Contents

Foreword to the English-Language Edition by David M. Halperin xi
Acknowledgments xv
Abbreviations xvii

Introduction 1

1 From the Gay Movement to the Fight against AIDS 8

Gay Mobilization before AIDS 8
   The “Homophile” Movement 8
   The Revolutionary Movement 10
   Liberation Groups and Reformist Groups 12
Early Signs of AIDS Mobilization 14
The First Generation of AIDS Organizations 15
Protests and Public Expression of HIV-Positive Status 19
   Emergence of Organizations of HIV-Positive Persons 20
   HIV-Positive Status and Gay Demands 24

2 The Birth and Rise of Act Up 27

Didier Lestrade: A Path 27
An Imported Model: AIDS Activism in the United States 30
   Larry Kramer: Founder or Leader? 30
   Claiming a Legacy 32
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A Theory of AIDS</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Political Etiology of AIDS</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Ghost of Foucault</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Act Up and Michel Foucault: An Unexpected Connection?</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An Indirect Influence (1)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Biopower” and the Fight against AIDS: An Unsettling Analogy</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An Indirect Influence (2)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Positional Rejection or an Illegitimate Legacy?</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Act Up versus Literary Representations of AIDS</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gay Politics</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The “Homosexualization” of AIDS under Debate</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constructing a Collective Identity</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AIDS from the “Point of View” of Homosexuality</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Building a Community</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HIV-Positive Gay Identity as a Frame of Reference</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hierarchies of Experience and Identification</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Act Up’s Gay Image</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Act Up and the Gay Pride March</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gay Activists and the Fight against AIDS</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Reconciling the Experiences of Homosexuality and AIDS through Activism</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual Orientations and Proximities to AIDS</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social and Sociosexual Backgrounds</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Degrees of Proximity to the Epidemic and Motives for Engagement</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gay Trajectories</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robin</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socialization Effects</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paths of Gay Socialization</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bridging the Experiences of Homosexuality and AIDS</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambivalences in the Recognition of People with HIV</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6 The Rationale for Public Action

Strategic Emotions

Uses of Violence

- Violence according to Act Up
- Violence Attributed to Activists
- Experiencing Violence versus Inflicting Violence
- Self-Inflicted Violence

7 Activism, Grief, and Memory Politics

Grief and Activism

- A “Grieving Machine”?
- Act Up and Memorial Practices

Political Uses of Death and Memory

- Naming the Deceased
- Simulating Death
- Political Funerals
- Competing Memories

References to the History of Homosexuals

- The Pink Triangle
- Holocaust References

8 The Emergence of Hope and Redefinition of Activism

Act Up’s Response to Advances in Treatment

- The First Sidaction and Its Impact
- The Second Sidaction and Its Impact

Revival of Act Up’s Gay Politics

- The Fight for Recognition of Same-Sex Couples
- The Threat of Outing
- A New Identity?

A Paradigm Shift: From Despair to Hope

- Hope versus Despair
- Hope and Memory

Act Up’s Dissolution under Debate

- The Tenth Anniversary

9 Act Up and the Bareback Controversy

The Controversy

- Books as Mirrors (1996–1999)
Conditions and Key Issues

Evolution of Sexual Behaviors 227
Disengagement and Positioning Strategies 228
The Inexhaustible U.S. Model 229
The President’s Position 230
A Threatening Closeness 232
Barebacking as an Instrumental Frontier 233
Communitarianism as an Implicit Frontier 234
Competing Legitimacies 235
Transmission as an End and a Means 237
Splits 239

10 Changing Representations of Homosexuality 247

Resurgence of Gay Mobilization 248
The Fight against AIDS and Gay Socialization 248
Specializations of Identity and Struggles for Recognition 249
Toward the Normalization of Homosexuality? 251
Between Normalization and Dissidence 252
The Freaks’ Parable 253
The U.S. Queer Movement against Assimilation 256
Act Up, the Queer Movement, and Normalization in France 259
Fantasy of the Murderous Gay 262
The HIV-Positive Gay as a Model 266
Activism and Imagination as Catharsis 270

Conclusion 274

Notes 279
References 287
Index 305