

**The New York Public Library
Humanities and Social Sciences Library
Manuscripts and Archives Division**

**Morty Manford
Papers, 1962-1986**

**Richard Salvato
September 1997**

Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS	2
SUMMARY	3
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	4
SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE	7
SERIES NOTES	7
1. CORRESPONDENCE, 1962-1986	7
2. NAME AND SUBJECT FILES	7
3. WRITINGS	8
4. PRESS CLIPPINGS AND PRESS RELEASES	8
5. AUDIO TAPES	8
6. PHOTOGRAPHS	8
7. COMPUTER PRINTOUTS	8
8. ARTIFACTS	8
9. MATTACHINE REVIEW	9
10. PERSONAL PAPERS	9
CONTAINER LIST	10
1. GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE	10
2. NAME AND SUBJECT FILES	10
3. WRITINGS	17
4. PRESS CLIPPINGS AND PRESS RELEASES	20
5. AUDIO TAPES	20
6. PHOTOGRAPHS	20
7. COMPUTER PRINTOUTS	20
8. ARTIFACTS	20
9. MATTACHINE REVIEW	20
10. PERSONAL PAPERS	20
NAME AND SUBJECT INDEX OF AUDIO CASSETTES	22
DESCRIPTIONS OF CONTENTS OF CASSETTES	24

SUMMARY

Main entry: Morty Manford
Title: Papers, 1962-1986
Size: 22.5 linear feet
Source: Gift of Jeanne Manford, 1993
Restriction: Box 57 is closed until the year 2070.

Biographical statement: Morty Manford was an activist and key strategist in the early days of the gay rights movement, a Legal Aid lawyer, and an Assistant Attorney General of New York State. While an undergraduate at Columbia University in 1971, he founded Gay People at Columbia, one of the first gay campus groups in the country. Subsequently he began writing about the goals of the gay movement, and publicizing them on speaking tours of college campuses and gay clubs throughout the United states, as well as organizing protest demonstrations, parades, and rallies in support of gay rights legislation in New York City and across the country. Among the many gay rights organizations he co-founded were three very important ones, the Gay Alliance, which strove to bring gays together as a political force, the National Coalition of Gay Activists, which publicized and coordinated rallies and demonstrations on a national scale, and the clandestine Study Group, a New York-based think-tank which worked with the gay infrastructure in the state and local political establishments to influence political and public opinion and to promote the state-wide activities of the gay rights movement.

Related collections: His parents' papers relating to their participation in the gay and lesbian rights movement and the creation of Parents of Gays, also are housed in the Manuscripts and Archives Division. (See the Jeanne Manford Papers.)

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Born in New York City in 1950, Manford was a graduate of Bayside High School in Queens. After a hiatus of several years, during which he was intensely involved in the gay rights movement, he graduated from Columbia in 1979.

Manford was a pivotal figure in the growth of the gay and lesbian rights movement in the decade after Stonewall. He was also a Legal Aid attorney, and a New York State Assistant Attorney General. After Manford came out both his parents developed into outspoken movement activists, and were co-founders with him of Parents of Gays, the first support group of its kind in the world and the forerunner of the present-day Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG). Manford continued his involvement as a movement ideologist, public speaker, and organizer, until 1983, but afterwards he played a less active role. Manford died in 1992 at the age of forty-two from AIDS-related complications.

On the night of June 28, 1969, Manford was at the Stonewall Inn on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village when a police raid touched off spontaneous resistance by defiant gays. The rioting sent a shockwave through New York's gay community and the feeling of solidarity that was forged in its wake gave rise to the modern gay rights movement. Manford followed up his role as a witness to the riots by organizing one of the first campus gay groups in the country, Gay People at Columbia, around the issue of the gay lounge at Columbia University. He also began writing and publicly speaking on the principles and goals of the gay rights movement.

In the early years of his active participation in the movement Manford championed the use of zaps—a vivid term he coined for applying persistent public pressure on liberal politicians—New York's mayor, John Lindsay, was one—to publicly support gay civil rights. Manford also was involved in the creation of a wide spectrum of gay support groups. The proliferation of such groups, and spinoffs such as employment counseling, legal and medical advice, and assistance with housing, culminated in the acquisition by the New York Gay Activists Alliance of a large building on Wooster Street for use as a social/advocacy meeting place for gay men and lesbians. A former City firehouse, the building, called The Gay Firehouse, was a communal hub where the different strands of gay culture—social, political, ideological, literary, musical, sexual—were brought together under one roof.

Manford also arranged and coordinated demonstrations on local and national issues. Manford traveled extensively across the country speaking at colleges, liberal political meetings, and gay social clubs on the historical importance of the gay rights movement and the issues with which it was concerned and encouraged audiences to take an active part in movement demonstrations, especially against anti-gay laws and politicians in their areas. He also traveled to England and Holland where he met with gay leaders.

One of the founders in 1969 of the Gay Activists Alliance, Manford later served in parts of 1973 and 1974 as its president. In May of 1972 he accused Michael Maye, President of the Firefighters' Union, and a former prizefighter, of assaulting him at a gay rights demonstration. When Maye was acquitted of the assault charges, the case, known as the Inner Circle Affair, became a *cause-célèbre* in the gay community and civil liberties circles, and helped to publicize the need for a gay rights bill. In the summer of that year Manford was elected president of the National Coalition of Gay Activists, which disseminated movement news, ideas, and information, and coordinated civil rights drives throughout the United States.

Also in 1972, Manford was one of the leaders of the gay and lesbian demonstrators gathered at the Presidential National Conventions of both the Democratic and Republican parties held in Miami Beach. Earlier in the year, as a preparation for these demonstrations, he had attended the National Gay Conference held at Chicago. This important colloquium, billed as “A Strategy Session for Election ‘72”, was organized and co-hosted by the Gay Activists Alliance of New York and the Chicago Gay Alliance. One of the purposes of the conference was to come up with strategies and tactics to be employed by delegates inside the convention halls and methods of confrontation to be used by demonstrators outside. Manford commented that it was important that the gay community be fully informed on the views of every candidate, and that the disparity between a candidate’s civil rights position and refusal to take a strong position on gay rights should be made public.

Manford was a founder and president of the Lambda Club, a large community center for gays which offered medical and psychological counseling programs, and a director of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, a separate alliance of attorneys and educators which sought to ensure the civil rights of gay people. In 1973 he became a trustee of the National New Orleans Memorial Fund, which was created after a fire at a gay bar in the French Quarter in which 32 people died. In the same year Manford also served as the campaign manager for James Owles, the first openly gay candidate, for a seat on the New York City Council. Though Owles was not elected, his campaign made an impact on politicians by demonstrating the potential power of gays at the ballot box and emphasizing their determination to win political and statutory equality. In the process of patiently working to raise the consciousness of gay and non-gay voters the Owles campaign helped create a timely groundswell of articulate and resolute support that paved the way for the eventual passage in 1986 of a gay rights bill in the New York City Council.

By the end of the 1970s, after a decade of demonstrations, marches, picketing, sit-ins, and zaps, the gay rights movement had achieved a foothold in the back rooms and corners of the political arena where policy traditionally is made. Manford had taken a decisive step in this direction in 1975 when he became a member of the controversial Study Group¹, a nucleus of predominantly gay and lesbian New York intellectuals with ties to state and local political parties. The core leadership was composed almost entirely of openly gay men and lesbians, among them Manford, Kenneth Sherrill, Ethan Geto, Michele de Milly, Howard Brown, Douglas Ireland, and Allen Roskoff. The members were either primarily activists, like Manford and de Milly, or were, like Howard Brown and Ethan Geto, veteran members of a politically sophisticated gay infrastructure inside New York’s labyrinthine permanent government of career civil servants. Members of the Study Group used their political savvy and scholarly resources to gain crucial ideological access to the powerful state and local policy-making establishments where they conducted a campaign to raise the political consciousness of both parties and to garner support at City Hall and in Albany for state-wide pro-gay demonstrations and other movement activities.

¹ Lee Solomon broadcast over New York radio station WBAI in 1977. (See Audio cassette 02825). Lee Solomon, who had just finished an article on the Study Group, says that it was “originally a consciousness-raising group for gay politicians formed during Bella Abzug’s campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1970”, and charges it with being an anti-democratic elite covertly intervening in gay politics. Manford telephones to vehemently deny that there is anything covert, sinister, or manipulative about the Study Group, and other listeners call to support or oppose Solomon’s charges. On this interesting question also see Subjects Files under Study Group and Audio cassettes 02822, 02824, and 02848 .

In 1978 Manford worked as a director of the summer Comprehensive Employment & Training Act (CETA) youth programs of the New York City Department of General Services. From late 1978 through September 1979 he was a staff analyst at the Office of Project Management and Analysis, Department of General Services. Two years later he graduated from the Cardozo Law School of Yeshiva University and in 1983 he was accepted before the Bar of the State of New York. Subsequently he was a staff attorney and supervising attorney at the Legal Aid Society of New York where he worked with indigent defendants. In 1987 he became an Assistant Attorney General of the State of New York. Manford died in 1992 at the age of forty-two from AIDS-related complications.

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The papers of Morty Manford span the years 1962 to 1986 and chiefly document his activities as a leading gay activist and ideologist of the gay and lesbian rights movement. Included are correspondence with other gay activists, gay organizations, and politicians; name and subject files; writings by Manford and others on gay and other subjects; computer printouts; artifacts; and personal papers.

SERIES NOTES

1. Correspondence, 1962-1986

With organizations and individuals involved in the gay and lesbian rights movement, city, state, and federal government departments and officials, and friends and relatives. The bulk of the correspondence reflects the development of the gay rights movement and the role that Manford played in it. Organized by year. **Boxes 1-6.**

2. Name and Subject Files

Organized alphabetically by personal or corporate name, title, or subject, and indexed and cross-referenced. Included in this series are files of the Chelsea Gay Association, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, Gay Activists Alliance, Gay Community Services Center of Los Angeles, Gay Liberation Front of London, Gay Nazis, Gay People at Columbia, Lesbian Feminist Liberation of New York City, Maine Task Force, National Coalition of Gay Activists, National Gay Task Force, New York State Coalition of Gay Organizations, the Study Group, and other gay political groups, and non-gay organizations that supported the movement; files on topics of special interest to Manford and other gay men and lesbians, such as the changing attitudes to homosexuality, the episode of the television program, Marcus Welby, M.D., depicting the aftermath of the rape of a young boy by a homosexual, the ideological position of the Socialist Workers' Party on the gay movement, the stereotyping of gay men in American films, the mass murders in Houston, Texas in 1973, lesbian mothers and child custody, the Anita Bryant campaign against homosexuals, gay marriage, gay pride and the development throughout the country of organizations to help homosexuals come out, gay rights bills, especially in the New York City Council, and gay political strategy, and the Inner Circle affair, relating to the aftermath of a demonstration at which Manford was assaulted and which led to an important court case; files of leading activists in the gay rights movement such as Ethan Geto, Jean O'Leary, Jim Owles, Michele de Milly, Edward Egan, John Paul Hudson, Morris Kight, Sarah Montgomery (who was instrumental in the creation of Parents of Gays and Lesbians) and others; and files of gay and other publications including *Advocate*, *Fifth Freedom*, *Insight On Ice*, *Oz*, *Radical Queen*, and *Us...*, *writings from prisons*. Boxes 7-39

3. Writings

Includes articles by Manford on gay and other subjects such as bi-sexuality in the movement, the Jim Owles campaign for the New York City Council, , the gay political movement in New York City, gay students at Columbia, a research project on homophobia, and a comparative study of Eugene Debs and Douglas Fraser. In this series there are also writings by others on gay and non-gay subjects such as Tina Crosby on the Stonewall riot, Arthur Evans on the oppression of gays, the screenplay of William Friedkin's film, *Cruising*, John Lauritsen and David Thorstad on the gay rights movement, and Marcia Tremmel's Marxist critique of the gay and feminist liberation movements. **Boxes 40 & 41.**

4. Press clippings and press releases

The clippings and releases relate almost exclusively to gay subjects. **Boxes 42 & 43.**

5. Audio tapes

For a complete listing of the recordings and a detailed description of their contents **see the Audio Name and Subject List** at the end of the inventory. This material is shelved separately from the rest of the collection, and must be accessed using the **Control Number** provided in the Audio Name List. Many of the recordings were made by Manford using nonprofessional equipment and as a consequence the audio quality varies from tape to tape. The recordings include street talks with gays on the state of the movement; interviews with Tom Duane, Jean O'Leary, Sarah Montgomery, Ken Sherrill, Jim Shenton, and others; interviews and speeches at the National Gay Conference held in Chicago in 1972, at which one of the speakers was Dr. Benjamin Spock; marchers at the Coalition of Lesbian and Gay Rights march and rally, 1978; speech by, and interview with Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers; interview on the Pat Collins radio show with Jeanne Manford, Jules Manford, and Sarah Montgomery concerning parents of gays; a taped telephone conversation between Manford and Mario Cuomo regarding the alleged homophobic and anti-Italian nature of the New York City Democratic Party mayoral primary race of 1977; a talk by Rosaline Davies on the difficulties facing lesbians who apply for the legal custody of children; a discussion about the Study Group by Lee Solomon and callers on radio station WBAI; and Manford speeches at the University of Texas-Austin, and the Gay Activists Alliance of New Jersey.

6. Photographs

Morty Manford; Jeanne Manford, Jules Manford, Sarah Montgomery, and other members of Parents of Lesbians and Gays; friends; Michael Maye, and others, and publicity photographs. **Boxes 44-45**

7. Computer Printouts

Statistical analysis of reactions to gays and a statistical survey relating to the Dade County, Florida vote in 1977. **Boxes 46-47.**

8. Artifacts.

T-shirts and balloons relating to gay subjects; eye patch; pink triangle armband; banner used in the Reno City Revolt, June 1970; shoulder patches; buttons. **Boxes 48-49a.**

9. Mattachine Review

Six bound volumes of issues from 1958 through December 1960. **Box 50.**

10. Personal Papers

Files relating to Manford's high school and college education, his law degree and preparation for the New York State Bar, and his employment. Photographs of Manford as a child, of his parents, and friends. **Boxes 51-56.**

CONTAINER LIST

Box

1. GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

- 1 1962-1974
- 2 1974
- 3 1975-1976
- 4 1977-1986
- 5-6 Undated, and unsorted

2. NAME AND SUBJECT FILES.

Titles of publications are italicized.

- 7 Abzug, Bella
 - Adelphi Gay Coalition
 - Advocate* (New York)
 - Advocate* (Los Angeles)
 - Agit-Prop questionnaires for high school groups
 - AIDS
 - Americans for Democratic Action
 - Anarchism
 - Anti-war activities
 - Archdiocese of New York
 - Austin (Texas) Gay Liberation

 - Baths
 - Bentley, Eric
 - Beth Simchat Torah (Gay Synagogue News)
 - Better Life Monthly*
 - Black Gay Caucus, San Francisco
 - Black liberation
 - Body Politic Free the Press Fund
 - Bridgeport University
 - Bronx United Gays
 - Brown, Howard J.
 - Bryant, Anita

- 8 Campus radio stations, master list
 - Chelsea Gay Association
 - Chicago Gay Alliance *Chicago Gay Crusader*
 - Christopher Street*
 - Christopher Street Liberation Day (2)
 - Cincinnati Gay Community Alliance
 - Civil rights panel
 - See also:** Audio cassette 02823

- Civilian Complaint Reports
 - Clubs and bars, New York City
 - Clubs and bars, outside New York City
 - Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights
 - College mailing labels
 - CBS Network
 - Columbia [University] Project Information Packet
- 9** Columbia University, Gay lounge at
Columbia University
See also: Questionnaires for study on gays at Columbia University
Come Out!
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Second Annual Report of Pennsylvania Council for Sexual Minorities, March 1978
Criminal syndicates
- 10** de Milly, Michele
See also: Geto, Ethan
Department of Mental Health, New York City
Dignity/New York and Dignity/Brooklyn
District Attorney
Eastside Gay Organization
Educational positions
- 11** Egan, Edward C., Jr.
Evans, Arthur
Federal government
Felson, Artie
Festival of Gay unity
Fifth Freedom
Final Report of the Task Force on Homosexuality, H.E.W.
Fire Island
Flatbush Gay Friends
Florida
Fouratt, Jim
Fundraising list
- 12** Gannoittia, Jean Pierre
Gay
Gay Academic Union
Gay Academic Union Journal: *GAI SABER*
Gay Activists Alliance, Cleveland
Gay Activists Alliance, Long Island
Gay Activists Alliance, New Jersey
- 13-15** Gay Activists Alliance, New York City, Manhattan
See also: Gay Rights Bill, Intro 475, New York City Council

- 16** Gay Activists Alliance, Philadelphia
 Gay Activists Alliance, Queens County, N.Y.
Gay Alaska
 Gay Alliance, Yale University
 Gay and Proud
 Gay Coalition, Denver
 Gay college groups
 Gay Community Alliance, Norman, Oklahoma
 Gay Community Center, Boston
 Gay Community News - A Weekly Forum for New England
- 17** Gay Community Services Center, Los Angeles (2)
Gay Flames - A Bulletin of the Homophile Movement, New York City
 Gay Human Rights League of Queens County (New York City)
 Gay League for Responsible Broadcasting
 Gay Liberation Front, Fordham University
 Gay Liberation Front, London, England
 Gay Liberation Front, Los Angeles
 Gay Liberation Front, Louisville
 Gay Liberation Front, Madison, Wisconsin
 Gay Liberation Front, Rochester, N.Y.
 Gay Liberation Front, Tri-Cities, New York
 Gay Liberation of Westchester
 Gay lists
- 18** Gay marriage
 Gay Media Coalition
 Gay Men's Alliance, Hunter College
 Gay Men's Health Project, New York City
 Gay Nazis (National Socialist League)
 Gays on the Hill
 Gay organizations and publications
 Gay People at City College of New York
 Gay People at Columbia
 See also: Questionnaires for study of gays at Columbia University.
- 19** Gay People's Alliance, Normal, Illinois
 Gay People's Union, New York University
 Gay Political Caucus, New York City
 Gay political strategy
Gay Post
 Gay Pride Week, March 1970, contact sheets
 Gay Pride Week tour, 1975
 Gay Revolution Network
Gay Renaissance
 Gay Rights
- 20** Gay Rights Bills, Connecticut

- Gay Rights Bills, Democratic Platform Committee, 1976
Gay Rights Bills, Intro 2, New York City Council
- 21** Gay Rights Bills, Intro 475, New York City Council
Gay Rights Bills, Intro 554, New York City Council
See also: Audio cassette 02824, taped Manford conversation with Mario Cuomo
- 22** Gay Rights Bills, New York State Democratic Committee, 1972
Gay Rights Bills, U.S. Congress, H.R. 2667, H.R. 5452
Gay Socialist Action Project of New York City
Gay Student Group
Gay Times, interview with Morty Manford
Gay Youth (Organization), New York City
See also: Department of Mental Health, New York City
Gays for Carter, New York City
Gayzette
- 23** George W. Henry Foundation
Geto, Ethan
Gettysburg College
Gish, John N., Jr.
Grand Jury and Feminists
- 24** *Grapevine* - newsletter of the Lesbian Mothers' Defense Fund, Toronto, Canada
Greitzer, Carol
Gwarm - What the media are doing about gays...
Health professions
Hold Hands
Homophile Effort for Legal Protection (H.E.L.P.)
Homosexual Community Counseling Center
Homosexual Counseling Journal
Homosexuality and the law - An Overview, New York Law Forum
Houston (Texas) mass murders, 1973
Hudson, John Paul
Human Rights Commission
Identity House, New York City
Inner Circle affair
See also: People of the State of New York against Michael Maye
- 25** *Insight* - A Quarterly of gay Catholic Opinion
Institute for the Study of Nonviolence
Insurance companies, Analysis of the policies regarding gays
July 4th Coalition
Kalos Society, Bridgeport, Connecticut
Kalos Society, Hartford, Connecticut
Kameny, Frank
Kight, Morris
Koch, Ed

See also: Audio cassette 02824, Manford telephone conversation with Mario Cuomo re: Koch

- 26** Kunstler, William
 Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund Legal profession
 Lesbian Connection
 Lesbian Feminist Liberation, New York City
 Lesbian Front
 Lesbian Herstory Archives, Newsletter 2
 Lesbian Tide
 Lesbianism
 Lesbians and child custody
 See also: Audio cassette 02821, Side B, talk on child custody by Rosaline Davies
- 27** Levy, David
 Lexington (Kentucky) Six, The
 Liberal Party
 Liberation House, New York City
 Lindsay, John
 Lutheran Student Movement
 Mailing lists
 Maine Gay Task Force
 Manford, A profile by Artie Felser
 Manford, Jeanne and Jules
 See: Egan, Edward C., Jr.;
 See also: separate collection, Jeanne Manford Papers
 Martin, Robert A., Jr.
 Mass Media
 Massachusetts Psychiatric Society
- 28** Mattachine Society
 See also: Mattachine Review, Volumes 1-6, 1958-1960, December
 Mayoralty Primary of 1977, Alleged homophobic smear campaign against Ed Koch by some Cuomo supporters in the Democratic Primary contest
 McPherson, Mike
 Media Group
 Metropolitan Community Church, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Metropolitan Community Church, Phoenix, Arizona
 Metropolitan Community Church, San Francisco, Cal.
 Metropolitan Community Church, New York City
 Michael's Thing
 Mississippi Gay Alliance
 Montgomery, Sarah
 See also: Audio cassettes 02822, 02829, 02859, 0286
 Movement critique
 Moynihan, Daniel Patrick
 See: Gay Rights Bills, U.S. Congress and Senate, H.R. 2667, H.R. 5452, S. 2081

- 29 & 30** National Coalition of Gay Activists
- 31** National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
National Gay Task Force
See also: Lesbians and child custody, NGTF Gay Parent Support Package
National New Orleans Memorial Blood Program, (New Orleans Fire)
New Orleans Fire, (Up Stairs Lounge)
New Orleans Gay Peoples Coalition
- 32** New York *Daily News*, Demonstration against the
New York Law Group
New York *Post*
New York State
New York State Coalition of Gay Organizations
New York State Division for Youth
New York Times
Newsday
1979 Civil Rights Legislation in Massachusetts
Nobile, Philip, article
O'Leary, Jean
See also: Audio cassettes 02824, 02844
On Ice
One Incorporated
Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore
- 33** Owles, Jim
- 34** *OZ*
Pacific Center for Human Growth, Berkeley, California
Parents and Gays, A Demonstration Project at the New York Theological Seminary
See: Egan, Edward C., Jr. (folder 2)
People of the State of New York against Michael Maye, Court Reporter' minutes
Pink Triangle
Playboy Forum, reprints
Playboy Panel on homosexuality
Police, New York City
Political candidates
Portfolio
Powers, George
- 35** *Pride Guide*
Prisons
Prostitution
Psychiatry
See also: George W. Henry Foundation; *and* Audio cassettes 02819,
02845 02853
Publications
Puerto Rico

Questionnaires for study of gays at Columbia U.

See also: Gay People at Columbia

36

Radical Queen

Red Cross

Referenda to overturn gay rights bills

Religion

Religious institutions

Republican Convention, 1972

Republican Convention, 1976

37

Rockefeller, Nelson

S.1, the Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975

Saxe, Susan

Security clearance case, Wentworth v. Laird, et al

Senior Action in a Gay Environment, Inc. (SAGE)

Sherrill, Kenneth

See also: Writings by Others relating to Gay Subjects

Smith, Peter P., III

Socialist Workers' Party

See also: Audio cassettes 02844, 02851 (side 2)

Society De Schakel, Nederlands

Society for Individual Rights

Sodomy statutes

Southern organizing, 1971

Speakers' Bureau

38

Speakers' Bureau

Speaking engagements, correspondence

Stonewall Committee newsletter, Hollywood, Fla.

Stonewall Residential Treatment Center, Seattle

Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries (STAR)

Student Homophile League, MIT

Student Homophile League, Rutgers University

Study Group

The Outrage. Controversial boy-rape episode of Marcus Welby, M.D. television series.

Correspondence relating to the program and the proposed boycott by gays of sponsors' products; screenplay of The Outrage

TOSOS

Transcripts of recorded interviews relating to the Progressive Alliance and the question of socialism in the U.S.

See also: for Progressive Alliance see Audio cassettes 02826, 02828, 02830-02833; for Cooper Union forum on socialism see Audio cassette 02827

Transcripts of recorded interviews

See also: Audio List and description of audio cassettes

Transvestitism and transsexualism

Tremmel, Marcia. *"No More Gay Resolutions"*, a Marxist critique of the feminist and gay rights movements read to the National Lawyers' Guild by Tremmel, a member of the Denver

Chapter; see also, "Anti-Tremmel," a response by the Denver Gay Guild Caucus, Tucson
Gay Newsletter
United Action Front

39

Us..., Writings from prisons
Vidal, Gore
Village Independent Democrats
Village Voice
Villager
Wall Street Journal
Wallach, Ira
Warehouse Newsletter
WBAI
West Wide Discussion Group
Wilde-Stein Club, University of Maine
Women's Liberation
Wojtowicz, John
Women's Press Collective
Work Force - Radicals in Health
ZAP group
See also: Gay Activist's Alliance, New York City
Miscellany

3. WRITINGS

a. Morty Manford

40

1. Gay subjects

A Comparative Study of Gay Liberationists and Columbia Homosexuals.
Bi-Sexuality in the Gay rights movement.
Gay Columbia: A Study of Institutional Alienation.
Gay Male Student Community at Columbia University.
Homophobia and Gay Rights: A Research Project on Public Opinion.
Inside the Owles Campaign.
The Center for Homosexual Equality.
The Making of a Gay Liberation Movement.
The New York Gay Political Movement, 1978:
 An Organizational and Strategy Critique.
Public Opinion and gay Liberation
Stonewall Remembrances.
Theory and Practice of Confrontation Tactics
 in the Gay Liberation Movement

2. Other subjects

b. By others

1. Gay subjects

- Crosby, Tina, *The Stonewall Riot Remembered*.
 Evans, Arthur, *The Oppression of Homosexuals*.
 Friedkin, William, *Cruising* (screenplay).
 Goldhaber, Gerald M.,
 Gay Talk: Communication Behavior of Male Homosexuals.
 Irwin, Patrick and Thompson, Norman I.
 Toleration of Homosexuality: A Social Profile.
 Lauritsen, John & Thorstad, David
 The Homosexual Rights Movement, 1866-1935.
 Liebert, Robert S.,
 The Gay Student Movement: A Psychopolitical View;
 A Psychohistorical Inquiry into Contemporary Youth Movements.
 Marmor, Judd,
 Homosexuality and Cultural Value-Systems: Should Homosexuality
 be Classified as a Mental Illness?
 McPherson, Michael,
 Can a Gay Liberation Activist be Elected to the New York City
 Council?
 Ruby, D., [myths about homosexuality]
 Sherrill, Kenneth, *Homophilia: Psychological or Political Pathology*.
 Sherrill, Kenneth,
 Leaders in the Gay Activist Movement: The problem of finding the
 followers.
 Thorstad, David and Green, Kendall,
 For an Intervention into the Gay Liberation Struggle, an excerpt from
 SWP (Social Workers' Party) Discussion Bulletin
 See also: *Socialist Workers' Party*
 Tremmel, Marcia,
 No More Gay Revolutions. A Marxist critique of the gay and feminist
 liberation movements read to the National Lawyers Guild by Marcia
 Tremmel, a member of the Denver Chapter. Also Anti-Tremmel, a
 response by the Denver Gay Guild Caucus, National Lawyers Guild.
 Weinberg, George, *Portrait of a Gay Activist [Morty Manford]*.
 Young, Allen, *Violence, the Press, and Pacifism: A Boston Report*

2. Other subjects

- Barton, Allen H.,
 The Religious Factor in the 1968 Student Demonstrations at
 Columbia; Support for Campus Demonstrations: Politics, Peer Group
 Attitudes and Dissatisfaction with the University.

Goldburg, Robert E., Why Israel Must Remain Jewish.

Elizondo, Sergio D.,
Research grant proposal to study primary values of Chicanos.

Kaiser, Susan and Ngai, William,
Analysis of the Crime Compensation Board and its Effect Within the
City of New York.

Katz, Ellen and Cohen, Jacqueline, Draft Evasion

4. PRESS CLIPPINGS AND PRESS RELEASES

42 Clippings

43 Clippings and press releases

5. AUDIO TAPES

***** See **Name and Control Number List** and the **Description of Contents**
at the end of this inventory.

6. PHOTOGRAPHS

44 Morty Manford; Jeanne and Jules Manford; Sarah Montgomery; and other members of
Parents of Lesbians and Gays; friends; Michael Maye; and others

45 Public relations material

7. COMPUTER PRINTOUTS

46-47 Computer printouts

8. ARTIFACTS

48-49 Artifacts

9. MATTACHINE REVIEW

50 Six volumes, 1958-1960, December

10. PERSONAL PAPERS

51 Photographs of Morty Manford as a child, his parents, relatives, and friends

52 Correspondence with FBI relating to Freedom of Information enquiry;
boy scouts; Columbia College; Regents scholarship

53 Law school; legal internship; legal papers; admission to the Bar of New York State;
Pen pal letters; professional papers

54 Professional papers; resumes; school awards & records

- 55** School papers; selective services; miscellany
- 56** Miscellaneous school notebooks; desk calendars, address books, etc.
- 57** **CLOSED** until the year 2070.
- 58-59** Audiocassette originals. **CLOSED**. Order service copies by control number below.

Name and Subject Index of Audio Cassettes

Name	Control number
Americans for Democratic Action	02828
BATTENBERG, Bob	02851 Side1
BELL, Arthur	02851 Part of Side 1, all of Side 2
BROWN, Alan	02832 Side B
BRUMBAUGH, Trish	02855 and 02856
CAMEJO, Peter	02827
Civil Rights, Panel Discussion on	02823
Coalition of Lesbians & Gays	02824 Side B
COMMAGER, Henry Steele	02827
Comparative study of Eugene Debs & Doug Fraser	02826; 02828; 02830; 02831; 02832; 02833
Conversation with Mario Cuomo	02820
CUOMO, Mario	02820
DAVIES, Rosaline	02821 Part of Side A and all of Side B
DE MILLY, Michele	02844
DEBS, Eugene	02826
DODDS, Bill	02833 Side A
DUANE, TOM	02818
Farm Workers' Union	02833 Side B
See: FONER, Moe	
FONER, Henry	02827
FONER, Moe	02833 Side B
FRASER, Douglas	02826; 02828; 02830; 02831; 02832; 02833
Gay Academic Union at the University of Bridgeport (Connecticut)	02860
Gay Activists' Alliance of New Jersey	02849
Gay People of Austin	02819
Gay Rights Bills	02820
Gay rights movement and feminism	02818
Gays and lesbians confronting the realities of American politics	Throughout the series but particularly pointed on cassettes 02817; 02818; 02835 through 02842
HALL, Gus	02827
Harassing telephone calls to Manford	02847
HARRINGTON, Michael	02827
Homophobia as an issue in electoral campaign	02820
Hospital Workers' Union , New York Local 1199	02833 Side B
Intro 554 (gay rights bill)	02820
KIGHT, Morris	0285 Side 2
KOCH, Ed	02820
Lesbian child custody	02821 Part of Side A and all of Side B

Name	Control number
Lindsay political rally	02821 Part of Side A
LIVINGSTON, Bob	02854
LO CICERO, John	02846
Long John Nebble/Candy Jones Radio Show.	02853
Discussion on homosexuality by Ethan Geto, Dr. C. A. Tripp and Dr. Charles W. Socarides	
MANFORD, Jeanne & Jules	02829; 02845
MANFORD, Morty, interviewed by Howard August	03857
MESSINGER, Ruth	02846
MONTGOMERY, Sarah	02822; 02829; 02860
MYERS, Sam (UAW)	02830
National Coalition of Gay Organizations	02819
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force	02824 Side A
See: O'LEARY, Jean	
National Gay Conference ("Strategy Session for Election '72") Seven cassettes	02835 through 02841
New York City Council	02824
New York City mayoralty campaign of 1977	02820
O'LEARY, Jean	02824 Side A; 02844
Parents of gays and lesbians, Problems of	02822; 028;29; 02860
People's Party	02836; 02837
PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE	02821; 02826; 02828; 02830; 02832
Radio interview with Jeanne & Jules Manford and Sarah Montgomery	02829
Radio talk by Lee Solomon on the Study Group	02825
Rally in support of gay rights, Interviews with marchers	02842
RICKMAN, Herb	02846
ROSKOFF, Alan	02848
SAVAGE, C.B. (song's homophobic stereotyping)	02852
SCHLOSSBERG, Steve (UAW)	02832 Side A
SHENTON, Jim	02826
SHERRILL, Ken	02824 Side B
SHULL, Leon (UAW)	02831
Socialism, Open Forum on	02827
Socialist Workers' Party	02842; 02844; 02846; 02851 Side 2
Sociology class, Manford speaks to a	02850
SOLOMON, Lee	02825
SONTAG, Susan	02827
Speech by Manford at University of Texas-Austin	02819
SPOCK, Benjamin	02836; 02837
STEIN, Henry	02846
STONE, I.F. Socialism, Open Forum on	02827
Strategy for Election '72	02835 through 02841
Street interviews with gays	02817
Study Group	See: 02817; 02824; 02825; 02858
Trotskyist attempt to take over gay rights movement, Alleged	02842; 02844; 02846; 02851 Side 2

Name	Control number
United Auto Workers of America	02826; 02828; 02830; 02831; 02832; 02833
VOELLER, Bruce	02855 and 02856
WEINBERG, Dr. George	02834

Descriptions of Contents of Cassettes

CONTROL #	DESCRIPTION
02817	Street interviews with gays; Press conference at City Hall, New York City, announcing a gay rights bill. Side 1. On April 1, 1978, Manford interviews gays on the state of the gay movement, and their involvement. On April 11, 1978, an announcement is made at City Hall of the introduction in the New York City Council of legislation extending the City's human rights laws to include the banning of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. A discussion follows on the chances of the bill being passed. Participating are sponsors of the bill, supportive members of the City Council, representatives of organizations, and public officials.
02818	Manford interviews Tom Duane, February 2, 1978. Among other things, Duane discusses the most urgent goals of the gay movement; the central importance of feminism to the gay movement, and what he sees in feminism that is important to the movement; whether the gay movement has its own ideology or whether it is adapted from feminism; feminism and gay liberation as potential nemesis of the corporate system; the need for institutional change; homosexuality as a political act and statement, and as a radical force; the obstacles he perceives blocking legislation and other goals; strategy to deal with institutionalized homophobia; the implications of coming out as a political act; the state of gay liberation in New York City; why all gays should be involved in the movement; a pragmatic approach to recruitment; Chelsea Gay Association; Coalition of Gay Organizations; factional in-fighting in the movement; and local politics and the movement.
02819	Manford speaks at the University of Texas-Austin, April 17, 1975, introduced by Mark Sanders of Gay People of Austin. In his speech Manford calls for an individual and collective face-to-face confrontation with anti-gay bigotry. He also strongly advocates that gays validate all gay rights legislation, and all other movement activities, through acts of defiance and resistance, and cites the Stonewall riots of 1969 as the beginning of the modern gay liberation movement. He comments on the work of the National Coalition of Gay Organizations (see Subjects Files), and analyses the effects on the individual of the impact of institutionalized homophobia. He ends by pondering on the bigotries perpetuated by Judeo-Christianity and other social institutions, and counsels gays to refuse to go along with emotional oppression. The speech is followed by a question and answer period.

- 02820** Telephone conversation with Mario Cuomo, Nov. 4, 1977. Manford and Cuomo discuss the New York Democratic mayoral primary race [in which Congressman Ed Koch defeated Cuomo, then Secretary of State of New York]. Most of the cassette is concerned with the source of the rumor that Koch is gay. Manford strongly suggests that some of Cuomo's supporters are behind the rumor. Cuomo states that he had nothing to do with it, and that the rumor was circulating everywhere (see Subjects File: Mayoralty Campaign of 1977). They also discuss Intro 554, a pro-gay rights bill in the New York City Council (see Subjects Files: Gay Rights Bills) and the clause in it that would prohibit gay and lesbian teachers from using the classroom to proselytize for homosexuality. Cuomo says that he supports the clause, but that it is an open question, and a legitimate subject for public debate. Manford chides Cuomo for "flip-flopping" on gay issues, a charge which Cuomo heatedly denies. Cuomo angrily and emphatically censures the Koch camp, particularly Ed Garth, for having tried to paint him as an anti-Semite, and for trying to divide the city by using anti-Semitism as an issue in the primary campaign in the hope of stirring up an anti-Italian backlash amongst liberal Jews who might otherwise support him
- 02821** Lindsay political rally; Lesbian child custody talk by Rosaline Davies, sponsored by the Department of Human Services, Division of Youth and Family Services, of the State of New Jersey.

Side A: On February 21, 1980 Manford confronts John V. Lindsay, and accuses him of being evasive on gay rights. Lindsay denies the charge and refers Manford to his record. Manford then accuses Marvin Rosenberg of trying to physically force him away from Lindsay and interfering with his right to question a candidate for public office. He asks if this is the kind of treatment that we can expect if Lindsay is elected Senator. The rest of Side A, and all of Side B, is devoted to a talk given (to counselors?) by Rosaline Davies in 1980 on the difficulties facing lesbians who apply for custody of children. She addresses the doubts and fears of judges adjudicating child custody cases involving lesbians, but also mentions the hopeful signs she has seen of a more sympathetic and responsive disposition in judges, which may account for the recent [1980] increase in successful applications by lesbians for custody of children. Both sides of the cassette are often made inaudible by a loud, extraneous sound.

02822

Interview with Sarah Montgomery, February 22, 1978. Manford conducts a wide-ranging interview with Sarah Montgomery (also see audio cassettes 02829, 02859, 02860), a feminist, and former member of the Communist Party USA. Montgomery emphasizes the importance of the immediate enactment of a gay rights bill at the national level; the need for the gay movement to use grassroots campaigns to build a national campaign, and to educate gays and the public. Montgomery expresses the belief that the chief obstacles in New York City to the passage of gay rights legislation are the conservative hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and equally conservative orthodox Jews and fundamentalist Protestants. She underscores the need within the gay movement for self-knowledge and community knowledge which will foster solidarity where there might otherwise be the clash of egos and divisiveness. She comments that the gay and lesbian movement is weak because it is in the embryonic stage, fragmented, and still searching for a middle ground of unity and identity, and that the search for identity which is a cause of friction in the leadership of the movement, benefits only the enemies of gay liberation. Montgomery counsels against a national referendum on gay rights, stating that it is a referendum that can not be won; and she ends by warning against the potential dangers to democratic participation posed by insider political groups, such as the Study Group (see Name and Subjects Files, and audio cassettes 02824, 02825, 02858), the New York Political Action Council, and the National Gay Task Force (see Name and Subjects Files).

02823

Panel discussion on civil rights, held at the Cardozo School of Law of Yeshiva University. (See also Name and Subjects Files: Civil Rights Panel.) On April 15 five panelists considered the political and social expectations for civil rights in the 1980s. The panel, consisting of Roger Wilkins, Doug Ireland, Frieda Zames, Ellen Willis, and Rabbi Robert E. Goldberg, was sponsored by the Cardozo Committee for Lesbians and Gays, the Cardozo Law Women, the Caucus for the Disabled, the Black American Law Students' Association, and the Cardozo Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild. The moderator is David Rudenstine of the faculty of Law. In his introductory remarks Professor Rudenstine questions whether the political and social state of the nation, and external relations and events, will permit federal and local governments to focus on the needs of citizens.

02824

Interview with Jean O'Leary, March 1, 1978; Interview with Ken Sherrill. Tape 1 of 2. This interview continues on audio cassette 02843 Side A and part of Side B. Jean O'Leary, lesbian-feminist activist, co-head with Bruce Voeller of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 1975-79, discusses the chief goals of the gay movement, the necessity of changing people's attitudes to gays, the urgent need for federal and local legislation that will protect gay people, how to respond to nation-wide anti-gay referenda, and the rightward drift of the United States.

Side B: Ken Sherrill (also see Name and Subjects Files) and Manford discuss among other things the gay rights bill presently in the New York City Council, the importance of constituents pressuring City Councilmen, Sherrill's contention that other bills did not pass not because of pressure from Catholics and conservative Jews but because members of the City Council believed they would not be reelected if they voted for gay rights bills, the need to broaden the base of support among rank and file gays, the question of whether the Study Group (see audio cassettes 02822, 02825, 02858) and the Coalition of Lesbians & Gays are elitist organizations, Sherrill's assertions that the leaders of the gay movement are out of touch with rank and file gays, and as a consequence, the movement has become bankrupt, that all the gay groups are easily ignored because they are not seen as representing any gays, and that it is time for some leaders of the gay movement to admit that they have failed and to step down, and the position of influence that the Trotskyites are trying to play in the movement. Interview continues on audio cassette 02843.

02825

Lee Solomon on radio station WBAI talks about the Study Group, May 20, 1977. Solomon describes the Study Group (see audio cassette 02822, 02824, 02858 and the Names and Subjects Files), a New York City-based gay infrastructure consisting of 35-40 persons formed during Bella Abzug's 1970 campaign as a consciousness-raising group for gay politicians. Solomon charges the group with having secretly intruded in gay politics. Manford telephones to deny that the Study Group is a secret society, or that there is anything sinister or manipulative about it. Solomon responds by giving illustrations of the Study Group's string-pulling. The gist of Solomon's objections to the Study Group appears to be that, because the Study Group is an elite, it represents a threat to the principle of democratic participation which he feels is the basis of the gay liberation movement..

[Side A on the original recording is a telephone conversation with Mario Cuomo see # 02820]

02826

Interview with Jim Shenton, Professor of History, Columbia University March 8, 1979. Taped by Manford for use in a comparative study of the leadership qualities of Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers, and Eugene Debs, conducted for a political science seminar at Columbia. Also see audio cassettes 02828, 02830, 02831, 02832, and 02833. Shenton discusses the creation of the Progressive Alliance composed of political activists interested in involving people in the political process and in mobilizing votes. He also speaks about the subsequent development of the Alliance into a broad coalition of labor, humanitarian, social, ecological, and civil rights organizations, and the roles played in this process by Lee Benson and Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers. Some of the issues also discussed and analyzed are blue collar elitism, the need to organize those workers that have been kept out unions and do not fit into the AFL-CIO scheme for the embourgeoisment of labor; the reluctance of the UAW, and other unions, to get involved in the environmental movement because they see a clash of interest, and because their leaders are chiefly interested in increasing "the political clout of the already organized ...membership...and extending "this clout throughout already organized labor". Shenton ends the interview by criticizing the unions and Progressive Alliance for not trying to help workers that have been marginalized by organized labor.

02827

Open Forum on socialism, Cooper Union, New York City. March 31, 1979. Panel discussion on March 31, 1979, on the question, "Why is there no Socialism in the U.S." The forum was sponsored by Dutch television. Each member of the panel gives a brief summary of the reasons why socialism and communism have not succeeded in the United States. The summaries are followed by a panel discussion and question and answers. Participants: Peter Camejo, Henry Steele Commager, Henry Foner, Michael Harrington, Gus Hall, Susan Sontag, and I.F. Stone.

02828 Speech by Doug Fraser, March 29, 1979; Interview with Doug Fraser. Taped by Manford for use in a comparative study of the leadership qualities of Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers, and Eugene Debs, conducted for a political science seminar at Columbia. Also see audio cassettes 02826, 02830, 02831, 02832, and 02833. Side A: Speech given at a dinner of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) honoring Franklin D. Roosevelt. Introduced by William Woodward. Fraser, a vice-president of ADA, states his conviction that "ADA is more important now than it has ever been" since its foundation in 1947, and asks progressives to work to rectify the widening gap between the wages of workers and corporate profits.

Side B: After the dinner Fraser discusses with Manford and the press the inequity of mandatory controls which contain built-in mechanisms to control wages, but no such mechanisms to restrain prices and profits; government guidelines; cost of living provisions; oil crisis and the need for the government to create competition in domestic oil production; comments on the Progressive Alliance, and the need to reevaluate the relevance of the Socialist ideas inherited from the Depression Era; reiterates that his role in the PA, or any organization, is as president of the UAW, and that he can not make endorsements without prior decision within the union; although he is not philosophically opposed to a third party, he does not see it as a feasible alternative at this time in American history; questions whether the PA supports the redistribution of the nation's wealth; wants more competition between public enterprise and private industry; discusses the problems of socialization; discusses the question whether government should go into business; side-steps the question of his ideology, and discusses the future of the Progressive Alliance, and his role in it.

02829 Pat Collins Show. Interview with parents of gays. July 5, 1974. Pat Collins interviews Sarah Montgomery (also see audio cassettes 02822, 02859, 02845), and Jeanne and Jules Manford. Jeanne and Jules Manford discuss their feeling after finding out from his psychiatrist that their son was gay, and both the Manfords and Montgomery talk about how they came to terms with their sons' homosexuality.

02830 Interview with Sam Myers of the United Auto Workers, March 19, 1979. Taped by Manford for use in a comparative study of the leadership qualities of Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers, and Eugene Debs, conducted for a political science seminar at Columbia. Also see audio cassettes 02826, 02828, 02830, 02831, and 02832. Myers discusses his relationship with Doug Fraser, the founder of the Progressive Alliance he also explores the question of whether the Progressive Alliance is socialistic, the need for resistance to the growth of corporate power and America's drift to the right; the need for the gay movement, and all liberal and liberation groups, to become more active in opposition to the corporate power structure because behind the individual bigot stands a corporate system that is indifferent to issues of individual liberty, and because the corporate system "owns the country" and encourages the right wing as its natural militant arm.

02831

Interview with Leon Shull, March 8, 1979; Interview with Marcus Raskin, March 8, 1979. Taped by Manford for use in a comparative study of the leadership qualities of Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers, and Eugene Debs, conducted for a political science seminar at Columbia. Also see audio cassettes 02826, 02828, 02830, 02832, and 02833. Side A: Among other issues and topics Leon Shull discusses the Progressive Alliance and his involvement; the role of Jim Shenton (see audio cassette T00010); much of the interview deals with Shull's evaluations of Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, and founder of the Progressive Alliance. Side B: Among the subjects Marcus Raskin discusses are the long-standing and complex historical relationship between the UAW and the Democratic Party, "in Michigan they are the Democratic Party to a great extent"; the need to move beyond individual and group interests; the problem of holding together the labor movement, and the need for the labor movement to see itself as part of the Progressive Alliance; the budget as a unifying issue; the need for the Progressive Alliance build a strong national organization; how can the Progressive Alliance persuade self-interested groups to work with PA; the need to redefine the meaning of "interest"; and Doug Fraser's role as the acknowledged leader of the progressive wing of the labor movement, and his qualities as a leader of the working class, "Having come up through the line he understands what the everyday feelings and needs are of the working class ...having struggled on the assembly line at Chrysler plant over a fifteen year period or more, he knows exactly what it means to be on the line in that way...he has a very positive sense of what work, and workers, and what production is in this society, he does not romanticize either about the assembly line, or about the productive process".

02832

Interviews with Alan Brown, March 8, 1979, and Steve Schlossberg, March 9, 1979.

Taped by Manford for use in a comparative study of the leadership qualities of Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers, and Eugene Debs, conducted for a political science seminar at Columbia. Also see audio cassettes 02826, 02828, 02830, 02831, 02833.

Side A: Alan Brown, self-styled "former liberal conservative" editor and publisher of an independent political newsletter, discusses the Progressive Alliance, describes it as being a Marxist-oriented, democratic-socialist action and leadership group similar to Americans for Democratic Action, and identifying with the United Auto Workers and its president, Doug Fraser; although he speculates that the Progressive Alliance may be a hopeless cause because of the inherent ideological differences, and conflicts on the social and economic issues that can unite a majority of members, and the need for social democrats and social liberals to unite on economic issues.

Side B: Included among the subjects discussed by Steve Schlossberg, advisor to Doug Fraser, are the purposes of the Progressive Alliance; the need to resist the rightwards drift in America; the fact that politicians of both parties are "running for cover and refusing to deal with real human problems, but look at everything in terms of cost analysis" an attitude that could set the country back and "could undo some of the things that have been accomplished by scores of people over the past fifty, hundred years"; the creation of the Progressive Alliance by Doug Fraser who assembled a group of intellectuals interested in the electoral process, and in putting together a more responsible party politics that is not partisan; Fraser's unhappiness with sitting on the Labor Management Council composed of the leaders of industry, feeling that it was a collaborationist role which he resented; and the need for liberal labor in the Progressive Alliance to recruit conservative AFL-CIO unions based on unifying issues.

02833

Interview with Bill Dodds, March 9, 1979; Interview with Moe Foner, March 29, 1979. Taped by Manford for use in a comparative study of the leadership qualities of Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers, and Eugene Debs, conducted for a political science seminar at Columbia. Also see audio cassettes 02826, 02828, 02830, 02831, and 02832.

Side A: Bill Dodds. Among the topics discussed : Fraser and the problems facing the UAW: the collective bargaining crisis that the union faces in 1979, in which the leadership will be tested; the significance of the transitional period within the union, and the choice of new leadership in the top positions with the retirement of the Secretary/Treasurer, and two vice-presidents, plus two regional directors; the role of the Progressive Alliance; Doug Fraser as a leader: "Doug shows an excellent touch with the key activists within the union...he is in touch with imaginative people that are trying to find out new solutions to these union problems...and [is] taking some steps inside the union to successfully tackle the education of the next generation of leadership"; Dodds stresses Fraser's openness to new ideas and new solutions, and his warm and imaginative response to the dreams, despair, and attitude of key activists in the union; and his closeness and identification with the rank and file of the union. Side B: Moe Foner. Some topics and questions explored: why New York Local 1199 (Hospital Workers Union) expressed sympathy for the Progressive Alliance, but did not become a member, or make an official endorsement; Local 1199's tradition of creating and joining coalitions on the basis of issues; Progressive Alliance can count on Local 1199's support on issue and events "of moving people"; whether the PA will become an individual member organization; and the Farm Workers' Union and its role in the Progressive Alliance.

02834

Dr. George Weinberg on radio station WBAI , November 15, 1971. Testimony given by Dr. George Weinberg, clinical psychologist and writer, on behalf of gay rights bill, Intro 475 (also see Subjects Files under Gay Rights Bills). In his statement to the General Welfare Committee of the New York City Council, Dr. Weinberg discusses the universality of homosexuality, and the ways in which the present social-political system victimizes homosexuals.

02835

Tape 1 of 7 - National Gay Conference, February 1972, Chicago. Billed as "Strategy Session for Election '72". Organized to plan strategy and tactics for the Democratic and Republican Party Presidential Conventions to be held in Miami Beach in the Summer. Throughout the seven tapes there is an uneven sound quality. Names of speakers are not always given or audible. Manford, speaking from the floor, is the most distinct because he is holding the tape recorder.

Before the conference opens Manford interviews gay delegates and representatives on their expectations and hopes for the conference. Some of the questions he asks are: What do you expect to get out of this conference? Are you expecting the people at the conference to endorse a candidate for President? Is there currently in Chicago any political representation for gays? Do you know of any move in Illinois to guarantee fair housing and employment for gays? Are there any politicians in Illinois who have voiced support for gays? What kind of programs do you want to see come out of the conference? Some responses are: the need for gays to get together on national issues and to come up with a Presidential candidate who will best serve the purposes of the gay rights movement; and a well-devised plan for a coordinated nationwide effort to be hammered out at the conference. Among the topics addressed by the opening speakers on this cassette are: George McGovern, Hubert Humphrey, John Lindsay; the toughening-up process undergone by many gays preceding the conference, "we are not so naive as we used to be"; the efficacy of applying persistent pressure on liberal politicians such as Shirley Chisholm, John Lindsay, and George McGovern; the kinds of confrontation tactics individual candidates are most vulnerable to, citing the successful zaps used against John Lindsay. Manford, representing Gay People at Columbia, comments that it is important that before entering the polling booth gays be aware of the position of candidates, and that this information be made available to the nation-wide gay community. He contributes examples of the types of strategy to be used for different candidates and concludes, "disparity between a candidate's civil rights position and refusal to take a position on gay civil rights should be made public."

02836

Tape 2 of 7. National Gay Conference, 1972, Chicago. CONTINUED.

Cassette C-D. Speakers discuss Senator Muskie; make observations such as , that "every situation has a different solution"; "gay groups have the potential of being the most assiduous of all...because we are everywhere"; and outline tactics, such as disruptions, mingling with crowd, infiltrating candidate's headquarters. Speakers discuss the similarities of the two major parties, and point out the inability of both to cope with the problems besetting America, such as the war in Vietnam, the oppression of minorities, the worsening environment. They also discuss McGovern and Nixon, and call for a new grassroots party such as the Peace and Freedom Party. Dr. Benjamin Spock speaking as the Presidential candidate of the People's Party speaks of the ways in which the People's Party differs from the major parties and how it can help the gay rights movement. Manford comments that Spock's campaign "can be a necessary and important vehicle for raising the issue of gay liberation as well as other issues...thereby increasing consciousness".

02837

Tape 3 of 7. National Gay Conference, 1972, Chicago. CONTINUED.

Cassette E-F. Side E is a continuation of remarks by Dr. Spock concerning the People's Party and his candidacy. Most of what can be heard deals with state, local, and federal legislation and the importance of gays turning out for hearings on pro-gay rights bills. A speaker discusses the commitment of New York Gay Activist Alliance to mobilizing political support and sponsors for proposed pro-gay civil rights legislation in the City Council. He also mentions that up to now the New York Gay Activist's Alliance has been uninterested in fostering federal legislation because it is a not worth the time and effort they might put into it, but "1972 being an election year...in New York at least we think that now is the time [to push] for national legislation". Another speaker says "the only way we going to get real change [is to] elect delegates to show that in America we will swing campaigns. The only way we can get into power is to show that we are there." Someone from Albany, N.Y. states that it is not necessary to put everything else on the back burner in order to give primary attention to achieving repeal of state and local sodomy laws. "As a matter of strategy in New York State we decided that the first things we were going to push for was for fair employment, fair housing, and civil rights in public accommodations." There is a debate of whether or not strategies and tactics be discussed only in a closed session with all tape recorders turned off.

02838

Tape 4 of 7. National Gay Conference, 1972, Chicago. CONTINUED.

One side only. Someone [Manford?] moves that the Conference not endorse any candidate. A brief discussion follows on the motion during which the candidacy of Shirley Chisholm is considered. Most of the speakers support the motion, the main reason being that they do not feel that they are authorized to represent any view other than their own. Someone reminds the Conference that its original purpose was not to endorse anyone but to prepare strategies for the upcoming conventions. A representative says that everyone at the conference knows that "we do not represent gay America, we are a portion...but what may come out at this conference is that if we do have another one we definitely will have [gay America] here the next time"; Manford representing Gays at Columbia gives two reasons why he endorses the motion not to endorse any candidate: because it is the law that if a campus group endorses a political candidate they lose their tax-exempt status, and he suggest that it is not worth the risk they don't know what that politician is going to do in the future. "We all know that in the case of [New York City Mayor] Lindsay we have gotten lip service and when it came to concrete action we got nothing out of him. We should owe no debts, we should demand only responsible action, and when they're elected they're responsible to their constituents. We don't owe them [elected representatives] anything. They owe us representation."

02839

Tape 5 of 7. National Gay Conference, 1972, Chicago. CONTINUED.

Continued discussion of endorsement of candidates. An African-American lesbian (? Simons) speaks against endorsing any Republican or Democratic candidate, and says that as a gay black woman she is triply oppressed, and that the two major parties have not done anything to relieve any of the pressures that she feels and that gays and women can not afford to trust either party. She angrily denounces Shirley Chisholm for not representing black women. Another speaker asks what the goals are that the conference seeks to reach and what the goals of the movement should be. Ron Althime (?) talks about the

different rules of the Democratic Party. He insists that the conference inform the Party that "the gay people of America" insist that there be a minimum of 150 gay delegates and 150 alternates at the Miami Convention, and that such figures would be a balanced representation of gays.

02840

Tape 6 of 7. National Gay Conference, 1972, Chicago. CONTINUED.

Interviews with delegates of gay organizations to the Conference, and addresses to the Conference by leaders of the gay movement. The delegates and speakers discuss the social and political goals of the conference and the gay movement, the roles that gays might play in the upcoming Democratic and Republic Presidential Conventions, the kinds of disruptive demonstrations to be used, and the strategies and tactics to use in dealing with candidates for public office.

02841

Tape 7 of 7. National Gay Conference, 1972, Chicago. CONTINUED.

The last day of the Conference. Members call for the repeal of all existing Federal, State, and local anti-gay laws, and then vote on a long list of platform planks containing specific recommendations for liberal legislation to replace the present legally and psychologically oppressive laws regulating sexuality. They then vote for the overall platform. Morris Kite proposes a far-reaching resolution, the crux of which is a denunciation of the political establishment and the governing military/industrial/police complex in the U.S. The chairman questions whether this is relevant to the issues at hand. Members then speak for and against the resolution and for and against amendments to it. Manford states that although he supports Kite's resolution as an individual, he is the representative of Gays at Columbia and according to the mandate of that group, he can not vote for the resolution, even though he understands that the lives of gays are affected by the military/industrial complex. He asks the conference to permit representatives, who feel that they can not lend their group to the vote, to put their own name to the proposal. This would then allow representatives to vote as individual gay activists for this very important resolution, and thus allow the conference to include it in the platform. The chairman comments that it is not necessary to have a motion on that because he feels that people can do that as they wish. By a vote of 22-19 the resolution is adopted as a minority sentiment of the conference. Manford asks that Gay People at Columbia be noted as an abstention. Someone makes the motion that there be two regional conferences one on the east coast and one on the west coast. A motion is carried to set up five regional groups (North-East, South East, North-Central, North-West, and South-West) to deal with the conventions. Guy Charles calls for another national gay conference to be held in Minneapolis on Labor Day Weekend following the conventions of the party delegations.

02842

Interviews with marchers at a culminating rally in support of Gay Rights sponsored by the Coalition of Lesbians and Gays and held on April 16, 1978 at Columbus Circle. Side M-1. Static and loud background noise. Some of the questions discussed are: Why are you here today? Do you think this march will help the passage of the bill? Do you think that there is an effort by the left [Socialist Workers Party] to manipulate the gay movement for their own purposes? Is the strategy appropriate that is now being followed in pursuit of the bill? In the struggle for social change is it possible to succeed outside the party system? Should the gay movement be aligned with any of the parties? Should the gay movement be aligned [for example] with the Socialist Workers Party anymore than it should be aligned with the Democrats or the

Republicans? How can the gay movement gain the support of the main-stream community in New York City? How to overcome ambivalence about the gay movement? The responses to these and other similar, fundamental questions lead in several instances to lengthy discussions on the appropriateness of the tactics and strategies of the gay movement, and what gays may expect to find at the root of any support given to a gay rights bill by any of the political parties.

02843

Interview with Ken Sherrill, March 22, [1978]. Tape 2 of 2. Continuation of interview begun on Side B of audio cassette 02824.

02844

RESTRICTED

Telephone conversations with Seth Lawrence, Jean O'Leary, and Bob Livingston -

Interview with Michele de Milly. Side A: Seth Lawrence of Gay Activist's Alliance, talks with Manford about his need for a mediated meeting. Ethan Geto and other leaders of movement organizations, who have refused to meet with him or to include him or the GAA in their activities. He also denies Geto's depiction of him as a Trotskyite who is working to defeat the gay rights bill currently in the New York City Council. In their separate telephone conversations with Manford, Jean O'Leary (also see audio cassette 02824) and Bob Livingston, both denounce Lawrence and comment on the "hidden agenda" of the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party, to infiltrate and take over various leftist gay liberation organizations, and to defeat pro-gay legislation sponsored by liberal reformers within the Democratic Party, so that gays will be compelled to become more militant and revolutionary.

Side B: Bob Livingston call continued; second Seth Lawrence call; Interview with Michele de Milly. This interview continues on audio cassette 02845.

02845

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Interview with Michele de Milly, Feb. 18, 1978; Pat McAnn Show (also see audio cassette 02829) Side A: Continuation of interview with Michele de Milly begun on Side B of audio cassette 02844. Among the topics de Milly discusses are: the crucial need for pro-gay legislation and the need for the gay movement to set aside everything until this goal is achieved; the need for a common strategy; her role as a strategist; the crucial lack of cohesion between the various ideological factions within the movement; the danger of the movement becoming merely fashionable; the convergence and imminent merger of the movement and establishment politics; gay liberation and politics becoming a profession for some; the lack in the movement of a leader possessing the qualities for leadership of a Martin Luther King; her disappointment with the situation of gays in San Francisco; and her future role in the movement.

Side B: Interview with Jeanne, Jules, and Morty Manford, and Dr. Charles Silverstein, psychiatrist, founder & director of The Institute for Human Identity, concerning parents of gays.

02846

Interviews with Ruth Messinger, John Lo Cicero, Herb Rickman, and Henry Stein, March 31, 1978

Side 1: Among the issues Ruth Messinger, New York City Councilwoman, discusses are: the need for politicians to accept that it is not enough to merely employ gays on their staffs but that gays want to see protective pro-gay legislation passed; the unfeasibility of supportive politicians championing the gay movement; the question of one-issue politicians; her overall perceptions

of society, and the political context in which the gay movement is trying to function. John Lo Cicero, a special advisor to gays; the strategy needed to get the gay rights bill passed in the New York City Council; the significance for gay rights of the city's changing demographics; and contending with the fear of homosexual proselytizing as a political issue. Herb Rickman, a special assistant to Mayor Koch, discusses: Mayor Koch's commitment to gay rights legislation; Koch's pursuit of gays to serve in his administration; Socialist Workers' Party's infiltration of the Coalition of Lesbians & Gays

02847 Harassing telephone calls to Manford, in April and June 1977. Manford recorded five incoming harassing telephone calls. Two of the callers are self-identified as "John-John", who made three calls, and Robert "Flash" Storm, who made one. The fifth call by an unidentified caller consists of homophobic obscenities. At least three quarters of the rest of the cassette is unused. It appears that Manford planned to make a compilation of such calls, but did not do so on this cassette.

02848 Interview with Alan Roskoff. Among the topics discussed by Alan Roskoff, chief lobbyist for gay rights bill in the New York City Council (c1978) are: his reasons for seeing Governor Hugh Carey as an impediment to the passage of any gay rights legislation, his opinion concerning the part Carey played in the timing of the bill, and Carey's position on a possible referendum should the bill pass; the probable breakdown of City Council members' votes; the basis of the interfactional "war"; the Gay Activists Alliance; the Coalition for Lesbian & Gay Rights; steps to take to get the bill passed; the necessity for intensive lobbying by sympathetic community organizations; the chances of winning a referendum; and the potential of conservative support.

02849 Speaking to the Gay Activists Alliance of New Jersey on January 30, 1976, Manford asks whether the members had discussed with the manager of radio station WHLW whose disc-jockeys most of their time making anti-gay remarks, and suggests starting a letter-writing campaign; he begins his discussion by stating that the today's gay people [1976], are all virtually gay negroes. Manford states that American homosexuals are too modest in their demand "for a piece of the American apple pie", and that the gay movement has come to a crossroad, and must begin to distinguish between civil rights and government resolutions, between unswerving support and lip service and must not accept crumbs and recognize that "we barely are even offered the illusion of freedom" and "a result of the harsh reality we are in today, it becomes all the more urgent for the movement, in our attempts to reach our community, to discern between a liberationist posture on the one hand and a liberal posture on the other hand...our movement seeks to free people from conventions, to create new values and lifestyles. When we see liberation as a process, it is not something one obtains but it is something that one is involved in...we must never compromise, we must never sell out to the Democratic Party, to the establishment...in our travels towards liberation"; gay will never be able to perceive what is in their self-interest unless they develop a sense of gay identity; and that too many gays resist identifying with other gays because the brutal realities of their status as pariahs is difficult to confront. A question and answer period follows.

02850 Manford speaks to a sociology class, April 6, 1978. Manford begins by discussing the stated plan of Ed Koch, the newly elected Mayor of New York, to issue an immediate

executive order barring discrimination in City hiring practice, and all other areas in which the city government is involved, based on sexual orientation. This leads into a discussion of the evolution of the gay movement and its present (1978) political agenda and how it relates to the gay rights bill. Among other subjects Manford explores is his undertaking a project to determine whether the gay rights bill (1978) relates to hiring practices and other areas sensitive to gays in which the city government is involved. Manford also states that it is feasible that the gay movement can take the offensive in New York City, and suggests that New York City can serve as an effective focal point around which the gay movement can gain strength.

- 02851** Telephone conversations with Bob Battenberg and Arthur Bell, February 5, 1978; telephone conversation with Morris Kight, April 15, 1978. Side 1: In separate telephone conversations Manford speaks with Bob Battenberg and Arthur Bell, a staff writer for the Village Voice. They discuss Eddie (Skull) Murphy, a gay ex-convict, doorman-bouncer at the Stonewall Inn, and police undercover informer against the Mafia. In order to achieve the protective visibility which he hopes will allow him to start a new life, Murphy wants to surface and divulge his activities at a meeting of the West Side Discussion Group. Battenberg wants Manford and Bell to attend the meeting, and, by their presence, give Murphy credibility. Side 2: Manford and Bell continue their discussion about Murphy; also Manford telephone conversation with Morris Kight, who among other things, discusses the takeover by the Socialist Workers' Party of various gay organizations, Ed Murphy, Manford's studies and plans for the future, and the situation for gay rights in Los Angeles.
- 02852** Jack David radio show, station WAKC, February or March 1977. Members of the gay community, the composer and performer of the country-western song, C.B Savage, and others, discuss the song's alleged homophobic stereotyping.
- 02853** Long John Nebble/Candy Jones Show, WMCA, June 7, 1977. Participants: Nebble, Jones, Dr. Charles W. Socarides, psychiatrist, Dr. C.A. Tripp, psychologist and psychotherapist, and Ethan Geto, gay rights advocate. They comment on the view that homosexuality is a form of mental disorder; and on Anita Bryant and her campaign against the Dade County, Florida, ordinance, No. 77-4, prohibiting discrimination against gays (See also video cassette V00001).
- 02854** Interview with Bob Livingston, February 22, 1978. Very loud, high pitch makes listening virtually impossible.
- 02855-56** Bruce Voeller and Trish Brumbaugh discuss the implications of the Kinsey Report, and comparative responses and attitudes to homosexuals in other cultures, and the ramifications of prohibitions against homosexuality.
- 02857** Manford interviewed by Howard August. August 6, 1983. Tape 1 of 3. Biographical. Manford's undergraduate work at Columbia College; graduate studies at Columbia; law studies at Cardozo Law School of Yeshiva University, and his admission to the Bar of New York; coming out; work as a criminal defense lawyer for the Legal Aid Society; Student Homophile League, and its importance to the gay movement; the Speakers' Bureau of the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) Gay People at Columbia (GPC); eyewitness account of the events leading up to the first night of the Stonewall riots and their significance to the gay movement; the gay lounge issue at Columbia; the GAA firehouse and the development of gay social, cultural, and political cohesion. Continued on cassettes 02858 and 02859.
- 02858** Manford interviewed by Howard August. Tape 2 of 3. Continued from audio cassette 02857. Manford talks about the GAA Fire house, and its importance to the gay community and gay rights movement, its use by various organizations such as Lesbian

Feminist Liberation (LFL), and Gay Youth; "Zaps" (disruptive political events) used against John Lindsay in 1972; the national convention held in Chicago in 1972 to plan demonstrations at Democratic and Republican conventions; demonstrations at Democratic and Republican conventions in 1976; reactions to demonstrations; the Study Group (See also audio cassettes 02822, 02824, 02825); resistance by religious groups to gay rights bills introduced in the New York City Council; the use of the symbolic power of the pink triangle to create among New York Jews a sense of solidarity with gays; the coalition of the left during the Vietnam War era; speaking and organizing in the south; being driven out of some towns by fearful gays. Continued on cassette 02859.

02859 Manford interviewed by Howard August. Tape 3 of 3. Continued from audio cassette 02858. Experiences in the south; reaching the parents of gays; the difficulty for parents of a child's coming out; cheers for his mother at Gay Pride Parade; the creation of Parents of Lesbians and Gay Men; Sarah Montgomery (also see audio cassettes 02822, 02829, 02860); dealing with the slowness of change.

02860 Broadcast, WPKN Radio, University of Bridgeport. Manford, then head of the National Coalition of Gay Activists, addresses the Gay Academic Union at the University of Bridgeport. Among the things, he discusses his speaking tour of the south; the realities for gay people; society's refusal to offer gays even the illusion of civil rights; Sarah Montgomery and the problems of parents of gays; the betrayal of the gay movement by the Democratic Party; the futility of gays being assimilated into an unjust society; civil rights legislation as a vehicle for raising issues and confronting prejudices; the reinforcement of homophobic stereotyping; the bill in the Connecticut State legislature; and the singling out of the gay movement for political empty gestures.

02909 National Gay Conference, 1972, Chicago. (Also see Cassettes 02835 - 02841)