

[MUSIC PLAYING]

JEAN-MICHEL This is Jean-Michele Jaare, and you are tuned to 90.1 FM, KPFT in Houston, listener-sponsored Pacifica radio.

JARRE:

WOMAN: As President of the Board--

[BACKGROUND CONVERSATION]

As President of the Board of Supervisors, it's my duty to make this announcement. Both Mayor Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk have been shot and killed.

[SHOCKED CROWD REACTION]

MAN: Jesus Christ!

[CLAMOR]

MAN: Shh! Quiet. Quiet, everyone. Quiet!

WOMAN: The suspect is Supervisor Dan White.

WOMAN: Is he in custody?

MAN: He's not at this time. Thank you very much for the question.

POLICE OFFICER: (OVER RADIO) Attention all units. Suspect Dan White, white male adult, 32 years, 6 feet, 185 pounds, wearing a three-piece brown suit, considered armed and dangerous.

Attention all units. Former supervisor Dan White is now in custody. Repeating, former supervisor Dan White is now in custody. [INAUDIBLE] clear.

REPORTER: Dan, why'd you do it?

REPORTER: Dan, why? Why?

MAN: OK, that's it. That's it. That's enough.

REPORTER: The disorders began with a routine police raid on a homosexual bar, the Stonewall on Christopher Street.

CROWD Say it loud! Gay and proud!

(CHANTING):

MAN: We take great pride in what's happened in the gay community and what's going to happen.

WOMAN: The people of Dade County have said, enough, enough, enough.

CROWD Human rights are here to stay! Anita Bryant, go away!

(CHANTING):

MAN: There's no question in my mind that the people of California don't want homosexual teachers in the classroom.

MAN: State Senator John Briggs has just conceded the election.

WOMAN: Both Mayor Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk have been shot and killed.

REPORTER: Dan White has been found guilty of one count each of voluntary manslaughter.

CROWD Fight now! Fight back!

(CHANTING):

MAN: It has now broken loose. Cops are now bashing heads.

MAN: And here comes the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

MAN: Gay power, gay politics, that's what this report is about.

REPORTER: There are gay and lesbian people singing out here. What's your reaction to that?

WOMAN: I think it's terrible. If I had a rock, I'd thrown it at them.

WOMAN: The real message of these gay games is that every one of us is a winner.

MAN: Today we are marching, as are others across America. And we shouldn't have to be.

LEA DELARIA: Say it so they can hear you in the Capitol! For love and for life, we're not going back! For love and for life, we're not going back! For love and for life, we're not going back! For love and for life, we're not going back!

REPORTER: I think that's Robin Tyler on the stage leading the chant, for love or for life, we're not going back.

BOTH: Good afternoon, and welcome to the National March in Washington DC for Gay and Lesbian Rights and choral reciting!

[CHEERING]

LEA DELARIA: hear it out there!

[CHEERING]

I'm Lea Delaria!

BRUCE I'm Bruce Hopkins!

HOPKINS:

LEA DELARIA: I'm a dyke--

BRUCE --I'm a faggot--

HOPKINS:

BOTH: --and we're best friends!

[CHEERING]

WOMAN: I want you to savor this next moment. I have the proud task of telling you that the official count of the Lesbian and Gay Rights March, the official count is over 500,000 strong! 500,000 strong!

[CHEERING]

Look at you! 500,000 strong! 500,000 strong! One of the largest marches in United States history!

[CHEERING]

One of the largest marches in the United States history, 500,000 strong!

[MUSIC PLAYING]

MAN: We must destroy the myths once and for all, shatter them. We must continue to speak out. And most importantly-- most importantly, every gay person must come out.

[CHEERING]

As difficult as it is, you must tell your immediate family. You must tell your relatives. You must tell your friends, if indeed they are your friends. You must tell your neighbors. You must tell the people you work with. You must tell the people of the store you shop in.

[CHEERING]

And once they realize that we are indeed their children, and we are indeed everywhere, every myth, every lie, every innuendo will be destroyed once and for all. And once you do, you will feel so much better.

[CHEERING]

BUD: Well, good morning, Terry.

TERRY: Good morning, Bud.

BUD: Are you ready for this?

TERRY: I'm ready. Are you ready?

BUD: I'm ready for something. And we hope that you're ready, because this is After Hours on KPFT in Houston, right?

TERRY: Right.

BUD: Radio celebrating live from the heart of the Montrose. And we've got a very special program for you this morning, produced by Greg Gordon from KPFK in Los Angeles. And the name of the program is--

TERRY: Diminished--

BUD: Capacity.

TERRY: I can't read it.

BUD: Diminished Capacity.

TERRY: My eyes are not working yet this morning.

BUD: Terry's got a 122-degree fever. That's why she can't read it. We've got Diminished Capacity, and we've also got an interview that Greg did with Harvey Milk, the first openly gay supervisor ever elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Harvey was taken away from us by an assassin's bullet 10 years ago. 1988 marks the 10th anniversary of his death.

This year we're going to encourage everyone to join us and everyone else in the gay community in front of the City Hall Reflection Pool on November the 27th, 1988, because we're going to have a special memorial service remembering Harvey. And if you don't know who Harvey is, stay tuned, and we're going to tell you all about him, right Terry?

TERRY: Right.

BUD: I also want to say good morning to Russell and Steve. Russell and Steve are celebrating a life together this morning in beautiful Houston on the Texas Gulf Coast. And they're very special people, just as everyone that is turning their dial to 90.1 Pacifica Radio in Houston is very special people.

I'd also like to say a special good morning and welcome to the Houston area to the Pacifica Board of Directors, all the way from David Salniker, our executive director, down to the programmers and producers and volunteers, just like me and Terry and then Matt and Roger and Allen and Brian, and [INAUDIBLE]. The list goes on and on and on and on.

The Pacifica Board's meeting is in Houston this weekend, and there are some wonderful people from all over the United States from the other five Pacifica stations. They've been here exchanging ideas, and they're wonderful folks. And we'll be telling you about that later on.

I also want to tell you that Marathon begins next week, January 17. And then on the 24th, we're going to have a special Marathon show. And we've just got a whole lot going on. What's going on, Terry?

TERRY: Too much.

BUD: Too much is going on. We've got some special-- what? I'm sorry.

TERRY: Good things.

BUD: All kinds of good things.

TERRY: All kinds.

BUD: This album is from Romanovski and Phillips. It's their first album. And the song we're going to hear is the last cut, talking about--

TERRY: "Homophobia."

BUD: Sounds like "Homophobia" to me. We're going to get right into the interviews with Greg Gordon and Harvey Milk and a lot of other special things. If you're a gay man or a gay woman, and you're listening to this program right now, pick up the phone and call someone that you really care about and say, I care about you, and I want you to turn your radio on to 90.1 FM and listen to After Hours. Because they're getting ready to broadcast a show called Diminished Capacity, and it's all about Harvey Milk. And do someone a favor, and get them involved in tonight's program, because it's very, very special.

TERRY: And if they hang up on you, call them back.

BUD: Yeah, call them right back.

[MUSIC - ROMANOVSKI AND PHILLIPS - "HOMOPHOBIA"]

(SINGING) There was a man who took a stand to try to shed some light.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

And of course, we don't know what homophobia is, do we?

TERRY: Huh-ho.

BUD: What is that?

TERRY: Huh-ho.

BUD: Matt, come here a minute. I need some help from the-- I don't want to say the youngest member of our staff, but I guess you are the youngest member of our staff, right?

MATT: Yeah, I guess so.

BUD: Tell me, who's Harvey Milk?

MATT: Harvey Milk.

BUD: Who was he? Do you know? I mean, you don't have to tell anybody how old you are if you don't want to.

MATT: I don't know how-- I don't know too much, but from what I do know, he was someone that stood up for what he believed in. And he's someone who died for a good cause. And just the other night, I was thinking about him. And I went to bed crying when I thought about Harvey Milk and what he gave up and what he did for us.

BUD: Like I said, Matt's the youngest member of our staff here at After Hours. And 10 years ago, Harvey was killed. I don't want to ask you what you were doing 10 years ago. What were you doing 10 years ago?

TERRY: To the time, Matt, what were you doing?

BUD: Just take a wild guess.

MATT: I was probably messing around with my cousins. We were all young.

BUD: OK, Matt, thank you very much.

[LAUGHTER]

In other words, Matt was-- 10 years ago?

TERRY: 10 years.

BUD: Oh, I don't want to talk about school, but we were in school.

MATT: I didn't know I was gay at the time.

BUD: He was a very young man. 10 years ago, I was in Fort Smith, Arkansas.

TERRY: Was you?

BUD: Yeah. I remember the night Harvey was killed. I couldn't believe it.

TERRY: Yeah.

BUD: And I couldn't believe that a man could walk into the City Hall in San Francisco and murder two people in cold blood and get sent to the pen for seven years.

TERRY: Mm-hmm.

BUD: It's kind of incredible to me. It's blatant homophobia.

TERRY: Right.

BUD: And we can fight it. We can fight it by coming out of the closet. And you can come out of the closet by standing up and saying you're proud of who you are and what you are.

And you want to support this community, we're doing a lot of wonderful things in Houston. We've got Gay Pride '88. Lesbian Gay Pride, they're going to call it this year. And it's going to be one of the greatest celebrations of life you've ever seen.

We've got a gay-- I can't think of the name of the word. Brian tells us about it in the news this morning of the Leadership Conference or something coming up at U of H this month-- it's the last weekend of this month-- where gay leaders from all over Texas are going to be here in Houston. And we're going to support that.

There's a big conference coming up at MCC. Reverend Troy Perry and a lot of the leaders of the MCC fellowship are going to be here in Houston. The Gay Congress is going to hold its first meeting here in Houston this year. There are wonderful things happening in the gay community.

TERRY: Sounds like it.

BUD: There are a lot of gay men and women who are standing up for themselves. Terry, would--

TERRY: Sounds like Houston is the place to be right here in Montrose.

BUD: And you know, I've said it before on this program-- I work for the city. And a lot of people think, oh, that's no big deal. But I work, and I don't have to say it, because it's already been said on the show-- Councilman Vince Ryan said it one night when we were interviewing, and my blood curdled, because he actually said what I did.

I'm a police dispatcher. When you call the police, and they say, we need help, they type it into a computer. And it comes up on your screen, and I punch the little button and send the police officer to your house.

And if I can do a gay radio program in Houston, Texas, in the fourth largest city in the United States and work for the City of Houston in the police department in the fourth largest city in the United States, where my supervisors and all the people I work with know that I'm gay, and they know that I do this program-- in fact, before we started to do this show, I came out to them, because I was terrified they would find out about it by reading it in the paper or something. And if it did anything by telling them, it made them respect me more I think.

TERRY: Right, because you're open to them.

BUD: Right, and the first night we did this show-- you weren't here, Terry, but the first night we did this show, I couldn't even cue a record-- this is back in September-- because I was scared to death. But most people don't care. But they do care if you don't say anything. And I don't know who this is, but someone said one time, it is better to be hated for what one is than loved for what one is not.

And what we want to tell you this morning, that it's wonderful to be gay. There's nothing wrong with being a human being. And we refuse to hide our feelings. We're not going to do it. We're not going to sell ourselves out to anybody anymore.

TERRY: Shut that closet and lock it when you step out.

BUD: Well, kaboom! Blow the door off.

TERRY: Right.

BUD: I don't care. I would wear a shirt to work that says, I'm a fag. Well, I can't, because we have to wear a uniform. But if I thought it would help gay men and women all over the country feel proud of themselves and to come out-- we're good people. We're not garbage, we're not trash, we are good people.

TERRY: Right. My mother once told me, she says, if they don't love you, they're missing a blessing.

BUD: That's right. But Harvey Milk said it. The night that they won the Briggs Initiative-- and if you don't know what the Briggs Initiative is, there was a senator or congressman or representative, some nut in California that wanted to take the gay teachers out of the school system in California. So he proposed this initiative and took it before the voters.

Well, it was defeated. The gay community and, thank god, the straight community, supported the gay community and their right for freedom. And they said, this isn't right, and we're not going to allow this to happen. And the whole thing was wiped out.

But anyway, Harvey made a speech that night that was just incredible. And we use it when we open the show, and we're going to share a little bit of that with you right now. And listen to the words. Listen to what the man is saying to these people.

HARVEY MILK: Destroy the myths once and for all. Shatter them. We must continue to speak out. And most importantly, most importantly, every gay person must come out.

[CHEERING]

As difficult as it is, you must tell your immediate family. You must tell your relatives. You must tell your friends, if indeed, they are your friends. You must tell your neighbors. You must tell the people you work with. You must tell the people in the stores you shop in.

[CHEERING]

And once they realize that we are indeed their children, and we are indeed everywhere, every myth, every lie, every innuendo will be destroyed once and for all. And once you do, you will feel so much better.

[CHEERING]

CHOIR: (SINGING) [INAUDIBLE], come together, stay together, and each others' rights defend.

[CHEERING]

TERRY: Coming up, we're going to talk about Harvey Milk and all the wonderful things he's done and about the community of Montrose. And if we all stand together, then we can accomplish something. But if we're separate, then it's not going to work.

BUD: That's right. And if you can stand up and say, I'm proud of who I am and what I am, nobody's going to stop you. There's no way.

TERRY: Right. Coming on the show tonight, my lover and I was riding down here, and I started thinking, if all the people would just stand up just once and say, I'm proud of who I am and what I am, then the city of Houston would-- the sparks would fly and the lights would come on. And then they would say, hey, these are regular, normal people.

BUD: Yeah, the sparks are flying already. I worked for the Houston Police Department for about five years, almost five years. And there are a lot of gay people that work for this city, just as there are a lot of gay people that work for every place you can imagine.

TERRY: Well, I'm in the furniture business. And we have a lot!

BUD: When we were talking, we were talking about the show. And I said one time, I said, I just don't want to talk about where I work. I can just say I work for the city. And then we went on and on and on. And then Vince Ryan, Councilman Ryan was on one morning after he was elected. And he was talking about the police and how they were trying to get away from the call and haul squad, where you call 'em, they haul 'em.

And then he said, well buddy, you know that, though, working as a police dispatcher. And my throat just choked. I couldn't believe it. I thought, oh my god, now he said that, so now what am I going to do? Well, you know, I have to make a living. I don't really like my job. In fact, if anyone out there has a great job for me--

TERRY: Call us right now.

BUD: Yeah, I'd be more than happy to fill out an application today and work for someplace 9:00 to 5:00 and Saturdays and Sundays off and all that kind of good stuff. But anyway, we've got a lot of Harvey Milk for you this morning. I've also got a lot of music for you.

We're going to listen to a song now that we played a lot and we're going to continue to play a lot by Romanovski and Phillips. It's called "Lost Emotions." And we don't want you to lose your emotions. We want you to find them.

TERRY: Right.

BUD: And you can find them by listening to After Hours on KPFT Houston 90.1 FM.

[MUSIC - ROMANOVSKI AND PHILLIPS - "LOST EMOTIONS"]

(SINGING) I'm leaving on a journey-- -- simply said goodbye.

HARVEY MILK: I'm Harvey Milk. I'm a supervisor in San Francisco.

GREG GORDON: And I'm Greg Gordon for IMRU.

HARVEY MILK: And I'm gay. [LAUGHS]

GREG GORDON: And so am I. And we're up in San Francisco in Harvey's office at Castro Camera. And Harvey is graciously taking a few minutes out of his very busy schedule to talk to us about politics in San Francisco and how he got elected, the first openly gay person to be elected to public office in California history.

HARVEY MILK: I'd like to also talk about politics in California, rather than San Francisco.

GREG GORDON: That's fine.

HARVEY MILK: Because I don't think there's a delineation.

GREG GORDON: You don't think that there's a difference in politics in San Francisco as opposed to, let's say, politics in Los Angeles?

HARVEY MILK: It's a matter of degree. There's no moat built around the city of San Francisco that separates us from the rest. Sometimes we wish there were.

[BOTH LAUGH]

But I think what takes place in San Francisco, for whatever reasons, can take place anyplace. It's just a matter of understanding what it's all about. And San Francisco is very interesting, because the fact I'm gay, that becomes a big media event that sells the newspapers.

But it's very important that we realize that I was elected as a candidate who was gay, rather than a gay candidate. I didn't run on a gay issue. I ran on-- the 11 districts we have in San Francisco, the difference from LA is that we are both county supervisors and city council people, one and the same.

The city is divided into 11 districts. And since we are city and county, it's one powerful, very powerful legislative group. You have to picture your LA City Council, your LA Board of Supervisors were one and the same. That's where we are. And we are an activist group, rather than puppets of a strong mayor or something like that.

GREG GORDON: Or a strong police chief.

HARVEY MILK: Or a strong police chief. We were very, very strong in the city. In the 11 districts that were up for election this past year, there were total of something like 162 candidates altogether. Of the 162 candidates, well, there were 11-- not even 11, there were about seven or eight who were incumbents who ran-- six I guess-- and X-ing those out because they have a record of voting on issues.

Of all the other 150 some-odd people, I was probably the most issue-oriented person running. I probably had taken more strong, definitive stands, not yes, I'm for that, no, I'm not for that, but why, and been in the battles, than all the other candidates running. I'm probably more issue-oriented than some of the supervisors who ran for re-election at least, or more so. And it's vital to know that it took four years, five years or whatever it was, to build up that kind of a reputation

GREG GORDON: Yeah, because you had run for office in the past.

HARVEY MILK: It had nothing to do with running for office. The reason I ran for office is because I was issue-oriented. People say, oh, you ran for office, name recognition. No. In my particular district, we've had about five or six major district battles versus citywide problems. In every one, I was involved in them, on one side or the other. There wasn't one other candidate-- it was 17 people running in this district. There wasn't one other candidate who'd been involved in every single district problem.

I was there. People on the streets would say to me, Harvey, I don't agree with your issue, but I know you are a fighter. I know you're there. I know you will be there when we need you. They couldn't say that about any of the other candidates in this district, or hardly in any other districts.

GREG GORDON: It sounds like Harvey Milk is trying to send a message out to other gay or non-gay people who want to run for public office.

HARVEY MILK: Get involved. Build your base, build your support. You can't just get out there and say, hey, I'm a nice guy, and I'm going to vote right on all the issues. Let me give you a classic case that's going to be controversial right now.

We have a statewide primary coming up for attorney general. One of the people running for statewide in the Democratic primary is Yvonne Burke. My heart goes there. She's Black, she's a woman. Wow, there I go.

But-- but in Orange County at the Democratic statewide meeting a couple of months ago, well, they all spoke. Orange County conservative, Orange County-- most of the people. In fact, I was the only elected official outside of the LA Orange County area. So you had basically the conservative wing of the Democratic Party. Yvonne Burke got up and talked about the Black people, talked about women. Great. She sat down.

Burt Pines got up and talked about battered wives, what he's done for them; the Latinos, what he's done for them; the Blacks, what he's done for them; abused children, what he's done for them; and the gay community, what he's done for them. Three times in his speech he talked about what he's done for the gay people in front of a very conservative audience.

Three months later, after the campaign trail, and then these people have hurt each other back and forth. In Sacramento before the Democratic Minority Coalition, which is the traditional minorities, the feminists, and the gay people, they're speaking knowing who the audience is speaking to. This is now not the conservative wing of the Democratic Party, but the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

They got up, Yvonne gets up and talks about the Black issue, about women, sits down. Burt gets up and talks about the same thing. That's the difference. He's done his work, he's paid his dues. He's willing to talk about it, he's an activist.

He was involved doing things. She will vote right, but he's been there. A lot of candidates I ran against would vote right, the same as I do. But they wouldn't be the activist, they wouldn't be the advocate, they wouldn't be the leader.

GREG GORDON: I think that's what people are looking for these days is somebody who will-- that's what we're crying out for up even to the federal government.

HARVEY MILK: Statewide-- let's get together statewide May 5th. I think it's May 5th or 6th, Sunday, May 6, I guess it is. Sunday, LA, we're calling together a statewide caucus of gay people, a convention, but not endorsement. And we're inviting all the candidates for statewide office-- Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and I guess Secretary of State.

GREG GORDON: This is a nonpartisan or--

HARVEY MILK: Nonpartisan-- Democrat, Republican, Peace and Freedom, American Independent. We want gay people from all of the state to come. With sending the letters to these people, we would have this caucus. We're going to say that you have 10, 15 minutes to present your case and then questioning.

But we don't want to hear about dams, we don't want to hear about redwood trees. We want to hear about what you think on the gay issues, what you think about that. And then we will accept questions from the audience, filter them through a panel of gay newspaper people so that someone doesn't get up and do a 10-minute tirade, right?

GREG GORDON: Yeah.

HARVEY MILK: Like I do. And they'll be asked questions. If Jerry Brown does not show up, that will be published. If he shows up, what he says will be published. There'll be no endorsements, but we will disseminate the information.

GREG GORDON: It's a forum, basically.

HARVEY MILK: It's a forum, it's like the Black community does. We must follow what the Black community does. Black community does this on a national level. All the candidates for the Democratic primary for president met before the Black Leadership Forum or whatever it was called in North Carolina, and talked about Black issues.

We must do the same thing in the gay community. We must move out of San Francisco, out of LA. We must move to California. If you add the gay community with the other traditional minorities, we should have control of the state. So we cannot sit in the back of the bus and let the other minorities lead. We should show the leadership. In fact, we are in an incredible position. You see--

GREG GORDON: Well, let me ask you, are other minorities coming around to realizing that they can and should work with the gay community?

HARVEY MILK: Oh, yeah. Lieutenant Governor Dymally has stuck his neck out for the gay community over and over again. When Willie Brown's sexual bill was before the city, he flew in from Denver to cast that vote in front of the eyes of the world. So he stuck his neck out there. And he understands working together. He understands the importance of gay people in there.

But it's very interesting. Take San Francisco, which is a very heavy minority city. Over 50% of the population is minority. Because of the fighting for those crumbs, sometimes the Black community doesn't talk to the Chicano community, the Filipino won't talk to the Asians, the Asians won't talk to anybody.

Nevertheless, they all talk to me, the gay person, probably for two reasons. One, because within the gay community, we have gay Asians, gay Blacks, gay-- you know, we are infiltrating. That's part of the reason-- we cut across lines.

Second of all, for whatever reasons, I'm the one that can pull it together. So we are trying very strongly to pull together that coalition. In view of that, we realized-- at least I have always realized-- it's the voter registration. We are kicking off a massive voter registration drive within the Chinese and gay community together soon.

There's many reasons for that. We're working very tight with the Asian community, very tight. And if we can pull it off here, if LA pulls it off and we pull off statewide, that within 10 years, the minorities will be running the state. And by the minorities, I'm talking about the feminists, talking about the gays included with that.

And so we have to fight that. We have to fight with our natural allies. But it can't be just because a person is Black or green or gay or orange or whatever it may be. They have to be issue-oriented. You cannot accept someone to get out there, I'm gay, therefore, vote for me.

GREG GORDON: How do you motivate people to register? Because this is a fundamental problem that we've always had.

HARVEY MILK: To motivate them, say, do you like Davis? Do you like Senator Briggs? You like your Anita Bryant? You motivate them, because you tell them that the legislators and the executive officers, be they the local supervisor, be they statewide, run your life.

They run your life, and they spend your money. When they collect tax money from gay people and don't give us anything back in return, take it for their golf courses, take our tax money for their pet projects and give us-- and on top of it, insult us by not giving us our rights, that's not motivation. If you like being harassed by the police, if you like being a third class citizen, if you like being beat up by punks, if you like the church yelling at you, don't register, don't vote.

But don't complain. If you want to be shoved back in your closet, if you want to be the traditional gay person who gets beat up and whimpers home and say, well, I'm gay, and I deserve to get beat up, fine. Otherwise, the only thing you can do is register to vote.

GREG GORDON: What about the reasonably well-off gay couples or gay singles in the Hills somewhere who never had any trouble with the police, who never-- they can say, that's never happened to me, why should I get involved? My life is beautiful.

HARVEY MILK: I.e., that reminds me of the wealthy Jews in Nazi Germany when Hitler first was picking up the Jewish communists and Jewish socialism. They were scum. That's not us, we are accepted. We've been accepted, we ride in the back of the bus. It's like the Uncle Tom.

And believe me, when Hitler started to have the concentration camps, he didn't care if you were a Jewish socialist or Jewish fascist. You were Jewish, you went. When the Briggs and Anita Bryant take over, they don't care if you are the accepted hairdresser or the gay doctor or the gay lawyer or the gay society person. If you are gay, you will go off.

And if that sounds like a stereotype thing, stop and think Nazi Germany, what it did to the gay people. There were 600,000 gay people killed. Prior to Hitler's taking over in the '20s, the gay movement in Germany was more advanced than the gay movement in San Francisco in 1978. There was a statewide, nationwide convention of gay people in Germany, 8,000 gay people. We've never had anything like that here.

There were letters written to the Reichstag, telling them to throw out the anti-gay laws. Scientists, doctors, everybody was pushing for gayness and acceptability. In Russia 1917, they threw out the anti-gay laws.

And then Stalin took over. That was the end of the gay movement. Hitler took over to end the gay movement. And if you think history doesn't repeat itself, you're crazy. And the only defense about that is not just to be organized, but to get involved and to realize who the common enemy is.

Unfortunately, within the gay community, we have such a class distinction and racism within the gay community and sexism within the gay community. Because some people think they're better than the rest. When it comes down to it, we all do the same thing. The elitists in the gay community, those who are accepted, those who are the Uncle Toms, those who have sold out, must realize that when the push comes to shove, that if Senator Briggs wins against the gay schoolteachers, the next thing he may say is, we don't want gay people to vote.

GREG GORDON: Well, in Oklahoma, they just passed a law forbidding gay people to teach. And the same man who sponsored that says he's going to sponsor a law prohibiting gay people from running for public office.

HARVEY MILK: Right, right.

GREG GORDON: So it's one step at a time.

HARVEY MILK: And when my gay, elitist, wealthy brother or sister says, I don't have to worry, I don't get in trouble with the police, I don't go to the bars, I don't go to this-- OK, it's that old story in Germany. First it was the gays and the Gypsies and then the Jews, and they kept going, and finally, there was nobody to protest. You've got to stop them at the beginning. They've got to get involved. The gay elitist, the gay wealthy people, the gay society people, the gay people who have made it, they have to fight the battle now.

GREG GORDON: In many cases, they're in the better positions to be able to do it too.

HARVEY MILK: And they're also in a position to lose more. Because the gay street person, i.e. whatever that means, what has that person got to lose by fighting the battle?

GREG GORDON: Well, that's why they were out in the front from the beginning.

HARVEY MILK: Right, but the well-to-do, those who have made it, they've got a lot to lose. They've got to lose what they're worried about. And they're the ones who have to come through. And if they want to stay in the closet and so forth, fine, but get their checkbooks out of the closet. It's needed. It's desperately needed that their checkbooks come out of the closet.

The only-- I know the power I have as elected official in this city. It's incredible. I mean, I'm restricted by the Charter of what I can do or I can't do, but boy, can I do it. And I know that when I speak out in this city, the Police Department is nervous, the Chamber of Commerce is nervous. I know the power I have.

And if you don't start-- whoever's listening, if you don't start helping electing gay people, and not just gay people but gay fighters who will get up and not take it and sit back, who'll fight for it. If you don't start electing it, we're going to be in trouble. So street people have to register and vote, and they have to realize that it cannot be only voting for the people who believe in every single thing they do. There's no such thing. There's no such perfect candidate.

They have to compromise and then to realize they-- and the gay person who is living in the Hills has to realize that he or she can't only support the conservative type people or the respectable type people, that both have to lose-- you both will lose if you don't get together. And you've got to join hands now. It's desperate. It's desperate.

GREG GORDON: You had a couple of gay people running as candidates for Assembly in Los Angeles, in the Los Angeles Districts 44 and 46. Some gay political clubs did not endorse them. I'm not going to be critical. I don't want to get into that issue.

But what I want to ask you is, what happens when you have two or three or four gay political groups or gay organizations that are in a position to help, but who cannot seem to get together? Because obviously, you've got to have a coalesced movement in order to elect somebody. What can you say to these people?

HARVEY MILK: In my first three attempts to run-- I've run four times if I win-- I was never supported by the gay establishment, I was never supported by the gay political leaders, I was never supported by the gay clubs. And the reason why is if I won, I would have been what I am now that I won. And they would no longer be at the top of the hill.

They don't realize that there's room at the top for a lot of people. They wanted to be-- they rather would have been the Uncle Tom in the back of the bus, or the Aunt Mary, as I call them, and be the token, be the first to discover Barbra Streisand, to be the token fag, rather than to see a gay person elected and the power go that way. They don't realize there's room for plenty.

And I found out in San Francisco, the so-called gay leaders at the time, the Jim Fosters and all those people, they were for themselves, they were not for the gay movement. Their attitude was so offensive that they would back straight people. I found that their influence was such that they brought Elaine Noble 3,000 miles across country to campaign for a straight person against me, a gay person, both of whom she had never met.

But the gay leadership of this city, whatever it was, which was self-appointed leadership, was more anti-gay-- they were homosexuals, but they were anti-gay, because they didn't believe it. They were afraid that somebody else would get the power. Everybody wants to be the first. Everybody wants to be it, so they can walk around with the glory.

And those people are the ones who don't believe in the gay movement. They believe in themselves and what they can get out of it. We had it in San Francisco and