Ai of the Han dynasty who cut off the sleeve of his own robe to avoid awakening his male favorite who had fallen asleep with his head lying on it, and from which the expression "cut sleeve" (*duanxiu*), one of the key terms of the Chinese lexicon of male homosexuality, is derived (Vitiello 2011).

In conclusion, while the boy-actors' beauty and demeanor in *Pinhua baojian* is no doubt associated with femininity, and their charm is inextricably tied to gender ambiguity, this does not mean that they are perceived as virtual women; the novel's characters are perfectly aware of their fundamental boyhood. On one occasion, one sophisticated patron of boy-actors states that, because it is not proper to bring women along in public, the actors are the best compromise, having the face of a girl but a male body. In this regard, there is a metafictional moment toward the narrative's ending, when the author says that, because the two lovers, being two men, could not crown their romantic destiny, heaven out of pity had made for Ziyu a girl that perfectly resembled Qinyan. In other words, Ziyu's wife, Qionghua, needs to be narratively summoned to bail out her husband from his impossible romantic predicament; and the same actually applies to the other exemplary romantic couple in the novel. In both cases, women not only allow men to fulfill their social and filial obligations through marriage but also—as the novel's conclusion suggests—provide a space to accommodate their homoerotic yearnings and relations (Vitiello 2011).

Pinhua baojian continued to be reprinted into the 1930s and was shortly before then identified by the foremost intellectual and writer of the period, Lu Xun (1881–1936), as the predecessor of the long list of late nineteenth-century novels about brothels and female prostitution. It is witness to the literary resilience of the novel that it has, in more recent times, inspired the Taiwanese writer Wu Jiwen's *Shiji mo shaonian'ai duben* (1996; The fin-de-siècle boy love reader), which offers a rewriting of Chen's novel in which the main characters anticipate the subjectivities of late twentieth-century gay men (Sang 2014).

SEE ALSO Fire *(1996; Deepa Mehta); MSM (Men Who Have Sex with Men) in Asia; Tongzhi Literature, Taiwan*

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Pink Triangle

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The Nazi label for gay prisoners of the Third Reich, which was repurposed as a symbol of gay pride in the early 1970s, first in Germany and then the United States.

Although homophobia was never a central tenet of National Socialist (Nazi) ideology (as anti-Semitism was), the party leadership clearly considered homosexuality as a serious threat to the German nation. For the National Socialists, sexuality was inextricably tied to race, citizenship, and power. In 1937, for example, Nazi leader Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) told a group of SS lieutenants that "all things which take place in the sexual sphere are not the private affair of the individual, but signify the life and death of the nation" (quoted in Burleigh and Wippermann 1991, 193). Because sex was the means through which race was reproduced, the architects of the Nazi state were obsessed with comprehending and controlling human sexuality.

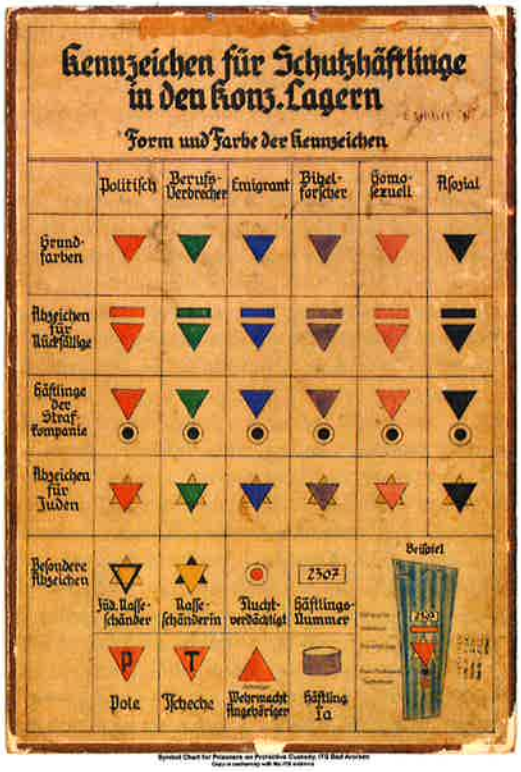
Homosexual Germans occupied a legal and ideological gray area in the Nazi state. Their German ethnicity granted them citizenship in the Third Reich. Yet, their

alleged sexual deviance violated the ultimate law in Nazi Germany: the supremacy of the "master race" above the desires and interests of the individual. According to Nazi ideology, when gay men and lesbians forsook their sexual duty to provide offspring for the fatherland, they surrendered the rights and protections of full citizenship, which were reserved for heterosexual Aryans. Germans who engaged in homosexual behavior, therefore, were perceived as both racial and political threats to the German *Volk* (nation).

Although there was disagreement over what constituted, caused, or dispelled same-sex desire, the predominant belief held by most Nazi leaders was that homosexuality was a set of particular behaviors, a vice that potentially anyone could fall victim to; it was not considered something that was inborn and constituted a subjective identity. Therefore, the National Socialists waged what they saw as a campaign against homosexuality, rather than seeking the physical extermination of homosexuals themselves. This campaign progressed in stages throughout Germany. The first step was to destroy the lively queer subcultures that existed with varying levels of visibility across Germany's urban centers. The second step was to use the law to deter homosexual behavior. In the summer of 1935—at the same time that they passed the infamous Nuremberg Race Laws—Nazi jurists amended Paragraph 175, the national antisodomy law that had been a part of Germany's penal code since the unification of the nation in 1871. The new version of the law criminalized all "indecency" among men, which meant that everything from sex and mutual masturbation to a kiss, holding hands, or a stolen glance was illegal (Giles 2005). The new version of Paragraph 175 continued decades of legal precedent by excluding any mention of female homosexuality; thus, lesbians were not subject to arrest or conviction under the law.

The third aspect of the Nazis' antihomosexual policies focused on punishing men accused of homosexuality and ultimately seeking to "cure" their alleged deviant behavior. The number of Paragraph 175 convictions handed down by German courts rose by an astounding 900 percent in the first five years of Nazi rule (Dickinson 2007). In all, around 100,000 German men accused of homosexuality were arrested between 1933 and 1945. A majority of these arrests were the result of civilian denunciations (Micheler 2002). Of those men arrested, 53,480 were ultimately convicted and given either a fine or a prison sentence (Hoffschildt 2002).

Between 5,000 and 15,000 men accused of homosexuality were incarcerated in concentration camps during the Third Reich. Gay prisoners were labeled with a variety of markings, from a range of different colored triangle badges (green denoting criminals, black for "asocials," and



A Chart of Prisoner Markings Used in German Concentration Camps. *The Nazi regime had an elaborate system of badges sewn onto concentration camp prisoner uniforms that enabled guards to identify the alleged grounds for incarceration. In this chart, the column second from the right designates the various symbols used for homosexual prisoners. In addition to the basic pink triangle, there were also symbols indicating (proceeding downward from the pink triangle) homosexual "repeat offenders," homosexuals assigned to the camp's "disciplinary unit," and homosexual Jews.* **IMAGE COURTESY OF ITS BAD AROLSEN.**

red for political prisoners) to the numbers "175." By the end of the 1930s, however, a pink triangle had become the standard badge for gay concentration camp prisoners. At any given time, gay men made up usually less than 1 percent of the total prisoners in a camp (Knoll 2002). Undoubtedly, there were lesbians in concentration camps, too, but they were not necessarily arrested for being a lesbian. Some of the lesbian prisoners may have worn a black triangle, although there are also records indicating that some wore other badges.

The widespread homophobia that permeated German culture at the time followed gay prisoners into the camps. The men with the pink triangle faced discrimination and violence not only from the guards but from

fellow inmates as well. As a rule, gay men were spared the gas chambers and were not sent to death camps because the Nazi leadership considered them first and foremost Germans who could be reintegrated as productive members of society once they were "cured" of their vice. While reeducation remained the Nazis' official policy, there are numerous documented instances of the systematic murder of gay men both within and beyond concentration camps. Moreover, the combination of forced isolation in separate barracks, harder work details, smaller food rations, and deadly medical experiments created an environment that caused the death of the majority of gay men sent to concentration camps. An estimated 65 percent of men imprisoned on grounds of homosexuality died in the camps (Giles 2005).

Continued Persecution in the Postwar Period

Because the pink triangle prisoners had violated the German penal code, the Allied forces regarded them as criminals once the war in Europe ended in May 1945. Thus, when Allied troops liberated the camps, they often transferred gay inmates who still had time on their sentence to local prisons to serve the rest of their term. And although the victors began a process of denazification to eliminate unjust and discriminatory laws passed by the Nazi judicial system, the Allies allowed the 1935 version of Paragraph 175 to remain in effect in their zones of occupation. Courts in the German Democratic Republic (GDR; East Germany) ruled to revert Paragraph 175 to its pre-Nazi version in 1950, just one year after the country was founded. In the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG; West Germany), however, lawmakers and jurists continuously decided to uphold and enforce the Nazi version of the law. One gay concentration camp survivor stated poignantly at the end of the war, "Liberation was only for others" (Seel 1995, 88).

Even when gay survivors in Germany decided to face the social repercussions of speaking publicly about their experiences, they had to admit to acts that remained illegal. There were several legal challenges to the constitutionality of Paragraph 175 in the FRG, but in 1957 West Germany's Federal Constitutional Court declared once and for all that the 1935 version of Paragraph 175 would remain in effect. The court stated that the law predated the Nazis, and although Nazi jurists had reworded it in 1935, the essence of the law was untainted by National Socialist ideology. Therefore, the court framed Paragraph 175 as a German law that was still needed to protect the moral fortitude of the West German people. The gay men who had been arrested under the Nazi regime, the court concluded, were not victims of "typical Nazi injustice" but were instead criminals who had been constitutionally punished for their crimes.

Agents of the West German legal system used Paragraph 175 with gusto. Between 1949 and 1969 over 100,000 men were arrested, and more than 59,000 of those men were convicted (Hoffschildt 2002). Because the East German government had reverted the law to its pre-1935 version, there were drastically lower numbers of arrests and convictions of gay men in the GDR (rarely more than 100 convictions per year). After passage of an amendment to the East German criminal code in December 1957, authorities all but stopped enforcing Paragraph 175 (Huneke 2013).

While it is important to emphasize that the situation for West German homosexuals had certainly improved after the defeat of the Third Reich, the continuities in law, social attitudes, and even police and judicial personnel are striking. In 1963 the historian and theologian Hans-Joachim Schoeps felt justified in claiming that "for homosexuals, the Third Reich hasn't ended yet" (86; translated by W. Jake Newsome).

Pink Triangle as Gay Liberation Logo in Germany

During the 1960s, the political landscape in the Federal Republic of Germany underwent significant shifts. Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967), who had been chancellor of West Germany and leader of the conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) since 1949, resigned in October 1963. By 1966 the left-wing Social Democratic Party had come to power as a coalition partner with the CDU. Three years later, liberals and Social Democrats composed the majority in the parliament. The 1960s also witnessed extensive changes in social, cultural, and political values across the globe. It was in this context of social change that the West German parliament amended Paragraph 175 in 1969, decriminalizing sex among men over the age of twenty-one. The amendment of the law opened the space for the emergence of an organized, politically active gay rights movement (Schwulenbewegung) in West Germany in the early 1970s.

One of the first gay liberation groups in West Germany, and eventually the largest and most significant one, was the Homosexuelle Aktion Westberlin (HAW; Gay Action Group of West Berlin). One of the primary concerns of the group, which was founded in August 1971, was how to make gay activists visible to the rest of the West German public. Increased visibility was meant to demonstrate that gays and lesbians, while a minority, could become an influential political force. Moreover, members of the HAW asserted that adopting and wearing an official gay symbol would force the symbol's wearer to "come out" and publicly identify as gay, which was seen as a first step to ending suppression against gays and lesbians in society. Several possibilities for a new gay logo were put forward for consideration.

In 1972 a Hamburg publishing house released *Die Männer mit dem rosa Winkel* (*The Men with the Pink*

Triangle [1980]), the autobiography of a gay concentration camp survivor under the pseudonym of Heinz Heger. For members of the HAW, the title of the slim book offered a solution to the gay movement's problem of identification and visibility. HAW members asserted that, given their country's history, the pink triangle was the perfect symbol for West Germany's gay rights movement. They noted that the Frankfurt group RotZSchwul (Red Cell Gays) had already begun using the pink triangle unofficially. In October 1973 the HAW became the first group in the world to officially adopt the pink triangle as a gay rights logo. Gay liberation groups across West Germany soon followed the HAW's lead and began using the pink triangle to draw parallels between discrimination in the past and the present.

The spread of the pink triangle signified the dissemination of a specific strain of gay activism throughout West Germany. The coming out of individuals, the formation of gay organizations, and the adoption of a gay liberation logo all created an awareness among gays and lesbians that there were people like themselves throughout the Federal Republic, who shared not only similar sexual desires or orientations but also an aspiration to engage in political activism.

The Pink Triangle in North America

In early 1974 James Steakley, an American graduate student who had spent time in West Germany and had even joined the HAW, introduced English-speaking audiences to the history of the Nazis' campaign against homosexuality when he published his article "Homosexuals and the Third Reich" in the *Body Politic*, a gay liberation newspaper based in Toronto. In August of that year, activists in New York City wore pink triangle armbands as they protested in support of a gay rights bill being considered by the city council (Jensen 2002). The arrival of the pink triangle in New York City came just ten months after the HAW had adopted it as its own logo. By the end of the decade, and especially by the 1980s, gay activists in the United States and Canada were using the pink triangle and other Holocaust imagery widely in their activism. In February 1981, for example, the Metropolitan Toronto Police initiated a large-scale raid on locations that were known to be hangouts for gay men and lesbians, culminating in the largest mass arrest of civilians since World War II. Afterward, demonstrators wore shirts that read "Germany 1934, Toronto 1981" (Lynch 1981). These four short words sought to draw a thread of continuity between the persecution of gays in the Third Reich and the discrimination gays faced decades later in Toronto. Back in the United States, when members of the planning committee for the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights decided on a logo, they chose a symbol that they knew powerfully bound together issues of civil rights in the present and a dark chapter of history. The official logo was a silhouette of the US Capitol dome superimposed over a pink triangle.

By the end of the 1980s, the debates resulting from the rising death toll of the AIDS crisis were also drawing rhetorical ties between sexuality, citizenship, and the Nazi past. The deaths of thousands of people—many of whom were gay men—paired with inaction on the part of the administration of US president Ronald Reagan, resulted in numerous comparisons with the Holocaust. In 1986, six leftist organizers in New York City unveiled a poster that was meant to motivate gay and lesbian communities to aggressively demand support during the AIDS epidemic. The poster, composed of a fuchsia triangle with the peak facing up, imposed over a solid black background and the bold motto "Silence = Death," was adopted the following year by the activist group AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP). The poster would come to represent AIDS activism around the world. AIDS activists holding posters or wearing shirts adorned with a pink triangle and the "Silence = Death" motto asserted that everyone had a right to health care, regardless of sexuality or HIV status, a clear stance against comments by some conservative politicians and social commentators who suggested that the rights of health care were not understood as universal.

Therefore, while the pink triangle became politicized in West Germany, it was gay activists' use of the symbol in the United States and Canada that gave the logo—and the history it represented—a wider resonance and significance in contemporary debates about sexuality, civil liberties, and human rights. Once the pink triangle gained prominence as an activist logo and cultural icon in North America, it was then further traded, adapted, and transformed through international networks of activists throughout the Atlantic world and ultimately across the globe.

Memorializing the Nazis' Gay Victims

In both East and West Germany, there was a long history of denying that "the men with the pink triangle" were victims of Nazi injustice. Resistance to acknowledging gay victimhood was often the strongest during discussions for the various commemoration and memorialization ceremonies for the victims of National Socialism. In 1960, for example, Hans Zauner, then mayor of the town of Dachau, told a reporter, "You must remember that many criminals and homosexuals were in Dachau. Do you want a memorial for such people?" (quoted in Jensen 2002, 321). Despite resistance, gay rights groups across West Germany organized ceremonies throughout the 1980s to commemorate the Nazis' gay victims. Beginning in 1984, gay groups in East Germany began laying a wreath at the main memorial at the former Sachsenhausen concentration camp, located near Berlin.

In December 1984 a collection of gay rights groups in Austria dedicated the world's first permanent memorial to the gay victims of Nazi persecution by installing a commemorative plaque at the memorial site of the Mauthausen concentration camp. The memorial is a pink granite triangle with an inscription that reads: "Beaten to Death, Silenced to Death; to the Homosexual Victims of National Socialism; from the Homosexual Initiatives of Austria." The triangle plaque and inscription came to be a model for nearly all subsequent memorials to the Nazis' gay victims. Over the next two decades, memorials were established in seven locations throughout Germany, including the national Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime, which was dedicated in Berlin in 2008.

Germans were not the only ones to memorialize the men with the pink triangle. As of 2017, there were at least eight monuments or plaques outside Germany dedicated to the Nazis' gay victims. An additional six memorials use the symbol of the pink triangle and are dedicated to victims of violence against the LGBTQ community, but not specifically to gay victims of the Nazi regime. The existence of these memorials indicates that people throughout the world feel that the Nazis' campaign against homosexuality is neither a chapter of German history specifically nor the history of a particular minority group. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the pink triangle past had become a moral lesson with global resonance about human rights in democratic societies.

Memorial to Homosexual Victims of the Nazi Regime, Dedicated at Schöneberg-Nollendorfplatz in Berlin, Germany, in 1989. *This memorial is one of seven dedicated in Germany to the victims of the Nazis' violent campaign against homosexuality. The inscription is translated as "Beaten to Death, Silenced to Death."* © PETER HORREE/ALAMY

Compensation, Justice, and Victimhood

After World War II, West German lawmakers and jurists excluded gay men from the official definition of Nazi victimhood. Because they were not considered victims of Nazi injustice, gay survivors were not eligible for restitution of confiscated property, financial compensation, or legal rehabilitation for unjust criminal convictions. When West Germany passed the Federal Compensation Law of 1956, gay survivors were summarily excluded. When the General War Consequences Act was passed a year later to provide financial aid to those who had "suffered excessively" during the war, gay men were technically allowed to apply. Only fourteen gay men in all of West Germany filed a petition. All fourteen were denied.

Facing increasing pressure from minority rights groups, the West German parliament agreed in June 1987 to establish a "hardship fund" for victim groups who had been left out of previous compensation processes. The federal hardship fund regulations clearly asserted, however, that these benefits were not official compensation or a redress for injustice. As a result of the impenetrable maze of bureaucratic red tape, documentation, time, and effort required for aid from the federal hardship fund, only seventeen gay survivors applied. Two were granted recurring payments; six were issued a one-time benefit payment. One applicant died before the committee reached a decision. The remaining eight applications were rejected for various reasons. Because the federal government proved reluctant to help these victims, five of the West German states implemented their own hardship provisions between 1987 and 1990. Out of these five states, twenty-one gay men applied for aid; eleven received payments, while the other ten were rejected.

While Paragraph 175 had been amended in 1969 and fully repealed in 1994, it was not until 17 May 2002 (amid discussions of funding the national Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime) that the parliament of unified Germany officially apologized to all gay victims of the Nazi regime and annulled their unjust convictions. The decision also made

any gay survivors who were still alive eligible for full restitution, including financial compensation. The government's apology and pardon came so late, however, that most survivors had already passed away.

The German government's 2002 pardon was only for men convicted under Paragraph 175 during the Nazi regime, not those convicted under the same law in West Germany between 1949 and 1969. In May 2016, after decades of pressure from gay rights groups, the German parliament announced that it planned to annul the post-1945 convictions and grant compensation to the estimated 5,000 wrongly convicted men who were still alive. As of August 2017, the parliament had yet to approve the legislation.

Shared History, Shared Identity

Through its use in social activism, the pink triangle became a way to add potency to activists' claim that, in a post-Holocaust world, no government had the right or moral authority to regulate the sexual lives of its citizens or to use policies that discriminated against minorities. In both West Germany and the United States, activists rhetorically linked antigay policies to Nazism and asserted that as long as their governments continued discriminating against the LGBTQ communities the ideals of liberal democracy had not yet been fully achieved. Moreover, the sharing of memories and histories contributed to the transformation of gays and lesbians into an international political minority and helped establish a gay identity that transcended local and national boundaries.

The pink triangle originated as a concentration camp badge—a mark of damnation. Yet, through decades of grassroots activism, the writing of a more honest and accurate history, and the process of international memorialization, gay men and women transformed the pink triangle into a symbol that gave people the courage to come out, form an international community, and take pride in claiming a positive identity.

The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and are not to be viewed as official statements of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

SEE ALSO *ACT UP; Bathhouse Raids, Toronto (1981); HIV/AIDS in the United States; Human Rights in Europe; Museums and Memorials; Nationalism and Sexuality in Europe*

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