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Homosynchronism and the Temporal-Memory Border: Framing Racialized Bodies, Time, and Mobility in German Queer Printed Media

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Homosynchronism and the Temporal-Memory Border

Framing Racialized Bodies, Time, and Mobility in German Queer Printed Media

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ABSTRACT

How can liberal societies constantly talk about saving queer individuals from the yoke of oppressive regimes abroad and yet diabolise the same migrants once they have crossed the borders of the nation-state or transitioned from the "illiberal" world to "the west". This working paper argues that this is not a paradox per se. It investigates ways in which borders are conceptualised inside the liberal script and reproduced in the dominant parts of society *(Dominanzgesellschaft)*. It also underlines how processes of "doing borders" are entangled with liberal conceptualisations of time, highlighting how crossing borders is simultaneously a geographical and temporal endeavour. The paper uses the Federal Republic of Germany as a prism and analyses "othering" processes at the core of the liberal script, focusing on the queer community in Germany since the 1970s.

1 INTRODUCTION[1]

In March 2022, the Foundation Hirschfeld-Eddy published the sixth volume of a series of working papers on the human rights of sexual minorities. Created in 2007 and through partnerships in the Global South and Eastern Europe, the foundation provides concrete help for threatened lesbians, gays, bisexuals, trans* and inter* (LGBTIQ+) individuals facing state and legal repression (Kohrt/Jetz 2021). This new volume assembles fifteen portraits of human rights activists fighting "at the peril of their lives" in various places outside Western Europe or North America: Columbia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Russia, etc. In a foreword to the rest of the volume, the then German Justice Minister Christine Lambrecht (SPD) reminds the (European?) readers that the courageous individuals covered in this publication are some of the many people risking everything to end discrimination. She concludes that "there is still a long way to go to achieve real equality worldwide. It is therefore important that the German Federal Government makes the rights of LGBTI individuals a guiding principle in foreign policy and development cooperation [author's translation]" (Lambrecht 2021: 9).

Even though federal policies and a major part of the German civil society aim to protect queer individuals abroad using the emotional language of humanitarian aid (Mourad/Norman 2015), the same bodies that are deemed in danger overseas tend to be demonised once they reach liberal societies in "the west" (Haritaworn 2010; El-Tayeb 2012; Çetin 2014). Often, queer refugees that relocate to countries such as Germany do so following traumatising experiences in their country of origin. Moving across borders, they are reframed by some parts of the German civil society, including the queer community, as a potential danger to the political gains and safety of queer whiteness domestically. This reframing is not limited to refugees. Settled in Germany, migrants from so-called "illiberal countries" are framed as agents of illiberalism, often following racialised amalgams

1 I wish to thank my colleagues of the Research Unit Borders for the discussions and debates during my stay at SCRIPTS in Berlin, especially for our very productive retreat near Potsdam in November 2021. I particularly want to acknowledge the thought-provoking atmosphere created by Gülay Çağlar, Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Friederike Kuntz and Christian Volk. In Flensburg, I am grateful for Christiane Reinecke and her input and feedback while writing this piece.

between their countries of origin and, in the case of Muslim migrants and migrants read as Muslims, simplified notions of Islam (Yildiz 2009; Haritaworn/Petzen 2011). In newspaper columns, multiculturalism is now often portrayed as naivety and an endogenous danger to the liberal script (Schneider/Scherrer 2020). In this logic, neighbourhoods mainly populated by migrants and other racialised citizens are then presented as no-go areas for queer individuals, leading leftist organisations to employ right-wing populist rhetoric in the name of protecting sexual minorities (Sweetapple 2018). This practice, of course, erases the fact that not all migrants are queerphobic and that many migrants are queer themselves. It also omits the voting habits of some members of the white German dominant society (*Dominanzgesellschaft*) who actively give their voice to queerphobic parties, pushing queerphobic policies (Witte 2017; Wielowiejski 2018). This paradox is another reminder that the ”liberal script” (Börzel/Zürn 2020: 11-14) is “an idea of how a society should be organised and not a description of how a society is organised” (Drewski/Gerhards 2020: 10). “Homemade” queerphobia is, therefore, a product of free speech and a necessary evil on the marketplace of ideas as opposed to a presupposed imported illiberal queerphobia that would be incompatible with integration into German society. The publicist and editor of the left-leaning Berlin newspaper *TAZ*, Jan Feddersen, even considers the Berlin borough Neukölln, particularly the neighbourhood of Nordneukölln, as a sort of “Gaza Strip in Neukölln” a pocket of illiberalism at the centre of the German capital (Lau 2021: 48).

1.1 INQUIRY

This working paper deals with the paradox of liberal societies constantly talking about saving queer individuals from the yoke of oppressive regimes abroad and yet diabolising certain migrants once they have crossed the borders of the nation-state or transitioned from the “illiberal” world to ”the west”. I argue that this is not a paradox *per se*. I demonstrate that at the core of these dynamics are how borders are conceptualised inside the liberal script and reproduced in the dominant parts of society (*Dominanzgesellschaft*). I also show how this way of *doing borders* is entangled with the way liberal societies conceptualise time and how crossing borders is simultaneously a geographical and temporal endeavour.

To do so, I use the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) as a prism and analyse “othering” processes at the core of the liberal script, focusing on the queer community in Germany since the 1970s. Following the liberalisation in 1969 of the parts of the penal code (§175) criminalising sex between men regardless of whether desires and relationships were consensual, queer activists banded together and created gay and lesbian political organisations. These new groups were born from contestations to the liberal script, following years of opposition to post-war queerphobia anchored in the legal system. For example, the German Federal Constitutional Court validated the discrimination against male-male sexualities in 1957 and determined that this discrimination conformed to the country’s Basic Law (Moeller 1994: 404).

From the start of what is now known as the Gay and Lesbian movements (*Schwule-* and *Lesbischebewegungen*) in the 1970s to our present, these groups were not only troubled by the situation of queer individuals in the FRG but also the fate of queer populations abroad. Having created a vast media landscape through magazines, Do-It-Yourself-publications and info letters, they discussed these issues repeatedly and exchanged thoughts on the world beyond West German borders (Meeker 2006; Bartholomae 2013; Rehberg 2016). Historians have pointed to the different sexual and racialised assemblages present in these publications, coining the term *sexotics* (Schaper et al. 2020) to describe a mixture of orientalist eroticisation and colonial fantasies for a so-called

"pre-modern Orient" (Bayramoğlu 2018; Sulzenbacher/Treiblmayr forthcoming).

Using these queer printed media, I push this analysis further by mapping processes of border-making in the white German queer community. I shed light especially on ways geographical borders were embodied in discourse about tourism in the Global South and how queer printed media portrayed, erased, or discussed black and brown bodies, "heterosexualising" Muslim migrants or migrants read as Muslims. In so doing, I show how an intersectional analysis of white periodicals leads to a better understanding of exclusion narratives in communities born out of a desire for inclusion.

Linking borders and queerness is not arbitrary. Scholars have shown how the border as a sorting mechanism (Mau 2021) also confirms sexual practices and discourse, disciplining queer bodies (Schrover et al. 2008; Chávez/Luibhéid 2020: ch. 1). Historians have also shown how borders reinforce sexual conceptions and determine how queer bodies and queer desires are expressed inside the nation, pointing out the central role of border controls for the creation and pathologising of the queer subject inside and outside national borders (Canaday 2009: ch. 6). Recent examples affecting trans* citizens trying to flee the Russian invasion of Ukraine have proven how borders are still being controlled according to cis-hetero-patriarchal norms (Hoffmann 2022). Finally, the criminalisation of migrant sexualities has also been at the centre of laws defining borders (Lewis 2014; Murray 2016), so the relation is not unidirectional.

1.2 CONCEPTS AND ARGUMENTS

In this working paper, I add a temporal component to the literature by critically analysing West German and post-unification German queer discourse on migration until today. My first argument is that geographical borders are also temporal borders through which one must switch from premodernity to modernity. This decoupage of the world between Euro-American modernity and the rest of a premodern world is continuously reaffirmed through the stickiness of temporalities to the migrant bodies but is also institutionalised through the definitions of European borders (Eder 2006) and European value tests that would not be passed by some Europeans (Brubaker 2010). This inconsistency can also be true between European countries. The meaning of these common values and their importance for progressive narratives were evident during the last European football tournament, as clashes between Hungary and Germany surrounding queer rights developed into a war of symbols, homopatriotism, and discourse questioning the 2004 expansion of the European Union (Stein 2021; Krökel 2021).

In other words, queer rights are being used to delimitate European time, here understood as West European time, from non-European time (Schmid 2021) – political rhetoric also used by political actors contesting the liberal script (Healey 2018; Yaffa 2021). In this paper, I underline how the border was framed as a temporal filter in the 1980s and 1990s. Scholars writing about queer temporalities have demonstrated a certain tendency in gay, lesbian, and queer historiographies to "touch across time" (Dinshaw et al. 2007), that is, to historicise categories of analysis, to identify possible queer ancestors, and to rescue them from oblivion (McCabe 2005; Doan 2017). This historiographical willingness and thirst for justice concurrently historicised the queer present. One can also notice this touch through time in multiple coexisting temporalities in the present, as white European queers imagine the rest of the world as a dangerous past contemporary to their present from which they need to save racialised and sexualised bodies by integrating them into whiteness and European modernity. Furthermore, this temporal touch is intrinsically linked to erotic fantasies that sexually code the non-European world while demonising certain forms of non-European masculinities.

My second argument is based on the idea that the non-European experience of migration is often presented as everlasting (El-Tayeb 1999). This discursive perpetuity has repercussions in countries such as Germany, where it excludes racialised individuals – queer or not – from important aspects of citizenship (Phelan 2001). As I will demonstrate, the German queer community is built on collective memories of violence and victimhood based on a particular German reason of state (*Staatsräson*) and the need to come to terms with its national socialist past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*). The constitutive aspect of this cultural memory of injury has framed queerness in the FRG and linked it to citizenship. To put it differently, the inclusion and protection of queer Germans have tied progress narratives with queer rights. By being presented as perpetual new arrivers, queer migrants up to the nth generation are denied a link to the original harm and important narrative at the core of the German queer image in the second part of the twentieth century. This lingering stickiness of migration excludes them from the constitutive aspects of German memory of National Socialism and from the "enlightened" effects of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Schinkel 2017). What is more, through the universalisation of the memories of national socialist persecutions, racialised queers become potential threats to the queer community.

This paper introduces two new terms: *homosynchronism* and the *temporal-memory border*. Both these new concepts link cultural memory, the construction of the queer subject, and a white Eurocentrist model of remembrance pushed upon racialised queer individuals. Showing how borders are connected to state-making, cultural memory, and temporalities, I will chart this *temporal-memory border* inside queer printed media. As I demonstrate below, the stickiness (Ahmed 2010) of temporalities and memory affect processes of mobility (Kotef 2015: ch. 1) and border crossing for racialised migrants. Crossing from one nation to another also becomes a temporal endeavour, as the entry to European time is framed as crossing from a universalised non-European premodern stagnation to an implicitly modern eternal present. The temporal-memory border also alters the portrayal of racialised migrants once they enter European time. They are simultaneously perceived as refugees of the premodern world but also as dangerous premodern agents roaming free through modernity. *Homosynchronism* is the name I give to the assemblage of public memory and political rhetoric validated through collective identities, discussions about queerness, and the desire to save non-European queers abroad while fearing and demonising them domestically. As I show in this paper, universalising European time and European queer history, *homosynchronists* anchor queerness in European history. Past injuries (National Socialism in the FRG) helped historicise and shape a collective past and collective identity of what it means to be queer in Western Europe and then the northern transatlantic world (Tremblay 2020a; Newsome 2022). Through international organisations and human rights campaigns (Ayoub/Paternotte 2016), this Euro-American queer collective past was universalised. Caring for queers abroad becomes an act of never again learning from the European past of injury to stop new persecutions (Newsome 2016; Bayramoğlu et al. 2017; Saleh 2020). It forcefully integrates non-European queer bodies into European time and universalises European conceptions of queerness. In an effort of provincialising queerness *à l'Européenne*, *homosynchronism* names this process. *Homosynchronism* differs from other assemblages, such as *homonationalism* (Puar 2010; Puar/Eng 2020). Even if white national memory and history are at its core, the *homosynchronist* discourse is not per se explicitly linked to expressions of patriotism. Furthermore, the timeframe of my analysis predates the 2000s, and *homosynchronists* were both denouncing German queerphobia domestically and discussing the fate of queer individuals abroad.

1.3 MEANINGS FOR THE LIBERAL SCRIPT

As this paper makes clear, universalising the discourses of modernity have a long historiographical tradition and can still be found in political discourse at the margin. It underlines ways in which, through temporalities, the racialisation of progress narratives eventually led to the construction of new borders inside social collectives. This development is significant as these new exclusions are based on the day-to-day affirmation of geographical borders through political rhetoric underscoring liberal tolerance, that is, the protection of queer rights inside the liberal script. Are we then confronted with a new form of *mission civilisatrice* inside the liberal script based on sexualities and border framing? This research emphasises how some actors integrating the liberal script from within and through contestations eventually oppose other aspects of the script, for example, mass migration (Hampshire 2013: chs. 2-3).

The white queer community in the FRG struggled for decades to find political acceptance. Denied the early years of liberalisation, the community has shown how the history of the long post-war era needs to be reframed (Griffiths 2021; Gammerl 2021). Yet, through its link to the horrors of the national socialist regime and, eventually, to the German reason of state, it was able to not only become part of the liberal script but define the values of liberal democracies. From the early years of this institutionalisation in the 1980s to the present, this inclusion has been anchored in human rights discourse (Conrad 2014; Belmonte 2021). However, a strict distinction between liberal and illiberal states has racialised queerness inside the community, presenting racialised queers as a danger to the liberal script.

1.4 WHERE ARE THE BORDERS?

In her book *The Straight State*, Margot Canaday not only identifies the role played by sexualities at the border (Canaday 2009: ch. 6) but also demonstrates the entanglements of various sorts of borders, such as “lines in the sand” (Parker/Vaughan-Williams 2009) and the lines in our heads. In her work, lines are traced on documents, in bed, in the heads, and especially on people’s bodies. She points to a possible pairing between simultaneously being an alien to the state as a non-citizen and being alien to oneself and societal norms. In so doing, she underlines the dialectical processes through which medicine and law constructed the queer subject, that is, as institutions with material consequences and as regimes affecting discourse. Furthermore, Canaday shows how queerness – in the form of homosexuality in the US – changed as a concept over time. This example shows the very great potential of border studies considering the history of sexualities. She highlights usual paradigm shifts where sexuality is, at least since Foucault, both a discourse and a praxis (Foucault 1971; Eder 2014). She marks the border as a factor and indicator of historical change and convincingly demonstrates how binaries such as the one between homosexualities and heterosexualities are fixed at the border. By deconstructing binaries and showing their artificial aspects, it is possible to use a queer lens and illustrate how the state enforces norms regulating queerness and how these standards, parts of a script, become patterns of interpretation (Kulpa/Mizielinska 2011; Saleh 2020; Murray 2016). But where is this border starting, and where does it end?

Borders in the sand, geographical borders, helped create the border between structures of desire according to security (Basham 2013; Lewis 2014), medicine (Conrad 2020), the state (Barclay et al. 2009; Berman 2017), and citizenship (Chávez/Luibhéid 2020: ch. 1), dismissing the murkiness of

sexual fluidity for a sexual dispositive. In other words, the state forces both its citizens and non-citizens to define themselves within a category fitting within this binary (Boellstorff et al. 2016; Pamment 2021; Rizki 2021). In the case of federal states, one is also compelled to find sexual categories in connection with both federal and state powers, depending on the synchronicity of legal and sexual norms. As scholars interested in the so-called "Lavender Scare" have shown, queerness is often not only perverse and forbidden but supposedly forbidden to save or at least protect the nation (Johnson 2004; Shibusawa 2012). This attitude also applies to Germany and the ruling of the Federal Constitutional Court on §175 in 1957, determining that the legal discrimination of queer men was necessary to fixate gender norms during a so-called "crisis of masculinity" during the post-war era (Herzog 2005: ch. 3).

In her analysis of the border, Canaday not only shows how historians can make a point about queerness and can find queerness by looking at actors' categories like homosexuality and heterosexuality (Canaday 2009: ch. 6). She also unveils the difficulties of this endeavour. First, she shows the necessary semantic fields one needs at the juncture of history, psychology, and law. She furthermore underlines some of history's domino effects affecting historical research today. In the case of the US, outsourcing border control means that historians need to get access to documents outside the US to study its border. Put differently, policies of border controls are often interconnected, thus requiring historians to explore the effects far beyond one state. Second, she shows how many were coerced into voluntary emigration, changing statistics on deportations and effects of sexual discrimination and the prosecution of queerness.

Historical research looking at the border, mobility, and considering sexualities also needs to look at the body, for example, when analysing the policing of sexuality and the creation of deviance. People who refused to show their genitals at the border were considered suspicious, and gender performance (hair, clothes, etc.) became the object of scrutiny (Luibhéid 2002). State surveillance stuck on someone's body, and the judgement of agents of the state lasted longer than the simple fact of crossing or not crossing a border. Borders inside sexualities and between sexualities were also connected to categories created or reinforced while crossing state borders.

Omnipresent, a border might appear at unexpected places, for example, pissoirs and bathrooms. Indeed, men arrested for having sex in public bathrooms in the 1950s also had their papers checked. The policing and criminalisation of cruising spaces could therefore affect non-citizens differently, denying them a right to stay or even get deported. Those criminalised for their sexuality thus brought the border with them to bed. Similarly, health measures during the Covid-19 pandemic have shown how daily life means encountering the border everywhere, as every bar and restaurant has become an embodiment of the European Fortress, illegalised migrants having to present required documents to gain entry (White 2014). In this paper, I argue we should reorganise and re-map our conception of borders. I focus on the stickiness of temporalities during the migration experience and show how sexual patterns of interpretation carry the weight of norms and travel between temporal regimes and how the border is inscribed temporally in the body.

This research thus invites us to expand the conception of borders beyond strict geographical borders since state borders are reproduced as shifting boundaries within imagined communities based on race, gender, and sexualities. These shifting boundaries are not necessarily another type of border but simultaneously the manifestation of geographical borders and processes of border-making (Yuval-Davis/Stoetzler 2002).

Using temporalities for our understanding of border-making allows us to understand how *doing borders* implies seeing temporalities as contexts and borders as experiences (Squire 2011: ch. 1; Wille/Nienaber 2020) and as practices. By doing so, historians can challenge fixed binaries between liberal and illiberal scripts (Triadafilopoulos 2011). Indeed, as border-crossing is re-enacted and perpetually embodied by non-European migrants (Popescu 2011: ch. 1), liberal and illiberal scripts become perpetually entangled. This research emphasises these entanglements inside the queer community. Here, "doing borders" is not the same as "doing statehood", as I am interested in the consequences of crossing and encountering borders for migrants and not in the cohesive potential of enforcing borders to delimit the state. The discursive aspects of borders at the core of this paper are not only metaphorical. "Doing borders" in the mind also has material consequences related to geographical borders because concrete hierarchies of exclusion and the coupling of racialisation and surveillance can impact the admittance of groups to the country and their residence status within the country, eventually leading to their deportability.

The rest of this paper is divided into five parts presenting the research. First, I briefly look at European time and the idea of the eternal migrant. I then discuss at great length the importance of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* for the queer community in the FRG before and after unification. Third, I illustrate how queer printed media in the 1980s portrayed sexualities abroad. Fourth, I exemplify ways the same media landscapes demonised racialised queer and non-queer individuals domestically. I finally come back to *homosynchronism* and the *temporal-memory border*, presenting how these concepts could allow scholars to understand borders intersectionally (Yuval-Davis 2006).

2 EUROPEAN TIME AND EVERLASTING EXPERIENCES OF MIGRATION

In the case of the German gay print media that are the focus of the third and fourth parts of this working paper, the "magical East" is presented as a place of ahistorical stagnation, where local men navigate outside of modernity and where white tourists can travel back in time, explore the past, and satisfy their urges. Thus, European progress was conceptualised as the barometer of the present, of modernity. Outside the boundaries of the European present, these periodicals imagined other cultures as trying or failing to catch up with Europe and as places to be explored. This coexistence of multiple temporalities is not foreign to German philosophy or historiography. Already in the nineteenth century, Hegel proclaimed that world history originated in the East, slowly moved westward, and ended in Europe. He reserved his harshest dismissal for Africa, a place "without history" (*keingeschichtlicher Weltteil*): "We are leaving Africa here so as not to speak of it later. Because it is not a historical part of the world, it has no movement or development to show, and what happened there, that is, in its north, belongs to the Asian and European world" (Hegel 1924 [1894]: 53).

Similarly, the post-war literature of prominent German historians still echoes the nineteenth century. In his revolutionary conceptualisation of the world and in his quest to identify factors and indicators of historical change, Reinhart Koselleck suggested the idea of the contemporaneity of the non-contemporary (*Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*), that is, the possibility for the world to experience multiple temporalities simultaneously (Koselleck 2000: 9). While this epistemology was reconfigured years later to provincialise European history and address the multiple modernities challenging the European episteme (Pernau 2021), the original concept had Eurocentric dispositions, tracing world histories through a

European periodisation, describing certain spaces as still being in the Stone Age or the Middle Ages.

Crossing the European border and travelling through time in the opposing direction does not mean automatically integrating into modernity. Fatima El-Tayeb writes: "Historiography ascribes 'the migrant' [...] a flat, one-dimensional existence in which s/he has always just arrived, thus existing only in the present, but like a time traveller simultaneously hailing from a culture that is centuries (or in the case of Africa, millennia) behind, thus making him/her the representative of a past without connection to or influence on the host society's history" (El-Tayeb 2008: 653). The non-European time traveller is therefore always at the threshold of modernity, a prisoner of the racialised understanding ascribed to the non-European body. In other words, geographical mobility is not always paired up with temporal mobility.

As El-Tayeb mentions, this temporal stagnation at the border sticks to the migrant and is also transmitted through generations, leaving racialised individuals living in Germany with a permanent experience of mobility even if they never crossed borders themselves. Guilty by association for injustices committed in the non-European realm, they are condemned as foreign agents of the past. At best, it implies a perpetual demand to apologise and situate oneself for these "premodern" deeds outside of European time, but it also often suggests cultural demonisation or even denying queerness to racialised queers (El-Tayeb 2012; Shield 2017). As I will now expose, this denial is especially significant when the everlasting experience of migration clashes with a conception of citizenship anchored in the idea of coming to terms with national history and where progress is tied to national belongings, identity, and collective memory. This is the case in the FRG, and in the German queer community, a collective repeatedly imagined and depicted as white (Ewing 2018).

3 BORN OUT OF VERGANGENHEITSBEWÄLTIGUNG

Queer history is a pairing of the deconstructive potential offered by queer theory with historical methodologies, investigating the construction and reproduction of historical sexual regimes while underlining the existing fluidity beyond sexual norms. It is composed of constant longing for the past, a feeling backward, and an impossible mission to save the past and rescue the sexual misfits who dared to think of a future they could not imagine outside of utopianism (Love 2009). Scholars have also highlighted identificatory impulses intrinsically connected to a violent past (Traub 2002; Dinshaw 1999). This violent past, centuries of oppression, is at the core of queer politics, based on an ongoing reflection on time and injury. A world devoid of homophobia remains utopic. Yet the present in queer history is consequently not only anchored in the past but also longs for a utopian future (Muñoz 2009). Activists' present is therefore built on a queer understanding of time, a return to failures of the past to reach a better future (Halberstam 2011, 2005). For a contemporary understanding of oppression, the queer political subject defines its present "in the form of retrospective returns, activist legacies, spaces of memory, aesthetics blueprints and feelings" (Shahani 2013).

The German queer community is a prime example of the importance of a negative past and historical injuries for the creation of social movements. Following a tightening of §175 by the national socialist regime in 1935, legal persecutions became even more central to the suffering of queer men, as thousands were murdered in concentration camps (Lautmann et al. 1978; Herzog 2005: ch. 1; Zinn 2018). Prussian in its origin, §175 was the part of the German penal code criminalising relationships, sex, and desires between men, whether these aspects of their lives were consensual or not. It was finally repealed in 1994 following

multiple reforms, the first in 1969 (Micheler/Pretzel 2002; Griffiths 2021: ch. 1). Following this liberalisation, queer activists in subsequent decades have emphasised these post-war legal continuities in the early years of gay and lesbian liberation. They even reclaimed the pink triangle as a badge for their movement, the symbol used by the national socialist regime to mark non-heteronormative men deported to the camps (Tremblay 2019). Beyond legal continuities, many 1970s activists felt a direct connection to these victims, blurring the line between a struggle for recognition for the victims of the national socialist regime and postmemory, a kind of second-generation trauma transmitted in this case beyond family structures (Hirsch 1997, 2012).

If the repression of homosexuality under National Socialism is today the subject of numerous historiographical works and regular commemorations, certainly not without controversy, it was quite different at the end of the 1960s, when this memory was institutionalised. Moreover, in the FRG, queer people continued to live in a repressive environment. For instance, §175 of the German penal code, which penalised all sexual practices between men, had been maintained in its reinforced version by the national socialists (Micheler/Pretzel 2002; Herzog 2005: chs. 2-3). The historian Hans-Joachim Schoeps famously declared in the 1960s that: “for homosexuals, the Third Reich was not yet finished” (Schoeps 1965: 86). Following the decriminalisation of sexual acts between consenting adult males over 21 years of age in 1969, several gay groups bloomed across the country. Lesbian organisations followed (Ledwa 2019).

These emerging homosexual organisations were quick to point out some of the continuities, especially legislative ones, between the so-called “Third Reich” and the FRG. They began to re-discover the fate of non-heteronormative men who had been sent to their deaths during the dictatorship and legitimised their fight for civil rights by tracing a genealogy of §175 and employing the language of denazification (Newsome 2016; Tremblay 2019). In their quest for social acceptance, they advocated for the official recognition of homosexuals as victims of Nazism, once again blurring the lines between victimhood in the past and victimhood in the post-war era. Queerness, here in the form of male homosexuality, was only linked to V*ergangenheitsbewältigung* in 1985 as then *president* Richard von Weizsäcker mentioned ”homosexual men” in his speech commemorating the 8th of May 1945 (von Weizsäcker 1985). It took until 2002 to amend the *Gesetz zur Aufhebung nationalsozialistischer Unrechtsurteile in der Strafrechtspflege* (Law on the Annulment of National Socialist Unjust Verdicts in the Administration of Criminal Justice) and redeem the victims.

Post-war persecutions also explain a certain generational gap in the transfer of knowledge between queer before and after the dictatorship. The political climate during the Adenauer era is also responsible for the lack of communication between homophile groups and newly created organisations following the liberalisation of §175 (Gammerl 2021: 45-78). Historians have nonetheless recently contested the previous model of queer waves, echoing so-called “waves of feminisms” during the 20th century. The year 1969 was not a caesura per se, as the homophile movement of the post-war era and the gay and lesbian movements were more entangled than previously accepted (Gammerl 2021: 338-350; Griffiths 2021: ch. 1). Still, fear and shame played an important role in the lack of communication between generations of non-heteronormative people (Gammerl 2021), making it possible to really understand that queer individuals in the 1970s “re-discovered” the fate of the men forced to wear pink triangles in concentration camps.

Certain biographies played a prominent role in the homosexual imaginary of the 1970s, such as

the case of the Austrian Josef Kohout. He was deported for homosexuality to the camps of Flossenbürg and Sachsenhausen, and his reminiscence of the experience became the essential reference of the movement after its publication (Heger 2001 [1974]). Kohout did not pen the book himself, even if it was written in the first person. Johann Neumann conducted a series of interviews with Kohout in the second half of the 1960s and signed the book under the pseudonym Heinz Heger, which may have led to some inconsistencies in the narrative.

The magazine *Emanzipation - Zeitschrift homosexueller Aktionsgruppen* served as a platform of expression for many West German homosexual organisations and contributed – from its creation in 1975 – to the transition from the denunciation of contemporary discrimination to the constitution of a collective homosexual memory of national socialist repression:

> These days the various media repeatedly refer to the surrender of the German Reich and the Liberation from Fascism 30 years ago. However, it remains largely unmentioned that this also opened the gates of the concentration camps to many thousands of homosexuals who had to endure unspeakable suffering for the sake of their sexual instinct. They, who had to wear the Pink Triangle in the concentration camps, were the lowest and most despised group. Tens of thousands of them died in the gas chambers. [...] While reparations were granted to political prisoners after Liberation, they are still denied to the gays until today as they are still considered criminals. Though legal criminalisation has largely been lifted, social taboo and discrimination against homosexuality continues unabated [author's translation] (Homosexuelle Aktion Nürnberg 1975: 3).

West German homosexual activists thus linked the persecution of non-heteronormative men under National Socialism to the discrimination they faced in the FRG, advising their peers to read and share the stories of those they came to regard as their ancestors for example, Josef Kohout. Lesbian activists later referred to the fate of lesbians. The fate of Henny "Jenny" Schermann played an important role (Bierwagen 1985: 10; Jensen 2004: 334-335). This Jewish woman born in Frankfurt am Main was sent to Ravensbrück, where the camp's authorities labelled her as a lesbian (Schoppmann 2012: 108-111). Framing lesbian oppression during National Socialism has long been a topic of harsh historiographical debates in Germany (Eschebach 2019; Aktivistinnen des lesbischen Gedenkens 2019: Tremblay 2020a), but decades of research has concluded that a structural understanding of violence and oppression demonstrates how lesbian persecutions took place during the era (Schoppmann 1999; Marhoefer 2016; Huneke 2019; Hájková 2021). From the 1970s onward, this new gay press, then lesbian, gave more and more importance to the national socialist repression. This (re) discovery of the homosexual past was central in forming a collective imaginary meant to unify the community beyond political divides. In addition to the initial demands for the abolition of criminal discrimination, various demands for reparation for homosexual victims remained on the agenda until 2002.

In an essay on identity politics, Wendy Brown suggests that the cohesion of social groups drawing their identity from a past of victimhood merges "wounded attachments" in inner and outer impulses (Brown 1995). On the one hand, social groups use the past as a rallying battle cry for emancipation and for creating a collective identity inside the social group. On the other hand, they historicise discrimination, legitimising their struggle to end oppression in the present by confronting the dominant part of society with a history of injustice and atrocities. By imagining themselves as descendants of the non-heteronormative men in concentration camps, queer activists in Germany have used victimhood as a cohesive factor. This viewpoint was far from being a cynical

political move, as many of these activists identified with the victims of national socialist persecutions (Tremblay 2019). Building a collective queer memory of the national socialist dictatorship – a non-heteronormative postmemory transmitted through extra familial relationships in the queer community, for example, through queer printed media – framed the movement in the 1970s within the rhetoric of survival, of having survived the sacred evils of the twentieth century: National Socialism. This framing is also apparent in the visual aesthetic of the movement (Schappach 2011; Tremblay 2020b; Griffiths 2021: ch. 4), noticeable in the ways this narrative was exported, reinterpreted, and adopted abroad, particularly in the transatlantic world (Tremblay 2020a: chs. 2-3). For instance, a United Nations (UN) report on the discrimination of sexual minorities for the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) mentions the pink triangle as a patent of nobility for the gay and lesbian movements of the second part of the twentieth century and countless organisations in the transatlantic world have referred to those wearing the pink triangle as their "ancestors" (Tremblay 2020a: ch. 2, 2021; Newsome 2022).

Homosynchronism tackles this use of national socialist persecutions as the benchmark for queer memory and, eventually, queer politics (Tremblay 2021b). With *homosynchronism*, I propose to link the universalisation of German memory as the mortar of human rights campaigns. At the core of *homosynchronism* lies a desire to save queer men and women abroad from the "never again", linking non-European historical events to German history. Indeed, the official plaque next to the Memorial to Homosexuals persecuted under Nazism in the centre of Berlin reminds visitors how the German state has a "responsibility to actively oppose the violation of gay men's and lesbian's human rights. In many parts of the world, people continue to be persecuted for their sexuality, homosexual love remains illegal, and a kiss can be dangerous" (Tremblay 2021a). Queerphobia is thus connected to the German past but framed in the present as something overcome on German soil and still present abroad.

Presented as something connected to the German past yet mainly existing outside of Germany's borders in the present, this call-to-arms against queerphobia links a desire to deal with the past with the portrayal of racialised migrants – queer or not – as the homophobic "other", a violent form of masculinity, which has not experienced the presupposed didactic effects of the traumatising German past, and, therefore, has not learned from history. The constitutive aspect of memory and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is at the centre of the discourse on German belonging (Rothberg 2009; Lawson et al. 2020; Tzuberi 2020). As previously mentioned, scholars have expressed how experiences of migration are seen as a never-there and never-ending process, where immigrants from the first generation to the nth generation are depicted as newcomers. This perpetual state of migration is especially true for male migrants "interpolated through globalised notions of 'Islam'" (Yildiz 2009; Aguilar 2018). As the eternal migrant, these men are portrayed as suspicious, as not yet "enlightened". Many central German queer organisations, such as the Gay and Lesbian Federation in Germany (*Lesben- und Schwulenverband in Deutschland*), have made use of these amalgams in recent years (Haritaworn 2010: 76), placing Islam in opposition to modernity. Hand in hand with progress narratives, this understanding of queerphobia as something "imported" from abroad is not without parallel to similar forms of "othering", regarding Muslim citizens of Germany, with or without experience of migration, as a form of imported antisemitism. Unfortunately, queer Black and People of Colour (QBPoC) living in Germany are usually the first victims of such a discourse (Atshan/Galor 2020: ch. 4-8).

4 TRAVELLING THROUGH THE PAST

In August 1998, the German gay magazine *Du&Ich* published a special dossier on "Turkish men", informing its readers that even if some Turkish men living in Germany had created gay associations, they were intrinsically unable to live in the open as (white) German gay men due to their "Turkish mentality" (Kamphaus 1998). The articles in this series mirror the tone of most of the German gay press at the time, revealing a space primordially imagined and defined through whiteness. Anthropological in its approach, the magazine informed its reader about how "the Turks" apparently discussed and experienced their sexuality, drawing parallels with the normality imagined and framed by the white German gaze.

The tone was similar in most of the reports, articles, and columns published by the Berlin gay magazine *Siegessäule* in the 1980s and 1990s. Turkish(-German) and Kurdish(-German) experiences were discussed, but these reports were rarely penned by authors affected and concerned by the issues at hand, for example, with lived experiences of racism. Readers were certainly invited to meet Hakan, Yahyaa, or Cem and read their stories, inner conflicts, and double lives (Weihrauch 1993: 7). However, the power structures inherent in these articles were often centred on the analysis of a white author, and queer diasporas were discussed and presented as a parallel society within Germany. Furthermore, most of the pictorial representations of racialised men in these magazines were highly eroticised and exoticised. Scholars have shown how travel agencies targeting the readers of these magazines played with the fantasy of a lascivious Orient and the sensuality of the Levant, an assemblage of sexualisation, fetishisation, and exoticisation (Schaper et al. 2020). This eroticisation and orientalisation of racialised male bodies, for example, Arab bodies, links an intellectual history of Orientalism with campaigns by white queer men to act as "missionaries" and impose specifically European norms of queerness abroad, tying their sexual desires for racialised bodies to a political desire to save them from the premodern "other" (Assad 2007).

These instances of Orientalism were also present in other gay print media, primarily travel guides aimed at white men who wanted to discover the joys of "the Orient". One of the most popular gay guidebooks of the time, *Spartacus*, presented the southern shores of the Mediterranean as an exotic meeting place and playground for white tourists but warned of the terrible dangers that awaited white gay men. For example, the 1990-1991 entry for Morocco states: "It is becoming increasingly apparent that affluent Western tourists and their demands are not always welcome. Fundamental Islam has become noticeably more aggressive towards gays in recent years, no doubt due in some degree to prostitution, which is rigorously combatted. Morocco has become anything but a paradise for lovers of Arabian boys in recent years" (Stamford/Gmünder 1990: 532). The fact that white queer men travelling abroad were themselves searching for young sex workers seems to have escaped the authors. *Spartacus* also essentialised local cultures and sexual practices, often portraying local men as sexually naïve and needing to be protected from local mores and customs. The same edition explains thus: "[D]ue to the bisexual nature of Tunisien [sic] men, sexual relationships with foreigners tend to be of a very possessive and one-sided sort. Your Tunisian friend is likely to attach himself to you and will take a lot but give very little. Sex is totally for his pleasure; being Islamic, he will not likely want to touch an infidel" (Stamford/Gmünder 1990: 789). The entry for Turkey similarly reminds the readers: "[D]espite their bisexual tradition, [Turkish men] cannot understand or comprehend a 'gay' relationship" (Stamford / Gmünder 1990: 793). The extent of this white gaze was even more present in other travel guides. *Insider Travel* gave different grades to each country, one of which was their

degree of "solidarity". Of course, this solidarity was aimed at the white traveller seeking pleasure in the East and was not cognisant of the situation for local men. The 1999-2000 entry for Turkey had harsh words for the homophobia of hypocritical "fanatical Turks" supposedly impervious to the male eroticism of "their" baths (Risch 2000: 281).

These travelogues were associated with the presumed availability of younger racialised bodies and essentialised cultures abroad. In other words, German gay printed media conceptualised "the Orient" as a fantasy space stuck in traditions, a premodern place of ahistorical stagnation where modern white tourists could time travel and explore the past. Thus, European progress was conceptualised as the barometer of the present, of modernity. Outside the boundaries of the European present, other cultures were imagined as trying or failing to catch up with Europe. For example, one *Du&Ich* contributor described the Egyptian capital in September 1990 as a "magical" place. In a small account of his time on the Nile, the author waltzed between an exotic account of "the Orient" and a personal retelling of his encounter with a young sex worker named Ibrahim, abundantly making use of colonial tropes. Imagining himself as a lost explorer stranded far away from Europe, he warned of hawkeyed hotel receptionists on the lookout for modernity (Kiby 1990: 70-72).

This act of rescuing the exotic object of desire took many forms in the German gay press in the 1990s and was not necessarily a negative endeavour. It includes political demands to fight for gay men's rights internationally or calls to reform European asylum laws to allow men persecuted abroad to find refuge in Europe. Yet these laudable impulses are nonetheless rooted in racialised discourse equating whiteness with freedom: white freedoms (Stovall 2021: 11-13). First, they ignore the European responsibility for most homophobic practices in postcolonial countries, as many of the laws deemed "uncivilised" were put in place by colonial regimes "to civilise" the racialised other. Second, the act of rescuing the other from the past and bringing them into the European present is linked to two dynamics entangled in the interchangeable idea of whiteness and freedom in the German imaginary. It often includes the demand that the migrant destroys their sense of belonging to another culture (Haritaworn/Petzen 2011: 53) and involves possessing this "saved" other by German whiteness. These dynamics are particularly apparent in the gay press at the end of the period. Around the debates on reforming citizenship law in Germany at the turn of the millennium, articles in *Du&Ich* and *Siegessäule* published articles on the advocacy of bi-national couples living in Germany. Most men seeking a German homosexual partner were portrayed as seeking freedom in Germany but also almost always discussed, through the existence of their German partner, as a legal project for their white lovers. This portrayal can be found in some articles, for example, in *Du&Ich*, where two lovers were photographed embracing and discussing aspects of their bi-national relationship. One was black and the other white. Only the white man was named; his lover was referred to only as his unnamed "foreign" partner (Feldmann 1999: 8). Thus, saving the racialised other was possible, but bringing him into European modernity could also mean erasing his identity, effectively silencing him. The next section shows that travelling through time can also have disastrous consequences for gay migrants. Eroticised abroad but demonised in Germany, these men faced the same discrimination as other racialised men in West Germany. As I will explain, this also has to do with conceptions of time.

5 DEMONISED IN THE PRESENT

At the turn of the century, white German associations struggled to understand QBPoC realities beyond the idea of a passive victim or racialised violent masculinities (Petzen 2011). This attitude

would only intensify following 9/11, when Arabic, Kurdish, or Turkish men were demonised as inherently homophobic and were bound together through globalised notions of Islam (Spielhaus 2011). The "Turkish ghetto" became a "no-go area" for homosexual men; migrant neighbourhoods were heterosexualised (Epprecht 2008) in the white German imaginary, and Islam was seen as one of the main factors (Yildiz 2009; Petzen 2011; Çetin 2014). Activists infamously started organising political actions such as kiss-ins in front of mosques, trying to educate and correct the values of their Muslim neighbours, values that were supposedly different from those of white Germans (Haritaworn 2010: 76). More recently, prominent German queers started to dismiss structural racism and online dating apps (Shield 2019) by referring to their xenophobia as an act of self-protection (Reichert 2018). A series of highly debated pamphlets published by the Berlin publisher *Querverlag* did not hide its Islamophobia (Vukadinović 2018; Drücker 2020). The mix of the eroticism mentioned in the last section with this kind of fear and xenophobia would eventually lead to the coining of the term *homonationalism* in the North American context at the end of the decade before it timidly made its way to Germany (Yılmaz-Günay/Wolter 2018). I argue that by looking at the gay press of the 1990s, it is already possible to distinguish discursive similarities. Once again, this fear of the violent homophobic migrant can be linked to the queer community's conception of modernity.

In addition to interviews with young Turkish(-German) and Kurdish(-German) men, a 1993 issue of *Siegessäule* offered its readers many pieces about diasporic Turkish and Kurdish men living in Germany, about the so-called dangers of a parallel society. Many of these articles approached "foreign masculinities" in an essentialist manner (Weihrauch 1993: 7; Schmitt 1993: 9; Kleff 1993: 14). This approach was particularly the case in a special issue on Turkish(-German) sex workers (Pant et al. 1993: 16-17). Playing ethnologist, the authors interviewed men working on the street and concluded that Turkish(-German) sex workers were rarely queer themselves. Another piece explained that these men, prisoners of their own culture and Islam, did not even have the possibility to define their queerness (Pant et al. 1993: 16-17). This trope of the deceiving Turk as a possible threat to his customers is identifiable across the decade. It is especially detectable in discussions in the gay press surrounding Kutluğ Ataman's 1999 film *Lola und Bilidikid* (Ataman 1999). The film, a melodrama shedding light on Berlin's queer Turkish alternative scene, goes beyond defining clear identities for its protagonists and follows one main character who struggles to accept his sexuality. Instead, discussions surrounding the film in white spaces offered a voyeuristic erotic invitation to understand the struggles of the tragic queer migrant (Holz 1999: 16-17).

Memory also played a role in these processes of othering. In a 2019 article on the genealogy of whiteness in German queer history, Laurie Marhoefer demonstrates the link between race and the creation of modern homosexuality during the German Empire (1871-1918) and the Weimar Era (1918-1933), convincingly underlining the entanglements between the conceptualisation of non-normative sexualities and colonial discourse (Marhoefer 2019). Marhoefer is not the only one connecting colonialism with the work of men like Magnus Hirschfeld (Bauer 2017). According to Marhoefer, National Socialism was not the main reason for the coupling of homosexual thought and whiteness. Yet the memory of the persecutions of homosexualities by the national socialist regime is central to the perceived whiteness of the post-1945 homosexual.

Recent studies have shown how fear was a central emotion of gay and lesbian liberation in the FRG (Gammerl 2021). Its presence has been constant through queer memory politics since the

1970s. As mentioned, the importance of National Socialism for the establishment of a queer community in the FRG was almost equal to the constitutive aspects of victimhood for the legitimisation of civic and human rights in Germany. Through the 1980s and 1990s, homosexual collective memory (in Germany and the transatlantic world) was paired with the fear of a new calamity. This fear is noticeable in the writing of Jewish gay intellectuals in the transatlantic world (Kleinberg 1983: 35) or discussions in the gay press of governmental reactions to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, all pointing at the national socialist past as a point of reference (Anonymous 1986: 10-11). As discussed in the first part of this paper, the racialised "other" is perceived as a perpetual recent arrival and therefore conceptualised as a post-1945 addition to German society. An essentialist conception of non-western masculinities as inherently violent paired with any racialised masculinity deemed non-western excluded racialised queers from queerness and the legitimacy of political inclusion in the German liberal state (Mandel 2008; Yildiz/Rothberg 2011).

Furthermore, even white queer activists fighting against xenophobia at the beginning of the 1990s distinguished between foreigners and queerness. For example, a protester interviewed by *Siegessäule* during an antiracist demonstration in Berlin declared to the magazine that he was there to show solidarity: "[I]f the foreigners are gone, then the gays are next" (Anonymous 1992: 5). Apparently, being gay and "foreign" seemed mutually exclusive for some. On one side, these men were erased from the German queer past and on the other, they were part of a new threat, the early stages of the "homophobic migrant" trope. One of the editors of *Siegessäule* commented on immigration, double citizenship, and asylum at the start of the decade. Mirroring this fear of the migrant as a possible threat to homosexuals, he stated: "[G]iving the right to vote to those who want 'to preserve both their Turkish blood and the Muslim way of life pure' devalues civil rights. Women and gays, asylum seekers, and the left cannot expect anything good from them" (Schmitt 1993: 11).

As I have briefly discussed in this section, *homonationalist* assemblages identified in the 2000s can be traced in some of the portrayals of racialised men, queer or not, in queer printed media of the decades prior, such as gay magazines. In Germany, this is due to the link between queer temporalities and a violent past of injury, the significance of memory and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* for the construction of social movements, and the framing of migration as a form of geographical mobility detached from any form of temporal mobility, in which the migrant cannot transcend an imagined premodern stagnation by crossing geographical borders. So, how are we to analyse borders if we are to take all this into consideration? To conclude this paper, I build on the last four sections and discuss the importance of enlarging our conception of geographical borders and the significance of an analysis of temporalities.

6 CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I investigated how temporalities, memory, and a past of injury are important factors for the prominence of specific narratives of queerness in Germany and, eventually, on the international stage. Using queer history as an example, I investigated the link between multiple conceptions of time and progress narratives in queer political circles. With the help of German queer printed media, I thus examined discourse on temporality and how non-European queer bodies are represented in the Federal Republic of Germany. I was especially interested in the tension between the eroticisation of racialised queer bodies abroad as well as their portrayal as victims of "backward premodern regimes" and their simultaneous exclusion from "western" queer communities after they crossed geographical borders. As mentioned in the introduction, these exclusions

are at the core of real material consequences such as deportation, racial profiling, or the sentiment behind a populist anti-migrant rhetoric influencing the electorate. Observing the stickiness of perceived temporal regimes before, after, or without migration experiences, I have looked at how fear, a fundamental part of the queer political imaginary, was often used as to frame the discourse on migration.

By examining how queer political groups have outlined their struggles, I investigated how social movements have used parts of the liberal script to challenge exclusions from the national community and linked liberalism, national belonging, and alternative ways of living. I have looked at shifting boundaries and processes of integration into the liberal script emanating from contestations during the long post-war era, showing how their memory is constitutive for the present. I also demonstrated how these shifting boundaries resulted in new considerations about migration and national borders. From a social group seeking protection from the state to a collective seeking the protection of the state, this research illustrates how queer communities are *doing borders*, discussing mass migration as both a possible threat to their political gains and a necessary gesture, saving people outside of the liberal nation-state. Third, I showed how scholars could use queer history to look at the core tensions of identity formation, that is, how provincialising gay western identities helps us understand how categories of "the west" are imposed on the rest of the world, erasing other queer identities. All in all, this paper demonstrated how historical actors contesting the liberal script from within (using components of the plot) are also paradoxically opposing other aspects of liberalism, namely mass migration (Hampshire 2013: ch. 1). I also expanded the conception of borders beyond national borders, focusing on borders within imagined communities based on gender and sexuality. I have finally tried to map borders temporally.

Understanding the border temporally implies a confrontation with an apparent paradox; how can racialised men – refugees from "backward regimes" – be both eroticised objects of desire to be saved abroad and demonised objects of fear domestically? Introducing two new concepts, *homosynchronism* and the idea of the *temporal-memory border*, I have shown how this is not a paradox but the logical consequence of the liberal script's understanding of queerness and progress narratives. Following contestations in the long post-war era, the queer community has integrated the liberal script and even became the herald of some of its political rhetoric. In Germany, the queer community also became an indicator and factor of the reason of the state, learning from the past. This temporality, I argued, is linked to the fact that the national socialist regime persecuted queer individuals. Having survived a past that was the antipode of liberalism – fascism – the community's political gains and the FRG were framed as progressive and modern. Through binaries such as liberal/illiberal, here/there, and modern/non-modern, the community was then able to map the rest of the world according to its own past of persecution. This reliance on the past is noticeable in the importance of National Socialism for the queer communities in the Euro-American world, but also for framing non-European spaces as "not yet enlightened". I have called this understanding of the world along the lines of modernity and premodernity *homosynchronism*, as it also uses European liberalism and European's tragic continental history as a barometer for queerness and queer struggles across the world. Synchronised to conceptions of queerness that are not theirs, queer individuals across the world are perceived as in danger, to be saved, and framed in traditional coloniser perspectives: the erotic, magical, and sulphurous Orient.

Because the border is more than a geographical checkpoint, individuals with no direct experience of mobility are still framed as perpetual new

arrivals and representants of premodern spaces. As exterior agents beyond European time, they are not passive eroticised objects of desire but "temporal foreign bodies", dangers to the liberal script and, in this case, queerness. This potential threat is where understanding borders across temporal lines is essential to appreciate the intersectionality of race, queerness, and gender. Understanding the border beyond its geographical reality allows us to grasp how memory and conceptions of time play a role in constructing anti-migrant discourse using the liberal script. Moving across the geographical border or having the border stick to oneself through racialisation even without having crossed the border personally means that some bodies moving across borders are allowed to travel through time, and some are not. Contrary to an Iranian queer man, a white North American queer man immigrating to Germany is allowed to be queer, as his experience of queerness is framed along similar temporal and memorial components: a past of persecution that was contested and integrated into the liberal script.

Recognising these narratives does not imply that all non-Euro-American migrants are rejected from the queer community in Germany. Not only is Germany full of QBPoC associations and the scene of vibrant QBPoC life, but racialised queers are present in all aspects of the German queer community. However – and this was my *plaidoyer* with this paper – it is impossible to understand queer politics without considering the constitutive roles of collective memory, historical narratives, and conceptions of time. Once these factors are on the table, it is not enough to consider the border as a fixed geographical unit because the border is being done and redone in everyday life. What is more, some individuals are forced to carry its temporal and memorial effects on their shoulders perpetually.

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