


POLITICAL MOVEMENT WE ARE: FROM THE EMERGENCE TO THE FRACTIONATION OF THE LGBTQIA+ STRUGGLE

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ABSTRACT

The present work aims to understand the emergence and consolidation of the LGBTQIA+ political movement in Brazil, focusing on the 1970s and 1980s. The work was guided by the questioning of how and why the LGBTQIA+ political movement originated in Brazil? The investigation was based on a bibliographic and documentary research, anchored in the materialist-dialectical method. The theoretical support was given with the works of Cruz (2018), Green (2018), Mott (2018), Quinallha (2022), Trevisan (2018) among other authors dedicated to the theoretical unveiling of the problem. The historical moment that gave rise to the movement, the importance of the process of mass communication through the press, the political-ideological internal struggles for the conception of the LGBTQIA+ social and political movement and the reconfiguration of the homosexual movement in Brazil in the 1990s are highlighted. In the phase of the conclusions, the period is identified as fundamental for the organization of the initial struggles against homophobia and for the affirmation of the movement as instruments of collective struggles for rights.

Keywords: LGBTQIA+ political movement. Ideological struggles. Political organization. Are. Lampião da Esquina.

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INTRODUCTION

The history and memory of LGBTI+ activism are of fundamental importance not only because it makes the past known and restores heredity between generations that, in each era, contribute to the formation of a community that is always becoming. Looking back is also essential to think about ways of acting in the present and projecting possible futures, there is no manual inscribed in history, it is not about repeating successes and avoiding mistakes made, but about facing the challenges that are posed in the light of information and awareness of our own trajectory (QUINALHA, 2022, p.147).

This look back, as the author puts it above, requires thinking about the different forms of organization of LGBTQIA+ activism in society when this social group is excluded from basic rights essential for its own survival, as well as when its freedom is curtailed through censorship and torture promoted by the State by imposing fear on groups in society in its process of mobilization and social organization, groups of individuals and collectives with different forms of contestation and struggle.

In Brazilian literature, different discussions make up the trajectory of the organization of the LGBTQIA+ movement, going through waves, demarcating some central moments, establishing the sequential and temporal idea of first, second and third wave. This process of periodization of the history of the LGBTQIA+ movement can compromise its heuristic capacity, giving rise to stagist readings (imposition of route, linearity). The waves seem watertight, without paying due attention to the procedural dimension of transition. The author also emphasizes that the division of history into phases imposes a certain artificiality, as it loses sight of the networks and generations in permanent conflict (Quinalha, 2022).

Quinalha (2022) adopts other ways of making this reading, based on the notion of cycles, in view of the agenda of demands in each historical moment, since one cycle is not exhausted in another, and they can coexist in different forms of interaction. Thus, the author will incorporate five cycles into his discussion: Cycle of Homosexual Affirmation and Combat to the Dictatorship (1978- Grupo Somos); HIV/AIDS Cycle and Onguinization (1980s); Cycle of Institutionalization, Public Visibility and Commodification; Cycle of Citizenship (1980), Diversification and Rights (turn of the 2000s); and Backlash Cycle and Bolsonarism (Jair Bolsonaro).

In this research, knowledge is totalizing, since it never reaches a defined stage, nor finished, so it is also a human activity, aiming to know the whole in order to perceive the parts. For the Marxist dialectic, [...] "The human being needs to have a certain overview of them: it is from the view of the whole that we can evaluate the dimension of each element of the picture. This is what Hegel underlined when he wrote: Truth is the whole" [...] (KONDER, 2014, p.34). It means, therefore, that if it is not possible to see the whole, the



risk of attributing an exaggerated value to a limited truth can turn into a lie, which will certainly harm the more general truth.

ORGANIZATION OF THE LGBTQIA+ MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL

In addition to knowing the reality of the organization of the social movement in Brazil in its different contexts, this study on the organization of the LGBTQIA+ movement dates back to the beginning of the process of contestation in Latin America regarding the issues of machismo, patriarchy, violence against women and the oppression of homosexuality. [...] "Through a change in meaning, since the term homosexual came from a medical classification, Latin American LGBT activism began in November 1969, under the dictatorship of General Juan Carlos Onganía, in Gerli, a suburb of Buenos Aires" (TRINDADE, 2018, p.229).

Undoubtedly, it was a moment in which the first attempt at homosexual organization in Argentina gave rise, with the creation of the Grupo Nuestro Mundo, founded by 14 middle-class homosexual trade unionists, under the coordination of Héctor Anabitate, a former member of the Communist Party, with no direct connection to the events that took place in New York. Homosexuality was interpreted from a conservative point of view as a subversion of the patriarchal order and for the leftist wing as a bourgeois vice that would divide the class struggle (TRINDADE, 2018).

In 1971, the Argentine Homosexual Liberation Front (FLHA) was created in Buenos Aires⁶, inspired by the North American Gay Power movement, which fought for human rights and against discrimination, a movement that brought together politicized young people, sociology students from at least ten congregations around common demands such as the contraceptive pill, abortion and criticism of heterosexuality, approaching left-wing agendas and feminist issues, leftist and Latin American trade union groups, which was committed to expanding the struggle to change the economy, laws, and authoritarian regimes, which increased the strong performance of its members, especially Isabel Macías Galeas and Nestor Perlongher.

⁶ The FLHA was a kind of congregation of different autonomous groups that coordinated joint actions. Between March 1972 and August 1973, the FLHA had the participation of at least ten groups, among them Eros, in which Nestor Perlongher, Nuestro Mundo, Profesionales, Sappho (lesbian activism), Bandeira Negra (anarchist), Emanuel (Christians), Argentine Homosexual Catholics, among others, were militants. This organization has always remained in dialogue with the feminist issues discussed within some organizations such as UFA (Argentine Feminist Union), MLF (Feminist Liberation Movement), Nueva Mujer and Frente de Lucha por la Mujer. By stating that the "personal is political", these groups organized themselves around demands such as the contraceptive pill and abortion, but they also criticized compulsory heterosexuality that hindered the free enjoyment of sexuality (Trindade, 2018, 231).



The FLHA published "*Somos*" in 1973, the first magazine aimed at homosexuals in Latin America, which led to a visit by Nestor Perlongher to Brazil in 1976, at the invitation of José Silvério Trevisan, to participate in a meeting at the University of Rio de Janeiro, to talk about the writings of the FLHA magazine "*Somos*". *Somos* also became the name of the first Brazilian LGBTQIA+ political organization, to be highlighted later (TRINDADE, 2018).

The LGBTQIA+ movement was also showing signs of resistance in Mexico with the Communist Party government, which included in its agenda principles that no one should be discriminated against, marginalized for racial reasons, sex and religion. But it was in 1979 that the *First March of the Homosexual Pride took place in Mexico City*, led by the collectives Frente Homosexual de Acción Revolucionária (FHAR). Recalling that, "in 1970, Philosophy and Psychology student Manuel Velandia founded the first homosexual activism group in Colombia, the Movimiento por la Liberación Homosexual, which organized several political activities, including the country's First Gay March" (TRINDADE, 2018, p. 132). Both countries that made up this continent had converging histories, marked by the subjugation of racialized bodies.

[...] In analyzing the formation of LGBT politics in Latin America, Carlos Fígari points out that the inhabitants of this continent have always been subjected to a similar type of domination, based on the subjugation of racialized and sexualized bodies as part of the colonizing enterprise. It would have been because of this history marked by exclusion and oppression that the issue of normalization, in terms of citizenship, became the main political axis of sexual dissidence. However, it is common to hear it said in Brazil, and perhaps throughout the Latin American continent, that the sexual politics devised in the US served as inspiration or provided the basis for the LGBT political activism that would be built in these countries. It is a hegemonic version that preserves the old center-periphery dichotomy and that reaffirms the political-ideological imperialism of the central countries over the third world. My discomfort with this is that by removing this hegemonic LGBT perspective, we end up suppressing our own history, because, unlike American gays, lesbians, who lived through those troubled years of 1960-1970, Brazil and its Latin American neighbors were immersed in dictatorial regimes, economic exploitation, high poverty rates, low wages, social inequality, violence, in addition to the suffocating presence of conservative Christian moral perspectives that served historically of ideological support for the colonial system (TRINDADE, 2018, p.233).

The author Ronaldo Trindade (2018), in agreement with James Green (2019), admits that the gay and lesbian movement influenced Argentina, Mexico, and Puerto Rico, but that this same phenomenon did not happen in Brazil, since the repression of the military proved to be a major obstacle, especially with the Institutional Act - AI-5, that harshly persecuted people and groups who manifested thoughts of "disorder of the homeland" and the "good customs" of society's morals.

AI-5, which suspended *habeas corpus*, further deepened the circulation of terrifying information about the practices of the policy of torturing opponents, which left the population on high alert and in constant fear of men in uniform. "Closed places, whether they were



meetings in apartments or houses, or in newly opened bars and nightclubs, have become safer spaces for gays, lesbians. Although there is policing in these places" [...] (GREEN, 2019, p.184).

This obstacle throughout the military regime (1964-1985) postponed the construction of a social movement of political action. For this reason, this specific moment that sociology understands to take place in a type of organization with a repertoire of forms of political action, types of meetings, public acts with a collective gaze emerges, in fact, in April 1978, already in the process of "political détente" and at a time of cooling of repression, a group of homosexual intellectuals⁷ launched the first vehicle of wide circulation in Brazil, the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* (RODRIGUES, 2018).

This period of history, the end of the 1970s, Quinalha (2022) defines as the first cycle, a time to centralize concerns for the construction and affirmation of homosexual identity, consecrated in collective reception spaces, when the LGBTQIA+ population found more security in coming out and revealing themselves among peers, especially with the swelling of large urban centers, since the times of the Economic Miracle, where LGBTQIA+ sociability became more evident among middle-class activists, unlike the poorest people, who could not go to bars and support networks.

Quinalha (2022) points out that it was at this time of the context of liberalization of the dictatorship that, in the city of São Paulo, the first Nucleus of Action for the Rights of Homosexuals was created, precisely in May 1978, then it became the group Somos, Group for the Affirmation of Homosexual Identity, with significant impact from the publication of the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*, concentrated in the Rio-São Paulo axis, with national circulation, distribution to subscribers and sales on newsstands.

LAMPIÃO DA ESQUINA NEWSPAPER: SPOKESPERSON FOR THE HOMOSEXUAL MOVEMENT

Periodicals have always been good communicators of the history of life and dreams. In addition, they create true spaces for the expression of opinions on a certain topic, with some ideological coherence among themselves. They also collaborate to bring

⁷ Eleven men made up the *Lampião da Esquina*: mostly white, literate, middle-class and liberal professionals. These, at the time, were already considered illustrious and worked (in)directly with the promotion of knowledge, due to their political, academic, journalistic experiences and dedication to artistic life. These elements contributed significantly to the guarantee of their importance in the history of homosexuality movements in Brazil. Among the self-styled "Lords of the Council" and their subsequent professions we have: Jean-Claude Bernardet, critic and film researcher in the country; Aguinaldo Silva, writer and police reporter; Antonio Chrysóstomo, critic of popular music; Darcy Penteado, plastic artist from São Paulo; Gasparino Damata, from Pernambuco based in Rio de Janeiro, former diplomat, writer, journalist; João Antônio Mascarenhas, lawyer, former high-level official at the Ministry of Education. João Silvério Trevisan, writer from São Paulo; in addition to Peter Fry, a researcher in the area of social anthropology. The Council was completed by journalists Francisco Bittencourt, Clóvis Marques and Adão Acosta (SOBRAL, 2019, p.111-112).



together a certain group of people who read the same story and share values expressed there and who, in some way, identify with them (RODRIGUES, 2018, p. 238).

The story of the creation of the first homosexual editorial, with a wide circulation in Brazil, had its first impact with the visit of Argentine activist Néstor Perlongher to the University of Rio de Janeiro, in 1976, to talk about the magazine *Somos*. But the idea originated from the visit to San Francisco/California, of Winston Leyland, editor of a homosexual publication called *Gay Sunshine*, a visit that took place in search of Brazilian authors to make an ontology of homoerotic literature of the Latin American gay movement. "It can be said that the launch of the newspaper, in April 1978, strengthened the action of some young men from São Paulo who organized a group that would become responsible for consolidating the homosexual movement in Brazil - the Grupo Somos" (RODRIGUES, 2018, p.239).

Editor Winston Leyland stayed at the home of João Antônio Mascarenhas, a member of the newspaper *O Pasquin*, of the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*, a pioneer in the fight for gay rights. From this visitation, a group of homosexuals was mobilized for a conversation that took place in the apartment of Darcy Penteado, a founding member of *Lampião*. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of excitement, resulting in the desire of some journalists and artists to organize a periodical related to issues directed to homosexuals. To carry out this project, competent professionals soon began an articulation to raise funds and thus guarantee the financing of the first homosexual Brazilian newspaper, using an initial strategy that took place by sending letters to about twelve thousand friends indicated to collaborate in the cost, while the other part would be on account of the editorial, which was successful in the enterprise with fixed capital and, consequently, with the manufacture of its first two issues (SOBRAL, 2019, p.110).

Rodrigues (2018) will call this period of history "First Moment", with the appearance of the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*⁸, which had the first essay of the magazine, number zero, as editor Agnaldo Silva and João Silvério Trevisan, who wrote an article entitled on the cover of the magazine: "Celso Curi sued. But what is the crime of this boy?"

But a homosexual newspaper, for what? The easiest answer is the one that will show us wielding an exotic or "understandable" flag, digging deeper into the walls of the ghetto, endorsing - by "assuming" - the isolated position that the Great Homosexual Consciousness has reserved for those who do not pray for its booklet,

⁸ The newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* can be found in PDF at the Prof. Dr. Luiz Mott Documentation Center. An extremely important newspaper for the moment of emergence of the LGTQIA+ movement. Available at: https://cedoc.grupodignidade.org.br/jornal-lampiao-da-esquina-1978-1981/?order=ASC&orderby=date&view_mode=cards&perpage=12&fetch_only_meta=&paged=1&fetch_only=humbnail%2Ccreation_date%2Ctitle%2Cdescription . Accessed on November 28, 2023.



and which suits its perpetuation and its functioning (*Lampião da Esquina*, April, nº zero, 1978).

In this first experimental edition of the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*, in April 1978, an article stood out: "Leaving the Ghetto", announcing the favorable winds of political opening: "Brazil, March 1978. Favorable winds blow in the direction of a certain liberalization of the national framework: in an election year, the press reports promises of a less rigid Executive, there is talk of the creation of new parties, of amnesty, an investigation of the proposed alternatives even makes one sniff out an "opening" of the "Brazilian discourse".

The title of the editorial, "Leaving the Ghetto", is an epitome of the important posture of breaking the mask of protection that gays and lesbians had created for themselves in the 1950s and 1960s, above all, to guarantee a little sociability away from the social stigmas that marginalized people, from the medical concepts that treated homosexuality as a disease of Catholic morality that considered homosexuality a sin. In this way, the editorial represented an appeal to interaction with Brazilian society whose objective was to arouse other attitudes regarding the topic of love (and sex) between people of the same sex. However, if this opening of the Brazilian discourse that the editorial celebrated offered precisely the possibility of collectively and publicly questioning these old prejudices about homosexuality, it also provided a space for divergences about the proposals, directions and objectives of the incipient movement in Brazil. That said, it can be considered that the debate that the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* encouraged took place according to a fluid moment in the country; however, it is interesting to note that despite the optimistic tone of the author of the editorial, issue zero of the magazine came out fourteen years after the 1964 coup, when it was not yet known whether the new winds were really blowing for a definitive opening or for another gale (GREEN, 2019, p.177-178).

The newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* acted as a spokesperson for the homosexual movement; it produced 38 editions on the Rio-São Paulo axis, and incorporated the main debates about dissident groups of the time, marking its name in history and fulfilling what it had promised, that is, "to talk about the present and seek to clarify the homosexual experience in all fields of society and human creativity" (RODRIGUES, 2018).

The production of reports in *Lampião da Esquina* subverted the limits of debates on homosexualities by questioning the normative approach related to the theme of sexualities, morals and customs, therefore, it acted forcefully in the tone of criticism of these discriminatory manifestations, in addition to content directed to recurrent political issues, thus creating a space for homosexual sociability and denunciations focused on the issues of other groups, such as blacks, women, indigenous people and transvestites, provoking the ire of politics. All these elements of the censorship policy of his period (SOBRAL, 2019).

Personalities from the cultural and political milieu, not necessarily homosexuals, were also interviewed. Short stories, poetry, theater reviews, film reviews, literary reviews, etc. They joined the letters of the readers, in a forum of great debates. He



will talk about Foucault and Sartre, Carmen Miranda and Mário de Andrade, political openness and violent repression. The Brazilian homosexual, with his multiple identities, finds his peers in *Lampião da Esquina*. Different, but equal in some aspects (RODRIGUES, 2018, p.240).

One cannot, however, ignore the obstacles that dogged the newspaper, one of which was related to the very few advertisers. It may reflect the complexity of the discussion focused on the homosexual community in that period, which probably led advertisers to fear having their services associated with a periodical engaged in agendas correlated to sexualities considered outside the norm. The scarce resources and the fear of associating the advertiser with the homosexual image certainly contributed to the fact that, in June 1981, the *Lampião* went out, leaving a great legacy for a generation of people who no longer felt alone and no longer lived in the shadow of their own existence (Sobral, 2019).

In addition, there were ideological problems, as well as the political system, added to the inquiries that were imputed to journalists, accused of undermining morals and good customs, being treated by the Federal Police as people who suffered from serious behavioral problems. In fact, "*Lampião* raised a flag that was difficult to be accepted by a large part of society, to assume pleasure as a fundamental right of the human being" [...] (RODRIGUES, 2018, p.241).

It is salutary to recognize that, until the end of its days, the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* gave visibility to the homosexual movement, illuminating a significant portion of the community through reports on homosexuals, transvestites, cariocas, lesbians, women, persecution against journalists, the position of the Church, announcements of parties, dances, tourism, films, creation of a reader's tribune "*Cartas Mesa*", interviews. He brought the debate on the situation in Cuba, Argentina, the United States, among others.

The newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*, launched at an uncertain and obscure moment in the history of Brazil, did not resist the obstacles imposed by the financial issues in view of the few advertisers, and consequently by the difficulty in obtaining new advertisements, since the companies feared their names linked to a newspaper with this bias, accused of subversive by the brown press, by the army and by religious. Its closure was also due to the confrontation against the policy of sabotage and annihilation of the repressive police, which accused publishers of being subversives, framing them in crimes, constantly attacked by part of the moralistic society, which felt threatened by the "plague" of homosexuality and the destruction of families. But not only the moral issue and the danger of a communist revolution, it was obstinacy to prevent a significant portion of the subalternized, invisible population from living life freely and from achieving access to universal goods and services.



Even without the real certainty of the decline of the military regime at that time, or even if a new gale emerged, the fact is that three months after the newspaper hit the newsstands, the homosexual movement group "*Somos*" is created, not by coincidence, in which part of the editors of the *Lampião newspaper* would be part of the first group of Brazilian Homosexual Affirmation.

Green (2019) attributes this courageous initiative to the writer and intellectual João Silvério Trevisan, when he founded a homosexual affirmation group in 1976, when he returned from self-exile in the United States and Mexico. The author also recalls that "it is equally fundamental not to forget the May column of the newspaper *Última Hora de São Paulo*, written by Celso Cury, reporting on homosexual sociability", ending in his resignation, and emphasizes the importance of the newspaper "*Lampião da Esquina*", launched in April 1978. The following month, the creation of the Action Center for Homosexual Rights also takes place in São Paulo.

"SOMOS" - FIRST BRAZILIAN HOMOSEXUAL AFFIRMATION GROUP

All these transformations initiated by visionary leaders, during the period of decline of the Military Coup, contributed to the constitution of ideas for confronting the dictatorship, even with different perceptions about the political moment, because what was sought was to create means of participation in opposition to the dictatorship. "Both the editors of the *newspaper Lampião* and the most active people of *Somos* understood that the situation in the country had changed. New and crucial possibilities opened up from 1978 onwards" (GREEN, 2019, p.183).

Green (2019) recalls that the emergence of the LGBTQIA+ social and political movement in 1978 was also due to other forms of sociability, which had already been established in the 1950s and 1960s, when behaviors and notions of gender and non-normative sexualities were affirmed. The author reinforces that, in 1960, an LGBTQIA+ audience was created in closed places, such as bars and later in exclusively gay nightclubs, especially during Carnival time. From there, certain connections, codes, behaviors, customs were established within a semi-clandestinity.

Among the various examples of the cultural transformations of this period, which reflected new ways of thinking about the body and behavior, is tropicalism, especially the non-traditional representations of Caetano Veloso on stage, among other artists. The values and international influences to which this cultural movement approached shocked people accustomed to the more conventional presentations of national rock and Brazilian Popular Music. The daring clothing, the male body in movement with gestures considered feminine and the expressions of freedom instilled in his shows offered an alternative model of masculinity and femininity that broke with the social rigidity of the time. The success of Maria Betânia and Gal Costa and the rumors about their sexualities, among other examples, created



alternative models for young lesbians who were discovering the world of sociability among women. Caetano Veloso's concerts and images, especially after his return from exile in 1972, when he emphasized his feminine side, the performances of Dzi Croquetes in 1973, with ruptures and mixtures of gender representations, and the punctuality of Ney Matogrosso, who sang with a fine and effeminate voice, offered new icons and new standards that broke with the traditional roles of men and women (GREEN, 2019, p.185).

Also recovering fundamental characteristics of the forms of organization and sociability of sexuality, through culture and intellectual thinkers, Green (2019) agrees that AI-5 of 1968 obliterated any possibility of homosexual liberation. On the other hand, he recognizes that this was also a period of transnational effervescence and visibility of information circulating about "Gay Power" in the United States, as well as coming from Europe, giving signs in the Brazilian press, even with censorship. Arriving in 1976, with a radical impossibility of bringing people together to organize and discuss a homosexual movement in São Paulo, the editors of *Lampião* knew how to take advantage of the collapse of the dictatorship to start its publication.

The initiative of the first Brazilian homosexual group, founded in 1978, brought together a dozen students, clerks, bankers, and intellectuals who met weekly in São Paulo, taking turns in different apartments, without minimum conditions, given the lack of sufficient furniture, such as chairs to sit, as well as a place of their own, but without being able to prevent the first organization for the rights of homosexuals in Brazil (TRINDADE, 2018).

Green (2018) confirms the precariousness in which the Somos group lived, and adds that most were from the lower middle class, with few resources, without their own headquarters and that there were difficulties in finding space for general meetings, with rare exceptions in theater spaces and nightclub owners. The group faced the brown press, such as the newspaper "Notícias Populares", which published sensationalist articles, with aggressive manifestations in the stereotyped portrayals of homosexuals. Another difficulty lay in the resistance of the majority of the members in refusing any proposition of traditional structures with the figure of president, vice-president, treasurer, "they were even against the legalization of Somos as a civil entity, precisely because this theoretically implied a bureaucratized organization and because, possibly, it would allow State control over the group" [...] (GREEN, 2019, p.191).

Regarding the change of location, Trevisan (2018) clarifies that it was an initial work strategy of the Somos group, which was linked to the rotation of meetings in the members' homes, as well as to keep only one Mailbox for contacts and correspondence. He says that, by decision of the group, he defended the creation of a collegiate management of the sub-groups, including: recognition groups, external action, bureaucratic services, artistic



activities, external dissemination, different from the traditional formalities of the figure of president (TREVISAN, 2018).

It should be noted that the members were mostly gay, with some lesbians circulating. "There, they debated stories that disparaged homosexuals, frequently published by the newspaper *Notícias Populares*, as well as the response to be sent to the newspaper by the Action for Homosexual Rights group. In these meetings, the issues of *Lampião da Esquina*, a monthly publication aimed at homosexuals, were also carefully read" (TRINDADE, 2018, p.234).

Another important detail concerns part of the members of *Somos*, who began the process of organizing and founding the group even before it was baptized by that name. There was a concern in the "*Somos*" group related to the exercise of power; therefore, they sought to articulate themselves in order to avoid concentration of power and centralizing leaderships in order to avoid division and exclusion within the group, which was organizing politically (TREVISAN, 2018).

At the time of choosing the name, one that was unifying was chosen, hence the idea of *somos*, since it honored the publication of the Argentine Homosexual Liberation Front (FLHA). "At least at that time, proposals that included the term gay were rejected, as it was not intended to make a movement that began as an imitation of the North American movement" (TRINDADE, 2018, p.234).

It was after the famous public debate in February 1979, at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of São Paulo, then one of the largest poles of official progressivism, that the group acquired some maturity to articulate itself minimally. In fact, with the growth of the representativeness of participants and the enrichment of the internal political debate, only then did we define its official name: We are the Homosexual Affirmation Group. The elaboration of his political project was ambitious, starting with the name: alternate, purposeful and comprehensive, claiming our right to be what we were. But it was also a name of a palindromic nature: our state of being asserted itself with such determination that even when read backwards it remained what it is. Thus, not even the mirror of ideology, which at that moment stood between us and our reality, could deceive us: even from the inside out, the reflection would always reflect what we are. The political objectives of the group could be summed up in two pillars: the absolute autonomy of our excluded voice and the fundamental solidarity for this autonomy to be consolidated. I believe that these two foundational purposes can still serve as a reference for the debate in social segments that fight for their freedom and their political role in Brazilian society (TREVISAN, 2018, p. 138).

Green (2019) recognizes that it was from this event at USP, in 1979, that the *Somos* group began to grow by presenting an alternative project, different from the hegemonic Marxist ideas at that time, by proposing a debate on "minorities", such as women, blacks, Indians and homosexuals and had the participation of members of the "Lampião Newspaper" and the group *Somos attracted more than a hundred people, under strong*



controversy and clashes between the different sectors of the left, involving the members of *Somos* and other gays and lesbians who attended the event. At the time, many participants joined the *Somos* group or formed others (GREEN, 2019, p.190).

This event yielded an article in the newspaper *Lampião*, with controversial versions and facts, since *Somos* defended an organization only for "minorities", different from the Marxist-Leninists who defended the priority struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and campaigns to eliminate sexual discrimination. Neither the activists of *Somos* nor the left-wing militancy understood each other, which demanded problems of articulation. "Leftist groups that saw homosexuality as a bourgeois deviation or disease, simply decided to ignore the event" (GREEN, 2019, p. 191).

The members of the group *Somos*, according to Green (2019) had little experience in student movements or equivalent before joining the group, and those who had experience assumed the leadership spontaneously. The author cites the example of João Silvério Trevisan, who accompanied the gay movement in the United States; Edward MacRae, who had contact with the English movement, and himself (Green), an activist in the LGBT movement, who had participated in the American LGBTQIA+ movement between mid-1973-1975. "Some members of *Somos* who studied at universities had contact with the clandestine organizations of the left that were active in the student movement, but the traditional and homophobic views of these groups alienated almost all of these people" (GREEN, 2019, p.188).

THE FRACTIONATION OF THE "WE ARE" GROUP

[...] Among the various divergences, as has also occurred in other places in the world, the Brazilian homosexual movement was divided between a sector skeptical of a policy of alliances with other political actors and, therefore, more centered on sexuality itself as the vector for the transformation of reality, putting the homosexual cause in first place, and another group that defended the more marked intersectionality between the struggles for social liberation with the claims of progressive sectors of society, namely political parties and left-wing collectives, as well as social movements – such as black, feminist, trade union, student, etc. (QUINALHA, 2022, p.110).

On the field of a fierce battle, two activists from the movement starred in different situations. On the one hand, João Silvério Trevisan, who distrusted the left because the party took advantage of the movement that fought for autonomy; on the other, the also leader of the group *Somos*, James N. Green, of the Homosexual Faction of the Socialist Convergence. "The Convergence was a Trotskyist socialist grouping that was one of the first to open up to discussions related to sexual freedom in the context of a hegemonic left that was still very straight" [...] (QUINALHA, 2022, p.110).



Green (2019) highlights three poles of divergences within the *Somos group*, which emerged in 1979, and which led to the division of the group: first, it was that one of the blocs defended an anti-authoritarian and libertarian stance, in order to package strong criticism of the left. The second revolved around the group of lesbians, diluted into subgroups in *Somos*, making it difficult for them to actively participate in all meetings, in addition to suffering a certain misogyny from members of *Somos*. Finally, the third pole, formed by the bloc of the American James Green, of the *Socialist Convergence*, which accumulated political experience and identified with the left; therefore, aiming at an activism beyond identity reflections within the group. "Our political action involved the elaboration of ideas or proposals to politicize *Somos* with the aim of interacting with society, as the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* proposed in its initial editorial" (GREEN, 2019, p.193).

Regarding Green's statement about his political performance in *Somos*, Trevisan (2018) rejects it and says that he took the opportunity to prepare the ground and carry out the coup against the group:

Green only joined *Somos* in the express purpose of opposing our scope of autonomy in relation to political parties. In other words, by creating a Gay Fraction, CS intended to integrate (or dissolve) *Somos* into its party group, under the leadership of James Green. It would be like bringing the fly to honey. Through this surreptitious movement, we saw the old left enter the scene in the nascent (and hesitant) Brazilian homosexual activism, bringing the typical political vices of the best Stalinism, which proved to be very much alive in a Trotskyist group supposedly critical of Stalin's authoritarianism. From then on, the coup was prepared, in a Stalinist movement (assumed or not) they knew how to do well: conspire (TREVISAN, 2018, p. 140).

Green (2018) claims that what was intended was to take seriously the discourse of the newspaper *Lampião* in making alliances with feminists, blacks and other segments to unify the struggle, so he insistently resorted to left-wing organization to confront homophobia, and also fought for a political homosexual movement, as he knew that organizations opposed to homophobia dictatorship had resistance in relation to issues of sexuality, including within the left. He exemplifies the case of medical student Herbert Eustáquio de Carvalho, known as Herbert Daniel, of the armed struggle to overthrow the dictatorship in 1966, forced to repress his (homo)sexuality and live in celibacy while he was part of the organization, which provoked fierce resistance against the left in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s.

Even so, Green (2019) said he would not renounce the struggle for a political movement, so much so that the *Socialist Convergence group*⁹ participated in the public act

⁹ Political tendency inspired by the ideas of the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky, founded in 1978 in Brazil. She collaborated with the organization of the labor movement, having a strong influence on the struggle of



of November 20, 1979, Black Consciousness Day, in São Paulo, with thirty members, with the group's banner "*We are: Homosexual Affirmation Group*" and making pamphlets about the importance of the homosexual group, also about racial discrimination. [...] "It gave the impression that some militants accepted solidarity while others were indifferent. At the same time, the issue of racism and ideologies that defended racial democracy were still little discussed within the Somos group" [...] (GREEN, 2018, p.74).

Green (2019) highlights the commitment of the *Socialist Convergence* by arguing that this was the only left-wing organization that had as its leading role the banner against discrimination against homosexuals in public places. To reinforce his thesis, he presents a program prepared by the *Homosexual Faction*, in which he defined in its guidelines, a kind of booklet, inalienable principles, such as: the defense of the freedom of organization of groups; against the attacks of the government; for the end of the Press Law; for equal rights; for the end of the psychiatric and medical classification that kept homosexuality as a disease in its code, among other guidelines distributed in eight topics, adding up to a total of seventeen directives. Green concludes by questioning: "It is interesting to ask, thirty-five years after the elaboration of this program that was made in 1980, what are the gains of the LGBT movement, what are the proposals that have not yet been obtained and the items that could still generate controversy?" (Green, 2019, p.195). In a statement, the author accuses the newspaper *Lampião* of encouraging a campaign against the *Socialist Convergence group*, supposing that the intention was only to take possession of the organization of *Somos*, and goes on to vent:

"[...] Instead of recriminating organizations such as the Brazilian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Brazil or the Revolutionary Movement of October 8 that maintained clearly homophobic positions" and, therefore, did not express interest in supporting the movement, the editors of *Lampião* reproached precisely the only left-wing organization that was trying to transform the conservative if not reactionary and moralistic positions that the other tendencies still defended (GREEN, 2019, p.196-197).

The disagreements between James Green and João Silvério Trevisan, both members of the group Somos, expanded to other levels of accusations. Trevisan insisted on the coup engineered by Green, of the *Socialist Convergence*, to take power from *Somos* and carry out the purpose of party centralization, so that Green knew how to choose the most accustomed participants of *Somos* to participate in a clandestine Marxism course, without anyone knowing, who engineered a conspiracy through collusion, manipulation and tactics of explicit erotic seduction by the charm of blond hair and green eyes.

women, the black movement, the LGBTQIA+ movement, among others. It was one of the most influential tendencies in the founding of the PT.



These last attributes were called "bed politics", seduction practices used to gather information and get adherents to the positions of the *Socialist Convergence*, as satirized by Trevisan in an article in the newspaper " *Lampião da Esquina*", in 1980. However, Green defends himself by saying:

The allegations that I made "bed politics," another term of the time to refer to people who supposedly won people off the left through sexual means and then manipulated new members into following their political ideas, are curious, given the poor results of my efforts to attract people to CS. As was the culture of the group and the gay milieu in a pre-AIDS era, I had sex with people who gave tension and we talked very little about politics when we shared a bed. We were at these moments, concerned with other matters (GREEN, 2018, p.68).

Trevisan (2019) insists that there was a clear intention of the *Socialist Convergence* to leverage notoriety, and this included the possibility of co-opting new young people, such as appearing in public. "The hegemony intended by *the Socialist Convergence* within *Somos* had been noted since the propagandist effort, in search of greater visibility. In the public protests against delegate Richetti, in June 1980, a huge and overhanging banner bore the name "*Gay Fraction of the Socialist Convergence*".

The fuse of these clashes between Green and Trevisan took place in the commemoration of May Day, at the Vila Euclides Stadium - São Bernardo, in 1980, when a group of feminists and male homosexuals appeared under a banner of the *Socialist Convergence*, a decisive episode for the split and for the removal of Trevisan, who began to dedicate himself more to the editorial of the newspaper *Lampião*, although he still maintained some contacts with other members of the *Somos* group, opening space for Green to finally take the lead, even placing himself as Trevisan's spokesperson, which caused more tension between them and led to a total rupture between them (TREVISAN, 2018, p.141).

The presence of fifty lesbians and gays on May 1, 1980, inevitably caused the split in *Somos* two weeks later. "Anyone who criticizes our performance in the march through the streets of São Bernardo and our presence at the Vila Euclides Stadium devalues the ability of gays and lesbians to think for themselves, as if we were alienated homosexuals incapable of making political decisions" (GREEN, 2018, P.74-75).

After the split, according to Trevisan (2018), the *Socialist Convergence* joined the Workers' Party (PT) and took *Somos* with it. This time, with a fixed address in a room that housed the PT directorate, in São Paulo. Thus the mask fell, with this there was no longer a need for a specific group of homosexuals, which was being diluted, within a "revolutionary party".



Green (2018) refutes the accusation that the *Somos group* dissolved within the PT, because, according to him, "the group has never aligned itself with any political party". On the other hand, he admits that between 1979 and 1981, he himself acted as a member of CS and *Somos*, but always maintaining political autonomy, even writing a document that affirmed the right to party affiliations, but independent.

The capillarity of pro-legalization activists of the PT in the homosexual movement was decisive in ensuring a connection between the party and movement groups. Between 1980 and 1981, activists with dual or multiple affiliations circulated between the two domains, sometimes engaged in the movement's agendas, sometimes working on the campaign for the legalization of the party. The most prominent initiatives in this regard took place in Belo Horizonte and São Paulo. In the capital of Minas Gerais, the Gay Nucleus of the Workers' Party, founded in 1980 by activist Edson Nunes, had the participation of former members of the then extinct Third Act, the first organized homosexual group in the city, founded in 1979. In São Paulo, in 1981, militants of the Homosexual Faction of the Socialist Convergence created the Gays and Lesbians Nucleus, which brought together militants of the Socialist Convergence and the OSI to hold open debates that aimed to attract affiliates and sympathizers to the party. The activists also participated in joint efforts that collected, door to door, the signatures for the legalization of the party (CRUZ, 2018, p.261-263).

Unfortunately, "the erratic way in which *Somos* was integrated into the newly founded Workers' Party is an unknown fact when not even underestimated by academics and scholars, including in the areas of gender diversity" (TREVISAN, 2018, p.151).

In other words, the forceps method with which the integration of the *Somos* group took place, through a coup, illustrates in an emblematic way the friction between the interests of a legitimate movement of unprecedented civil/popular representation and the priorities of a party that proposed, at best, to be its representative. In the worst case, not always visible to the naked eye, this implied a dilution of the newborn popular movement, as it was co-opted by the most orthodox leftist forces firmly rooted in their grammar of conquering power, at any "revolutionary" cost, even against the fundamental respect for the oppressed (TREVISAN, 2018, p.151).

Trevisan (2018) recalls that it is necessary to scrutinize the historical details of this seizure of power by *Somos* not as a melancholic nostalgia of those who lost the battle, but with a view to examining the stumbling blocks of a progressive party wing, in order to rethink a modern left. "The left needs to learn this lesson from history, over and over again, whenever such "revolutionary leaderships" have taken the lead to "mobilize" such popular movements, that is, to manipulate them" (TREVISAN, 2018, p.152).

From the never-healed split of *Somos*, 40 years ago, a question can still be asked today in a more general context: why do groups of the oppressed so easily conceal the concept of solidarity and, by entering into fierce internal competition, end up reproducing the same oppressive project they fight? All this, of course, by dispute of his small power - the same one that he wanted to conquer in solidarity. For me, there is a misconception embedded exactly in this idea of the struggle for power, in which anything goes to reach the goal of a hegemonic group, against a power that should be diluted among all. In the inevitable fragmentation of the resulting splits,



the loss of the sense of solidarity, which should be the mortar of the resistance of the oppressed sectors, is not of secondary importance (TREVISAN, 2018, p.149).

The battle fought between these two intellectuals of the *Somos movement* diverges in the sense of how to build the struggle with autonomy. Green could not separate the political-partisan struggle from identity issues, such as homosexuals, blacks, women, indigenous people, since he saw in this scenario a range of opportunities to be able to bring together groups of "minorities" to organize politically and overthrow the dictatorship and, thus, build a new political base of command in the country.

Filmmaker, writer and essayist João Silvério Trevisan, on the other hand, disagrees with the American James Green because he understands that he organized a conspiratorial action when he began to meet clandestinely with members of Somos, taking courses in Marxist manuals, by co-opting young people to left-wing positions in order to carry out the coup and take over Somos to integrate within a political party, in this case, the Workers' Party. So he did, he took *Somos* to a room in the party's directory in São Paulo.

The quarrels and arm wrestling between the two great leaders of the *Somos* group contributed to the group's decline, since the positions defended on autonomy and organization were absolutely opposite, even though in its essence the struggle for social justice on both sides remained. It is known that the *Somos* group was relentless with regard to the issues of the LGBTQIA+ movement, and that it highlighted the specific problems related to women, blacks and indigenous people, in an attempt to build a collective independent of political party, alien to left-wing, autonomous and democratic groups.

In addition to the more properly ideological divisions around the direction of the movement, other splits will be imposed. One of the main ones was that of lesbians, who had already denounced the misogyny of gay men since they began to enter Somos, in early 1979. Although they were already self-organized in the Lesbian-Feminist Collective within Somos, they also decided in 1989 to organize separately in the Feminist Lesbian Action Group (GALF) due to the difficulties of sharing the same political spaces as men (QUINALHA, 2022, p.111).

Other factors contributed to further shake the possibility of unity between Green and Trevisan, due to criticism within the homosexual movement in relation to the PT union leader, Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, in the face of an interview he gave to the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*, nº 14, of July 1979¹⁰, entitled: "***Hello, Hello working class: and paradise nothing? Lula talks about strikes, dolls, and feminists, buckshot!***" During

¹⁰ Check out the interview in the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*, on pages 9-10-11. Available at: <https://cedoc.grupodignidade.org.br/jornal-lampiao-da-esquina-1978-1981/14-ed-jornal-lampiao-da-esquina-julho-1979/> . Accessed: Dec. 26. 2023.



this interview, Lula fired homophobic phrases against gays and feminists, further distancing the possibility of using the homosexual movement for partisan purposes.

In one of these sentences, Lula says: "Homosexuality in the working class? I don't know"; "Feminist for me is unoccupied"; FEMINISM - I think it's something for those who have nothing to do." To retract the homophobic and prejudiced speech made, Lula sought to regain his position during the first convention of the Workers' Party, including the homosexual cause in the party's program. Like this

In September 1981, union leader Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, until then criticized by homosexual activists due to an interview published in 1979 in the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina*, gave a speech in support of the struggle of political minorities, including homosexuals, during the First National Convention of the PT, in Brasília. The defense of the homosexual cause was ratified in March 1982 with the launch of the party's first electoral program, entitled "Land, Work and Freedom". The choice of the name was not accidental and corresponded to the need to shelter, in an electoral program, banners that ranged from the defense of union freedom, through agrarian reform, the right to housing and access to instances of power, to issues considered thorny such as equal opportunities for women, the fight against racism and homosexual discrimination. The initiative made the PT the first political party to formally support the homosexual movement in the history of the party system (CRUZ, 2018, p. 263).

All these discussions around the constitution of the LGBTQIA+ social movement produced in Brazil are a reflection of different forms of thought and divergent interests, even despite the origin of this movement in Latin America. This research is based on the perspective that the emergence of the LGBTQIA+ movement in Brazil took place from the confluence of the different movements that erupted in those 1960s and 1970s.

In this sense, the thesis according to which this Brazilian movement was born with the marks of May 1968, in France, gains strength; with June 28, 1969, at the Stonewall bar, in New York; and in Argentina, in 1971, with the creation of the Argentine Homosexual Liberation Front (FILHA), inspired by the North American Gay Power movement, in addition to other countries that showed signs of resistance in the face of the emergence of new forms of sociability, behaviors, notions of gender and against dictatorial regimes.

THE RECONFIGURATION OF THE HOMOSEXUAL MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL

The inevitable splits and divisions within the Brazilian homosexual group "Somos", led by Green and Trevisan, refer to a long discussion regarding the forms of action of Brazilian homosexual activism, while imposing new reflections on how to organize the struggle without the direct interference of political parties. This form of restructuring of the homosexual movement would lead to other forms of mobilization in the 1980s, in the face of



the difficulties faced by different groups of the popular classes due to the impoverishment of the population and due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

At a time of crisis in the AIDS epidemic, organizations emerged around civil society for demands repressed during the dictatorship, leading to campaigns for Direct Elections Now and for a new constitution. This process of mobilization of the popular classes in the 1980s also led to an activism averse to the derogatory spread of homosexuality by the medical-scientific powers, which exploded with the outbreak of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, called by the press the "gay plague" or "gay cancer", in view of the first diagnosis of the virus among homosexuals, confirmed in the United States in 1981. and the following year in Brazil (QUINALHA, 2022).

The disease was serious because it quickly led several people to death and was still a threat over which there was a huge lack of knowledge. Increasingly, homosexuals appeared at health services with symptoms such as Kaposi's syndrome and pneumonia, opportunistic diseases that began to cause distrust among doctors. Cases multiplied at a rapid pace, and it did not take long for this new epidemic to be linked to a risk group and its sexual practices stigmatized as dangerous. Religious sectors even saw AIDS as a divine punishment for the promiscuity of homosexuals, prevailing a logic of blaming the subjects themselves (QUINALHA, 2022, p. 113).

Despite the stigma of the pathologization of AIDS with the epidemic of information, the disease brought sexuality out of the closet and contributed to the process of mobilization and organization of the groups, which were forced to rethink new forms of activism, aiming to create bonds of solidarity, support for people who had the disease, to put pressure on the public authorities, the pharmaceutical industries, as well as the struggle for the right to health through a universal system, for treatment policies, financing, prevention policies, agreements with NGOs and governments inside and outside Brazil, thus displacing the struggle of the movement against the dictatorship to fight the disease, in addition to denouncing the various forms of LGBTphobic violence. "The path of emancipation, which until then would pass through a rupture with the Authoritarian State and with the current sexual order, then begins to shift to the claims of equal rights and citizenship within the framework of the incipient democracy" [...] (QUINALHA, 2022, p.117)

The 1980s were characterized by a broad process of mobilization of organized civil society. The demands repressed by the two decades of the dictatorship erupted on the public scene with enormous force since the end of the 1970s, leading to the campaigns for Diretas Já and for a new constituent assembly. As seen, the Brazilian homosexual movement was present in the redemocratization, but as a more marginal political actor in a context in which debates on sexuality were either not well known or were still the object of great taboo in pro-democracy sectors (QUINALHA, 2022, p.112).



The characteristics of the 1980s, marked by the mobilization of organized civil society, are what Rodrigues (2018) will call the "second moment", while Quinalha will call the HIV/AIDS Cycle and NGOization, focused on the social field and on the real issues that affected the citizens involved. "Within this context, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are strengthening in Brazil and in the world. And, with the beginning of the AIDS epidemic, actions aimed at a solidary union between different groups and social segments began to emerge [...]" (Rodrigues, 2018, p.243).

All the manifestations and discussions listed about the LGBTQIA+ movement in its constitution, going through different historical contexts, resulted in the visibility of the causes raised and the struggle for rights, which favored the organization of new groups on different fronts in other states. An example of the expansion and opening of this movement was the creation of the first LGBTQIA+ NGO in February 1980, in Salvador, by the then activist prof. Dr. Luiz Mott, adopting the *gay* name as an identity: Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB).

The GGB led the most significant campaign, in 1980, regarding the depathologization of homosexualities, which had already been overcome in the United States, still in the 1970s, with the removal of homosexuality from its list of disorders by the American Psychoanalytic Association in 1973, then by the Psychological Association in 1975 (QUINALHA, 2022).

The Gay group of Bahia was not the first, but it became the "dean", the oldest group and, uninterrupted operation and with an unparalleled history within the LGBT movement in Brazil and Latin America. It was the first homosexual NGO to be registered as a civil society and of municipal public utility, led the fundamental victorious campaign for the depathologization of "homosexuality" in Brazil (1985), rescued the unpublished biography of hundreds of Luso-Brazilian sodomites persecuted by the Inquisition and as many lesbians and trans VIPs in our history, initiated the prevention of AIDS among the gay population, to the visually impaired and to the povo de santo in Candomblés, introduced among us the term homophobia and the use of the feminine to refer to transvestites and transsexuals, published dozens of books and hundreds of articles, folders and posters, maintains the largest database on LGBT+ murders in the world, participated directly in the foundation and training of a dozen LGBT groups and leaders, it is the NGO that has been most occupied and continues to be active in the national and international media. He deserved from Caetano Veloso this nice declaration of love: "the GGB and its founders are the pride of Bahia!" An unavoidable reality: cabotism aside, the history and success of the GGB are inseparable from its founder and author of these lines (MOTT, 2018, p.211-212).

Another campaign, in the process of drafting the Constituent Assembly, took place with the inclusion in the text on the recognition and rights of minorities, thanks to spokesperson João Antônio Mascarenhas, founder of the Pink Triangle Group, who fought for the inclusion of the "expression prohibition of discrimination based on sexual orientation in the Constitution, taking his discourse against machismo, against prejudice, stigmas against transvestites. "Thanks to conservative resistance, the proposal had the support of



only a little more than a quarter of the constituents, not reaching the necessary majority" (QUINALHA, 2022, p.123).

Although the constitutional text was not successful, even with the support of the PT bench, defeated by 429 of the 559 constituent deputies, this initiative had consequences in other municipal and state legislatures in more than seventy cities that approved anti-discrimination provisions in their respective Organic Laws. Therefore, "... the possibilities of institutional disputes began to be increasingly explored, which reached a concrete horizon of achievements, even if limited by incipient democracy and prejudice rooted in society..." (QUINALHA, 2022, p.125).

All these campaigns gave visibility to the movement, based on an activism that increasingly created spaces, expanding dialogues and organizational capacity, with a strong potential for mobilization, intensified in the 1990s with LGBTQIA+ pride parades, International Conferences, National Meetings, protests.

The role of NGOs has contributed to the strengthening of struggles for rights, especially for public recognition. However, the crisis that took place in the 1990s caused changes in the relationship between NGOs and the State, since, from being a protagonist in the fight against forms of oppression and discrimination in cooperation with popular movements since the 1970s, it became a partnership with the State in the 1990s, in search of resources to implement public policies. in the context of the so-called New Social Movements (Third Sector), as will be detailed below.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Thus, we seek to understand the emergence and consolidation of the LGBTQIA+ political movement in Brazil, addressing the movement in the period between the 1970s and 1980s. The period studied was fundamental for the organization of the first struggles against homophobia in the country and for the affirmation of the movement as instruments of collective struggles for the rights of homosexuals.

We also identified the relationship between the origin of the movement in Brazil and the phenomena that occurred in other countries, with more or less influences that converged to its conformation. The struggle of the American gay movement of 1969, known as Stonewall, against police raids and the repression of the expression of sexuality in the USA; the French May of 1968, whose declarations for freedom, against conservative values and customs and questioning authoritarian governments in socialist countries ran through almost all countries; the same can be said of the struggles in the movement in Mexico and Latin America.



The context of the military dictatorship, with frequent arrests of LGBTQIA+ people who dared to express their sexuality, a youth sensitive to living without prejudice and repression by the military regime, added to the political and union effervescence in the struggle for democracy and against the military regime, creates the conditions for the grouping of the LGBTQIA+ population around these agendas.

The inevitable clashes and divisions within the Brazilian homosexual group "Somos", led by Green and Trevisan, refer to a long discussion regarding the forms of action of Brazilian homosexual activism, while imposing new reflections on how to organize the struggle without the direct interference of political parties.

The clashes between the ideas of the two main leaders of the movement organized in Somos marked the ideological struggles that took place within the movement, at the time of its birth, especially during the formation of the group. These were positions that reflected the clashes that occurred at that historical juncture, which varied between Marxist theses (and their different views) and autonomist ideas with a strong European influence. These ideas confronted each other within Somos and provoked the political fractionation of the movement, until the end of the minimum programmatic agreements and their subsequent organic dissolution.

The importance of the process of mass communication through the press gains prominence at the origin of the movement. *Lampião da Esquina* was the first public newspaper, spokesperson of the movement, of national circulation between 1978 and 1981, to disseminate positions on controversial issues around homosexuality issues. The name came in honor of a publication of the Argentine homosexual movement that circulated between 1971 and 1976. In addition to being a communication channel, he was a political and collective organizer of the LGBTQIA+ population around his ideals.

Finally, the restructuring of the LGBTQIA+ movement led to other forms of mobilization in the 1980s, in the face of the difficulties faced by different groups of the popular classes due to the impoverishment of the population and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This is what Rodrigues (2018) will characterize as the "second moment", while Quinalha (2022) will call the HIV/AIDS Cycle and NGOinization, focused on the social field and on the real issues that affected the citizens involved



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