

# CRITICAL LIST OF POLITICS AND SEXUALITY

**EASY AND QUICK  
TO RECOGNIZE!**

**TOTAL ECLIPSE  
OF VALUES**



You are holding a **Critical List of Politics and Sexuality**, a work of art by Sezgin Boynik, Kalle Hamm, Minna L. Henriksson and Dzamil Kamanger, which was published in 2011.

The **Critical List of Politics and Sexuality** is part of the international *Untold Stories* exhibition at the Tallinn Kunstihooone that took place from 8 May to 26 June 2011.

<http://www.kunstihoone.ee>



## DOUBLE MINORITIES

### GAY SÁMI

The Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion will start mapping gay and lesbian rights in the Sámi region. According to State Secretary Kjell Erik Øyen, Sámi LGBT-people are living under hard conditions, and he believes the report on their situation will have a positive effect on the attitudes toward them. Homosexuality is still a big taboo in Sámi societies, which are traditionally religious and conservative. Yet there are some positive examples, including a short film titled *Spiritual Kiss* by Gjert Rognli and the first public Sámi gay marriage.

### LEAVING THE CHURCH

In the autumn of 2010 over 40,000 people left the Lutheran Church in Finland because of the anti-gay comments of Christian Democratic Party leader Päivi Räsänen. In March 2011, Christian Youth organizations launched a campaign called *Don't Surrender!* that encourages homo- and bisexual youth to pursue heterosexual lives based on their beliefs. The campaign tells the story of a bisexual girl, who is cured and becomes hetero with help of Jesus. This caused second wave of people deserting church, and in one day, 500 people left the Lutheran Church.

### TRIPLE MARGINALITY

At the same time, one can find good examples of belonging to multiple marginalities in Belgrade, Serbia. There is a group of Roma transvestite sex workers aged 16 - 40 years, most of whom are from cities and who, sadly, are heroin addicts. Some of them are popular figures, because they are entertainers in turbo folk shows. They have the partial support of the Roma settlement they live in. The Serbian government does not have any special social programs for them, nor do the LGBT associations, who only follow the public discussion in the media. They are overlooked by the organizations and seen only as an exotic phenomenon.

### CRIME AGAINST THE NATION

Homosexuality has been seen as a betrayal of 'traditional' Arab-Islamic values. In the Arab mindset, a person who has committed a moral offence – like homosexuality – is often assumed to be guilty of other offences as well. In Palestine this attitude has led to the conclusion that if you are homosexual you are ipso facto a collaborator with Israel. This misunderstanding is based on the fact that gays often visit Israel because homosexual activities cannot be conducted in Palestine. So the crime against nature has turned into a crime against the nation.

## VELVET SOCIETY

### SEXUAL REFUGEES I

Many Finns are living as sexual refugees in their own country. Homosexuality often stays hidden in the rural areas, which prompts many people to move to the capital. At the same time Helsinki is attracting tourists as gay friendly city. But this era of tolerance has not lasted very long. In the eighties gays were still moving to Berlin and Stockholm because of the unbearable anti-gay atmosphere in Helsinki. Finland gets hundreds of sexual refugee applications every year. There are no exact statistics available how many of them are accepted.

### SEXUAL REFUGEES II

At least two gay asylum seekers in Britain have ended up killing themselves. One of them was an Iranian named Hussein Nasserli who shot himself at a children's recreational centre in Eastbourne in 2004 – just two weeks after his appeal to remain in the UK was rejected. He had fled from Iran claiming that he had been imprisoned because of his sexuality and would be persecuted if he returned. At the inquest into his death, the coroner noted that refusal of asylum was 'an obvious motive' for his suicide.

### LOVE AND FREEDOM

V. I. Lenin advised his lover Inessa Armand to delete the point on the demand for free love from her unpublished pamphlet on revolutionary love. According to Lenin this could be understood as a bourgeois demand, because the notion freedom was not precise. In this case, could freedom be understood as freedom from the material calculations in the affairs of love, material worries, religious prejudices and prohibitions by Pope. As well as freedom from the prejudices of 'society', the narrow circumstances of one's dispositions, the police, the serious element in love, childbirth and the freedom of adultery.

### GAY MARRIAGES

On 16 March 2011 the EU published proposals for new EU regulations, simplifying the property rights procedures for international couples, whether married or in civil partnerships. The proposed legislation is comprised of one regulation for marriages, and one regulation for civil partnerships. The European Parliament will now examine the two proposals. Michael Cashman MEP, Co-President of the Intergroup on LGBT Rights, met with the European Commission on 17 March 2011 to ensure that the proposals did not lead to different rights for same-sex or different-sex couples. It is not known how these regulations will be recognized and ratified outside of the EU.

## BAD BOYS

### HOMOPHOBIA

The word homophobia was coined by psychologist George Weinberg in his 1971 treatise *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*. Weinberg recalled the moment in 1965 when the word came to him: "It came to me with utter clarity, that this was a phobia. The roots of homophobia are fear, fear and more fear. It is based on the preposterous notion that if you are like everybody else you will be safe, secure and happy. In the extreme, that if you are good, you won't die. 'Well, no wonder he died, he smoked a few joints', or 'He was homosexual. I would never do that.'"

### REVOLUTION OF ORGANS

The main dilemma in relations between sex and politics in revolutionary times is the tenacity related to the body. Two questions at the start of Dusan Makavejev's film *Love Affair, or The Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator* provide the best description of this problem of the transformation of the body in revolutionary politics: Will Man be remodeled? Will future Man preserve certain old organs? Basically the film is judgment of a society, where sexuality, the freedom of living and art is banned and controlled by people in power.

### HOMO-NATIONALISM

Homo-nationalism is a movement by LGTB organizations and individuals who perpetuate the ideas of white supremacy specifically within the gay community, and it is connected to many European and Israeli LGBT scenes. Judith Butler raised awareness of this issue by refusing the award from Berlin Pride in 2010 as a statement against homo-nationalism. Her argument is that queer fights against oppression cannot be separated from the battles against racism, anti-immigrant sentiments, or other forms of oppression.

### TOM OF FINLAND

"All my early sexual experiences were with German soldiers," says Tom of Finland, "no one could make uniforms like the Germans". His early works often feature men in Nazi uniforms. Later he tried to distance himself from these images. The danger is that we try to deny the influence of the Nazi uniform upon his art. Yet the moral dimension of Nazism does not comprise his art fetishes; it is merely the material culture of it. But these two cannot be wholly separated and almost all of his imagery can be traced back to the same origin – the uniform of the Wehrmacht.

LEAVING THE CHURCH



[www.mtv3.fi/uutiset/kotimaa.shtml/2011/08/1299467/kirkosta-eroaminen-jatkunut-tanaan-rajuna](http://www.mtv3.fi/uutiset/kotimaa.shtml/2011/08/1299467/kirkosta-eroaminen-jatkunut-tanaan-rajuna)

GAY SÁMI



[www.nrk.no/nett-tv/index/156456/](http://www.nrk.no/nett-tv/index/156456/)

TRIPLE MARGINALITY



[www.queeriacentiar.org](http://www.queeriacentiar.org)

LOVE AND FREEDOM



[www.marxists.org/archive/lenin](http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin)

SEXUAL REFUGEE I



[www.hs.fi/juttusarja/penaali/artikkeli/Kaapista+ulos+suurkaupungissa/1135264622154](http://www.hs.fi/juttusarja/penaali/artikkeli/Kaapista+ulos+suurkaupungissa/1135264622154)

SEXUAL REFUGEE II



<http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/artikkeli/Homous+on+havoin+niitt%C3%A4v%C3%A4+peruste+turvapaikalle/1135264040211>

GAY MARRIAGES



[www.lgbt-eu.eu/press-releases/commission-proposes-to-facilitate-freedom-of-movement-for-all-couples/](http://www.lgbt-eu.eu/press-releases/commission-proposes-to-facilitate-freedom-of-movement-for-all-couples/)

HOMO-NATIONALISM



<http://nohomonationalism.blogspot.com/2010/06/boycott-academic-israel.html>

TOM OF FINLAND

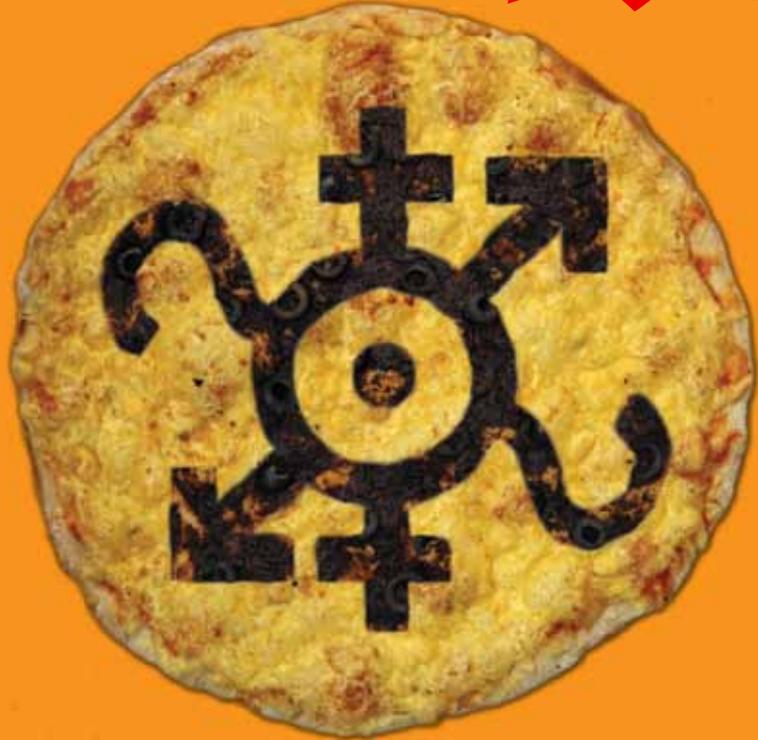


<http://thefilter.blogs.com/thefilter/2007/12/tom-of-finland.html>

FIND OUT MORE!

LGBT RIGHTS: Declaration of Montreal

[www.declarationofmontreal.org/declaration/](http://www.declarationofmontreal.org/declaration/)



HOW DOES IT FEEL TO BE A PROBLEM ?

This article provides some examples of the complicated situations that have occurred when traditional culture values clash with modern demands. The principles of the Enlightenment can be crystallized in the famous motto *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* and France became the first nation to decriminalize homosexuality in 1791. This can be called the beginning of social freedom and the rights of individuals. When the French National Constituent Assembly began drafting the policies and laws for the new Republic in 1792, groups of militant 'sodomite-citizens' petitioned for freedom and recognition for homosexuals.

Western countries have adopted the ideas of the Enlightenment and hoped that other countries would follow their example. A long road has been traveled and there is still no ratified international declaration of LGBT rights – the so-called Declaration of Montréal – as there is for children, women and human beings generally. It was rejected in UN by the Muslim nations.

We do not have one fixed identity but multiple identities. We also no longer have monocultures in Western societies but multilayered cultural clusters where different values and demands – modern and traditional ones – cross and overlap. In such complex societies it is very important to remember that many LGBT people may simultaneously belong to several minorities and official acceptance at the state level might not help these people at all; more specific kind of support mechanisms are needed.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>

Especially for Finns: Leave the church!

<http://eroakirkosta.fi>

ENJOY YOUR READING!