Norton, Ben. Oct. 14, 2015. "Libertarian Superstar Ayn Rand Defended Native American Genocide." *Alternet*. <https://www.alternet.org/2015/10/libertarian-superstar-ayn-rand-defended-native-american-genocide/>
- [Norton, Michael I., and Samuel R. Sommers. 2011. "Whites See Racism as a Zero-Sum Game That They Are Now Losing." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 6\(3\):215-18. doi: 10.1177/1745691611406922.](#)
- Nozick, Robert. 1974. *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing.

National Socialist League Finding Aid.

<https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c89p32f0/?query=socialist>

Oaten, Alexander. 2014. "The Cult of the Victim: An Analysis of the Collective Identity of the English Defence League." *Patterns of Prejudice* 48(4):331–49. doi: 10.1080/0031322X.2014.950454.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 2014. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 3rd Edition. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Oram, Alison and Annmarie Turnbull. 2001. *The Lesbian History Sourcebook: Love and Sex Between Women in Britain from 1780-1970*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Ordoover, Nancy. 2003. *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.

Oselin, Sharon S., and Kristin Barber. 2019. "Borrowing Privilege: Status Maneuvering among Marginalized Men." *Gender & Society* 33(2):201–33. doi: 10.1177/0891243218823354.

Osoy, Daniel. 2020. "Flirting with Supremacy: Gay Men and the White Nationalist Movement." Master's Thesis in Interdisciplinary Studies, CSU Los Angeles.

Outright USA Board. 2022. "Statement from the Board."

<https://www.outrightusa.com/blog/statementfromtheboard>

- 2021. "A Statement from the Board of Directors."

<https://web.archive.org/web/20211016061517/https://www.outrightusa.com/blog/statementfromtheboard>

Outright. 2002. "Issues."

<https://web.archive.org/web/20020803190434/http://www.outrightusa.org/page5.html>

Parker, Andrew, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger. 1991. *Nationalisms & Sexualities*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Pascoe, C. J. 2011. *Dude, You're A Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*. 2nd Edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Paxton, Robert. 2005. *The Anatomy of Fascism*. Reprint. New York, New York: Vintage Press.
- Pearson, Kim H. 2006. "Patriotic Homosocial Discourse." *William & Mary Journal of Race, Gender, and Social Justice* 12(3).
- Peck, John. 2016. "Homofascists Not Welcome." Fr. John Peck (blog), August 24. frjohnpeck.com/homofascists-not-welcome/.
- Perry, Barbara. 2000. "'Button-Down Terror': The Metamorphosis of the Hate Movement." *Sociological Focus* 33(2):113–31.
- Peters, Eric. July 17, 2013. "Thoughts from a Libertarian Perspective About Saint Trayvon." *Eric Peters Autos [Blog]*.
<https://www.ericpetersautos.com/2013/07/17/thoughts-about-saint-trayvon/>
- [Peterson, V. Spike. 1999. "Political Identities/Nationalism as Heterosexism." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1\(1\):34–65. doi: 10.1080/146167499360031.](#)
- Pettegrew, John. 2007. *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Pfaff, Steven. 2002. "Nationalism, Charisma, and Plebiscitary Leadership: The Problem of Democratization in Max Weber's Political Sociology." *Sociological Inquiry* 72(1):81–107.
- Phillips, Joe, and Joseph Yi. 2018. "Charlottesville Paradox: The 'Liberalizing' Alt-Right, 'Authoritarian' Left, and Politics of Dialogue." *Society* 55:221–28.
- Phipps, Alison. 2019. "'Every Woman Knows a Weinstein': Political Whiteness and White Woundedness in #MeToo and Public Feminisms around Sexual Violence." *Feminist Formations* 31(2):1–25.

Pierce, William Luther. 1978. *The Turner Diaries*. Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books.

[Pirro, Andrea L. P., and Pietro Castelli Gattinara. 2018. "Movement Parties of the Far Right: The Organization and Strategies of Nativist Collective Actors." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 23\(3\):367–83. doi: 10.17813/1086-671X-23-3-367.](#)

Plant, Richard. 1986. *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals*. Henry Holt and Company, LLC.

Powell, Aaron Ross. May 11, 2022. "Toward a Healthier Libertarian Movement." *Reimagining Liberty [Blog]*. <https://www.reimaginingliberty.com/p/toward-a-healthier-libertarian-movement>

[Power, Rob. March 26, 2006. "Outright's Treasurer, Lloyd Russell, has passed away." *Outright Libertarians Blog*. <http://outrightlibertarians.blogspot.com/2006/03/outright-treasurer-lloyd-russell-has.html>](#)

- Aug. 8, 2006. "Outright Libertarians raises over \$1,000 in AIDS Walk SF." *Outright Libertarians Blog*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20101018084229/http://outrightlibertarians.blogspot.com/2008/08/outright-libertarians-raises-over-1000.html>

Prividera, Laura C., and John W. Howard III. 2006. "Masculinity, Whiteness, and the Warrior Hero: Nationalism and the Marginalization of Women." *Women and Language* 29(2):29–37.

[Proposition 6. 1978. California General Election. \[https://repository.uchastings.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1843&context=c_a_ballot_props\]\(https://repository.uchastings.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1843&context=c_a_ballot_props\)](#)

Puar, Jasbir. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- 2017. *The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- [2006. "Mapping US Homonormativities." *Gender, Place & Culture* 13\(1\):67–88. doi: 10.1080/09663690500531014.](#)

- Radojic, Natasha. 2015. "Heretical Queers: Gay Participation in Anti-Gay Institutions." Dissertation, University of California Riverside.

- Raico, Ralph. 1976. "Gay Rights: A Libertarian Approach."

- Ramp, William, and Trevor W. Harrison. 2012. "Libertarian Populism, Neoliberal Rationality, and the Mandatory Long-Form Census: Implications for Sociology." *Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers Canadiens De Sociologie* 37(3).

- Rand, Ayn. 1978. "Philosophy: Who Needs It - West Point Lecture MP3." The Ayn Rand Institute.
<https://estore.aynrand.org/collections/lectures/products/philosophy-who-needs-it-west-point-lecture-mp3-download>

- Ray, Victor. 2019. "A Theory of Racialized Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 84(1):26–53.

- Redlich, Frederick C. 1998. *Hitler: Diagnosis of a Destructive Prophet*. New York: Oxford.

- Reason-Rupe Poll Data Archive. 2015. *Reason Magazine*.
<https://reason.com/poll/data-archive/>

- Reid, Shannon E., and Matthew Valasik. 2020. *Alt-Right Gangs: A Hazy Shade of White*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

- Reimer, Sam, and Jerry Z. Park. 2001. "Tolerant (In)Civility? A Longitudinal Analysis of White Conservative Protestants' Willingness to Grant Civil Liberties." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40(4):735–45.

- [Ricci, David. 2009. "Political Science and Conservative Ideas: The American Case." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 14\(2\):155–71. doi: 10.1080/13569310902925733.](#)

- Richardson, Diane. 2017. *Sexuality and Citizenship*. New York, NY: Polity Press.
- Richardson, Heather Cox. 2014. *To Make Men Free: A History of the Republican Party*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.
- Richardson, John E. 2017. *British Fascism: A Discourse-Historical Analysis*. Vol. 5. Stuttgart, Germany: ibidem Press.
- Riggs, Damien W. 2018. *The Psychic Life of Racism in Gay Men's Communities*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Riley, John. 2017. "The Right Stuff: An Interview with Log Cabin's Gregory T. Angelo." *Metro Weekly*.
- Roberto, Michael. 2018. *The Coming of the American Behemoth: The Origins of Fascism in the United States, 1920-1940*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Robin, Corey. 2018. *The Reactionary Mind: Conservatism from Edmund Burke to Donald Trump*. 2nd Edition. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Robinson, Paul. 2005. *Queer Wars: The New Gay Right and Its Critics*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Robinson, Sally. 2000. *Marked Men: White Masculinity in Crisis*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Rockwell, George Lincoln. 1966. *White Power*. [PRESS?]
- Rockwell, Jr., Llewellyn H. 2019. *Against the Left: A Rothbardian Libertarianism*. Auburn, AL: Self-Published.

Rodriguez, Dylan. 2020. *White Reconstruction: Domestic Warfare and the Logics of Genocide*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.

Roediger, David R. 2007. *The Wages of Whiteness*. Revised Edition. New York, NY: Verso Books.

Rogers, Mary F., and Phillip B. Lott. 1997. "Backlash, The Matrix of Domination, and Log Cabin Republicans." *The Sociological Quarterly* 38(3):497–512.

Rondini, Ashley C. 2018. "White Supremacist Danger Narratives." *Contexts* 17(3): 60–62.

Rosenberg, Nathan, and L. E. Birdzell Jr. 1986. *How The West Grew Rich: The Economic Transformation of the Industrial World*. Basic Books, Inc.

Rothbard, Murray N. 1973. *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*. Revised. New York, NY: Collier Books.

- 1992. "Right-Wing Populism: A Strategy for the Paleo Movement."
- 2007. *The Betrayal of the American Right*. edited by T. E. Woods Jr. Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute.
- 2010. "The Left and Right within Libertarianism." Mises Daily Articles.
- ed. 2012. *The Complete Libertarian Forum: 1969–1984*. Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute.
- 2020. "The Origins of Individualist Anarchism in the US."

Rubin, Paul. 2002. *Darwinian Politics: The Evolutionary Origin of Freedom*. Rutgers University Press.

- Rummel, R. J., Michael N. Nagler, and Barry S. Zellen. 1986. "Social Field Theory, Libertarianism, and Violence (with Comment and Rejoinder)." *International Journal on World Peace* 3(4):9–49.
- Russell, Thaddeus. 2008. "The Color of Discipline: Civil Rights and Black Sexuality." *American Quarterly*, 60(1): 101-128. doi:10.1353/aq.2008.0000.
- Ryan, Hugh. 2020. *When Brooklyn Was Queer: A History*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Publishing.
- Rymph, Catherine. 2006. *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right*. Raleigh, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Sakai, Naoki. 2009. "Imperial Nationalism and the Comparative Perspective." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 17(1):159–205.
- [Salazar, Philippe-Joseph. 2018. "The Alt-Right as a Community of Discourse." *Javnost - The Public* 25\(1\):135–43. doi: 10.1080/13183222.2018.1423947.](#)
- [Sanchez, Francisco J., Stefanie Greenburg, and William Ming Liu. 2009. "Reported Effects of Masculine Ideals on Gay Men." *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 10\(1\):73–87. Doi: 10.1037/a0013513.](#)
- Samek, Alyssa. 2020 "(White) women on the move: Suffrage memory and the 1977 International Women's Year Conference," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 106:3, 277-284, DOI: 10.1080/00335630.2020.1785638
- Saull, Richard, Alexander Anievas, Neil Davidson, and Adam Fabry, eds. 2015. *The Longue Durée of the Far-Right*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- Schotten, Heike. 2016. "Homonationalism." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18(3):351–70.
- Schrock, Douglas, J. E. Sumerau, and Koji Ueno. 2014. "Sexualities." Pp. 627–56 in *Handbook of the Social Psychology of Inequality*, edited by J. D. McLeod, E. J. Lawler, and M. Schwalbe. New York, NY: Springer Press.

Schwalbe, Michael, Sandra Godwin, Douglas Schrock, Shealy Thompson, and Michele Wolkomir. 2000. "Generic Processes in the Reproduction of Inequality: An Interactionist Analysis." *Social Forces* 79(22):419–52.

Schwarz, A.B. Christa. 2003. *Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 1985. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Seidman, Steven. 1997. *Difference Troubles: Queering Social Theory and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- 2015. *The Social Construction of Sexuality*. 3rd Edition. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

[Serykh, Dasha. 2017. "Homonationalism Before Homonationalism: Representations of Russia, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union in the U.S. Homophile Press, 1953-1964." *Journal of Homosexuality* 64\(7\):908–27. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2017.1280992.](#)

Settington, Ken. 2013. *Branded by the Pink Triangle*. Toronto: Second Story.

Shapiro, Lila. 2012a. "Log Cabin Republicans and GOProud Struggle For Future Of LGBT People In The GOP Party." *Huffington Post*. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/log-cabin-republicans-goproud-gop-party_n_1901266

- Shapiro, Lila. 2012b. "Log Cabin Republicans Endorse Mitt Romney." *Huffington Post*. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/log-cabin-republicans-mitt-romney_n_2006348

Shiple, Mike. Nov. 8, 2009. "Just like government to claim it rescued you when it disarmed you in the first place." *Outright Libertarians Blog*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20161121201048/http://www.outrightusa.org/2009/11/just-like-government-to-claim-it-rescued-you-when-it-disarmed-you-in-the-first-place/>

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139175043>

Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[Siem, B., von Oettingen, M., Mummendey, A., & Nadler, A. \(2013\). "When status differences are illegitimate, groups' needs diverge: Testing the needs-based model of reconciliation in contexts of status inequality." *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43, 137–148. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1929>](#)

Simi, Pete, and Robert Futrell. 2015. *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement's Hidden Spaces of Hate*. 2nd Edition. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- 2020. "Active Abeyance, Political Opportunity, and the "New" White Supremacy." In *Racialized Protest and the State: Resistance and Repression in a Divided America*, edited by Hank Johnston and Pamela Oliver, 112–39. London: Routledge.

[Simi, Pete, and Steven Windisch. 2020. "The Culture of Violent Talk." *Social Sciences* 9\(120\). doi: 10.3390/socsci9070120.](#)

Simpson, Audra. 2016. "The State Is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty." *Theory and Event* 19(4).

[Simpson, Carly. 2017. "Imperial Queerness: The U.S. Homophile Press and Constructions of Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific, 1953–1964." *Journal of Homosexuality* 64\(7\):928–44. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2017.1280993.](#)

[Singh, Nikhil. 2006. "The Afterlife of Fascism." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 105\(1\). Doi: 10.1215/00382876-105-1-71.](https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-105-1-71)

Skocpol, Theda, and Vanessa Williamson. 2012. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Sksi, Betul, and Elizabeth A. Wood. 2019. "Right-Wing Populism as Gendered Performance: Janus-Faced Masculinity in the Leadership of Vladimir Putin and Recep T. Erdogan." *Theory and Society* 48:733–51.

Slane, Andrea. 2001. *A Not So Foreign Affair: Fascism, Sexuality and the Cultural Rhetoric of American Democracy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Slootmaecker, Koen. 2019. "Nationalism as Competing Masculinities: Homophobia as a Technology of Othering for Hetero- and Homonationalism." *Theory and Society* 48:239–65.

Smith, Adam. 1977. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations*. edited by E. Cannan. University of Chicago Press.

[Smith, Adam I. P. 2020. "The Emergence of Conservatism as a Political Concept in the United States before the Civil War." *Civil War History* 66\(3\):231–55. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2020.0038.](https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2020.0038)

Smith, Anna Marie. 1995. *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968-1990*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Anthony D. 2010. *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. 2nd Edition. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51(4):464–81.

[Soller, Kurt. April 17, 2009. "The Log Cabin's Repair Job." *Newsweek*.
<https://www.newsweek.com/log-cabin-republican-hit-hard-times-77581>](https://www.newsweek.com/log-cabin-republican-hit-hard-times-77581)

Somerville, Siobhan B. 2000. *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stambolis-Ruhstorfer, Michael. 2017. "The Importance of Sexuality for Research on Ethnicity and Nationalism." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 17(1):44–56.

Stanley, Jason. 2018. *How Fascism Works: The Politics of Us and Them*. New York, NY: Random House.

Stein, Arlene. 2005. "Make Room for Daddy: Anxious Masculinity and Emergent Homophobias in Neopatriarchal Politics." *Gender & Society* 19(5):601–20.

[Stewart, Blake. 2020. "The Rise of Far-Right Civilizationism." *Critical Sociology* 46\(7–8\):1207–20. doi: 10.1177/0896920519894051.](https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920519894051)

Stokes, Mason. 2001. *The Color of Sex: Whiteness, Heterosexuality, and the Fictions of White Supremacy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stoler, Laura Ann. 2010. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Stone, Amy. 2012. *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.

Stychin, Carl F. 1997. "Queer Nations: Nationalism, Sexuality and the Discourse of Rights in Quebec." *Feminist Legal Studies* 5(1).

Sullivan, Andrew. 1996. *Virtually Normal: An Argument About Homosexuality*. New York, NY: Knopf Doubleday Publishing.

- 2006. *The Conservative Soul: How We Lost It, How to Get It Back*. Harper Collins E-Books.

- Sullivan, D., Landau, M. J., Branscombe, N. R., & Rothschild, Z. K. (2012). "Competitive victimhood as a response to accusations of ingroup harm doing." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102, 778–795.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026573>
- Sumerau, J. E. 2020. *Violent Manhood*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Sumerau, J. E., and Eric Anthony Grollman. 2018. "Obscuring Oppression: Racism, Cissexism, and the Persistence of Social Inequality." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 4(3):322–37.
- [Szulc, Lukasz. 2016. "Domesticating the Nation Online: Banal Nationalism on LGBTQ Websites in Poland and Turkey." *Sexualities* 19\(3\):304–27. doi: 10.1177/1363460715583604.](#)
- Tafel, Richard. 1999. *Party Crasher: A Gay Republican Challenges Politics as Usual*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Taylor, Verta. 1989. "Social movement continuity: The women's movement in abeyance." *American Sociological Review* 54(5): 761-775.
- Taylor, Verta, and Nella Van Dyke. 2004. "'Get Up, Stand up': Tactical Repertoires of Social Movement." in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell Publishing, Ltd.
- Teles, Steven M. 2007. "Conservative Mobilization against Entrenched Liberalism." Pp. 160–88 in *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tenold, Vegas. 2018. *Everything You Love Will Burn: Inside the Rebirth of White Nationalism in America*. New York, NY: Nation Books.
- Terry, Jennifer. 1999. *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

- Teunis, Niels. 2007. "Sexual Objectification and the Construction of Whiteness in the Gay Male Community." *Culture, Health, & Sexuality* 9(3):263–75.
- Thompson, Michael J., ed. 2007. *Confronting the New Conservatism: The Rise of the Right in America*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Thomson, Jennifer. 2020. "Gender and Nationalism." *Nationalities Papers* 48: 3–11.
- Tilly, Charles. 1975. "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation." Pp. 601–38 in *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Timmons, Stuart. 2012. *The Trouble with Harry Hay: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement*. Centenary Edition. White Crane Books.
- Tonkiss, Katherine. 2020. "'A Baby Is a Baby': The Asha Protests and the Sociology of Affective Post-Nationalism." *Sociology* 1–17.
- Toscano, Albert. 2021. "Incipient Fascism: Black Radical Perspectives." *Comparative Literature and Culture* 23(1).
- [Towers, Frank, and Andrew Wiley. 2020. "Introduction: Conservatism in the Civil War North." *Civil War History* 66\(3\):223–30. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2020.0037>.](#)
- Tridico, Frank. 2012. "Social Movement Theory and Far Right Organizations." Dissertation. Wayne State University.
- Tyler, Imogen. 2020. *Stigma: The Machinery of Inequality*. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Valencia-Garcia, Louie, ed. 2020. *Far-Right Revisionism and the End of History*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

[Valocchi, Stephen. 2017. "Capitalisms and Gay Identities: Towards a Capitalist Theory of Social Movements." *Social Problems* 64:315–31. Doi: 10.1093/socpro/spx008.](#)

- 2020. *Capitalisms and Gay Identities*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- 2001. "Individual Identities, Collective Identities, and Organizational Structure: The Relationship of the Political Left and Gay Liberation in the United States." *Sociological Perspectives* 44(4):445–67.
- 2012. "'Where Did Gender Go?': Same-Sex Desire and the Persistence of Gender in Gay Male Historiography." *GLQ* 18(4):453–79.

Vance, Lawrence M. 2015. "The Morality of Libertarianism." *The Future of Freedom Foundation*. <https://www.fff.org/explore-freedom/article/the-morality-of-libertarianism/>

Van der Vossen, Bas. 2019. "Libertarianism." in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford, CA.

Veh, Russell. 1976. *The National Socialist League* / Russel Veh. Los Angeles, CA.

Vibbert, Charles. 1930. "La génération présente aux États-Unis." *Revue des deux mondes* 58: 329–45.

Von Hoffman, Nicholas. 1988. *Citizen Cohn: The Life and Times of Roy Cohn*. New York, NY: Doubleday Books.

Wackerfuss, Andrew. 2015. *Stormtrooper Families: Homosexuality and Community in the Early Nazi Movement*. New York, NY: Harrington Park Press.

Waldner, Lisa K., Heather Martin, and Lyndsay Capeder. 2006. "Ideology of Gay Racist Skinheads and Stigma Management Techniques." *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 14(1):165–84.

[Walker, Jesse. 2016. "John Hospers, RIP" https://reason.com/2011/06/13/john-hospers-rip/](https://reason.com/2011/06/13/john-hospers-rip/)

Walsh-Haines, Grant. 2015. "Issue Framing and Identity Politics in the Log Cabin Republicans." Dissertation. Northern Arizona University.

Walzer, Andrew. 2002. "Narratives of Contemporary Male Crisis: The (Re)Production of a National Discourse." *Journal of Men's Studies* 10(2).

Ward, Harry F. 1935. "The Development of Fascism in the United States." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 180.

Ward, Jane. 2008a. "Dude-Sex: White Masculinities and 'Authentic' Heterosexuality Among Dudes Who Have Sex With Dudes." *Sexualities* 11(4):414-34.

- 2008b. "White Normativity: The Cultural Dimensions of Whiteness in a Racially Diverse LGBT Organization." *Sociological Perspectives* 51(3):563-86.
- 2004. "'Not All Differences Are Created Equal': Multiple Jeopardy in a Gendered Organization." *Gender & Society* 18(1): 82-102. Print.

Warner, Michael. 1991. "Introduction, Fear of a Queer Planet." *Social Text* 29 (4): 3-17.

Weber, Max. 2011. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Wells, Ida B. 2020. *Crusade for justice: The autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Wenger, Kaimi. August 31, 2004. "Sheri Dew at the Republican Convention." Times and Seasons (blog), www.bit.ly/31V7CZT.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing gender." *Gender & society* 1(2): 125-151.

- Wetts, Rachel, and Rob Willer. 2019. "Who Is Called by the Dog Whistle? Experimental Evidence That Racial Resentment and Political Ideology Condition Responses to Racially Encoded Messages." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 5:1–20.
- White, C. Todd. 2009. *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Whitesel, Jason. 2014. *Fat Gay Men: Girth, Mirth and the Politics of Stigma*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Whitman, James Q. 2017. *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Windisch, Steven, Pete Simi, Kathleen Blee, and Matthew DeMichele. 2018. "Understanding the Micro-Situational Dynamics of White Supremacist Violence in the United States." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12(6).
- Wingfield, Adia Harvey. 2010. "Are Some Emotions Marked 'Whites Only'? Racialized Feeling Rules in Professional Workplaces." *Social Problems* 57(2):251–68.
- Wohl, MJA and Branscombe NR. 2008. "Remembering historical victimisation: Collective guilt for current in-group transgressions." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94(6): 988–1006.
- Wolfe, Patrick. 1999. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnograph Event*. Continuum Press.
- Wong, Curtis. August 8, 2014. "Gay Rights Advocates Are Nazi 'Homofascists' Who Will Kill Christians, Rick Wiles Claims." *HuffPost Queer Voices*. www.huffpost.com/entry/adolf-hitler-gay-solidiers_n_5112827.
- Woodman, Brian. 2005. "Why Don't You Take Your Dress Off and Fight Like a Man?: Homosexuality and the 1960s Crisis of Masculinity in The Gay Deceivers." *Social Thought & Research* 26:83–102.

[Woods, Eric Taylor, and Mira Debs. 2013. "Towards a Cultural Sociology of Nations and Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 19\(4\):607–14. doi: 10.1111/nana.12036.](#)

Yiannopoulos, Milo. 2017. *Dangerous*. Simon and Schuster.

Yohn, Susan M. 1994. "Will the Real Conservative Please Stand Up? Or, The Pitfalls Involved in Examining Ideological Sympathies: A Comment on Alan Brinkley's Problem of American Conservatism." *The American Historical Review* 99(2):430–37.

[Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging." *Patterns of Prejudice* 40\(3\):197–214. doi: 10.1080/00313220600769331.](#)

Zafirovski, Milan. 2011. "'Libertarianism' and the Social Ideal of Liberty: Neo-Conservatism's 'Libertarian' Claims Reconsidered." *Social Epistemology* 25(2):183–209.

Zeeland, Steven. 1993. *Barrack Buddies and Soldier Lovers: Dialogues with Gay Young Men in the U.S. Military*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

[Zeglen, David, and Neil Ewen. 2020. "National Populists: Right-Wing Celebrity Politicians in Contemporary Europe." *Celebrity Studies* 11\(3\):271–86. doi: 10.1080/19392397.2020.1800665.](#)

Zelizer, Julian E. 2010. "Rethinking the History of American Conservatism." *Reviews in American History* 38(2):367–92.

Zeskind, Leonard. 2009. *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Zwolinski, Matt, and Benjamin Ferguson, eds. 2022. *The Routledge Companion to Libertarianism*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Figures

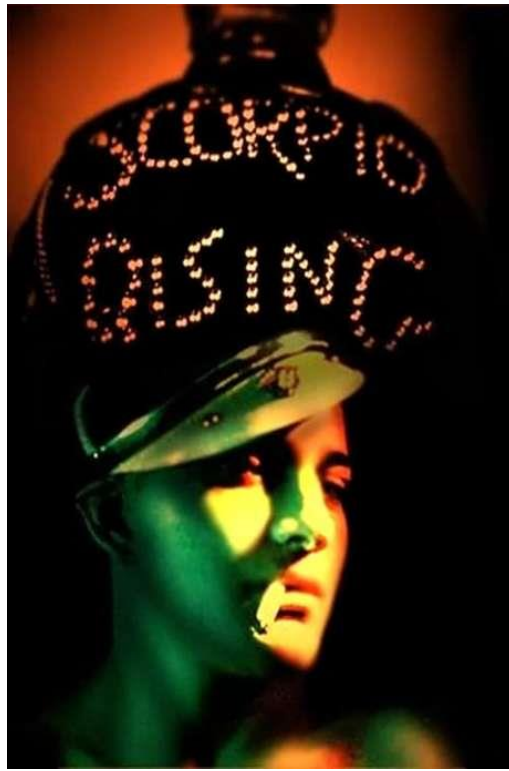


Figure 1. "Film Artwork for *Scorpio Rising*." <https://letterboxd.com/film/scorpio-rising/>

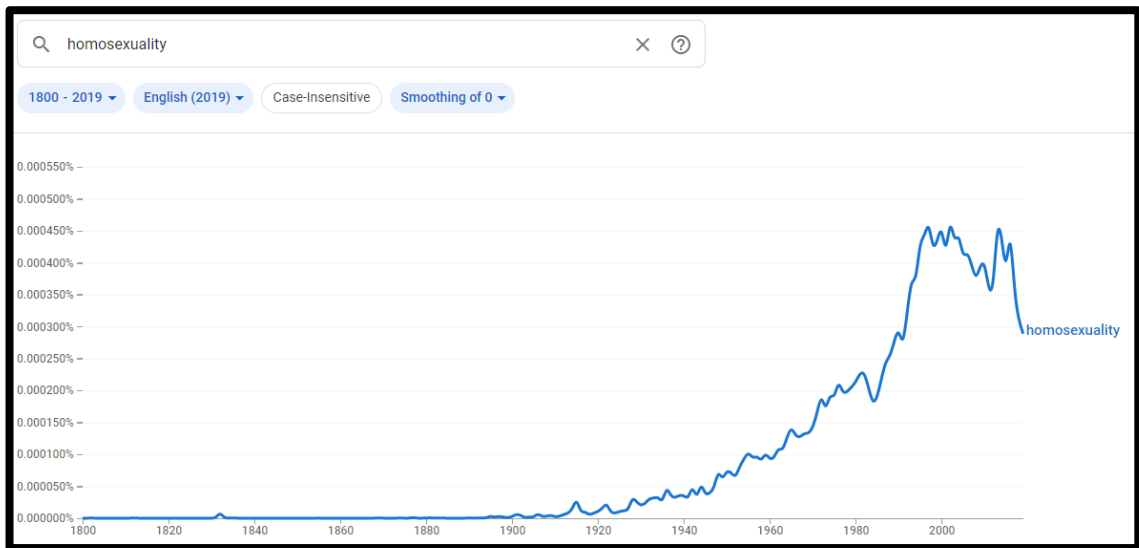


Figure 2. "Homosexuality" references across Google Books

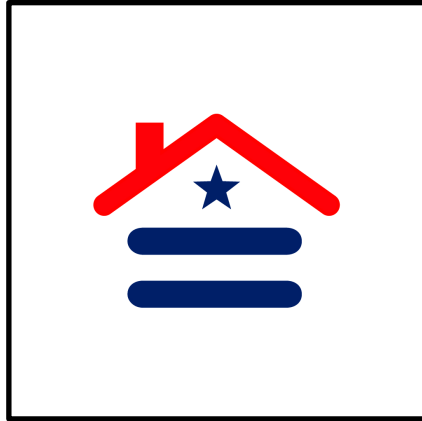



Figure 3. "LCR Logo." logcabin.org, accessed 8/11/2022.


OUR REAL CHALLENGE

The President's Message
By Randall K. Bernard



We face a new threat...a threat that challenges the very core values we hold dear as Americans. We are at a crossroads. We can either stand united as a people, promoting our common values, or we can let fear and inaction divide us.

The Prime Minister of Italy angered many people recently when he told the press that Western culture was superior to that of the Islamic fundamentalist world-view. The comment angered those trying to build a worldwide coalition to fight the suddenly very real terrorist threat to Western targets. Yet, no matter how ill timed his comments were, his message rings true. In fact, isn't our war on terrorism really a fight for the values of Western and American culture and against those with a narrow-minded world-view?



We, as gay Americans, have an important role in this struggle. We must continue to fight for those values we hold dear...those values that make us American and those ideals we choose as Republicans. It's time we re-double our efforts to educate those among us who have a warped world view. Gay Republicans have a duty to educate the anti-American liberals in our community and religious fanatics at home and abroad. We must convince them, through words and deeds, of the superiority of **OUR** values. We must prove that individual liberty, with responsibility, is the foundation of a successful society.

We Must Never Forget September 11th!

Several of our Republican officeholders deserve applause for their recent actions, which make our mission a bit easier... President Bush for his decisive leadership and appointment of an openly gay man as the Ambassador to Romania, Senator McCain for his moving eulogy at San Francisco resi

Figure 4. Log Cabin Republicans of San Francisco Presidential Message Oct. 2001. "LCR 1999-2001." Log Cabin Republicans Collection, Jean Nickolaus Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies

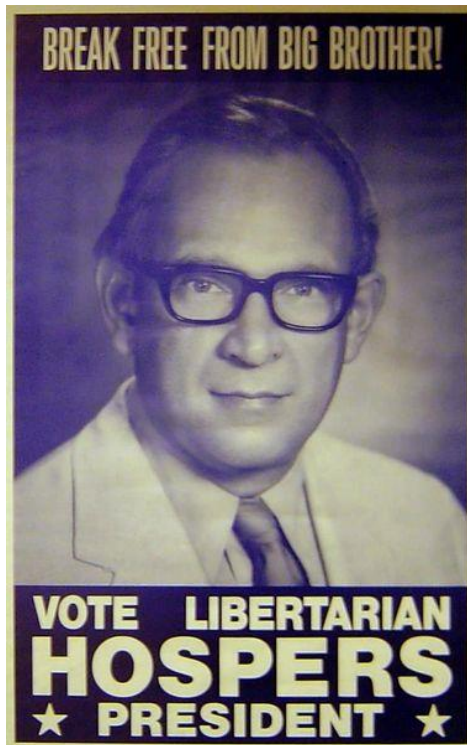


Figure 5. "Hosper Presidential Poster." Accessed June 15, 2022.

<https://www.lp.org/news-press-releases-john-hospers-first-libertarian-presidential-nominee-dies-at-93/>

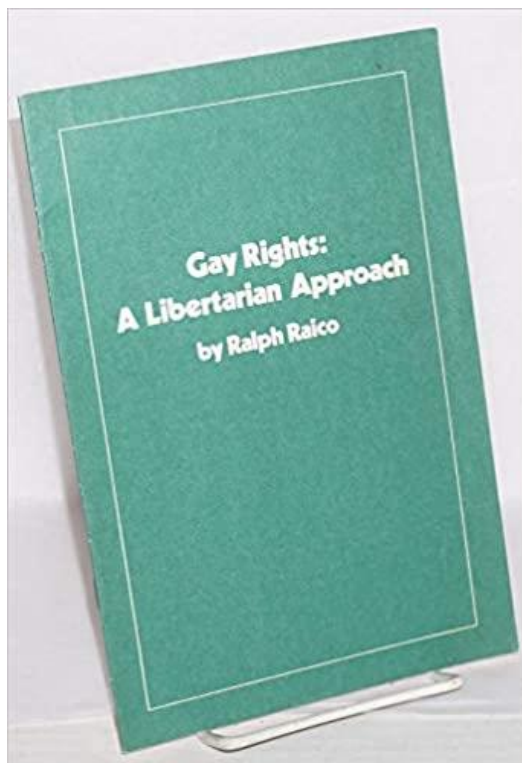


Figure 6. Original LGR Pamphlet. Accessed May 2017, Gerber-Hart Museum and Archives, Chicago, IL.



Figure 7. "Original Outright Members (not included, Helen Eaves)."

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220723174847/http://outrightlibertarians.blogspot.com>



Figure 8. "Outright Tweet About Trayvon Martin."

<https://twitter.com/OutrightUSA/status/184005034718146560>



Figure 9. "Outright Media Featuring 'Rachel Tension'"

<https://web.archive.org/web/20161121201801/http://www.outrightusa.org/2013/07/notorious-bigot-spams-outright-with-psychobabble/>



Figure 10. “Outright Tweet Identifying The State As Violent.”

<https://twitter.com/OutrightUSA/status/516819418622738432>

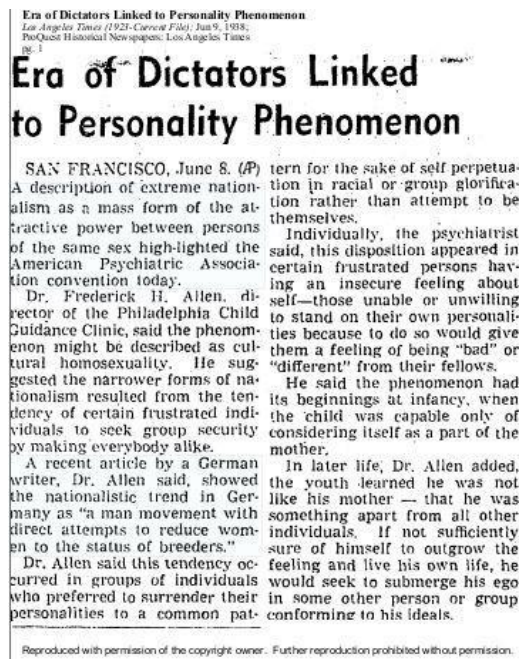


Figure 11. “L.A. Times Article, 1938.” “Era of Dictators Linked to Personality Phenomenon,” *Los Angeles Times*, Jun. 9 1938. Accessed using newspapers.com

(Reprinted by popular request)

NATIONAL SOCIALISM: WHAT WE STAND FOR

As a league (not a party), the National Socialist League imposes no "party line" on its members. But we feel it necessary to set forth--in a dozen plainly worded paragraphs--the basic beliefs that unite the charter members of our movement and give direction to our organization:

1. We believe...that no meaningful freedom can be won under the fraudulent dogmas of Liberalism and Communism, both of which are Jewish in their origins and depend for their rank and file upon the envious hoards of innate second-raters, who swarm over the planet.
2. That a key tactic of our nation's Communist and Jewish enemies is to fragment White society by turning women against men; the young against the old; the poor against the rich; consumers against producers; workers against employers; civilians against soldiers; heterosexuals against homosexuals--all the while denying that race itself is a valid source of unity or a meaningful point of difference.
3. That a conspiracy of Leftist politicians, educators and news-controllers has narrowed the field of choice within our "democracy," so that now we are ruled by two corrupt and interchangeable parties, each striving to outdo the other in eagerness for "detente" with Communist animal farms, in the size of welfare deficits to bribe Black savages, in the endless discovery of new "rights" and the corresponding neglect of duties; that this narrowed field of choice now forbids the White majority any choice even in questions central to its own survival.
4. That loyalty to one's race is a man's highest duty, a fact twisted by the Liberal educational system into White feelings of self-hatred and inferiority, at the very moment every other race is being taught pride in itself and hatred for the White man's civilization, values and accomplishments.
5. That, far from needing to beg "forgiveness" of the non-White world, our race deserves the world's gratitude--as light-giver of civilization, founder of the concept of representative government, father of science, explorer of the planets, and Earth's master architect, painter, sculptor, poet and musician; and that Liberal historians, try as they will, cannot hide this truth.
6. That patriotism is also a duty which each man owes his place of birth; and the National Socialism--a harmony of patriotism, racial pride, and social consciousness--is the greatest gift we can offer to our beloved land as she nears the ultimate show-down with her enemies worldwide.
7. That human evolution and the strength of society depend on the natural ascendance of the vigorous and the creative...and the natural *submission* of the puny, the stupid, and the lazy; and that the world's wealth and resources must not be squandered upon the very elements whom *nature* has rejected.
8. That the Jews, in their twin guise as capitalist and Communist, have whip-sawed all the world in a campaign to make Jewry the dominant force on the planet; and that nowhere is their power more awesome nor their tactics more blatant than here in America.
9. That, in the annals of the heroes of our race, the presence of Adolf Hitler looms large and remains a spiritual beacon for National Socialists everywhere.
10. That National Socialism is a *unifying* creed for all proud, self-aware White men, and this unity must include *White sexual nonconformists*, whose numbers, strength and courage are indispensable in the struggle for White survival.
11. That petty laws against victimless crime--outdated and ineffectual--serve further to *divide* White society; and that such laws must come to an end *swiftly and permanently*, freeing the police for their proper role in the urban war that rages all around us and bringing Whites together in a common front.
12. Finally, that true political and social freedom for all *responsible* citizens cannot be achieved without unity of purpose, self-discipline, and individual dignity--qualities to be realized only in a self-aware White society; and that, to attain his share of freedom, the sexual nonconformist must shed the image of freak, Third World militant, and street faggot for that of responsible citizen.



Figure 12. "NSL Twelve Point Credo," published in the 1977 newsletter N.S. Mobilizer, Vol. III, Nos 35-37. Source: ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives at the USC Libraries.

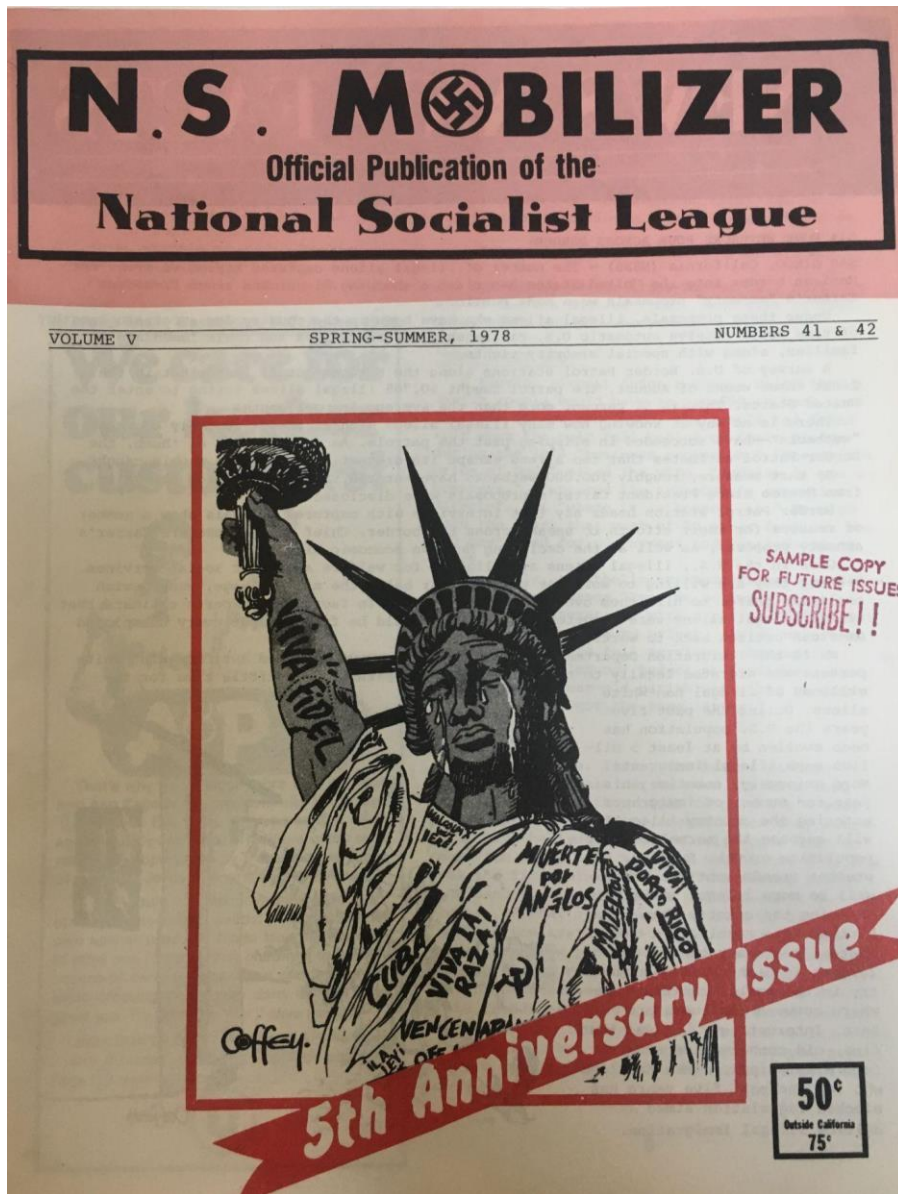


Figure 13. "NSL Newsletter Cover, Vol. 5 1978," published in the 1978 newsletter N.S. Mobilizer, Vol. V, Nos 41-42. Source: ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives at the USC Libraries.

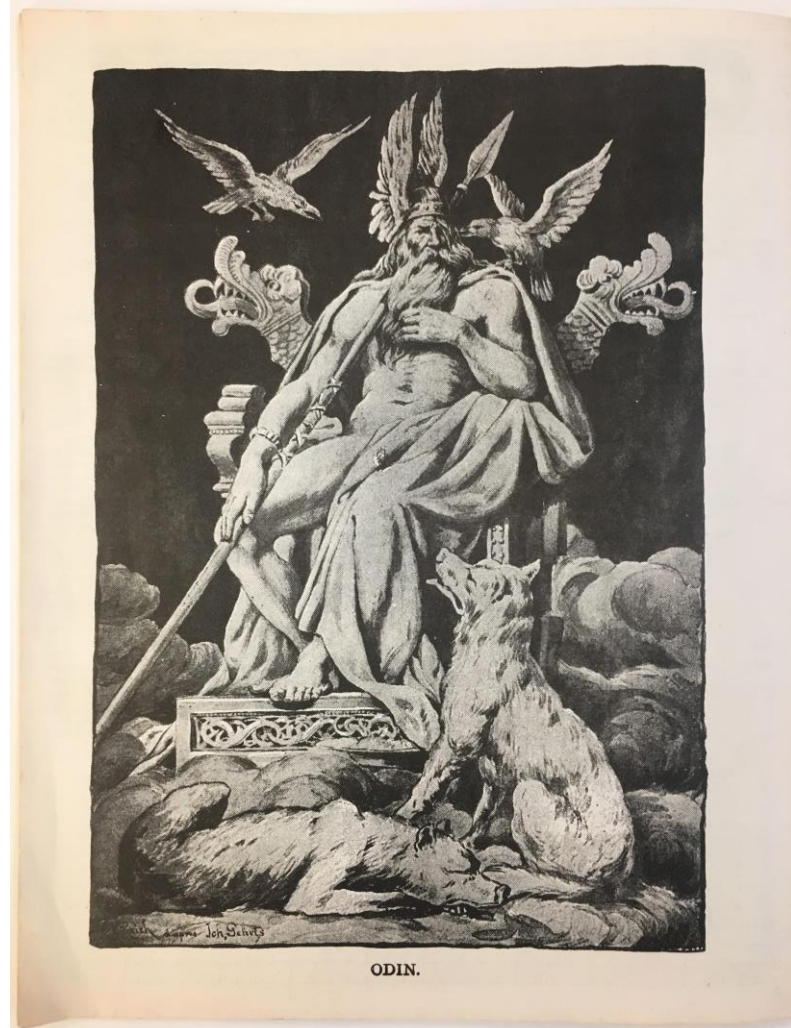


Figure 14. "Illustration of Odin," published in the 1979 N.S. Mobilizer Vol.VI, Nos 45-46. Source: ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives at the USC Libraries.

Appendices

Courtney Muse's Appendix A (from 2008 dissertation)

Appendix A: Coding Guide

LCR Frames

Equality	<p>all people are created equal</p> <p>LCR goal is to achieve full equality for gays and lesbians</p> <p>focus on fairness and equality</p> <p>advocating equal rights for all Americans</p> <p>LCR is working to overcome the forces of exclusion and intolerance</p> <p>fairness and freedom will prevail over intolerance and exclusion</p>
Congruency	<p>Republican principles are consistent with the pursuit of gay and lesbian rights and equality</p> <p>gay Republicans embody and advocate traditional Republican ideologies</p> <p>Loyalty to conservative principles does not conflict with LCR efforts to make the GOP more inclusive and tolerant</p>
Radical Right	<p>radical right has gained too much power and influence</p> <p>radical right is responsible for current perception of Republicans as discriminatory</p> <p>radical right goes against republican principles by trying to legislate morality</p> <p>radical right as last obstacle to achieving equality for gays and lesbians</p> <p>defeat of radical right as necessary for change</p>

Loyalty	<p>LCR as loyal Republicans</p> <p>loyalty means speaking out when the party moves in the wrong direction (i.e. passing discriminatory legislation)</p>
Party Expansion	<p>LCR efforts will contribute to building and sustaining a majority Republican Party</p>
Party Transformation	<p>LCR as powerful force for transforming the Republican Party</p> <p>“fighting/working to build” more inclusive party</p> <p>grassroots efforts to influence fair-minded Republicans</p> <p>support of moderate Republican candidates for office</p>
Party Presence	<p>importance of allies in both parties</p> <p>lesbians and gays faced similar challenges in the Democratic Party of 20 yrs ago but did not abandon their party</p> <p>not enough votes in Democratic Party to achieve sustained legislative victories</p> <p>GOP would still exist even if all gays left the Party</p> <p>LCR works for gay and lesbians rights within the party</p> <p>efforts to influence the party must occur from within</p> <p>pressure from the outside (far left) won't work</p>
Education	<p>education of party about gay and lesbian issues</p> <p>education of public about gay republicans in order to shatter stereotype of the Party as invasive to private lives (i.e. discriminatory legislation, moral conservatism, etc.</p>

Integrity	working with integrity to influence change in the Party
Organizational Strength	LCR influence is growing as more and more people join strength comes from grassroots chapters all over the nation growing numbers of gay republicans
Traditional Republicanism	Reference to party's founding fathers Need for party to attend to traditional republican concerns such as govt. spending, tax relief, etc. Focus party's attention on privacy and individual responsibility Arguments made for states' rights over govt. interference Speaking out against legislation that goes against "fair-minded" Republicanism (i.e. Constitutional discrimination) smaller government as a core principle of the Party (limited government) LCR has a firm belief in individual liberty and Republican Party as a tool to defend liberty LCR has a firm belief in individual responsibility and that individuals, not the government, are responsible for their behaviors LCR has a firm belief in free markets LCR has a firm belief in a strong national defense
Progress	the efforts of gay republicans are on the right path to progress

Grassroots

Change in strategy to focus on America's heartland

Decrease in black tie dinners and increase in rural barbeques

Make allies with local leaders of the community

Coming Out

calls for gay conservatives to come out and make their presence known

Appendix B

Tuesday, May 20, 2008

A Brief History of Outright Libertarians

A Brief History of Outright Libertarians
By: Allan Wallace, Founder

June 1993 LP activist Ron Crickenberger started the first outreach to the Georgia gay community by having an Advocates OPH booth at the Atlanta Gay Pride Festival on behalf of the Libertarian Party of Georgia.

Spring 1995 After two years of participation, Ron asked Allan Wallace to take the lead in continuing outreach efforts to the gay community.

Atlanta Pride 1998 After three years of increased interest and participation, Allan asks all of the volunteers and several others if they would like to be a part of starting a new organization loosely based on the Log Cabin Republican concept, but for Libertarians. Seven others were very interested.

First week of August The ad hoc committee of eight first met to form this new organization.

Early October We had a Mission Statement, By-Laws, a name (Stonewall Libertarians) , and plans for our first Public meeting. We decided to keep the same officers as the ad hoc committee until a business meeting could be scheduled the following winter, after the 1998 election and holidays.

October 20, 1998 Our first public meeting took place.

February 1999 Our first business meeting and election of officers. Allan Wallace, who had been the Chair of the Ad hoc committee, was elected to his first term as national Chair, the other officers elected were founders. Also, after learning that another similar political organization that predated us, had the word "Stonewall" in their name, we decided to change our name to Outright Libertarians.

July 2000 Anaheim, California Our first time participating in an LP convention as a sexual rights caucus. This was also the first time Outright hosted a Convention Hospitality Suite, that year with another gay & libertarian organization.

Spring 2003 After serving 4 terms as Chair, Allan Wallace steps down and another of the original founders was elected Chair. But, in late summer, the new Chair dropped out of sight, never to be heard from again. Outright languished for several months until.

Spring 2004 The remaining Executive Committee members pulled together plans to have our annual business meeting and election of officers to coincide with the National LP Convention to be held in Atlanta that year. Since the

May 28, 2004 Atlanta, Georgia About 25 members, some having just joined Outright, met during the LP convention, made some changes to our By-Laws and elected a new slate of leaders. Among them, Rob Power was elected our new national Chair; a younger, more vital, and yet as experienced a leader as any we had to date.

2008 Our 10th anniversary year.

Posted by Outright Libertarians at [11:44 AM](#)  [Links to this post](#)

Appendix C

1-Apr-14

In spring 2013, we began transitioning from regional Yahoo lists to state Facebook groups. If you don't see your state listed, we just need to hear from you!! We don't create them until we have a local "seed person", but some of the early chapters have already grown to nearly 40 members. It only takes one person to get the ball rolling, so email us to get started today. We hope to have all 50 states by the end of 2014.

	Outright Arizona	
	Outright Arkansas	
	Outright California	
	Outright Connecticut	
	Outright DC	
	Outright Delaware	
	Outright Florida	
	Outright Georgia	
	Outright Idaho	
	Outright Illinois	
	Outright Indiana	
	Outright Kentucky	
	Outright Louisiana	
	Outright Maryland	
	Outright New Mexico	
	Outright New York	
	Outright Ohio	
	Outright Tennessee	
	Outright Texas	
	Outright Utah	
	Outright Virginia	
	Outright West Virginia	
	We also have a stateless chapter:	
	Outright Anarchy	

And a few chapters using a page instead of, or in addition to a group:

	Outright Arkansas	
	Outright Florida	
	Ohio Outright Libertarians	
	Valley Outright Libertarians	

Please also join our National Discussion Group, and see our current bylaws for details regarding the formation of a new chapter of Outright Libertarians in your area.