

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES:

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

H. Barrell, 'Levine Used Drugs and Electric Shocks to 'Cure' Gay Men', Mail and Guardian, (28 July to 3 Aug. 2000).

P. Kirk, 'Freaks' Offered a Chance to Change', Mail and Guardian, (28 July to 3 Aug. 2000).

'Mutilation by the Military', Mail and Guardian, (28 July to 3 Aug. 2000).

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES FROM THE NEWSPAPER ARCHIVES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE, INSTITUUT VIR EIETJDSE GESKIEDENIS, (Micro-Fiche at RAU)

'No Gay Cops Likely for SAP', The Argus, (7 Jan. 1981), Publication No: 0027, Date: 810107007, Subject No: 159, Document No: 18).

'Prof's Plea on 'No Threat' Crimes', The Star, (7 Nov. 1980, Publication No: 0213, Date: 801107312, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1624).

'Penal Policy Under Attack', The Daily News, (6 Nov. 1980, Publication No: 0086, Date: 801106311, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1620b).

'Hurley Explains Views on Gays', The Daily News, (10 June 1983, Publication No: 0086, Date: 830610161, Subject No: 167, Document No: 1174).

'Love' Promise to 'Gay' Troopies', The Citizen, (11 March 1983, Publication No: 0353, Date: 8308223, Subject No: 205, Document No: 2170).

‘Gays Petition FW on Rights’, The Citizen, (25 June 1993, Publication No: 0353, Date: 930625176, Subject No: 159, Document No: 3872).

‘Petition Drive by AMP Against ‘Immoral’ Laws’, The Leader, (26 Aug. 1994, Publication No: 0400, Date: 940826238, Subject No: 272, Document No: 12973).

‘Discrimination Against Homosexuals Contrary to Constitution – Mandela’, The Argus, (25 Feb. 1994, Publication No: 0027, Date: 940225056, Subject No: 272, Document No: 3049).

‘Don’t Give Gays Special Rights, Church Urges Government’, The Citizen, (2 Oct. 1993, Publication No: 0353, Date: 931002275, Subject No: 167, Document No: 824).

‘Lesbians and Gays Against Oppression’, Weekly Mail, (13 Feb. 1987, Publication No: 1074, Date: 870219050, Subject No: 167, Document No: 255).

‘Homosexuals and the Church: Yes and No’, The Star, (6 Aug. 1983, Publication No: 0213, Date: 830806218, Subject No: 167, Document No: 1691b).

‘Anglicans Clash Over Homosexuals’, The Citizen, (1 Aug. 1983, Publication No: 0353, Date: 830801213, Subject No: 167, Document No: 1593).

‘Anglicans Erupt in Biblical Sex Row’, Sunday Express, (31 July 1983, Publication No: 0248, Date: 830731212, Subject No: 167, Document No: 1610).

‘ANC Sent Gay-Rights Ideas’, The Cape Times, (5 Oct. 1990, Publication No: 0060, Date: 901005278, Subject No: 272, Document No: 4592).

Letter to the Editor, ‘‘Gay Speech’ Was Not a Crime’, Rand Daily Mail, (7 Oct. 1981, Publication No: 0183, Date: 811007280, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1565).

Letter to the Editor, 'Names or Not', The Daily News, (14 Aug. 1980, Publication No: 0086, Date: 8100814227, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1228).

Letter to the Editor from F.D. Huthwaite, 'Why Publish?', The Daily News, (6 Aug. 1980, Publication No: 0086, Date: 800806219, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1169).

Letter to the Editor from G.W. Harrison, 'Homosexuality: Dim View of SA Churches', Rand Daily Mail, (18 June 1982, Publication No: 0183, Date: 820618169, Subject No: 167, Document No: 811).

C. Bauer, 'Reconciling Jesus and 'Modern Man'', Weekly Mail, (25 Oct. 1990, Publication No: 1074, Date: 901025298, Subject No: 167, Document No: 1611).

G. Daniels, 'Police to Appeal to Gay Extortion Victims', The Star, (Dec. 1994, Publication No: 0213, Date: 941206340, Subject No: 159, Document No: 13204).

S. de Waal, 'Mandela Trial: Legitimate Defence or Homophobia?', Weekly Mail, (21 March 1991, Publication No: 1074, Date: 910321080, Subject No: 159, Document No: 17370).

P. Farrell, 'City Gays Under Attack', The Argus, (15 Nov. 1991, Publication No: 0027, Date: 911115319, Subject No: 159, Document No: 7165).

R. Friedman, 'Public Phone-In Asks Police, Prisoners to Halt Gay-Bashing', The Argus, (9 Sept. 1992, Publication No: 0027, Date: 92090253, Subject No: 159, Document No: 6591).

M. Gevisser, 'A Lesson in Gay Pride For Police', Mail and Guardian, (6 Oct. 1994, Publication No: 1074, Date: 941006279, Subject No: 159, Document No: 10464).

R. Hartle, 'Promise to Protect Christian Morals', Herald, (9 March 1994, Publication No: 0094, Date: 940309068, Subject No: 337, Document No: 1193).

E. Jaroschek, 'No Limp Wrist on Long Arm of the Law', Rand Daily Mail, (8 Jan. 1981, Publication No: 0183, Date: 810108008, Subject No: 159, Document No: 25).

A. Johnson, 'Decriminalise Homosexual Conduct – DP', The Cape Times, (16 Feb. 1990, Publication No: 0060, Date: 200216047, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1120).

A. Lefoka, 'Gays Say ANC Okay', City Press, (6 March 1994, Publication No: 0469, Date: 940306065, Subject No: 337, Document No: 1106).

C. Leonard, 'What a Gay Old Day!', Sunday Times, (11 Oct. 1992, Publication No: 0256, Date: 921011285, Subject No: 094, Document No: 173).

C. Mathews, 'Churches Would Welcome More Tolerance', Business Day, (3 May 1994, Publication No: 1040, Date: 940503123, Subject No: 167, Document No: 397).

C. McGibbon, 'March to 'Gay' Agenda', The Sunday Star, (7 Oct. 1990, Publication No: 0493, Date: 901007280, Subject No: 337, Document No: 2266).

S. Ntshakala, 'Gay Rights a Sensitive Issue in the Politics of a New SA', The Natal Mercury, (26 Oct. 1991, Publication No: 0132, Date: 911026299, Subject No: 272, Document No: 4044).

R. Olivier, 'Top Cop on Sex Charges', Herald, (25 Feb. 1993, Publication No: 0094, Date: 930225056, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1232).

R. Olivier, 'Sex Crime Officer Warned and Discharged', Herald, (26 Feb. 1993, Publication No: 0094, Date: 930226057, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1234).

B. Payi, 'ACDP's Leader Hits Out Over Homosexuality', Herald, (30 March 1994, Publication No: 0094, Date: 940330089, Subject No: 337, Document No: 1820).

I. Powell, 'Gays Slate Tactics of Winnie Defence', The Sunday Star, (17 March 1991, Publication No: 0493, Date: 910317076, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1585).

M. Saliso, 'Policemen Convicted of Indecent Assault', Herald, (29 Nov. 1994, Publication No: 0094, Date: 941129333, Subject No: 159, Document No: 13540).

J. Schrönen, 'Police Warn Gays About Pick-Up Sex', The Argus, (6 July 1994, Publication No: 0027, Date: 94076187, Subject No: 159, Document No: 6640).

B. Stuart, 'Church Rows Over Homosexuals Flares Again', Weekend Argus, (30 July 1983, Publication No: 0337, Date: 830730211, Subject No: 167, Document No: 1595).

P. van der Merwe, 'SA Police Doors Remain Shut on Gays', Pretoria News, (29 Feb. 1992, Publication No: 0175, Date: 920229060, Subject No: 159, Document No: 1574).

P. van der Merwe, 'Gays' Razzmatazz Plan for 'Yes' Vote', Pretoria News, (2 March 1992, Publication No: 0175, Date: 920307067, Subject No: 272, Document No: 2338).

S. Westcott, 'Bill of Rights Faces No 'Base Beast'', Democracy in Action, (Aug. 1994, Publication No: 1325, Date: 940831243, Subject No: 159, Document No: 9509).

THE GAY AND LESBIAN ARCHIVES (GALA) IN THE WILLIAM CULLEN LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

'Some Questions', (no publication, no date, possible by OLGA).

AM 2583/A

: J. Beaumont, 'Gay OK, Says ANC', Exit, (June 1986), (Exit 6-60).

: 'Lawyers Group to Tackle Gay Issues', Exit, (June 1986), (Exit 6-60).

: J. Beaumont, 'New Hope for Gay Rights', Exit, (Aug/Sept. 1986), (Exit 6-60).

AM 2656

: The Religious Society of Friends, Towards a Quaker View of Sex, (Henry Burt and Son Ltd, Great Britain, 1963).

: Memorandum from the District C.I. Officer, Hillbrow, (13 Oct. 1967).

: Memorandum from A.M. Lamont, Commissioner for Mental Health, to the Secretary for Health, Re: Immorality Amendment Bill, (circa 1968).

: Evidence Submitted by the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions to the Select Committee, (circa 1968).

: Memorandum to the Select Committee, (circa 1968).

: Prof. Hunt and Prof. Burchell, 'Unnatural Sexual Offences' from textbook on Criminal Law, handed in by M. Mitchell, MP, (3/3, circa 1968)

: Written Submission to the Department of Justice, (circa 1968).

: Written Submission by Rt Rev. Ambrose Reeves to the Select Committee, (circa 1968).

: Memorandum from Dr van Niekerk and Mr Dugard, 'The Treatment of the Problem of Homosexual Conduct in Some Foreign Legal Systems' to the Select Committee, (1968).

: Memorandum from the University of the Witwatersrand to the Select Committee, (1968).

: Memorandum from the Christian Citizenship Department of the Methodist Church of South Africa to the Select Committee, (1968).

: Memorandum from M.A. Boehmke, Senior Lecturer in Law and J.B. du Toit, Professor in Sociology, University College, Western Cape, to the Select Committee, (1968).

: Memorandum from the South African Police Head Office, Cape Town, to the Minister of Justice, Cape Town, 'Activities of Homosexuals', (10 Feb.1968).

: Written Submission from Peter Graham to the Select Committee, (14 Feb. 1968).

: Letter from W. Fensham, Rondebosch, to P.C. Pelsler, Minister of Justice, Cape Town, 'Homosexuality', (24 Feb. 1968).

: Written Submission by J.C. van Rensburg to the Select Committee, (26 Feb.1968).

: Letter from James Locke, Port Elizabeth, (26 Feb. 1968).

: Written Submission by Dr Aubrey Levine to the Select Committee, (28 Feb.1968).

- : Written Submission by Church Minister to the Select Committee (5 March 1968).
- : Memorandum from Rev. Robert Selby Taylor, Archbishop of Cape Town, on behalf of the Bishops of the Church of South Africa and the Christian Council of South Africa, to the Select Committee, (March 1968).
- : Memorandum from Capt. F.A.J. van Zyl (7 March 1968).
- : Memorandum from the South African Police, Pretoria, to the Secretary of the House of Assembly, Re: Immorality Amendment Act, (13 March 1968).
- : Memo to Dr Fisher (Committee Member investigating proposed Bill on Homosexuality) from Rev. Jones, (18 March 1968).
- : Written Submission from the South African Psychological Association to the Select Committee, (20 March 1968).
- : Memorandum from Prof. A.C. Cilliers of the University of Port Elizabeth to the Select Committee, (25 March 1968).
- : Memorandum from H. Hammond, Church of England in South Africa to the Secretary of the House of Assembly, (25 March 1968).
- : Memorandum from the Practising Private Psychiatrists in Cape Town to the Select Committee, (26 March 1968).
- : Letter from Rochelle de Villiers to the Select Committee, (26 March 1968).
- : Written Submission from Dr R.E. Hemphill to the Secretary of the House of Assembly (28 March 1968).
- : A. Campling, 'Homosexuality, Sin or Suffering?', Personality, (28 March 1968).
- : Written Submission by the Society of Psychiatrists and Neurologists of South Africa to the Select Committee, (28 March 1968).
- : Memorandum to the Select Committee, (29 March 1968).
- : Letter from Mrs Hoole (The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)) to the Select Committee, (31 March 1968).
- : Letter from H.M.P. (a South African Homosexual) to the Select Committee (2 April 1968).
- : Evidence submitted to the Select Committee, (3 April 1968).
- : Evidence submitted to the Select Committee, (24 April 1968).
- : Evidence submitted to the Select Committee, (26 April 1968).

- : Evidence submitted to the Select Committee, (1 May 1968).
- : Evidence submitted to the Select Committee, (3 May 1968).
- : Letter from Frances Katz, Natal, to PM Vorster, Cape Town, (9 May 1968).
- : Memorandum from Dr L. Freed to Select Committee, (16 May 1968).
- : Evidence submitted to the Select Committee, (5 June 1968).
- : ‘End of 300 Years of Sexual Discrimination Dawns’, Sunday Independent, (24 Aug. 1997).
- : K. Mitchell, ‘Taking Part With Pride’, Mail and Guardian, (7 Aug. 1998).
- : ‘Gay Pride Delights, Bemuses in Jo’burg’, (no name), (28 Sept. 1998).
- : Letter to the Editor from Siphon Fafa Ntuli, ‘Homosexuality is Against the ‘Afro-Renaissance’’, Mail and Guardian, (13 Nov. 1998).
- : Letter to the Editor from Juan Uys, ‘Gay Alliance Will Surprise Everyone’, The Citizen, (14 Nov. 1998).
- : L. Simpson, ‘Born Again – Or Born Gay?’, (no name), (Dec. 1998).
- : ‘Judges Rule in Favour of Gays’, The Citizen, (15 Feb. 1999).
- : R. Philip, ‘Fury Grows Over Gay Voortrekker Monument’, Sunday Times, (2 May 1999).



AM 2757

- : ‘The SADF Should Revise its Stand’, Sunday Star, (13 Jan. 1993).
- : ‘TRC Slams Army Medical Services Evidence’, The Citizen, (18 June 1997).
- : ‘Commission to Hear of Electric Shock Therapy for Gay Conscripts’, The Star, (17 June 1997).
- : ‘Ministry Waives Secrecy Clause for Erstwhile Conscripts to ‘Tell All’’, Business Day, (30 April 1997).
- : ‘Health Sector’s Role Under Apartheid to be Examined’, The Star, (17 June 1997).
- : L. Ensor, ‘SA Army Psychiatrist ‘Shocked, Tortured Gay Men’’, Business Day, (17 June 1997).
- : G. Thiel, ‘Horrors of Mental Camps Before Truth Body’, Mail and Guardian, (20-26 June 1997).
- : ‘Dr Shock: I Only Gave Them Drugs’, Mail and Guardian, (20-26 June 1997).

- : K. Vernon, 'Troopie Tells of Gay Torture Horror', The Sunday Times, (22 June 1997).
- : Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Human Rights Violations, Health Sector Hearings, (17 June 1997, Cape Town), ('The Aversion Project', B. General Information).
- : 'The Aversion Project' (untitled, no date, D. General Information).
- : Transcript of interview 8 with Trudie Grobler for 'The Aversion Project', (C. Interviews).
- : 'The Aversion Project' (all pages, D. General Information).

Kevan Botha Collection

- : Extracts from Reports of the Technical Committee on Fundamental Rights During the Transition Recording the Development of the Applicable Articles in the Bill of Fundamental Rights, (no date).
- : South African Police Service: Diversity Training Inclusion of Sexual Orientation Module, from Senior Superintendent Juan Nel to Equality Foundation, (no date).
- : Memorandum on Adoption of Children by Gays and Lesbians by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, (3 Nov. 1993).
- : Democratic Party Advertisement in Liason, (April 1994).
- : Minutes of Meeting of the Lawyers for Gay and Lesbian Equality, (3 Aug. 1994).
- : Letter to the Editor from A. Forfar, 'Homophobia Evangelist to Blame for Anti-Gay Bible', The Star, (27 Oct. 1994).
- : Extract of Current Legal Provisions from Kevan Botha, the Equality Foundation, to Adam Levin, Sunday Times, (25 Nov. 1994).
- : T. August, 'Gay SA Unites for Freedom', Sowetan, (8 Dec. 1994).
- : To the Board of Members, Equality Foundation, from Steven Makovitz, Big World Cinema, (circa 1994/5).
- : Telefax from Kevan Botha, The Equality Foundation, to Ian McKellen, (17 Jan. 1995).
- : Community Policing IV: Module 2 – Diversity Training Focus Group, from Marlene de Beer, Technikon RSA, to Kevan Botha, (3 April 1995).
- : Submission to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Welfare. Comments on the

Draft Child Care Amendment Bill by the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, (12 May 1996).

'Special Story Cuttings' of B.E.J. Garmeson, AM 2580/G

- : 'Nine Men Sentenced for Indecency', Natal Daily News, (3 July 1956).
- : '35 Held in Vice Clean-Up', Sunday Tribune, (19 Aug. 1956).
- : Letter to the Editor, 'Distasteful Duties', Natal Mercury, (4 Sept. 1956).
- : 'Police Drive Against Pretoria's Male Vice Rings', Sunday Tribune, (1 Sept. 1957).
- : 'Vice Squad Find 350 Men in One House', The Star, (22 Jan. 1966).
- : 'Police Hold Nine at House Party', Sunday Express, (23 Jan. 1966).
- : 'Nine Men Arrested in Raid on Jo'burg House', Sunday Times, (23 Jan. 1966).
- : 'Five Pay 'Men Only' Party Fines', Rand Daily Mail, (24 Jan. 1966).
- : 'Police Drive Against Vice 'Clubs'', Sunday Express, (30 Jan. 1966).
- : K. Wallace, 'Spotlight on SA's Growing Social Problem', Sunday Express, (12 March 1967).
- : Letter to the Editor, 'Ill-Behaved Extroverts in Minority', Sunday Express, (2 April 1967).
- : Letter to the Editor, 'No Wonder World is Like it is', Sunday Express, (2 April 1967).
- : Letter to the Editor, "'Unnatural ... Ungodly'", Sunday Express, (2 April 1967).

Gerald Kraete Collection

- : 'The Abuse of Psychiatry in the SADF: 'I am First a Soldier and then a Psychiatrist', in Resister, Journal of the Committee on South African War Resistance, No. 47 (Dec. 1986-Jan. 1987).

Alfred Machela Collection AM 2622

A1. RGO Membership

- : Letter from RGO, 'The RGO Committee Call for Solidarity in the Gay Community' (1987).
- : Letter from RGO (1987).

A2. International, A3. Correspondence

- : Letter A. Machela, (no date).
- : Letter to Gay Socialists from RGO, (no date).
- : Letter from A. Stackling to Mr Wikström, (19 Sept. 1986).
- : Letter from A. Machela to I. Christie, (12 Feb. 1987).
- : Letter from J. Voss to A. Machela, (12 Feb. 1987).
- : Letter from RGO, (4 May 1987).
- : Letter to Peter from RGO, (6 May 1987).
- : Letter to Jügen from RGO, (13 May 1987).
- : Letter from Peter to Siphwiwe, (25 April 1988).
- : Letter from S. Nkoli to Peter, (2 May 1988).
- : Letter from RGO, (1988).

A2.5. RGO Natal

- : Letter from W.E. Everson to A. Machela, (10 Sept. 1986).
- : Letter to W.E. Everson from A. Machela, (22 Sept. 1986).

A3.1. RGO Local Correspondence, A3. 1c. Others

- : Letter from A. Machela to K. Botha, (1986).
- : Letter from A. Machela to President of GASA, (1986).
- : Letter from RGO to LAGO, (2 March 1987).
- : Letter from R. Ah Chow to A. Machela, (3 Aug. 1987).
- : Letter to A. Machela from G. Shelton, (no date).
- : Letter to A. Machela, (no date).
- : Letter from G. Shelton to A. Machela, (21 Feb. no year).
- : Letter from G. Shelton to A. Machela, (8 March no year).
- : Letter from G. Shelton to Siphwiwe, (6 April no year).

A3.1a. from Julia Nicol

- : Letter from Julia to Trevor, Siphiwe, (no date).
- : Letter from J. Nicol to Trevor, (2 July 1987).
- : Letter from J. Nicol to Siphiwe, (26 July 1987).
- : Letter from J. Nicol to Siphiwe, (23 Nov. 1987).
- : Letter from J. Nicol to Trevor and Siphiwe, (27 April 1988).
- : Letter from J. Nicol to Trevor, (29 April 1988).
- : 'Christian Health Care Project', South Religion, (23-29 July no year).

A4. Position Papers, Talks, Statements

- : Statement by A. Machela (no date).
- : RGO letter (no date).
- : A. Machela, 'Re-RGO/GASA Feud Again', (no date).
- : A. Machela, 'RGO', (no date).
- : R. Dingwell, 'Legal Action', (no publication, no date).
- : Letter from G. Shelton to A. Machela, (17 Feb. no year).
- : Letter from G. Shelton to Siphiwe, (24 April no year).
- : RGO Speech (1986).
- : 'Position Paper' prepared by RGO and GASA for discussion with executive of UDF (26 Nov. 1986).
- : 'Position Paper' prepared by A. Machela on behalf of RGO, (4 Feb. 1987).
- : Letter from Sheila to Siphiwe, (28 July 1987).

A. Correspondence, 1. S. Nkoli-R. Shepherd, 1986, File II, AM 2623

- : 12 Jan. 1986.
- : 30 June 1986.
- : 12 April 1987.

A. Correspondence, 1. S. Nkoli-R. Shepherd, 1986, File I, AM 2623

- : 15 May 1985.
- : 23 May 1985.
- : 29 July 1985.
- : 2 Dec. 1985.
- : 10 Dec. 1985.

A. Correspondence, 6. Recipient R. Shepherd, AM 2623

- : Letter from J. Voss, (no date).
- : Letter from J. Voss, (10 March 1986).

A. Correspondence, 7. Correspondence from R. Shepherd, AM 2623

- : Letter from R, Shepherd, (no date).
- : Letter to the Editor, Exit, (1 Feb. 1990).

CPD. B. Conference, 1987 C. Convention 1988, AM 2626

- : CPD Minutes, (9-11 Oct. 1987).
- : CPD Agenda (no date).



CPD. D. Correspondence, D. Correspondence, E. Press, AM 2626

- : CPD Memo, (no date).
- : Letters from Glen Shelton to CPD, (13 April no year).
- : CPD Newsletter, (no date).
- : Letter to CPD from Gaypolis, (6 April 1987).
- : Letter from WGM to CPD, (12 May 1987).
- : Letter from CPD to WGM, (8 June 1987).
- : Letter from I. Christie to S. Lapinsky, (14 July 1987).
- : Letter to all Members of CPD from G. Shelton, (12 Feb. 1988).
- : Letter to all Members CPD from G. Shelton, (21 March 1988).

: Letter to ILGA Conference 1988 from AGA, (2 June 1988).

CPD. F. Papers, G. Stationary, AM 2626

: 'Congress of Pink Democrats – What Now?', (no date).

: 'The Future of the CPD: Unseen and Mute or Visible and Proud?', (no date).

Box 3, Correspondence

: Letter from J. Stokes to ILGA, (10 Oct. 1987).

Box 3, B-B.3

: ILGA Conference Report, 8th Annual Conference, (7-12 July 1986).

: Letter to Editors of Exit, from ILGA, (3 Sept. 1986).

B.4.2. 9th Annual ILGA Conference 1987

: ILGA Bulletin 4/87, 9th Annual Conference in Cologne, (1987).

: Address by A. Machela at 9th Annual Conference of ILGA, (1987).

B.4.3. 10th Annual ILGA Conference in 1988

: ILGA Oslo Conference Agenda For Working of ILGA Workshops, (1988).

C. AIDS/HIV

: RGO Newsletter, (no date).

: Letter from A. Machela, (16 Oct. 1987).

: Letter from Chilla to A. Machela, (13 March 1988).

C.1.a. GASA Rand, AM 2623

: 'Black and Gay, I'm a Woman', Golden City Press, (17 April 1983).

: Sunday Times, (12 June 1983).

: Memo from GASA Rand, (19 March 1984).

: Home Press Doctor, 'It's OK to be Gay', City Press, Home Press, (2 Sept. 1984).

- : Letter from J. Zipp to Trevor, (21 Oct. 1984).
- : Letter from J. Zipp to Saturday Group, (20 Jan. 1985).
- : 'RandNews', (Aug. 1985).
- : 'RandNews', (Oct. 1985).

C.1.c. South African Organisations, GASA, Saturday Group, Simon Nkoli/Roy Shepherd, AM 2623

- : 'Gay Liberation on the Move,' (no date, no publication).
- : SG Newsletter, (3 May 1984).
- : SG Newsletter, (18 June 1984).
- : Classifieds of City Press, (26 Aug. 1984).

C.2. NCGLE, South African Organisations, AM 2623

Equality, Issue 2, (July-Sept. 1995) : Z. Achmat, Editorial.

- : B. Adair, 'Sexual Orientation – What the Law Says'.
- : K. Botha, 'The Equality Debate'.
- : G. Kraak, 'Cheryl Carolus Speaks: We Believe in Equality and the Right of People to Choose How They Conduct Their Lives'.
- : B. Perreira, 'Provincial Coalitions Spring Up ... Over the Hills .. and Far Away'.
- : G. Reid, 'Provincial Coalitions Spring Up ... Over the Hills .. and Far Away'.
- : 'Changes in Line at the SABC'.
- : 'Public Submissions to the CA'.
- : 'Taxman Quizzed'.

C.3. South African Organisations, OLGA, LAGO, AM 2623.

- : Letter to Roy from LAGO, (no date).
- : LAGO Newsletter, (28 Aug. 1987).

- : Letter to Roy from Julia, (1 May 1988).
- : Memo from OLGA Forum Planning Group, (6 Feb. 1989).
- : OLGA Report of Meeting with Albie Sachs, (14 May 1989).
- : OLGA Newsletter, (Nov. 1989).

C.5. South African Organisations, GLOW, AM 2623.

- : Letter from Simon to OLGA, (26 Oct. 1989).
- : Proposed Amended Constitution of GLOW, (no date).
- : A. Coetzee, 'Gay and Lesbian Persons in the South African Police Service', (no date).

C.1.6. GASA-IGA, AM 2623

- : Letter from K. Botha to S. Nkodi, (25 Nov. no year).
- : Letter from C. Heaton-Nicholls to K. Botha, (9 Sept. 1986).

C.6. South African Organisations, Soweto/Johannesburg Working Group, AM 2623.

- : Soweto/Johannesburg Group Memo, (no date).
- : Soweto/Johannesburg Gay and Lesbian Working Group Report Back, (March 1988).
- : Letter to Peter from Simon, (2 May 1988).
- : Letter to Roy from Simon, (4 May 1988).
- : Letter from Simon to OLGA, (4 May 1988).

C.8. South African Organisations, RGO, AM 2623

- : Letter to Members from RGO, (no date).

D. South African Organisations, D8 GASA, AM 262

- : GASA Rand Letter to Potential Members, (no date).
- : Saturday Group Newsletter, (18 June 1984).
- : GASA's Objectives (1985/6)
- : Letter from GASA to RGO, (7 Aug. 1986).
- : GASA Press Statement, (20-21 Sept. 1986).
- : Letter from K. Botha to N. Warner, (21 Oct. 1986).

- : GASA Rand Newsletter, (Aug. 1987).
- : Letter to RGO Committee Members, (29 June 1986).
- : Letter from E. de Beer to ILGA, (21 Jan. 1988).

D. South African Organisations, D1-7, AM 2623

- : GSS Pamphlet (no date).
- : Proposals for a Gay and Lesbian Left Alliance by LAGO, (no date).
- : 'Gays for Peaceful Protest' issued by WGM, (no date).
- : Stonewall, by WGM, (no date).
- : Benefit Poster, (no date).
- : Constitution of CPD, (no date).
- : OLGA Newsletter, (no date).
- : Impact Report to PWV Gay Alliance, (12 Jan. 1986).
- : Minutes of Benefit Meeting, (11 Aug. 1986).
- : Minutes from Benefit Executive Committee Meeting, (7 Sept. 1986).
- : Gay Christian Community Report to PWV Alliance, (Jan. 1987).
- : Letter to Other South African Gay Organisations from RGO and LAGO, (2 March 1987).
- : Letter from Dr I. Toms to LAGO, (1 July 1987).
- : Minutes of Meetings of Concerned Gay Persons, (25 July 1987).
- : Foreword of Agenda of Gay Alliance, (12 Sept. 1987).
- : An Open Letter to OLGA and the International Gay and Lesbian Community from G. Shelton, (4 May 1988).
- : Glowletter, (June 1990).
- : Basil, Edwin, and Adrian, 'Law Reform and Gay Rights', Glowletter, (June 1990).

E. Delmas Treason Trial, AM 2623

- : M. Isaacson, 'Proud to be Bashing the Gay-Bashers', Saturday Star, (21 Oct. 1995).

F. Magazines, Newspapers, Publications, Pamphlets, Programmes, International and South African

- : P. Tatchell, 'ANC Affirms Support For Gay Rights,' (no publication, no date).
- : 'Out of the Closet into a Cell?' Pamphlet issued by NLRF Committee or GASA Durban, (no date).
- : 'Is This You ... Or Someone You Love?' Pamphlet issued by NLRF Committee or GASA Durban, (no date).
- : 'The Law and Reform', Pamphlet issued by NLRF Committee or GASA Durban, (no date).
- : K. Swart, South News, (22-28 Oct. no year).
- : Impact Editorial, (Oct/Nov. 1986).
- : J. Dibbin, 'Black and Gay in South Africa', Capital Gay, (24 July 1987).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Black, Gay and Angry'. South African Gays Fight Back', Gay Times, (Sept. 1987).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Campaign of Dirty Tricks by Apartheid Regime', The Pink Paper, issue 20, (14 April 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Hopes and Fear in South Africa', Capital Gay, (5 Aug. 1988).

G1 Miscellaneous

- : Speech by A. Machela at International Gay Conference, (no date).

G2 Miscellaneous

- : 'Bitter Battle Over Boycott', (no publication, no date).
- : IGA Newsletter, (no date).
- : IGA Newsletter, (circa 1985).
- : Letter from Gays and Lesbians of UBC to B. Schiller, (25 Feb. 1986).
- : M. Bisticas-Cocoves, 'Role of South African Team at Gay Games Disputed', GCN, (1 March 1986).
- : SHRG Newsletter, (20 June 1986).
- : Letter from J. Voss, (8 Sept. 1986).

- : Letter to A. Machela, (circa 1986).
- : Scottish Homosexual Rights Group Newsletter, (circa 1986).
- : 'The Gay Olympic Controversy: At Long Last a Reply', (no publication, circa 1986).
- : Letter from T. Waddell to J. O'Brien, (circa 1986).

G2 GASA

- : 'Gays Picket Over South Africa', (no publication), (Feb. 1986).
- : 'South Africa: Treason Trial Begins', Outrage, no. 35, (April 1986).
- : Letter from N. van den Hoek to RGO, (6 May 1986).
- : 'Nkodi Still Without Bail', TBR, (26 May 1986).
- : Letter from K. Botha to A. Machela, (2 Nov. 1986).
- : Benefit poster, (no date).
- : A. Smith and J. Williams, 'GASA denies Deal with South African Police', (no publication, no date).



G3 Simon Nkoli Correspondence

- : Letter from S. Nkoli to RGO, (1 Aug. 1986).

Peter Tatchell Collection, AM 2715

- : 'ANC Dashes Hopes for Gay Rights in SA', Capital Gay, (18 Sept. 1987).
- : Letter from P. Tatchell to T. Mbeki, (12 Oct. 1987).
- : Letter to Editor from P. King, 'Whites Can't Afford to Help Tseko Nkoli', Capital Gay, (23 Oct. 1987).
- : Letter from T. Mbeki to P. Tatchell, (24 Nov. 1987).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Black, Gay and Angry', Outrage, no. 53, (1987).
- : P. Tatchell, 'On Trial for Treason', Gay Times, (Jan. 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Draft Refusenik Faces Jail in SA', Capital Gay, (26 Feb. 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'SA Police Raid Private Party', Capital Gay, (18 March 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Anger at Attacks on Ivan Toms', Capital Gay, (3 June 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'GLOW of Hope in South Africa', Pink Paper, (9 June 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Cape Democrats Back Gays', Capital Gay, (8 July 1988).

- : P. Tatchell, 'Hopes and Fear in South Africa', Capital Gay, (5 Aug. 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Nkoli Raided by SA Police', Capital Gay, (4 Nov.1988).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Out Against Apartheid', Him, (Sept. 1989).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Out Against Apartheid', Rouge, (Winter 1989/90).
- : P. Tatchell, 'Ivor Toms Walks Free', Capital Gay, (27 April 1990).
- : P. Tatchell, (no publication, no date).

AM 2657

- : Draft Constitution for GLOW, (no date).
- : GLOW newsletter, (no date).
- : Article issued by ECC, (no date).
- : History of GLOW by T.S. Nkoli, (1988).
- : Letter from S. Nkoli to GLOW, (26 Jan. 1988).
- : Letter to PGLWG from OLGA, (20 Feb. 1988).
- : Letter to PGLWG from OLGA, (30 April 1988).

Ann Smith Collection

- : GASA Constitution (no date).



AM 2704

- : Democratic Party Advertisement in Liaison, (April 1994).
- : 'Gay is OK Ban Stays in Pretoria', Citizen, (4 July 1997).
- : 'End of 300 Years of Sexual Discrimination Dawns', Sunday Independent, (24 Aug. 1997).
- : Letter to the Editor, 'The Law on Gay Men is Unconstitutional', Sunday Tribune, (28 Sept. 1997).
- : 'Mindset Confirmed, Say SAPS Gays', The Citizen, (27 Nov. 1997).
- : 'Marriage Act to be Reviewed', The Star, (9 Jan. 1998).
- : 'Same-Sex Marriages to Get the Nod', The Star, (29 Jan. 1998).
- : Letter to the Editor from E.H. Pringle, 'Decision on Homosexuality UnChristian', Cape Times, (17 Aug. 1998).

- : ‘Gay Marriage Bill Becoming Costly as French Bicker’, Cape Times, (8 Oct. 1998).
- : ‘French Gay Rights Bill Thrown Out’, The Citizen, (10 Oct. 1998).
- : Letter to the Editor from B.R. Burke, ‘There is Nothing Gay About Sin’, The Citizen, (16 Oct. 1998).
- : ‘Government Gazette’, (23 Oct. 1998).
- : ‘Crusade Against Gay Bill’, The Citizen, (9 Nov. 1998).
- : ‘Gay Party’, The Citizen, (12 Nov. 1998).
- : Letter to the Editor from S. Ntuli, ‘Homosexuality is Against the ‘Afro-Renaissance’’, Mail and Guardian, (13 Nov. 1998).
- : Letter to the Editor from J. Uys, ‘Gay Alliance Will Surprise Everyone’, The Citizen, (14 Nov. 1998).
- : Letter to the Editor from S. Petersen, ‘Homosexual Dean Sets a Bad Example’, Cape Times, (3 Dec. 1998).
- : ‘Dignity at Stake for Gays’, Cape Times, (8 Dec. 1998).
- : ‘Pro-Gays Hustled Away from Mugabe’, The Star, (9 Dec. 1998).
- : ‘Bill on Gay Rights Set for Adoption’, The Citizen, (10 Dec. 1998).
- : ‘No to Gay Marriages’, Daily News, (28 Dec. 1998).
- : ‘Setback for Gay Party’, Sunday Times, (2 May 1999).
- : Z. Achmat, ‘Why the Age of Consent Should be Equal for All’, Mail and Guardian, (25 July 1997).
- : P. Baker, ‘Clinton Equates Gay and Civil Rights’, Mail and Guardian, (14 Nov. 1997).
- : I. Bazinet, ‘Gays, Lesbians are Targeted Worldwide’, Cape Times, (1 July 1997).
- : C. Blignaut, S. Prabhakaran, ‘Gay Coalition Claims Victory Over Omar’, Mail and Guardian, (7 Nov. 1997).
- : M. Bunting, ‘Anglicans Preach Gay Hate’, Mail and Guardian, (7 Aug. 1998).
- : J. Cameron, ‘Gay-Male Sex Legal in Western Cape, Not in Gauteng’, The Star, (16 Aug. 1997).
- : D. Cassere, ‘Dean Hopes to Help Others by Speaking Out on Being Gay’, Cape Times, (25 Nov. 1998).
- : M. Collins, ‘Cohabiting? Then Mind Your Own Business’, Mail and Guardian, (6 March 1998).

- : V. Combe, 'Bishops Condemn Homosexual Acts', Telegraph, (12 Aug. 1998).
- : A. Cox, 'Gay MP-Hopeful in Massage Parlour Row', The Star, (22 Jan. 1999).
- : J. Craig, 'Gays Slate Gay Political Party', The Star, (16 Jan. 1999).
- : G. Daniels, 'No Rights for Gays When it Comes to the Law', The Star, (10 Sept. 1997).
 'Rally for Recognition', The Star, (9 Sept. 1998).
- : S. de Waal, 'Sex: A Conflict of Interest?', Mail and Guardian, (20 Nov. 1998).
- : P. de Vos, 'The State, the Church and Homosexuality', Cape Times, (22 Aug. 1997).
- : L. Ensor, 'Sympathy Shown for Gay Fight', Business Day, (7 Dec. 1998).
- : M. Gevisser, 'A Leading Light of Gay and AIDS Activism in SA', Sunday Times, (6 Dec. 1998).
 'Gay Pride Challenges Prejudice of all Kinds', Sunday Times, (27 Sept. 1998).
 'Properly Armed, Christians Themselves Can Now Face the 'Six-Gun' and Bring Gays Back to the Fold', Sunday Independent, (17 Aug. 1997).
- : E. Gootman, 'Omar Leaves Gays in the Lurch', Cape Times, (18 Sept. 1997).
- : Y. Grimbeck, 'Judgement Shows Up Sex Laws', Mercury, (6 Aug. 1997).
- : H. Hagen, 'Gay Party Move', The Citizen, (10 Nov. 1998).
- : J. Harlow, 'Bible Pamphlet Accuses St Paul of Turning Sex into Shame and Degradation', Sunday Independent, (16 Aug. 1998).
- : C. Hills, 'Sodomy, Gay Sex No Longer Crimes', The Citizen, (10 Oct. 1998).
- : J. Hooper, 'Homophobia and Hypocrisy in Rome', Mail and Guardian, (6 Feb. 1998).
- : M. Jara, 'Gay and Lesbian Rights', South African Labour Bulletin, (Dec. 1997).
 'Relating to the New State', (no publication, no date).
- : B. Jordan, 'All Dressed up and Nowhere to Go', Sunday Times, (16 May 1999).
- : P. Krost, 'Homosexuals Step Out of the SAPS Closet with Pride', The Star, (12 July 1997).
 'I'm Still a Very Competent Cop Dedicated to Duty, Says Constable Michael Esterhuizen', The Star, (12 July 1997).
- : M. Krouse, 'The Red Flag of the Fifties', (no publication), (23 Oct. 1998).
- : R. Lacayo, 'The New Gay Struggle', Time Magazine, (26 Oct. 1998).
- : T. Lamberti, 'Dullah Omar to Fight Gay Rights Application in Court', Business Day,

- (19 Sept. 1997).
- : B. Luirink, A. Dodd, 'Black and Gay in Sunny SA', Cosmopolitan, (March 1998).
 - : N. Lurssen, 'Gays Smile in the Face of Legal Storm' in Washington Letter in Cape Times, (30 March 1999).
 - : M. Malefane, 'Gays to Contest General Election', The Citizen, (13 Jan. 1999).
 - : Book Review by S. Molakeng, 'Church Challenged to Accept Gays and Lesbians', Sowetan, (11 July 1997).
 - : B. Mpofo, 'Equal Partners?', S. Paper, (8 March 1997).
 - : P. Naidoo, 'Gay Coalition Goes to Court to Stop Persecution of Men Who Party with Each Other', Sunday Independent, (24 Aug. 1997).
 'SA Gets Special Mention for Gay Rights in Amnesty Report, but Abuses Continue', Saturday Independent, (29 July 1997).
 - : S. Olswang, 'Praising With Pride', True Love, (Feb. 1999).
 - : C. Powers, 'Gay-Rights Supporters Dress for Success at Court', The Star, (26 Nov. 1997).
 - : C. Rickard, 'Anglican Church Divided on Gay and Lesbian Members', Sunday Times, (3 Aug. 1997).
 'Cabinet Hard Line Forces Flight Over Gay Partner Rights', Sunday Times, (6 Dec. 1998).
 'Fighting for the Freedom to Enjoy Sex Without Fear', Sunday Times, (6 Sept. 1998).
 - : L. Sampson, 'Born Again – or Born a Gay?', (no publication, Dec. 1998).
 - : F. Schroeder, 'Discrimination Drove 300 Gay SA Police to Suicide Last Year', Cape Times, (1 Aug. 1997).
 - : T. Seale, 'Anglicans' Tough Attitude on Gays', The Star, (30 July 1998).
 - : P. Singh, 'Gays, Lesbians Tell of Fight for Equal Rights', Cape Times, (23 Nov. 1998).
 'Gays Win Court Ruling', Cape Times, (15 Feb. 1999).
 - : W. Steenkamp, 'Council Move Anti-Gay-Claim', Cape Times, (20 July 1998).
 - : J. Steinberg, 'Homosexual Ruling May Motivate Litigants', Business Day, (12 Oct. 1998).
 'Removal of Sodomy Laws Unlikely to Have Broad Social Effect',

Business Day, (29 Sept. 1998).

‘Sodomy Laws ‘Constitute Unfair Discrimination’’, Business Day, (28 Aug. 1998).

: P. Tatchell, ‘Anti-Gay Rhetoric is Only a Smokescreen’, Sowetan, (30 Oct. 1997).

: L. Templeton, ‘Adult Gay Sex is Not a Crime, Court Rules’, Cape Times, (5 Aug. 1997).

: G. Thiel, ‘Struggle to be ‘Normal Christians’’, Mail and Guardian, (21 Feb. 1997).

‘Doctor Shock: ‘I Only Gave Them Drugs’’, Mail and Guardian, (20 June 1996).

: E. Thomasson, ‘Cape Town Wants to be World’s Gay Capital’, Sowetan, (29 Dec. 1998).

: T. Trengrove-Jones, ‘No More Gay Martyrdom’, Mail and Guardian, (21 Nov. 1998).

‘The Gay Files’, Sunday Times, (27 Sept. 1998).

: B. van Eyssen, ‘Reforming Church Caters for ‘Gay Spirituality’ When Others Cannot See Beyond Their Sexuality’, Saturday Independent, (18 May 1997).

: R. Victor, ‘Gay Coalition Not Tickled Pink Over Party Plan’, The Star, (11 Nov. 1998).

: D. Wilson, ‘Not Quite Driving Miss Daisy’, Sunday Life, (Nov. 1998).



B. General Information, AM 2757

: Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Human Rights Violations, Health Sector Hearings, (17 June 1997).

C. Interviews, AM 2757.

: Transcript of Interview 8. Interview with Trudie Grobler for ‘The Aversion Project’, (no date).

D. General Information, AM 2757.

: The Aversion Project, (untitled, no date).

: The Aversion Project, (all pages, no date).

E. Articles, AM 2757.

- : 'The SADF Should Revise its Stand', Sunday Star, (13 Jan. 1993).
- : V. Powell, C. Richardson, 'Psychiatrist, Heal Thyself', Gay Times, (Aug. 1996).
- : 'Ministry Waives Secrecy Clause for Erstwhile Conscripts to 'Tell All'', Business Day, (30 April 1997).
- : 'Health Sector's Role Under Apartheid to be Examined', The Star, (17 June 1997).
- : L. Ensor, 'SA Army Psychiatrist 'Shocked, Tortured Gay Men'', Business Day, (17 June 1997).
- : 'Commission to Hear of Electric Shock Therapy for Gay Conscripts', The Star, (17 June 1997).
- : 'TRC Slams Army Medical Services Evidence', The Citizen, (18 June 1997.)
- : K. Vernon, 'Troopie Tells of Gay Torture Horror', The Sunday Times, (22 June 1997).
- : G. Thiel, 'Horrors of Mental Camps Before Truth Body', Mail and Guardian, (20-26 June 1997).

Papers of LAGO and OLGA, Box 4: The OLGA Papers, Correspondence. 1987-1994.
File I – Correspondence A-C, AM 2801.

- : Letter to I. Christie from J. Nicol, (no date).
- : Letter from OLGA to Capital Gay, (15 Nov. 1987).
- : Letter from MF Support Group, the Call of Islam to S. Lapinsky, (22 May 1989).

Papers of LAGO and OLGA, Box 5: The OLGA Papers, File 3: Miscellaneous, AM 2801.

- : Memo to IDOL Films from J. Nicol, 'A Brief Chronology of Events Regarding the Lesbian/Gay Organisations in Which I was Involved'.

Papers of LAGO and OLGA, Box 5: The OLGA Papers, File 1: Correspondence O-Z, AM 2801.

- : Letter to P. Tatchell from J. Nicol, (no date).
- : Letter to RGO from former LAGO members, 'The Working Group', (6 Nov. 1987).
- : P. Tatchell, 'ANC Affirms Support for Gay Rights', Capital Gay, (4 Dec. 1987).

- : Paz γ Liberation Newsletter, Africa/Middle East Edition, no. 1, (July-Dec. 1989).
- : Letter from OLGA to Members, (4 April 1989).
- : Letter to Weekly Mail from OLGA, (10 Oct. 1989).
- : ‘Gay Activists Lobby ANC on Rights’, Argus, (27 Nov. 1990).
- : ‘Gays Applaud Human Rights Clause’, South, (29 Nov. 1990).
- : C. Rickard, ‘Right On! Everybody Loves the ANC’s Bill’, The Weekly Mail, (30 Nov.– 6 Dec. 1990).

Papers of LAGO and OLGA, Box 5: The OLGA Papers, File 2: Press Clippings, AM 2801.

- : Letter to the Editor from J. Nicol, N. Sampson, P. Anderson, S. Lapinsky, ‘The Day is Coming When the People Shall Govern’, Capital Gay, (1987).
- : ‘ANC Turns Anti-Gay’, Exit, no. 24, (Oct. 1987).
- : K. Swart, ‘Gays Hit at ANC,’ South News, (22-28 Oct. 1987).
- : K. Swart, ‘Children Also Need Love’, South News, (26 Nov-Dec. 1987).
- : K. Swart, ‘Demands Not Divisive’, South News, (26 Nov-Dec. 1987).
- : P. Tatchell, ‘On Trial for Treason’, Gay Times, (Jan. 1988).
- : ‘ANC Backs Gay Rights’, South News, (21-27 Jan. 1988).
- : ‘Meer’s Book Wins Ban Appeal’, Cape Times, (30 Jan. 1988).
- : P. Tatchell, ‘SA Police Raid Private Party’, Capital Gay, (mid-1988).
- : C. Nkosi, ‘This is My True Colours’, Exit, (Oct. 1988).
- : Letter to the Editor by G. Shelton, ‘Who Wrote This Story?’, Exit, no. 36, (May/June 1989).
- : G. Wotherspoon and C. Faro, ‘Against the Odds’, Outrage, (Aug. 1989).
- : K. Lotter, ‘Back in Africa’, Exit, no. 40, (Nov. 1989).
- : ‘ANC Affirms (sic) Support for Gays’, Exit, no. 40, (Nov. 1989).
- : ‘DP Calls for Gay Protection’, Cape Times, (12 May 1990).
- : ‘Healthy Environment in New Bill of Rights’, Cape Times, (12 May 1993).
- : ‘DP Now Out the Closet on Gay Discrimination’, Cape Times, (12 May 1993).

CPSA Collection

AB1956 C49, Episcopal Synod, Documents 1968: 'Memorandum on the Bill to Amend the Immorality Act of 1957'.

AB2886 Human Sexuality, PEO: The Right Reverend Bruce Evans (Bishop for Port Elizabeth), 'Confidential Report of the Commission Appointed by the Archbishop to Determine a Christian Understanding of Homosexuality Particularly Pertaining to the Ordained Ministry', (Nov. 1976).

**RECORDS FROM THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA (NASA) -
PRETORIA**

SNA 1902, vol. 46, reference: NA1540/02:

- : Minutes of Native Affairs Department, (29 July 1902).
- : Letter from Secretary for Native Affairs to Secretary of Chamber of Mines, (5 Aug. 1902).
- : Letter from Transvaal Chamber of Mines to Secretary for Native Affairs, Johannesburg, (8 Aug. 1902).
- : Letter from Secretary for Native Affairs, Johannesburg to Chief Inspector, Native Affairs Department, (12 Aug. 1902).
- : Letter from Native Affairs Department, (27 Aug. 1902).
- : Letter from Transvaal Chamber of Mines to Secretary for Native Affairs, Johannesburg, (4 Sept. 1902).
- : Letter from Mr Pietersen, Chief Inspector, Native Affairs Department, (8 Sept. 1902).

A3/11, vol. 1000, reference: AG398/05:

- : Letter from Superintendent, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg to Attorney General, Pretoria, (24 Jan. 1905).
- : Letter from Acting Secretary to the Law Department to Superintendent, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, (27 Jan. 1905).

A1/36 LTG, vol. 176, reference: CON 5:

- : Memorandum on the Prevalence of Unnatural Crime Amongst Chinese Indentured Labourers on the Witwatersrand, (1906).
- : Letter from Sir R. Solomon, Superintendent, Foreign Labour Department, Jeppestown, (24 Feb. 1906).
- : Letter from Mr J. Jamieson, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, to Secretary to the Law Department, Pretoria, (28 Feb. 1906).
- : Letter to all inspectors from Mr J. Jamieson, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, 28 Feb. 1906.
- : Letter from B. Leppington to Rt. Honourable A. Lyttelton, (16 June 1906).
- : Letter from Mr F. Graham, (8 July 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Dr Sansom, (2 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Lord Selborne, (3 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Mr Jamieson, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, (3 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Mr. J. Jamieson, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, to Sir R. Solomon, Acting Lt-Governor, (15 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Office of the Commissioner of Police, Johannesburg, to Sir R. Solomon, (19 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Foreign Labour Department to Acting Lt-Governor, Pretoria, (21 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Mr Blaine, Acting Attorney-General, (22 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Mr J. Jamieson, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, (23 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Mr H. Blaine, Attorney-General's Office, Pretoria, to Sir R. Solomon, (23 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, to Sir R. Solomon, (24 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from N. Ross, (24 Aug. 1906).

- : Letter from Mr J. Jamieson, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, to Sir R. Solomon, (29 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Mr J. Jamieson, Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, (31 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Mr Blaine, Acting Attorney-General, Pretoria, (31 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from H. Blaine, Attorney-General's Office, Pretoria, to Sir R. Solomon, (31 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Lt-Governor's Office, Pretoria, to Dr Sansom, District Minister of Health for the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, (31 Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from Mr Selborne to Sir R. Solomon, (Aug. 1906).
- : Letter from D. Malcolm, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, to Sir R. Solomon, (8 Sept. 1906).
- : Letter from Johan Bucknill to Sir R. Solomon, (20 Sept. 1906).

A3/11, vol. 91, reference: CONF21/147:

- : Report of Death of a Member of S.A.C: J.W.S. Fisher.
- : Personal File of J.W.S. Fisher, (no date).
- : Minutes from Transvaal Town Police, Johannesburg, (15 July 1908 to 28 Aug. 1908).
- : Letter from District Commander, South African Constabulary, (15 July 1908).
- : Charges against J. Fisher from Acting Inspector General, South African Constabulary, Transvaal, (17 July 1908).
- : Letter from Acting Inspector General, South African Constabulary, (17 July 1908).
- : Memorandum from Transvaal Police, (6 Aug. 1908).
- : Letter from Director of Prisons to Resident Magistrate, Middelburg, (12 Aug. 1908).

Vol. 1223, Reference: 1/94/130:

- : File no. 1/94/30, Enquiry into Alleged Practices of Sodomy in Prisons, (no date).
- : Letter from I. Pienaar, Secretary for Justice to Director of Prisons, Pretoria, (11 March 1930).
- : Letter from Director of Prisons to Under Secretary for Justice, Pretoria, (18 March

1930).

: Letter from S. Page, Magistrate's Office, Durban to Director of Prisons, Pretoria, (3 April 1930).

Police Records:

C8/111/10, 'Homoseksualiste', volume 1:

: Letter from Brig. G. Joubert to the Commissioner of Police, London, (21 Sept. 1967).

K279 278/4/66:

: List of suspected homosexuals in South Africa, (no date).

: 'Proposed Amendments to the Immorality Act, (1957)'.

: 'Wetsontwerp' to the Minister of Justice, (1966).

: Letter to Kompol, (3 Feb. 1966).

: 'Police Raid Durban Club', The Pretoria News, (9 Feb. 1966).

: Letter from Gen. Keevy to P. J. Heymans, (10 Feb. 1966).

: Letter from P.J. Heymans to Brig. G. Joubert, (18 Feb. 1966).

: Memo from Maj. van Zyl, 'Enkele Notas Oor die Verskynsel van Homoseksualiteit in the Republiek', (7 March 1966).

: Testimony by Maj. van Zyl, (28 April 1968).

SAP Files, 439, No. K54/66, volumes 2 and 3:

: Letter from Gen. Keevy to Brig. G. Joubert, (22 Jan. 1966).

: Letter from Brig. G. Joubert to Gen. Keevy, (24 Jan. 1966).

: Memo from Brig. G. Joubert to all Police Commissioners, (1 Feb. 1966).

: Memo from Brig. G. Joubert to Gen. Keevy, (2 Feb. 1966).

: Response by the State Library to Maj. van Zyl's request, (2 April 1968).

C8/111/10, volume 2:

: Letter from Secretary to the House of Assembly to Gen. Keevy, (22 Feb. 1968).

: Letter from J. Goodwin to the Minister of Justice, (22 Feb. 1968).

: Letter from Gen. Keevy to Brig. G. Joubert, (23 Feb. 1968).

- : Club Charade Bulletin (no date).
- : Club Charade Bulletin, (March 1968).
- : Letter from Secretary to the House of Assembly to J. Goodwin, (1 March 1968).
- : Letter from Brig. G. Joubert to Gen. Keevy, 'Statistiek aan Kompol', (27 March 1968).
- : Memo from South African Police, 'Ontugwysigingswetontwerp', (3 June 1968).
- : Letter from Brig. G. Joubert to Die Afdelingskommissaris, (9 July 1968).
- : 'Homosexuality is Threat to Country, Probe Team is Told', Rand Daily Mail, (4 Sept. 1968).
- : 'Homosexuals', The Star, (4 Sept. 1968).
- : 'Homoseksualiteit Ruk Hande Uit', Dagbreek en Landstem, (8 Sept. 1968).
- : 'Police Action Against Deviates is Unwise, Say Psychiatrists', Sunday Times, (8 Sept. 1968).
- : Letter from Maj. van Zyl to C.I.D., (4 Aug. 1969).
- : Letter from Gay Commando to Prime Minister Botha, (28 Jan. 1981).


PARLIAMENTARY LIBRARY – CAPE TOWN

- : Immorality Amendment Bill/1968.
- : Report of the Joint Committee on the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, (1985).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Dept of Justice, 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the President's Council on the Immorality Act (Act 23 of 1957), 1985', (State Library, SANB, OP(S)14/12, Dobis Kopie Nr: 148142).

South African Select Committee Reports, 1968', 4-8, (J705 K5, S62, GALA, Government Publications).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 'Special Hearing: Compulsory Military Service (Conscription) vol. 4', in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, (CTP Book Printers (Pty) Ltd, Cape Town, 1998, Government Publications Division).

INTERVIEWS/INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS

Mark Gevisser: 4 Sept 2000, Johannesburg, 10:00am.

: Sept. 2003, 12:00pm.

Antony Manion: 28 Aug. 2000, Johannesburg, 3:00pm

: 6 Sept. 2000, Johannesburg, 10:00am

: 3 Sept. 2002, Johannesburg, 9:00am

: 4 Sept. 2002, Johannesburg, 9:00am

: 25 Feb. 2004, Johannesburg, 3:00pm

: 2 April 2004, Johannesburg, 11:00am.

Graeme Reid: 12 May 2000, Johannesburg, 300pm

: 25 Jan. 2001, Johannesburg, 10:00am.

Willie Bronkhorst, 5 Jan. 2002, Johannesburg, 11:00pm.

Craig, 5 Jan. 2002, Johannesburg, 9:00pm.

Cobus van Aswegan: 12 April 2002, Johannesburg, 8:00pm.

: 5 Sept 2002, Johannesburg, 11:00am.

Evert Knoesen, Acting Director of the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project:

3 Aug. 2002, Johannesburg, 10:00am

3 Sept. 2002, Johannesburg, 3:00pm.

4 Sept. 2002, Johannesburg, 4:00pm.

Gerrie, 5 Sept 2002, Johannesburg, 11:00am.

J. J: 25 Nov. 2002, Johannesburg, 1:00pm

: 25 Feb. 2004, Johannesburg, 11:00am.

Johan Kotze of the Department of Foreign Affairs, 26 March 2003, Johannesburg,
2:00pm.

Joe Garmeson, 23 Sept. 2003, Johannesburg, 10:00am.

Rolf Sorensen of SAHS, 9 Oct. 2003, Johannesburg, 9:00am.

Lt. Col. Ungerer, 13 Oct. 2003, Johannesburg, 2:30pm.

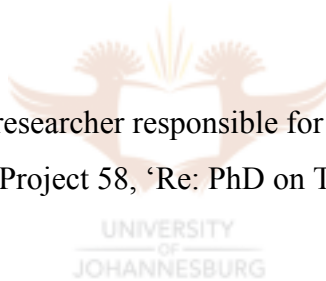
Kobus Joubert, 13 Oct. 2003, Johannesburg, 3:30pm.

Susanne Vos: 10 Nov. 2003, Johannesburg, 11:00am.
: 20 October 2003, Johannesburg, 9:30am.
Father Power, 12 Nov. 2003, Johannesburg, 10:00am.
Desmond Botha, 9 Dec. 2003, Johannesburg, 3:00pm.
Sam Markram, 11 Dec. 2003, Johannesburg, 5:00pm.
Gerald Kraak, 11 March 2004, Johannesburg, 2:30pm.
Peter Mohlahedi, 16 March 2004, Johannesburg, 7:00pm.
Marius Robinson, 24 March 2004, Johannesburg, 8:30am.

E-mail from Mr Justice Edwin Cameron, 'Re: PhD on Treatment of Gay Men in SA from 1960', (27 March 2002).

E-mail from B. Malan, 'PhD at RAU: Questions on 1966 Forest Town Party', (26 Aug. 2002).

E-mail from Gordon Hollamy, researcher responsible for the Commission's investigation into Group and Human Rights: Project 58, 'Re: PhD on Treatment of Gay Men in SA from 1960', (10 April 2002).



E-mail from Mark Gevisser, 'Re: Questions for PhD on Treatment of Gay Men in SA', (16 Sept 2003).

E-mail from Mark Gevisser, 'Re: Questions for PhD on Treatment of Gay Men in SA', (24 Sept 2003).

E-mail from Laura Pollecut, 'Re: Queries Regarding my PhD – Rebecca Sinclair', (5 Oct. 2003).

E-mail from Daniel Conway, 'Re: PhD Questions (Panic)', (8 Oct. 2003).

E-mail from Laura Pollecut, 'Re: Queries Regarding my PhD – Rebecca Sinclair', (10 Oct. 2003).

E-mail from H. van Niekerk, Amnesty International, South Africa, 'Re: Breaking the Silence', (17 Mar. 2004).

QUESTIONNAIRES

J.J., Oct. 2001.

Anton Dempsey, Nov. 2001.

Johan Greyling, Nov. 2001.

Willie Bronkhorst, 5 January 2002.

Craig, 5 January 2002.

Ivan Bailey, July 2002.

Piet Coetzee, July 2002.

Anonymous, July 2002.

Anton Ehlers, July 2002.

Mr Cronje, July 2002.

Mr Herbst, July 2002.

Denis Belo Oct. 2003.

Kobus Joubert, 13 Oct. 2003.

Lt. Col. Ungerer, 13 Oct. 2003.

Tyrone Loë 13 Oct 2003.



VIDEOS FROM WITS GAY LIBRARY:

'Faux Pas de Deux/Nil Desperandum, (circa 1940s).

'Gay Life is Best', (Idol Pictures, 1992).

'Sando to Samantha', (Directed by J. Lewis, T. Phungula, South Africa, 1997).

'After 9s' (Edited Version).

‘Apostles of Civilised Vice: Part I: ‘Question of a Queer Reading of History’’, (Directed by Zachie Achmat, South Africa 1999).

‘Apostles of Civilised Vice: Part II: ‘A Natural Thing’’, (Directed by Zachie Achmat, Idol Pictures, South Africa 1999).

‘Steps for the Future: Simon and I’, (Directed B. Ditsie, N. Newman).

‘The Man Who Drove With Mandela’, (Directed by G. Schiller, written and researched by M. Gevisser, Beulah Films).

‘Everything Must Come to Light’, (Directed by M. Njinge, P. Alberton, South Africa, 2000).

‘A Natural Daughter’, (Directed by J. Lewis, Idol Pictures, Out of Africa Video Suitcase, South Africa, 2000).

‘My Son the Bride’, (Directed by M. Njinge, Out of Africa Video Suitcase, MNET New Direction Film, South Africa, 2001).

‘Unmasking Mavis’, (Directed by D. Hart, South Africa 2002).

SECONDARY SOURCES:

BOOKS

M. Aarmo, ‘How Homosexuality Became ‘Un-African’: The Case of Zimbabwe’ in E. Blackwood, S. Wieringa, (eds), Female Desires, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1999).

D. Altman, Homosexual Oppression and Liberation, (Angus and Robertson, Sydney, London, Melbourne, Brisbane, Singapore, 1972).

D. Altman, ‘Rupture or Continuity?’ in J. Hawley, (ed), Post-Colonial Queer, (State University of New York Press, America, 2001).

P. Ariès and A. Béjin, Western Sexualities, (Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, 1985).

P. Ariès, ‘Thoughts on the History of Homosexuality’ in P. Ariès and A. Béjin, Western Sexualities, (Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, 1985).

S. Aronowitz, 'My Masculinity' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

P. Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour' in K. Phillips, and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

J. Barber, South Africa's Foreign Policy 1945-1970, (Oxford University Press, New York, Cape Town, 1973).

W. Beinart, 'Afrikaner Power and the Rise of Mass Oppression, 1948-1994' in W. Beinart, Twentieth Century South Africa, new edition, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001).

A. Bell, M. Weinberg, and S. Hammersmith, Sexual Preference, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1981).

D. Bell and J. Binnie, The Sexual Citizen. Queer Politics and Beyond, (Blackwell Publishers Ltd, England, 2000).

D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

D. Bell and G. Valentine, 'Introduction: Orientations' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

J. Bell, Doing Your Research Project, (3rd Edition), (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1999).

M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

R. Berry, The Research Project. How to Write it, (3rd Edition), (Routledge, London, New York, 1994).

L. Bersani, 'Loving Men' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

A. Bérubé, Coming Out Under Fire, (The Free Press, MacMillan Inc, New York, 1990).

J. Binnie, 'Trading Places' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

E. Blackwood and S. Wieringa, (eds), Female Desires, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1999).

E. Blackwood and S. Wieringa, 'Sapphic Shadows: Challenging the Silence in the Study of Sexuality' in E. Blackwood and S. Wieringa, (eds), Female Desires, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1999).

R. Bleys, The Geography of Perversion, (Cassell, London, New York, 1996).

R. Brause, Writing Your Doctoral Dissertation, (Palmer Press, London, New York, 2000).

C. Bryant, Khaki-Collar Crime. Deviant Behaviour in the Military Context, (The Free Press, New York, London, 1979).

J. Butler, 'Melancholy Gender/Refused Identification' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

H. Chari, 'Colonial Fantasies and Postcolonial IDs' in J. Hawley, (ed), Post-Colonial Queer, (State University of New York Press, America, 2001).

G. Chauncey, 'Trade, Wolves, and the Boundaries of Normal Manhood' in K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

M. Clinard and R. Meier, Sociology of Deviant Behavior, (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Dallas, Montreal, Toronto, London, Sydney, 1979).

J. Cock, Colonels and Cadres,(Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1991).

G. Cockram, Vorster's Foreign Policy, (Academia, Pretoria, Cape Town, 1970).

Collins Pocket English Dictionary, (Harper Collins Publishers, Great Britain, 1992).

D. Collinson and J. Hearn, 'Men' at 'Work': Multiple Masculinities/Multiple Workplaces' in M. Mac an Ghail, (ed), Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

G. Conerly, 'Are You Black First or are You Queer' in D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

R. Connell, Gender and Power, (Polity, Great Britain, 1987).

R. Connell, Masculinities, (Polity Press, England, 1995).

R. Connell, The Men and the Boys, (Polity, Great Britain, 2000).

D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

D. Constantine-Simms, 'Is Homosexuality the Greatest Taboo?' in D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

F. Cooper and A. Stoler, Tensions of Empire, (University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1997).

A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarne, 'Dislocating Masculinity. Gender, Power and Anthropology' in A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarne (eds), Dislocating Masculinity, (Routledge, London, New York, 1996).

J. Cream, 'Re-Solving Riddles' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

R. Davenport and C. Saunders, South Africa. A Modern History, 5th edition, (Macmillan Press Ltd, Great Britain, 2000).

H. David, On Queer Street, (Harper Collins Publishers, London, 1997).

T. Davis, 'The Diversity of Queer Politics and the Redefinition of Sexual Identity and Community in Urban Spaces' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

S. Dayal, 'By Way of an Afterword' in J. Hawley, (ed), Post-Colonial Queer, (State University of New York Press, America, 2001).

E. de Kock (as told to J. Gordon), A Long Night's Damage. Working for the Apartheid State, (Contra, South Africa, 1998).

R. Delgado and J. Stefancic, 'Minority Men, Misery, and the Marketplace of Ideas' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

K. du Pisani, 'Puritanism Transformed Afrikaner Masculinities in the Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Period' in R. Morrell, Changing Men in Southern Africa, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, Zed Books Ltd, London and New York, 2001).

N. Edley and M. Wetherall, 'Masculinity, Power and Identity', in M. Mac an Ghail, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

G. Elder, 'Of Moffies, Kaffirs, and Perverts' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

M. Epprecht, 'This Matter of Women is Getting Very Bad', (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2000).

A. Fausto-Sterling, 'How to Build a Man' in M. Kimmel and M. Messner, Men's Lives, (Allyn and Bacon, America, 1998)

D. Fine and J. Nicol, 'The Lavender Lobby: Working for Lesbian and Gay Rights Within the Liberation Movement' in M. Gevisser and E. Cameron, (eds) Defiant Desire – Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1994).

D. Forrest, '“We're Here, We're Queer, and We're Not Going Shopping”. Changing Gay Male Identities in Contemporary Britain', in A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarne (eds), Dislocating Masculinity, (Routledge, London, New York, 1996).

M. Foucault, Discipline and Punishment, (Penguin Books Ltd, England, 1977).

M. Foucault, The History of Sexuality, vol. 1. Translated by R. Hurley. (Penguin Books, England, 1978).

J. Gagnon and W. Simon, Sexual Deviance, (Harper & Row Publishers, New York, Evanston, 1967).

H. Gates, 'Foreword' in D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

A. George, 'Primary Groups, Organizations and Military Performance' in R. Little (ed), A Survey of Military Institutions, vol. 1, (The Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Inc, 1969).

M. Gevisser, 'A Different Fight for Freedom: A History of South African Lesbian and Gay Organization from the 1950s to 1990s' in M. Gevisser and E. Cameron (eds) Defiant Desire – Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1994).

S. Gilman, Disease and Representation, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, London, 1988).

E. Goode, Deviant Behavior, (Prentice-Hall Inc, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1978).

K. Grundy, The Militarization of South African Politics, (I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd Publishers, London, 1986).

C. Hall, White, Male and Middle Class, (Polity Press, Britain, 1992).

D. Halperin, 'Forgetting Foucault' in K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

P. Harries, Work, Culture, and Identity, (Witwatersrand University Press, James Currey Ltd, Heinemann, Portsmouth, Johannesburg, London).

J. Hawley, (ed), Post-Colonial Queer, (State University of New York Press, America, 2001).

J. Hayes, Queer Nations, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, 2000).

C. Haywood and M. Mac an Ghaill, 'Schooling Masculinities' in M. Mac an Ghaill, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

J. Hearn, 'Is Masculinity Dead? A Critique of the Concept of Masculinity/Masculinities' in M. Mac an Ghaill, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

C. Hemmings, 'Locating Bisexual Identities' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

J. Henslin, Studies in the Sociology of Sex, (Meredith Corporation, New York, 1971).

C. Heward, 'Masculinities and Families' in M. Mac an Ghaill, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

T. Hitchcock, English Sexualities, 1700-1800, (MacMillan Press Ltd, Britain, 1997).

T. Hitchcock, 'Redefining Sex in Eighteenth-Century England' in K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

The Holy Bible, King James Version.

B. Hooks, 'Doing it for Daddy' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

L. Humphreys, Tearoom Trade, (Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, London, 1970).

H. Hyde, The Other Love, (Heinemann, London, 1970).

J. Irvine, 'Toward a 'Value-Free' Science of Sex' in K. Phillips, B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

G. Isaacs and B. McKendrick, Male Homosexuality in South Africa, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1992).

C. Jacob Hole, 'Leatherdyke Boys and Their Daddies' in K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

M. Janowitz, 'Military Organization' in R. Little (ed), A Survey of Military Institutions, vol. 1, (The Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Inc. 1969).

E. Johnson, 'Feeling the Spirit in the Dark: Expanding Notions of the Sacred in the African American Gay Community' in D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

G. Johnson, 'Hearing Voices: Unearthing Evidence of Homosexuality in Postcolonial Africa' in D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

M. Kaufman, 'The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men's Violence', in M. Kimmel and M. Messner, Men's Lives, (Allyn and Bacon, America, 1998).

G. Kendall and G. Wickham, Using Foucault's Methods, (Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1999).

M. Kimmel and M. Messner, Men's Lives, (Allyn and Bacon, America, 1998).

M. Kimmel, 'Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity' in H. Brod and M. Kaufman (eds), Theorizing Masculinities, (Sage, Thousand Oaks, London, 1994).

L. Knopp, 'Sexuality and Urban Space' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

J. Kramer, 'Bachelor Farmers and Spinsters' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

M. Krouse, (ed), The Invisible Ghetto, (Cosaw Publishing, Johannesburg, 1993).

M. Krouse, 'The Barracks are Crying' in M. Krouse, (ed), The Invisible Ghetto, (Cosaw Publishing, Johannesburg, 1993).

G. Lehne, 'Homophobia Among Men: Supporting and Defining the Male Role' in M. Kimmel and M. Messner, Men's Lives, (Allyn and Bacon, America, 1998).

D. Lester, Unusual Sexual Behavior, (Charles Thomas, America, 1975).

S. Licata and R. Petersen, Historical Perspectives on Homosexuality, (The Haworth Press, Inc. and Stein and Day Publishers, New York, 1980/81).

R. Little (ed), A Survey of Military Institutions, vol. I, (The Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Inc, 1969).

J. Livingston, 'Individual Action and Political Strategies: Creating a Future Free of Heterosexism' in E. Rothblum and L. Bonds, (eds), Preventing Heterosexism and Homophobia, (Sage Publications, Thousands Oaks, London, New Delhi, 1996).

B. Luirink, Moffies, (David Philip Publishers, Cape Town, 1998).

M. Mac an Ghail, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

S. Maddison, Fags, Hags and Queer Sisters, (MacMillan Press Ltd, London, 2000).

B. Magee, One in Twenty, (Secker & Warburg, London, 1966).

A. Mager, Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan, (Heinemann, James Currey Ltd, David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd, Portsmouth, Britain, Cape Town, 1999).

P. Mariani, 'Law-and-Order Science' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

D. Marriott, 'Reading Black Masculinities' in M. Mac an Ghail, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

M. Mason, 'Out of the Closets onto the Streets: Gay Men's History' in E. Healey and A. Mason (eds), Stonewall, (Virago Press Ltd, London, 1994).

W. Masters and V. Johnson, Homosexuality in Perspective, (Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1979).

L. McDowall, 'Body Work', in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

S. Meintjies, 'Gender, Nationalism and Transformation. Difference and Commonality in South Africa's Past and Present', in R. Wilford and R. Miller, Feminism, Ethnicity and Nationalism, (London, Routledge, 1998).

A. Kelk Mager, Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan, (Heinemann, James Currey Ltd, David Philips Publishers (Pty), Ltd, Portsmouth, UK, Cape Town, 1999).

H. Montgomery Hyde, The Other Love, (Heineman, London, 1970).

P. Moorcraft, African Nemesis. War and Revolution in Southern Africa (1945-2010), (Brassey's, London, Oxford, Washington, New York, Beijing, Frankfurt, São Paulo, Sydney, Tokyo, Toronto, 1990).

R. Morrell, Changing Men in Southern Africa, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, Zed Books Ltd, London and New York, 2001).

S. Murray. 'Sexual Politics in Contemporary Southern Africa' in S. Murray and W. Roscoe, Boy-Wives and Female Husbands, (St Martin's Press, New York, 1998).

V. Ndatshe, 'Two Miners' in M. Krouse, (ed), The Invisible Ghetto, (Cosaw Publishing, Johannesburg, 1993).



A. Niederhoffer and A. Blumberg, The Ambivalent Force: Perspectives on the Police, (Rinehart Press, San Francisco, 1973).

S. Nkoli, 'This Strange Feeling' in M. Krouse, (ed), The Invisible Ghetto, (Cosaw Publishing, Johannesburg, 1993).

D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years, (Ravan Press, South Africa, 1996).

S. O'Murray and W. Roscoe, Boy-Wives and Female Husbands, (St Martin's Press, New York, 1998).

H. Oosterhuis, 'Richard von Krafft-Ebing's 'Step-Children of Nature'' in K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

A. Parker, 'Sporting Masculinities: Gender Relations and the Body' in M. Mac an Ghaill, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

E. Patron, 'Heart of Lavender' in D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

D. Posel, The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991).

H. Pretorius, Seksuele Diskriminasie, (Homofilos, SA Uitgewers, Pretoria, 1992).

K. Prinsloo, 'Border Story' in M. Krouse, (ed), The Invisible Ghetto, (Cosaw Publishing, Johannesburg, 1993).

M. Puig, Kiss of the Spider Woman, (Vintage, London, 1979).

P. Rabinow, (ed), The Foucault Reader, (Pantheon Books, New York, 1984).

V. Reddy, 'Institutionalizing Sexuality: Theorizing Queer in Post-Apartheid South Africa' in D. Constantine-Simms, (ed), Homosexuality in Black Communities, (Alyson Books, Los Angeles, New York, 2001).

G. Retief, 'Keeping Sodom Out of the Laager: State Repression of Homosexuality in Apartheid South Africa', in Defiant Desire – Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa, M. Gevisser and E. Cameron, (eds), (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1994).

A. Ross, 'The Great White Dude' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

M. Ross (ed), Homosexuality and Social Sex Roles, (The Haworth Press, New York, 1983).

E. Rothblum and L. Bond (eds), Preventing Heterosexism and Homophobia, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, 1996).

T. Rothenburg, 'And She Told Two Friends' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

E. Rueda and M. Schwartz, Gays, AIDS and You, (The Devin Adair Company, Greenwich, Connecticut, 1987).

M. Ruse, Homosexuality, (Basil Blackwell Ltd, Great Britain, 1988).

D. Scher, 'Part 4: 1948-1966', in B. Liebenberg and S. Spies (eds), South Africa in the 20th Century, (J.L. van Schaik Academic, Pretoria, 1993).

S. Seidman, 'AIDS and the Discourse Construction of Homosexuality' in K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

M. Simpson, 'Parading It: A Revisionist History of Homosex Since Wolfenden' in E. Healey and A. Mason (eds), Stonewall, (Virago Press Ltd, London, 1994).

T. Skelton, 'Boom, Bye, Bye' in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

C. Smith, 'The Politics of Pride' in E. Healey and A. Mason (eds), Stonewall, (Virago Press Ltd, London, 1994).

- A. Solomon-Godeau, 'Male Trouble' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).
- B. Spies, 'Part 5: 1966-1991 – Apartheid at the Crossroads' in B. Liebenberg and B. Spies (eds), South Africa in the Twentieth Century, (J.L. van Schaik Academic, Pretoria, 1993).
- W. Spurlin, 'Broadening Postcolonial Studies/Decolonizing Queer Studies' in J. Hawley, (ed), Post-Colonial Queer, (State University of New York Press, America, 2001).
- S. Stander, Like the Wind. The Story of the South African Army, (Saayman & Weber, 1985).
- E. Stein, The Mismeasurement of Desire, (University Press, Oxford, 1999).
- A. Storr, Sexual Deviation, (Penguin Books, USA, Australia, 1964).
- C. Stychin, A Nation by Rights, (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1998).
- C. Suzack, 'Michael Foucault', in J. Hawley (ed), Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies, (Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, London).
- S. Swart, '“Man, Gun and Horse”. Hard Right Afrikaner Masculine Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa' in R. Morrell, Changing Men in Southern Africa, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, Zed Books Ltd, London and New York, 2001).
- J. Tosh, The Pursuit of History, (Longman, London, New York, 1984).
- C. Tripp, The Homosexual Matrix, (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, Düsseldorf, Mexico, Toronto, 1975).

C. Vance, 'Social Construction Theory and Sexuality' in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).

C. van Onselen, The Small Matter of a Horse: The Life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula 1867-1948, (Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1984).

M. van Zyl, J. de Gruchy, S. Lapinsky, S. Lewin, and G. Reid, 'The Aversion Project: Human Rights Abuses of Gays and Lesbians in the SADF by Health Workers During the Apartheid Era', (Simply Said and Done, Cape Town, 1999).

C. Warren, Gender Issues in Field Research, (Sage Publications, Newbury Park, London, New Delhi, 1988).

M. wa Sibuyi, 'Tinkancana Etimayinini: The Wives of the Mines' in M. Krouse, (ed), The Invisible Ghetto, (Cosaw Publishing, Johannesburg, 1993).

J. Weeks, Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present, (New York and London, Quartet Books, 1977).

J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, (New York, London, Longman, 1989).

J. Weeks, 'Sexuality and History Revisited' in K. Phillips and B. Reay, (eds), Sexualities in History, (Routledge, New York, London, 2002).

C. Weis, Social Science Research and Decision-Making, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1980).

F. Welsh, A History of Southern Africa, (Harper Collins Publishers, London, 1998).

G. Westwood, Society and the Homosexual, (Victor Gollancz Ltd, London, 1952).

S. Westwood, ‘Feckless Fathers’: Masculinities and the British State’ in M. Mac an Ghail, Understanding Masculinities, (Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1996).

L. White, Speaking With Vampires, (University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2000).

R. Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture, (Verso Editions, London, 1980)

D. Woodhead, ‘Surveillant Gays’ in D. Bell and G. Valentine, (eds), Mapping Desire, (Routledge, London, New York, 1995).

N. Worden, The Making of Modern South Africa, (Juta and Co. Ltd, South Africa, 1994).

G. Yúdice, ‘What’s a Straight White Man to do?’ in M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, Constructing Masculinity, (Routledge, New York, London, 1995).



JOURNAL ARTICLES

‘Gay Right’, *Employment Law*, vol. 14, Issue 3, May 1998.

Z. Achmat, ‘“Apostles of Civilised Vice”: ‘Immoral Practices’ and ‘Unnatural Vice’ in South African Prisons and Compounds, 1890-1920’, *Social Dynamics, Journal of the Centre for African Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1993.

C. Albertyn and B. Goldblatt, ‘The Decriminalization of Gay Sexual Offences’, *South African Journal on Human Rights*, vol. 14, Issue 3, 1998.

D. Amory, ‘Homosexuality in South Africa: Issues and Debates’, *Issue*, vol. xxv, no. 1, 1997.

Comments on J. Boswell, 'Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe From the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century', (www.amazon.co.uk/exec/obidos).

K. Botha and E. Cameron, 'Sexual Orientation', in South African Human Rights Yearbook 1994, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Durban, 1995).

E. Cameron, 'Sexual Orientation and the Law' in South African Human Rights Yearbook, 1992, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Durban, 1993).

E. Cameron, 'Sexual Orientation and the Constitution: A Test Case for Human Rights' in South African Law Journal, vol. 110, 1993, (Juta and Co, Ltd, Cape Town, Johannesburg, 1994).

C. Chetty, 'Sexual Orientation as a Constitutional Right', in Journal of Contemporary Roman-Dutch Law, vol. 64, issue 4, 2001,

J. Cock and A. Berstein, 'Diversity and Disadvantage: Feminist Perspectives from the USA and South Africa', in Politikon, 1998, 25 (2).

D. Donham, 'Freeing South Africa: The "Modernization" of Male-Male Sexuality in Soweto', Cultural Anthropology, vol. 13, no. 1, 1998.

T. Dunbar Moodie, N. Ndatshe, B. Sibuyi, 'Migrancy and Male Sexuality on the South African Gold Mines', in Journal of South African Studies, (1988).

D. Epstein, 'Marked Men: Whiteness and Masculinity' in Agenda, no 37 1998.

M. Epprecht, 'What an Abomination, A Rottenness of Culture: Reflections Upon the Gay Rights Movement in Southern Africa', in Canadian Journal of Development Studies, vol. xxii, 2001.

L. Gründlingh, 'HIV/AIDS in South Africa: A Case of Failed Responses Because of Stigmatization, Discrimination and Morality: 1983-1994' in New Contree, no 46, Nov. 1999.

S. Hassim, 'Gender Social Location and Feminist Politics in South Africa', in Transformation, 1991.

G. Hayward, 'History of the Equality Clause', in Equality, May 1996.

M. Jara, 'A Dismal Record', in South African Labour Bulletin, vol. 22, Issue 2, April 1998.

M. Jara, 'Gay and Lesbian Rights', in South African Labour Bulletin, vol. 21, Issue 6, Dec. 1997.



M. Jara, 'Workplace Rights: a Gay and Lesbian Issue', in South African Labour Bulletin, vol. 20, Issue 6, Dec. 1996.

D. Lewis, 'Feminisms in South Africa', in Women's Studies International Forum, vol. 16, no. 5, 1993.

C. Lind, 'Sexual Orientation, Family Law and the Transitional Constitution' in South African Law Journal, vol. 112, 1995, (Juta and Co. Ltd, Law Publishers, Cape Town Johannesburg).

R. Louw, 'Gay and Lesbian Partner Immigration and the Redefining of Family', in South African Journal on Human Rights, vol. 16, Issue 2, 2000.

R. Louw, 'Gay and Lesbian Rights: Rulings of the Constitutional Court', in Indicator, vol. 16, Issue 1, Autumn 1999.

C. Mischke, 'Big Law – Little Wrong: Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation and the New South African Constitutional Order', in Codicillus, vol. 36, Issue 1, 1995.

K. Mooney, '“Ducktails, Flick-Knives and Pugnacity”: Subcultural and Hegemonic Masculinities in South Africa, 1948-1960', in Journal of South African Studies, vol. 24, no. 1, March 1998.

R. Morrell, 'Masculinity in South African History: Towards a Gendered Approach to the Past', in South African Historical Journal, vol. 37, July 1997.

T. Mosikatsana, 'Gay/Lesbian Adoptions and the Best Interest Standard: A Critical Analysis Perspective', in Acta Juridica, 1996.

S. Motara, 'Making the Bill of Rights a Reality for Gay and Lesbian Couples', in South African Journal on Human Rights, vol. 16, Issue 2, 2000.

M. Owen, '“Not the Same Story”: Conducting Interviews With Queer Community Activists', in Resources for ‘Feminist Research’, vol. 28, no.1-2, 2000.

A. Pantazis, 'How to Decriminalise Gay Sex', in South African Journal on Human Rights, vol. 15, Issue 2, 1999.

A. Pantazis, 'The Problematic Nature of Gay Identity', in South African Journal on Human Rights, vol. 12, Issue 2, 1996.

M. Pillay, 'Gay and Lesbian Academics are Everywhere', in Agenda, Issue 28, 1996.

K. Ratele, 'The End of the Black Man' in Agenda, no 37, 1998.

K. Ratele, 'The End of the Black Man' and K. Ratele, 'Contradictions in Constructions of African Masculinity', in Nordic Africa Institute, 1996-2002.

V. Reddy, 'Negotiating Gay Masculinities' in Agenda, no 37 1998.

N. Southey, 'Uncovering Homosexuality in Colonial South Africa: The Case of Bishop Twells' in South African Historical Journal, no. 36, (May 1997).

E. Steyn, 'From Closet to Constitution: The Gay Family Rights Odyssey' in Journal of South African Law, 1998, (Juta, and Co. Ltd, Cape Town, Wetton, Johannesburg).

C. Stychin, 'Constituting Sexuality: the Struggle for Sexual Orientation in the South African Bill of Rights', in Journal of Law and Society, vol. 23, no. 4, 1996.

T. Trengrove-Jones, 'Fiction and the Law: Recent Inscriptions of Gayness in South Africa', in Modern Fiction Studies: South African Fiction After Apartheid, vol. 46, no. 1.

G. van der Walt, 'Gay Rights and Medical Aid Scheme Membership', in Obiter, vol. 19, Issue 1, 1998.

B.V.D. van Niekerk, 'The Third Sex' in South African Law Journal, 1970, (Juta and Co. Ltd, Cape Town, Johannesburg, 1971).

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS AND THESES

D. Betteridge, 'Sexual Orientation and the Law Reform: Where are the Transsexuals?', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

E. Blackwood, 'Lesbian, Transgendered, and Queer Subjects: Notes on Difference', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

S. Bullington, 'The "Devil Dean" of Cape Town: Race, Sexuality, and the Limits of the Nation in Contemporary South Africa', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

K. Cage, 'From *Moffietaal* to *Gayle* – the Evolution of a South African Gay Argot', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

I. Chipkin, 'Thinking the Form of the State in Relation to Sex and Privacy', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

D. Conway, 'Masculinity, Citizenship and Political Objection to Compulsory Military Service in the South African Defence Force: The Case of Ivan Toms', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

D. Conway, 'The End Conscription Campaign, Sexuality, Citizenship and Military Conscription in Apartheid South Africa'.

'Defence in a Democracy White Paper on National Defence for the Republic of South Africa', chapter 3: 'Civil-Military Relations, Rights and Duties of Military Personnel', (May 1996), www.mil.za/Articles&Papers/WhitePaperonDef/white.htm.

T. Dirsuweit, "'I Sort of had a Boyfriend: Heterosexual Transgressions in Prison Space', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

M. Epprecht, 'Fear and Loathing of Homosexuality in Zimbabwe: A Social and Intellectual History, 1890-1980', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

K. Harris, "'Private and Confidential: The Chinese Mine Labourers and Unnatural Crime', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

S. Hassim, 'Feminism, Nationalism and the Politics of the Women's Movement in South Africa', in 'Identities, Interests and Constituencies: The Politics of the Women's Movement in South Africa, 1980-1999', (PhD, York University, 2002).

M. Jara, S. Lapinsky, 'Forging a Representative Gay Liberation Movement in South Africa', (www.interfund.org.za).

G. Kraak, 'Homosexuality and the South African Left: the Ambiguities of Exile', (unpublished, 26 Aug. 2002).

N. Oswin, 'Mapping Normal: The Politics of Economic Citizenship in "Gay Cape Town,"' (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

P. Powell, 'The Study of the Theoretical Aspects of ANC Mobilizational Methods in the Eastern Cape Townships of Craddock and Port Alfred, 1980-1988', (MA Thesis at RAU, 1991).

G. Reid, "'It is Just a Fashion!' Linking Homosexuality and Modernity in South Africa', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

R. Sinclair, 'The Study of History of Female and Male Prostitution in Johannesburg, 1900 to 1997', (MA Thesis at University of Natal, Durban, 1997).

L. Walker, 'Men Behaving Differently: South African Men Since 1994', (IASSCS Sex and Secrecy conference 2003).

www.africaaction.org/action/women.htm, Africa Action, 'Strategic Action Issue Area: African Women's Rights'.

www.mask.org.za/SECTIONS/AfricaPerCountry/ABC/uganda/uganda_52.htm, Behind the Mask, 'Homos Meet in Kampala'.

www.irinnews.org/report.asp, IRINnews.org, 'Ethiopia: US \$1.5million ADB Grant for Promotion of Women's Rights.

www.wougnet.org/Links/africa_int.html, Women of Uganda Network, 'African and International Women Organisations'.

A Project of the Gay and Lesbian Archive/South African History Archive, 'Gays in the Apartheid Military', (27 June 2003).

A Project of the Gay and Lesbian Archive/ South African History Archive, 'Gays in the Apartheid Military', (Sept. 2003).



APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire for Chapter 3.

Name (you may remain anonymous): _____

Telephone number: _____ (you do not have to supply this)

Years in army (e.g. 1980-1983): _____

Rank in army: _____

Where you were stationed: _____

Were you doing your National Service or were you Permanent Force? _____

1) Do you think the SADF regarded homosexuality as a disease? _____

If yes, why?

If not, why?

2) Do you know of any human rights abuses against gays by health personnel in the SADF? _____

If yes, please elaborate.

3) Were you told about the 1982 government Directive that aimed to eliminate homosexuality in the SADF? _____

Even if you didn't know about this Directive would you say it was being carried out?

That is, was there this strict process of eliminating homosexuals from the SADF? _____

If yes, please elaborate.

If not, why do you think it did not seem as if the government was trying to eliminate gays from the SADF?

4) Do you think homosexuality undermined discipline in the SADF and led to security risks? _____

If yes, why do you think so?

If no, why do think so?

5) In your experience was the SADF extremely homophobic in the 1980s? _____

If yes, why?

If no, why?

6) In your experience was there an uneven application of SADF policy regarding homosexuality? That is, do you know of a gay soldier who received different treatment in one area to someone you knew, who was gay, but was in the SADF in a different area? _____

If yes, please explain this difference in treatment

If no, please explain why this treatment was the same in different areas

7) Did different commanders treat gay soldiers differently? That is, did some have it good, some bad? _____

If yes, please explain how different commanders gave out different treatment?

8) Was there open discouragement of any form of homosexual behaviour in the SADF? _____

If yes, please explain

If no, was homosexual behaviour encouraged or just left alone? _____

9) Would you go so far as to say there was a 'hidden form of terrorism' against gays in the SADF? _____

If yes, why do you believe this?

If no, why do you believe this?

10) While you were in the army had you ever heard of shock therapy of homosexual soldiers carried out by Dr Levine during the late 1960s, early 1970s at 1 Military Hospital? _____

If yes, please elaborate on what you know or heard about this

11) While you were in the army did you ever hear of Dr Reynders? _____

If yes, please elaborate on what you heard about which man

12) Were there any rumours or known facts in the SADF about what would happen to a gay soldier if the army found out he was gay? _____

If yes, were these rumours or facts? _____

If yes, please elaborate on what you know or heard would happen to such a gay soldier

13) While you were in the army had you ever heard of the treatment centre at Magaliesoord? _____
If yes, what do you know or hear about this place?

14) Were you given any religious instruction by the SADF regarding homosexuality? _____
If so, what were you told?

What religious denomination was your army chaplain? (e.g. NG Kerk, Baptist, Catholic etc) _____

15) Was there any language used in the SADF that discriminated against homosexuals? (e.g. were homosexuals called 'moffies' etc?) _____
If yes, please give examples of what was said

16) Did you witness, or know of any form of acceptance of gays in the SADF? _____
If yes, please elaborate on what was accepted and who found it acceptable

17) Did you witness, or do you know of any situations in the SADF where homophobia was practised? That is, open discrimination against homosexuals (e.g. insults, gay bashing etc) _____
If yes, please explain what happened

If no, why do you think there was no discrimination?

18) For gay ex-soldiers only: Were you, as a gay soldier, ever supported by any straight colleagues in the army? _____
If yes, please explain how you were supported

If no, please explain how you were treated in the army

19) Have you ever heard of the gay platoon in Upington during the 1980s? _____
If yes, what do you know about it?

20) Have you ever heard about the gay platoon in Grahamstown, 1983-85? _____
If yes, what do you know about it?

21) Would you consider your platoon to have been gay-friendly? _____
If yes, why do you say they were gay-friendly?

If no, why do you say they were not gay-friendly?

22) While you were in the army did you ever hear of the SAMS (the South African Medical Services) of the SADF? _____
If yes, what do you know of the SAMS?

23) Do you know anything about the activities at Voortrekkerhoogte's 1 Military Hospital? _____
If so, what do you know?

24) Do you know anything about homosexuals being drugged or given medication by the SADF to 'cure' them of their homosexuality? _____
If yes, what do you know?

25) Did you ever witness or hear of 'drag queens' in the SADF used for entertainment? _____
If so, what do you know about this?

26) Have you ever experienced or heard of situations where male with male sexual acts were encouraged to promote bonding between soldiers? _____
If so, please elaborate

27) Were you led to believe that homosexuality was not conducive to the South African army? _____
If so, how did you come to believe this?

If no, how were you led to believe this?

28) In your view was the SADF very masculine? _____
If yes, why to you say this?

If yes, how do you think the army achieved this masculinity?

If no, why do you believe the army was not masculine?
