

about the medieval children's crusade, includes a love affair between two young men. In a short story he retells the Biblical story of Cain and Abel, with the boys as lovers. *No One*, a particularly explicit homosexual retelling of the Odysseus story, was published posthumously in 1983. Despite the repressiveness of the military regime, other fictional works dealing with homosexuality have also been published.

The media have also shown a surprising openness. In 1974 Tadeusz Gorgol published a remarkably positive article in *Życie literackie*. At the end of the 1980s the Warsaw monthly *Relaks* began printing gay "contact" personal ads, though this policy was discontinued in July 1984. On November 23, 1985, Krzysztof Darski published in *Polityka* an article, "We Are Different," that called for a homophile organization. By 1988 informal gay groups had formed in Wrocław, Łódź, Gdańsk, and Warsaw. Information bulletins, however, are limited to a printing of one hundred copies to avoid censorship.

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POLICE

The regulation of sexual behavior would be incomplete without an administrative branch of government to enforce the laws on the statute books, and in Western society this task has traditionally fallen to the police. However, the police as an institution came into being only gradually, between the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the nineteenth.

The word stems from *politeia*, in turn derived from Greek *polis*, "city." Originally it referred to civic organization and administration as instruments for shaping citizenship and *politesse*. In French usage the meaning gradually narrowed

from this broad sense to the more specific denotation of the corps of agents who carried out the instructions of the lieutenant of police. Among the special functions of this authority was the suppression or at least the monitoring of vice, the so-called *police des moeurs*, out of which the English-speaking world developed the "morals squad" or "vice squad."

Functions and Practices. One of the primary tasks of this branch of the police force has always been the regulation of **prostitution**, at least to the extent that prostitutes had to be registered with the authorities and to confine their activities to certain areas of the city and particular times of day. Male prostitution far less often was controlled in this manner because the acts in which the prostitute and his client engaged were ipso facto criminal, quite apart from any payment which the hustler or call boy received, so that the whole relationship had to be exceedingly clandestine. And despite social disapproval and periodic campaigns aimed at driving **sodomy** out of existence, the principal cities of Europe from the late **Middle Ages** to the present have always had a homosexual **subculture** of parks, streets, taverns, and other places where men seeking partners of their own sex habitually congregated. These areas came under police surveillance, and at least from the early eighteenth century onward, the Paris police kept lists of such persons, even if it did not proceed to arrest them. These "homo-files," to use a modern play on words, often included the names of thousands of individuals from all classes of society. In 1725 Lieutenant General Lenoir estimated that there were 20,000 sodomites in Paris, and in 1783 Mouflage d'Angerville gave an account of a ledger in which the names of 40,000 pederasts were inscribed, "almost as many as there were whores."

Another practice of the police was entrapment, whereby a plainclothesman would encourage the victim to make an advance and then—often with accomplices

hidden nearby—proceed to arrest him. Entrapment was to continue in many large cities down to the sixties of the twentieth century. And with fear of arrest and exposure came the danger of **blackmail**, which hung like a Damocles' sword over the head of every homosexual who led a double life. Since denizens of the homosexual subculture often had to pay off the police in order to function unmolested, the police themselves could be enmeshed in a network of bribery, extortion, and blackmail. The fact that Western society tacitly assigns sexual activity to the realm of the private and unseen has meant, moreover, that the police could maintain their surveillance only over sexual activity that occurred in public places or was implied by the attempt of a suspect to establish rapport with a prospective sexual partner. This last fell into the category of "loitering" or "disorderly conduct," an ill-defined concept that gave the authorities a free hand in dealing with anyone of whose actions they disapproved. Also, when national prohibition was repealed in the United States (1933), premises serving alcohol came under the supervision of regulatory bodies with power to close them if "degenerates" were engaging in "disorderly conduct." The ambiguous status of the bars led to a continuing pattern of raids in which employees and patrons would be arrested; these culminated in the famous **Stonewall** tavern raid of June 27–28, 1969 in **New York's Greenwich Village**, when for the first time homosexuals fought back. Occasionally private parties were also raided and the guests hauled off to the police station.

Surveillance and the Morals Squad. It was only in the last third of the nineteenth century that a morals squad came to be a regular part of the metropolitan police force. Gustave Macé of the Paris Sûreté reported that in 1872—thus at the beginning of the Third Republic—a brigade composed of eight agents was formed to maintain surveillance over the pederasts of the French capital, but that he had to

disband it because the head of the squad began to keep dossiers on political figures as well as professional hustlers. Léo Taxil held that despite the reform of the penal code by the Constituent Assembly in 1791, every French government from that of Napoleon I to the 1880s had used the knowledge of the homosexuality of individuals in public life for purposes of political blackmail. Thus the surveillance exercised by the morals squad served to increase the hold of the state power over those "to whom no crime could be imputed," as Gibbon said it had done since the time of Justinian.

The object was not to prosecute the culprits or to destroy their social existence, but to monitor their activities and, it goes without saying, survey the functioning of the clandestine networks of homosexual contact and influence. In fact, the police authorities in the large cities of the Western world were aware that they should not proceed too vigorously in tracking down "vice rings" because sooner or later influential and wealthy individuals were bound to be implicated. This truth was lost on the police in small towns and cities, where a campaign against "unnatural vice," more often than not provoked by a member of the local clergy, could lead to a chain of arrests in which the most prominent families would be compromised. The most recent well-publicized example of such a chain is the "cleanup" undertaken in Boise, Idaho in 1955. Also, since the metropolitan police could not touch those who were privileged by their own social standing or by powerful protectors, they targeted for arrest or extortion the "small fry" who fell into their nets—the street hustler, the drag queen, the lower middle class denizen of the homosexual underworld. Lesbians were less often victims of police harassment except in connection with statutes against cross-dressing which they could be accused of violating.

Tensions between Homosexuals and the Police. Naturally the police were hated by the homosexuals on whom they

preyed, and whom they in turn resented because their own superiors used discretion in proceeding against those guilty of the "crime against nature." At the same time homosexuals who were victimized by common criminals feared to turn to the police for help because they would encounter no sympathy and even expose themselves to investigation or worse. So the absence of great numbers of prosecutions for sodomy attests to an ambiguous situation: comparatively few individuals were ever caught "in the act" and prosecuted for the maximal offense, but many were entrapped or subjected to semi-legal forms of harassment such as raids on gay bars in which the patrons would be arrested and their identity—and the motive for the arrest—made known to family members, employers and the like, so that, even though they were charged with a misdemeanor at most, their careers and lives could be ruined by the simple act of disclosure. The police themselves could engage in "shakedowns" or outright blackmail.

The police thus functioned in three ways to embitter the existence of participants in the homosexual subculture: (1) by harassing patrons of establishments known to be frequented by homosexuals, or individuals simply observed in cruising areas, (2) by allowing criminals, or private persons hostile to homosexuals, to victimize and assault them with impunity, and (3) by conducting campaigns of repression at the behest of politicians who wanted to impress the electorate with their zeal in "upholding morality." When an establishment failed to pay the sums demanded by the police for protection, or a crusading mayor or district attorney wanted the newspapers to report that he had "cracked down on vice," the arm of the law would descend in full fury. So long as the gay community was unorganized, powerless, and itself a "fugitive from justice," nothing could be done to minimize or halt these practices. While the United States saw national waves of repression,

especially in the 1940s and 50s, local variations were considerable. A city with an energetically homophobic police chief (as was repeatedly the case in **Los Angeles**) could make life difficult for homosexuals, in contrast with one in which the authorities were more lax—and more susceptible to bribery.

Improved Relations. In the latter part of the twentieth century, with the rise of the homosexual liberation movement, gay and lesbian organizations have made efforts at establishing liaisons with urban police forces and at cultivating better relations with the local police. Enlightened district attorneys and their counterparts in major European cities have been persuaded to halt the practice of entrapment and to restrict their repressive activity to sexual behavior that caused public scandal or entailed corruption or abuse of a minor, and also to educate the members of the police force in a spirit of toleration for the gay subculture. In such cities as **San Francisco** and **New York** the police have actually begun to recruit gay and lesbian candidates for the force, while homosexuals who already belong have formed benevolent organizations of their own.

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POLITICAL THEORY, HISTORY OF

Political theory seeks to analyze and envision things political, originally of the *polis* or city-state of ancient **Greece**. Thus the subject begins with the Greeks of