

Revolt Press, Pornography, and the Development of Gay Markets in Sweden

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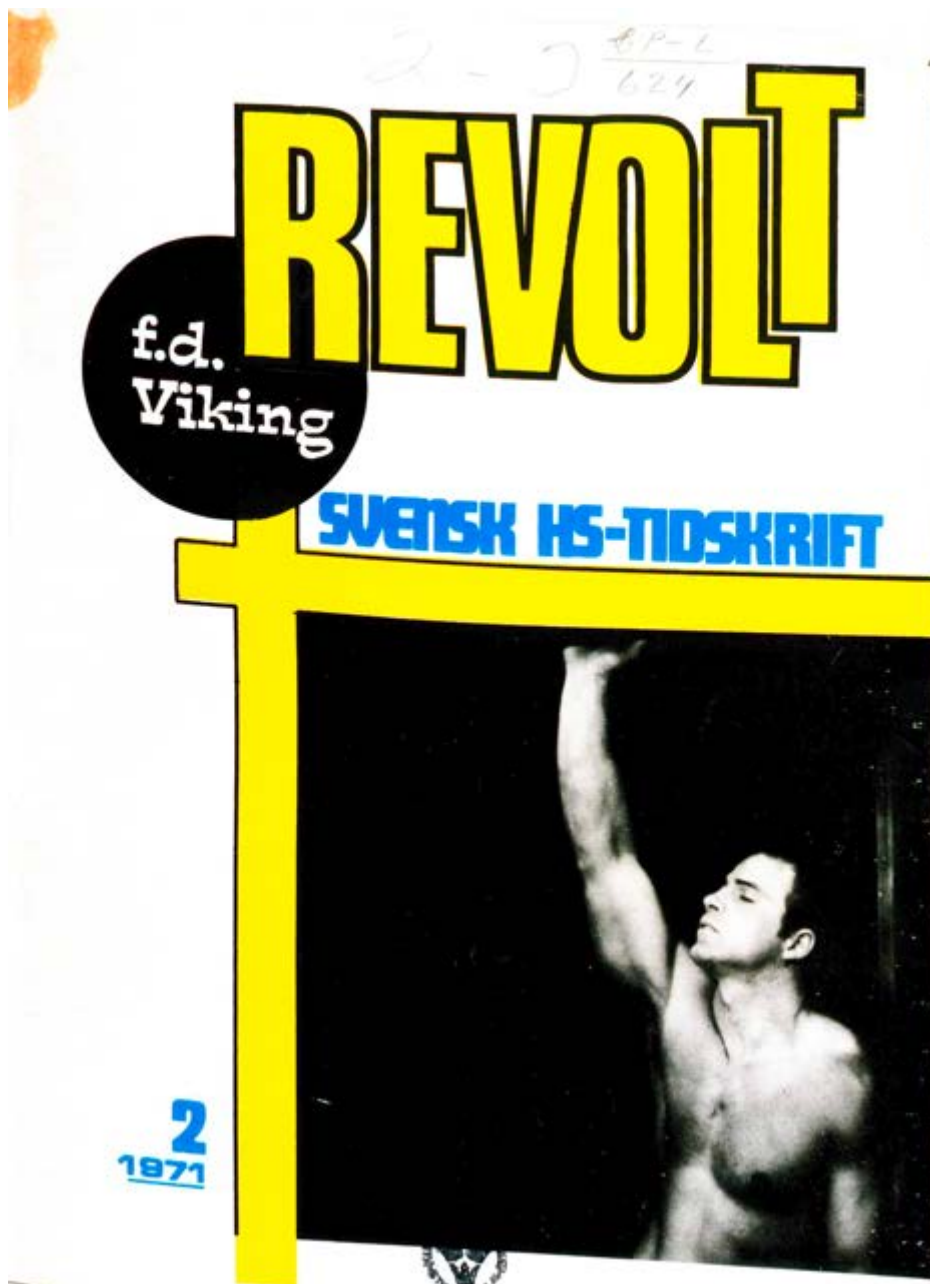
In a letter sent to Swedish tobacconists and newsagents in 1972, Revolt Press owners Michael Holm and Geurt Staal attempted to persuade shopkeepers to stock their publications because it would attract new demographics to their business:

Did you know that there are over 300,000 homosexuals and around 1 million bisexuals in Sweden alone? These people want to be informed. REVOLT provides this information. Revolt is Sweden's only magazine for homo- and bisexual men and women...If you include Revolt in your range and advertise it from the start, you will immediately attract new customers. Customers will not only buy Revolt, but other products too.¹

The letter gives a clue as to a shift in the development of queer publishing that extended beyond campaigning organizations towards the expansion of gay male culture that incorporated increasing awareness of international gay styles and consciousness. Sweden's reputation as a pioneer in the field of sexual rights was partly due to the success of organizations set up to campaign for education and equality: RFSU (est. 1933) focused on sex education and family planning, while RFSL (est. 1950) focused on sexual equality, particularly for homosexuals. The decriminalization of homosexual sex between adults in 1944 marks Sweden out as an early legal reformer in this respect. Sweden's large geography, meant that its homosexual populations were dispersed, while the social democratic construction of "folkhemmet" (people's home) was largely built around ideas of family life.² For many homosexuals across Sweden, Revolt publications were their first contact with gay life and, so the letter indicates, tobacconists and kiosk owners might be the first to take advantage of this significant market.

The influential magazine *Revolt: mot sexuella fördomar* (Revolt: against sexual prejudice) ran from 1969 (initially as *Viking*) to 1986 and included a mixture of politics and porn for the

Swedish domestic market. The magazine included serious articles on gay rights, cultural reportage, contact ads, erotic fiction and photographic pornography as well as ‘how to’ guides that might expand the sexual repertoires of its readers. It was primarily targeted at men but included occasional articles and photoshoots about lesbian issues. From their base in Åseda – a village on the edge of the “bible belt” in the South of Sweden, Holm and Staal developed an international business that took advantage of Sweden’s liberal laws that allowed the publishing of many types of pornography considered obscene in other countries.



An early issue of Revolt magazine, which indicates it was formerly known as Viking (1971)

Mirroring a general trend towards fringe market segmentation,³ Revolt also quickly started to produce more specialist magazines such as *Toy* (from 1973), and *Mr. SM* (from 1974), which were published in Swedish, German and English and catered to sadomasochists and fetishists across northern Europe. From 1971-1986, they published over 15 separate magazines for different niches.⁴ Revolt Press was known internationally as the publisher of Tom of Finland's *Kake Comics* during the 1970s. A number of magazines published by the press were targeted to paedophiles,⁵ as some sex-liberals saw paedophiles as a sexual minority equally deserving of sexual pleasure alongside groups like sadomasochists and fetishists.⁶ Dutchman Geurt Staal, who was the businessman in the operation, also imported pornographic films and sold a range of small items such as jock straps and lubricant via mail order under the name Revolt Produkt. They also established Revolt Shop in Hamburg - the first sex shop in Europe aimed at gay men, although this was quickly taken over and run by a local couple.⁷

This hive of commercial activity in the forests of Småland played a key role in the development of gay culture and rights in Sweden and Europe. As historians of sexuality have long argued,⁸ commercial ventures such as bars and magazines have been crucial for providing infrastructures that have enabled rights organizations to flourish. Most recently in his book *Buying Gay*, David K. Johnson has shown how American physique magazine entrepreneurs who were willing to fight court cases, but also maintain mailing lists and defend the interests of their clients, participated in important pre-Stonewall forms of activism.⁹

The taboo of combining sex and business was a common topic of discussion in social democratic Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s. Michael Holm lamented in an early issue, 'Why is the word "commercial" usually pronounced with a distinct disgust?'¹⁰ The explosion of Swedish pornography in the 1970s was sharply criticized by leftist feminist groups who sought limitations on what could be published on moral grounds,¹¹ which was partly seen as due to the dominance of men in the promotion of sex liberal ideas.¹²

As will become clear, the production of gay pornographic magazines must also be considered within a broader transnational context as the flows of images and ideas were informed by travel and trade across national borders. In this essay, I therefore examine how the gay pornographic press in Sweden was reliant upon pre-existing international networks – both to secure magazine

content, but also to have a basis for developing a Swedish idea of liberation for sexual minorities. This can be seen in the production of photographic pornography for a specifically Swedish market. Conversely, the privileged legal position of the Swedish pornographic press following the abandonment of practically all censorship for pornography in 1971 enabled Revolt to play an important role in the coherent development of European leather and sadomasochistic communities and business networks. The experience of buying and selling equipment that emerged in leather and fetish scenes also opened the way to new product markets, which were in turn opened to Swedish consumers. I will therefore focus on two main questions: How did Revolt Press develop gay economic markets in Sweden? How did these developments influence the sexual styles of gay men, both at home and abroad?

Revolt Pornography and European Networks of Gay Erotic Images

Revolt Press emerged as a result of encouragement and support from Axel and Eigil Axcil – the Danish gay rights activists and publishers who were key figures for Scandinavian homosexual rights movements.

In 1969, Michel Holm moved across the Öresund to Copenhagen where he started the magazine *Viking*, which was the second commercial homosexual periodical aimed at a Swedish market (The magazine *HOMO* had been published between 1966 and 1969).¹³ At this time, the only regular gay newsletter available in Swedish was *Följeslageren* published by RFSL. The editors of *Följeslageren* had been keen to use the publication as a ‘tool for tolerance and understanding’ that frequently focused on emphasizing respectability to a heterosexual majority.¹⁴ This included a refusal to publish contact announcements that included non-normative sexual practices such as sadomasochism and transvestism.¹⁵ To read and submit such ads, many RFSL members subscribed to the Axcils’ magazine *Vennen*, which included erotic photography alongside articles on gay politics and culture, making it an important model for Holm.

The decision by RFSL not to reference sexual practices outside of what might today be called ‘vanilla monogamy’ was a source of ire for sex liberals who had been influenced by Lars Ullerstam’s 1964 book *The Erotic Minorities* (De erotiska minoriteterna). The book, which was translated into nine languages, took an absolutist view on sexual freedom, arguing for the

removal of punishments for paedophilia, incest and exhibitionism, and for the relative harmlessness of sadism, masochism, voyeurism, transvestism and necrophilia.¹⁶ As a self-identified sex-liberal,¹⁷ Holm would attempt to create space within Revolt publications for the representation and discussion of the interests of such minority groups.

However, the logistics of sourcing enough editorial and visual content for a new Swedish magazine would have been a challenge. By initially locating the magazine in Copenhagen, Holm was able to tap into transnational networks of erotic photo studios with which the Axxgils had been closely involved. In the late 1960s, the process of publishing photographs in pornographic magazines consisted largely of selecting images from catalogues of producers within transnational systems. This is evident in the Danish magazines *Eos* (from 1958) and *Coq International* (from 1969), which included material shot by independent studios in Europe, North America and occasionally northern Africa. Such images were selected from catalogues and royalties were paid for their usage. However, pornographic images produced in one context would not necessarily retain their meaning in another, and one of the main tasks for Revolt Press was to interpret a wide range of sexual styles for a Swedish audience.

Domestication of Gay Pornography

While international collaboration was essential for *Revolt Magazine* to flourish, Holm and Staal did not have the financial means to locate the press in a major city such as Stockholm where international contacts may have been easier to come by.¹⁸ ‘A little red hut in the woods...deep in the forests of Småland’¹⁹ was announced as the new headquarters for the press in 1971. The magazine also changed its name from Viking to Revolt because when they tried to register the title with the Swedish Justice department, the name Viking had already been taken by a sailing magazine.²⁰ As the business grew, they relocated offices to the former glassworks at Åseda, a town whose name became known among gay men as the site of the foremost publishers of Swedish gay magazines.

While little changed for gay people in the town itself,²¹ the location of Revolt Press outside of major urban centres is significant because of its connection to provincial Swedish culture. In a 1978 article, Holm reflected on how after initially raising a few eyebrows, the magazine was tolerated by a town glad of the employment:

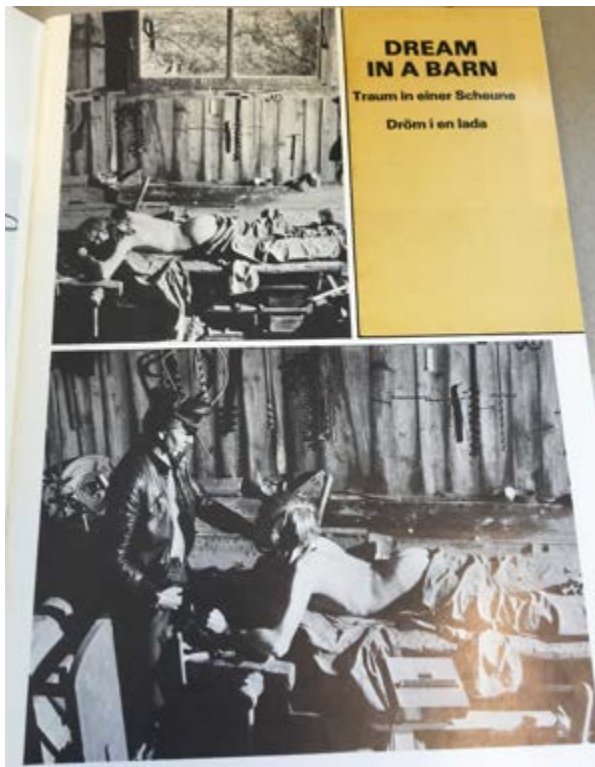
Nobody reacted negatively as far as we know. In the time we worked with Revolt the town has been run by both social democratic and conservative parties. All parties have been equally supportive of the company and have helped to secure good conditions for our work. The Evangelical churches have been more cautious, but even among the Baptists there are some who greet us as normal in the street. You can therefore be gay and have a great life in a small Swedish town. Sometimes you can even be positively surprised, like the doctor who was happy to have Revolt in the waiting room. “It’s Åseda’s only magazine, and it’s no worse than Playboy, is it?”²²

However, the ideological motivations for printing pornography in Åseda had little in common with the kinds of lifestyle promoted at the playboy mansion. There are several possible reasons for naming their company *Revolt*, yet Holm and Staal’s engagement with the Swedish sex-liberal discourse of the 1960s means it is likely that they were familiar with the concept of Revoltpornografi. This references the controversial 1965 ‘sex issue’ of the Swedish cultural magazine *Ord och Bild*.²³ In his article ‘Pop and Pornography,’ Lars Bjurman proposed a distinction between a passive or narcotic ‘medhårspornografi’ (frictionless pornography) and Revoltpornografi, which he describes in the following way:

Revolt pornography is defined by its being outside of, and in principle, against society. It is therefore anarchistic rather than revolutionary, and the term includes the notion that its social threat is individuated. ..Its function is to be sharply morally offensive in any given society. It follows that society can disarm it through allowing its publication. However, this can’t happen without society itself being altered, and that is the point. Whether it intends to or not, revolt pornography works for sexual liberation [*sexuell frigörelse*], which frictionless pornography, even in the best case, stalls.²⁴

A functional Revolt pornography would not have been possible by simply reproducing images from international networks and Danish porn catalogues. Much of the imported photography included rent boys and styles of photography that failed to communicate an image of sexual liberation. By producing their own erotic photography, the press could lower costs while producing images that could relate more closely to the experience of Swedish homosexuals.

A case in point is the pornographic photo-story 'Dream in a Barn,' published in *Mister SM*, although similar stories were featured in *Revolt*. The story is simple – a boy lies on a work bench in a barn. Behind him are some tools – augers for excavating holes for fence posts that don't quite speak to the magazine's macho title. In the second photo, a man arrives in a leather jacket and Muir cap. The barn looks like a typical shed at a Swedish *landställe*, or country cabin. There is a sense that some friends have dressed up to play the part after a midsummer feast. Even in black and white, it is possible to tell that the leather is poor quality. Two more young men arrive in cheap leather, and a minor orgy is staged for the camera. Despite the promises of the magazine's title, the sex is quite vanilla and the result is rather endearing.



'Dream in a Barn' photostory, featured in Mr SM no.9, 1974

Peter Appelqvist, the magazine's editor who also undertook much of *Revolt*'s design work frequently invited young men from across Sweden, and also from Hamburg for photoshoots.²⁵ In this particular example, the inclusion of leather iconography associated with the image of the American gay outlaw is brought into a Swedish setting. But what is at stake in the introduction of leathersex that is legible as specifically Swedish?

The integration of pornographic imagery within notions of everyday life in Sweden, and particularly the Swedish countryside could provoke curiosity and amusement. Most infamously, the heterosexual film *Come and Blow the Horn* (*Fäbodjäsentan*, dir. Joseph W. Sarno, 1978) features the use of a Falukorv (a traditional Swedish sausage) as a dildo in the Swedish national heartland of Dalarna.

A number of scholars have drawn attention to efforts made by pornographers to make gay pornography legible along national lines. This has the effect both of distinguishing a locally made product from an international gay visual style that became particularly prominent by the 1980s,²⁶ and of locating gay desire within a national idea.²⁷

In *Dream in a Barn*, not only is male-male sex made visible in a demonstrably Swedish space, but American leather culture is made Swedish. While leather fetishism has a European history that goes back at least until the 1920s, the individuals in this shoot are styled as American leather men – particularly evident through the presence of the Muir leather cap. Swedishness is frequently announced through the material setting of place rather than specific references to the nation. In this sense, the tools, and the feel of wood in the barn re-locate exotic sexual styles for a national audience. Following the importation of a gay pornographic narrative to daily life that is common to most pornography,²⁸ *Revolt* played a key role in enabling Swedish gay men to see themselves engaging with a range of gay styles.

Holm's diverse international contacts in leather and fetish communities provided some of the mechanisms to introduce US leather culture to a Swedish context. The earliest article to cover SM in *Revolt* was called 'It's nice...when it hurts,' (1971). The article ends with a note that expresses the small and informal nature of infrastructure at that time:

Revolt's editorial staff will gladly help readers who are interested in S/M, rubber, leather, chains etc. to get in contact with companies who have the right paraphernalia for satisfying games. Just write what YOU want.²⁹

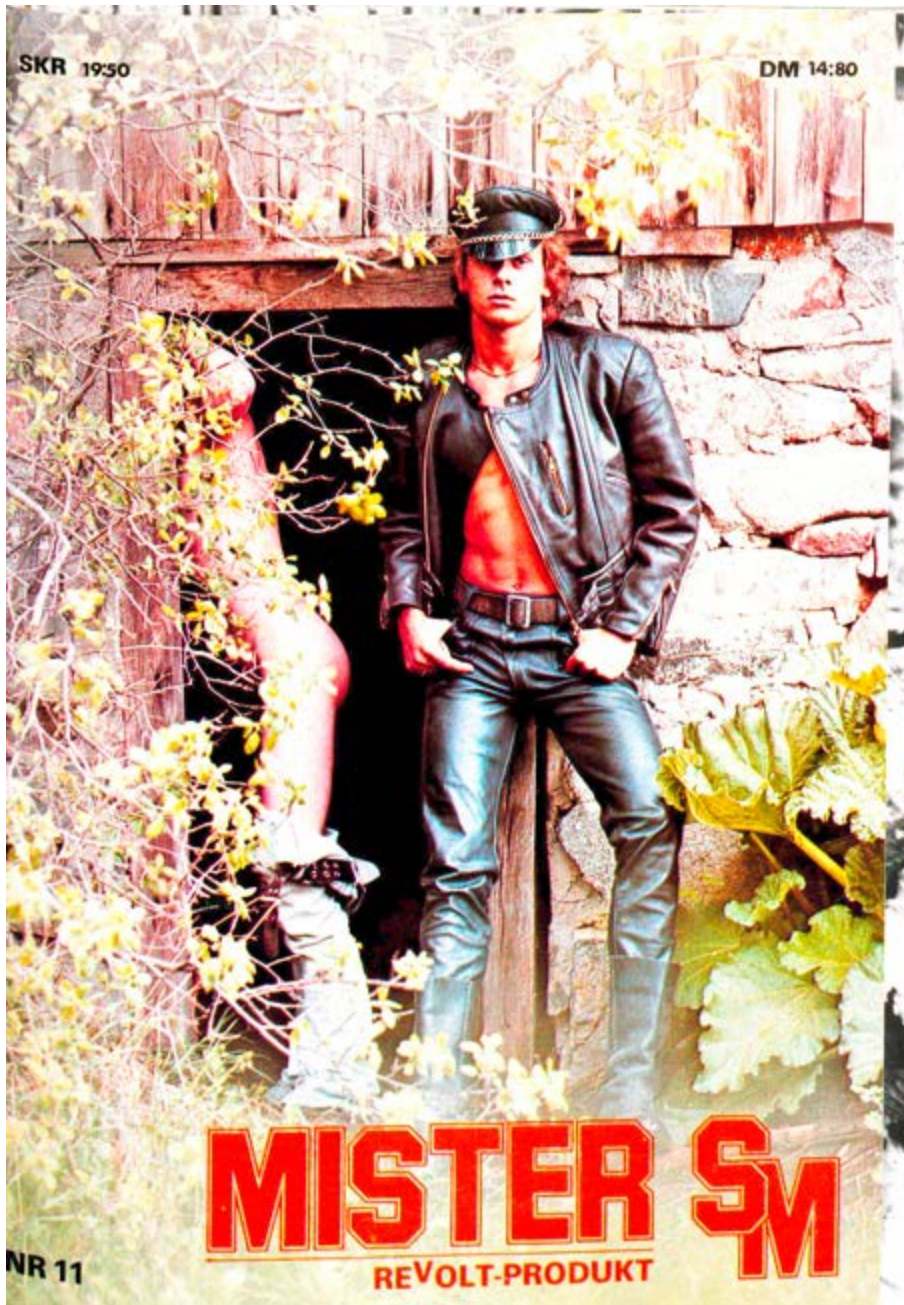
The informal nature of networks at this time meant that personal correspondence was an important way for Swedes to become involved in such networks, but it was also part of Holm's mission to get Swedish men into kink by popularizing it to a broader section of gay society.

Holm frequently provided free advertising space to leather clubs³⁰ and actively attempted to support the scene.

The domestication of different styles of pornography – but in particular leather and fetish - was therefore coupled with attempts to support clubs and businesses to provide infrastructure for alternative types of gay identity and sexual styles.

SM and Fetish Pornography

Swedish language *Revolt magazine* would have been impossible to finance without the revenue generated from publishing pornography marketed to specific niches abroad, in particular, the larger West German market.³¹ Revolt Press produced two magazines aimed at the leather and fetish market in West Germany, the UK and Northern Europe in general. *Toy* focused on Leather, Rubber and Uniforms and ‘STUDS with dynamite cocks.’ The magazine was the closest European equivalent of the American *Drummer* magazine aimed at US leathermen. *Mister SM*, on the other hand could not be legally distributed in West Germany. As Holm explained to a reader frustrated by the lack of articles in German that ‘German gay magazines cannot write about s/m or accept s/m ads due to the censorship there.’³²



Leather in the Swedish countryside features on this cover of Mister SM from 1975

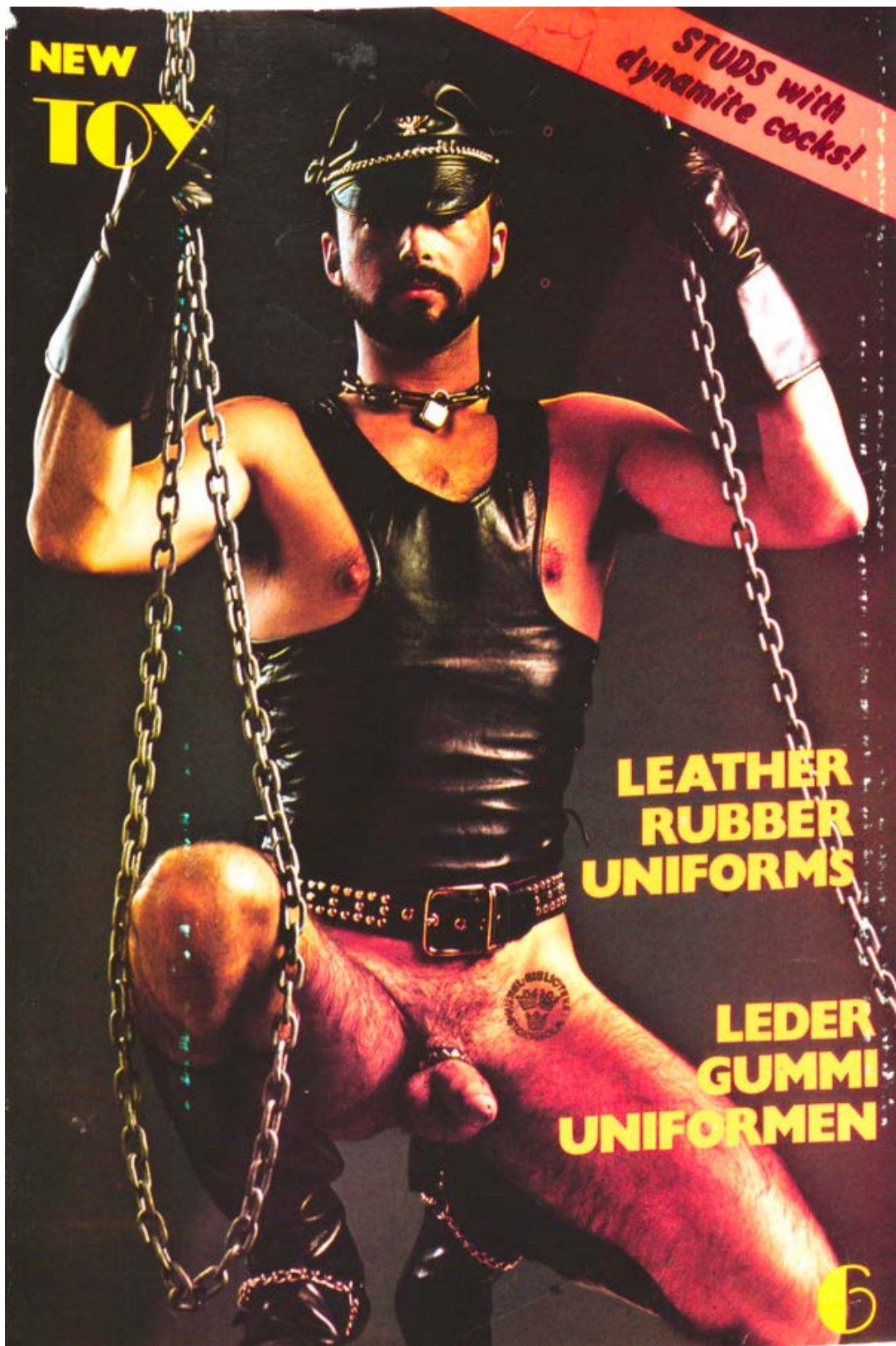
One of the logistical challenges for Revolt Press was therefore the question of how to smuggle such magazines from Sweden to West Germany. According to Jon Voss:

They had a German transgender woman who packed it into huge suitcases... She took the bags on the boat from Trelleborg to Sassnitz, drove through East Germany and into Berlin and distributed it to the shops there.³³

Such stories are difficult to corroborate and leave open many questions, such as how did East German customs officers react – did they not intervene because the final destination was West Berlin? Was bribery involved? Furthermore, along with other Swedish pornographers during the 1970s, Revolt produced pedophile magazines which, like *Mr. SM* were legal in Sweden but not in West Germany.

Part of the role of *Mr. SM* and *Toy* was to publish material about sexual interests not deemed profitable elsewhere in Europe. Containing a mixture of erotic fiction, pornographic photo stories, a lively letters page and contact announcements for men in Europe (and a few in North America), *Mr. SM* was a more specialist magazine that solicited content from its readers that would highlight various sexual practices as well as zones of controversy within the scene. *Toy* and *Mr. SM* also promoted various social and correspondence clubs which could be joined by writing to Revolt in Åseda. These included organizations such as Scat Club Europe, Rubber Men's Club and SCAB – the Society for Cruelty and Brutality.

Crucially, the networks of business contacts that developed through running a magazine like *Mr SM* and *Toy* were a precursor to more mainstream developments in a gay consumer culture. Regular advertisers included Walters Leder Boutique in Munich, RoB in Amsterdam, the British company KCS who imported leather Muir Caps, and Stig Wollbrecht who ran a small leather business in Gothenburg (though he was renowned for bad quality and using thin leather to wrap plastic). Later issues included both adverts and content produced by Jim Stewart who ran Fetters, the world-renowned bondage gear producer in London.³⁴ *Toy* included similar advertisements, but its larger circulation meant that it also attracted advertisements from US firms offering mail order such as The Trading Post in San Francisco or R.F.M. based in Los Angeles.



Toy magazine could be legally sold in Germany due to the absence of sadomasochism and focus on leather, rubber and uniform fetish. This issue from 1977 was published as a part of a relaunch that focused more clearly on fetish markets.

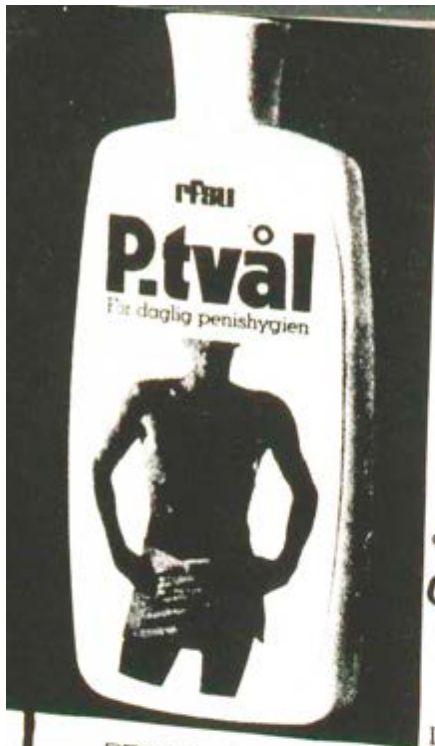
Toy and *Mr. SM* therefore played an important role in giving coherence to the European leather and fetish scenes. Part of this process related to the promotion of businesses who could produce and source appropriate equipment for such activities.

Revolt and the Product Market in Sweden

The market for clothing, lube, condoms, bondage devices and novelty objects expanded greatly in the US and Northern Europe throughout the 1970s, and Sweden was no exception. However, the reception of such products in Sweden was greatly influenced by the long history of education in sexuality. Concerns relating to the arrival of more sexual products can be seen in the development of new product ranges by RFSU (Swedish Association for Sexuality Education), who had actively campaigned for abortion rights, availability of contraception and sex education in schools since 1933. The marketing of RFSU products speaks to some of the idiosyncrasies of the Swedish market for sex items in the early 1970s, which was split between sex shops known for low quality products, and RFSU products such as contraceptive devices and sex aids which were thought to be of high quality, but lacked sex appeal due to plain packaging and functional design. In the 1970s, RFSU also increased its provision by expanding into clothes and attempting to attract a younger demographic to its products through 'Flowers and Bees' shops. A 1972 article in the cultural magazine *Ord och Bild* included an interview with RFSU's director who explained:

Our customer base consisted mainly of older women buying compression stockings and steady middle-aged family men who bought safe RFSU condoms. You never saw young people in our stores. To get closer to the 15-25 target group we decided to place less emphasis on safety as a selling point and to imbue the products with a spark of excitement.³⁵

The development of gay product markets by *Revolt Press* must therefore be understood in the broader context of what was happening in Sweden which was slowly transforming into a more consumer-oriented society.



hygien är viktigt

*** för din hälsa
*** för din
självssäkerhet

OCH TRO OSS,
din partner
uppskatter det...

Du använder väl

RFSU:s

P. TVÅL

för daglig penishygien?
Du kan köpa den från oss,
en flaska kostar 7 kr.

Om vi skall sända den
per postförskott kostar den 8:50

*
Diskret förpackning,
ingen avsändare!

ab
k.n. press

BOX 91
260 20 TECKOMATORP

Postgiro: 6388 15-1

är det motigt?

SKAVER DET?
PRÖVA ETT BÄTTRE GLID!



rfsu-GELÉ

är perfekt som glid-creme.
Pris 7 kr per tub (sant som
postförskott 8:50)

Full-page postorder advertisement for Penis soap and "Gelé" lubricant. (I will get a better scan!), in *Revolt mot sexuella fördomar* 1971/2 . The main text reads: "Hygiene is important...for your health, for your safety. And believe us, your partner will value it."

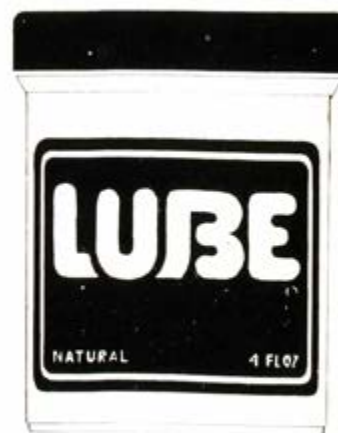
The products sold through Revolt Post Order provide a clue as to the development of a consumer gay market in Sweden. “Is it sore?”(är det motigt?) asks a back page advert on an early issue of Revolt. The advert, for an RFSU-gelé, a lubricant produced by the Swedish Association for Sexuality Education appears in plain, medicinal looking packaging. The advert was accompanied by an announcement for ‘P.soap: for daily penis hygiene’ (P.tvål för daglig penishygien), and promised that ‘your partner will value it.’ The objects in this advertisement came from the category of health items which fit with RFSU’s designation as an organization focused on health, education and safety. The pairing of lube with a hygiene product seems to emphasize its functionality - while the lack of a specific product for gay men implies an unintended, secondary use. The RFSU products sit awkwardly within the magazine’s broader visual mission in legitimizing desire among its readership.

It is only in 1979 when an advert for a lubricant aimed at the gay market appears in the *Revolt magazine* – many years after products from leather and fetish suppliers were sold by post order. ‘Revolt Press introduces a new lubricant that is made by gays for gays,’ proclaimed the announcement. In the meantime, the magazine’s circulation had grown significantly due to the inclusion in 1977 of *Revolt* in the national newspaper distribution system run by *Pressbyrå*.³⁶ This meant that newsagents would be required to stock *Revolt* if they wanted to carry other magazines,³⁷ thus ensuring the magazine’s availability outside of urban centres.

Made from vegetable oil, LUBE promised to be ‘scentless, tasteless and water soluble.’ Possibly imported from the US, this appears to be the first example of a mail order lubricant for gay men in the Nordic countries (it was also distributed to Norway and Finland.) The wide shape of the pot makes it easier to scoop up lube, which is of use when fisting a partner. Being scentless and tasteless contrasts with general cultural understandings of the anus as an abject organ,³⁸ while the jar itself displays one word: ‘natural.’

NY SKÖN GLIDSALVA

Revolt Press introducerar en ny glidsalva,
som är gjord för bögar - av bögar.
Glidsalvan heter LUBE (loob) och är en 100-procentig
vegetabilisk produkt, vars bas är vegetabilisk olja.
Salvan är smaklös, luktar inte och är vattenlöslig.
Fläckar tas lätt bort med tvål och vatten.
LUBE säljs i burk om 4 OZ (113,4 g)
och kostar skr 40:- dkr/nkr 50:- fmk 36:-



REVOLT PRESS AB, Box 4, 360 70 Åseda. ORDERTEL 0474/114 77

Porto och expeditionsavgift skr 5:- dkr/nkr 6:- fmk 4:- tillkommer.
För postförskott (endast inom Sverige) tillkommer skr 5:-

Advertisement for lube featured in *Revolt mot sexuella fördomar* 1980/1- The text reads: NICE NEW LUBRICANT: Revolt press introduces a new lubricant made by gays for gays. The lubricant is called LUBE and is a 100 percent vegetable-based product, based on vegetable oil. It is tasteless, odourless and water-soluble. Flecks can be removed with soap and water. LUBE is sold in 4oz jars (113,4 g) and costs 40 SEK/DEK, 50 NOK, 36 FIM.

The move from distributing RFSU's products to the promotion of a lubricant specifically for the gay market is a small clue as to how homosexual markets in Sweden developed during the 1970s to enable new styles of consumption based on gay styles. The imported lube – specifically designed for 'natural' anal sex and fisting - overcomes the wretchedness of an object like RFSU gelé that must be employed for a secondary purpose.

On the one hand, this simply mirrors the emergence of a gay product market in the West. However, in promoting gay interests through marketing products alongside politics and pornography, Revolt Press drew on a wide range of cultural practices to introduce alternative sexual styles to a broad Swedish readership. While the identification of emerging subjectivities among gay men in Sweden during the 1970s and 1980s is well known,³⁹ the role of commercial print pornography in introducing and promoting new gay styles as part of gay popular culture in print has been underestimated.

Conclusion

The success of Revolt Press ultimately lay in its strategies of engaging Swedish print culture in international networks and fostering inclusive discussions, however bounded by the implications of a sex-liberal approach and their overwhelmingly male subscription base. In showing and promoting a plurality of ways of being, Holm and Staal played a key role in balancing the pursuit of the interests of sexual minorities and sub-cultures to connect business and politics that provided a foundation for modern gay culture in Sweden. The ambition of including a range of editorial and political opinions (as long as they were not deemed too puritanical) shows a clear attempt to produce a magazine that would reflect a sex-liberal culture and foster forms of free speech among Swedish homosexuals. In a 1985 article, Holm remembered how, ‘Sex liberalism was part of a broader anti-authoritarian political movement. We believed (and believe) in people’s ability to develop their sexuality in their own way.’⁴⁰

The sale of new products marked the introduction of more confident sexual identities and initiated a shift towards a greater focus on culture and lifestyle in Swedish gay publishing. For the next generation of Swedish gay publishers such as Jon Voss and Dodo Parikas (whose first publishing venture *Magasin Gay* ran from 1983-1984 with support of Revolt Press), it was pop culture rather than pornography that was to be the hook for gay cultural expression. Increasingly, pornographic and pop culture content was segregated as gay and queer identities became stronger and less defined by sexual behavior.

Don Kulick has argued that Sweden’s reputation as a sexually liberal country was gradually eroded from the late 1980s whereby conceptions of “good sex” rejected the combination sex and commerce in particular settings.⁴¹ The forced closure of gay bathhouses in the wake of HIV/AIDS in 1987 was followed by a number of laws enacted following the adoption of feminist policies by parties across the political spectrum that were geared towards the regulation of sex and pornography.⁴² A 1991 law forbade the production and consumption of pornography considered “violent” (including depictions of sadomasochistic sex and fisting), and the law 1999 law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services (1999) show that Holm and Staal’s vision of a sex-liberal Sweden was comprehensively defeated.

Yet, Holm and Staal's explorative approach to markets and styles in the early years of the post-Stonewall era was crucial for men in Sweden and Europe to discover a range of attitudes towards sex, sexual politics and gay culture. Their legacy, in using magazines to represent minority sexual interests with the intention of making them intelligible, if not necessarily accepted, should be seen as an important contribution to the historic development of gay men's sexual styles in Europe.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Jon Voss, Robert Sandström and Johan Falk, all of whom took the time to tell me about their experiences of working with Revolt Press.

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¹ Letter from Geurt Staal sent to Swedish tobacconists in November 1972, "Revolt Press AB samling av trycksaker," National Library of Sweden, Stockholm. This and all other translations by the author.

² See Martin Andreasson (ed.) *Homo i Folkhemmet: Homo och bisexuella i Sverige 1950-2000* (Anamma: Göteborg, 2000), also

³ David K. Johnson, *Buying Gay : How Physique Entrepreneurs Sparked a Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019) p.xii

⁴ Other titles listed in the National Library of Sweden Database include *Magasin Gay*, *Hot*, *Man-to-man* and *Killen*.

⁵ These included the titles *Hokon* (1972), *Miniboys* (1974), *Chicken* (1973-79), *Bambino* (1974), and *Teenangels* (1975-1983). Klara Arnberg makes the point that some of these had additional German titles, where it was not legal to sell or distribute child pornography. Arnberg, Klara. *Motsättningarnas Marknad : Den Pornografiska Pressens Kommersiella Genombrott Och Regleringen Av Pornografi I Sverige 1950-1980*. 2010. PhD thesis, Umeå University, 2010. p.264.

⁶ Holm penned a number of articles in defense of pedophiles and child pornography during the 1970s, but according to those interviewed for this essay, this haunted him later in life. See Hanna Bertilsdotter- Rosqvist, "Desiring Difference, Desiring Similarity: Narratives on Sexual Interaction between Boys and Men in the Swedish Homosexual Press 1954–1986." *Sexualities*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2012, pp. 117–138. On the relationship between legislation and the commercialization of child pornography in Europe, see Tate, Tim. *Child Pornography: An Investigation*. London: Methuen, 1990.

⁷ See Bernhard Rosenkranz and Gottfried Lorenz, *Hamburg auf anderen Wegen: Die Geschichte des Schwulen Lebens in der Hansestadt* (Hamburg: Lambda-Ed, 2006), pp. 177-181

⁸ D'Emilio, John, 1993. 'Capitalism and Gay Identity.' in Abelove, Henry, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin. *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*. 1993 pp.467-476, Escoffier, Jeffrey. *American Homo* :

Community and Perversity. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Amy Gluckman, and Betsy Reed. *Homo Economics : Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*. Routledge, 1997

⁹ See Johnson, *Buying Gay*.

¹⁰ Michael Holm, 'Käre Vän och Läsare' *Revolt* 1971/2, pp.1-3

¹¹ See Petra Östergren, Porr, Horor Och Feminister, (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2006)

¹² Don Kulick,. "FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND SWEDISH PERVERTS." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2005, pp. 205–235. (p.211)

¹³ Hanna Bertilsdotter Rosqvist. "Bad Sex, Good Love Homonormativity in the Swedish Gay Press, 1969–86." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2016, pp. 33–54. (p38)

¹⁴ Wasniowski, Andréaz. *Den Korrekta Avvikelsen : Vetenskapsanvändning, Normalitetssträvan Och Exkluderande Praktiker Hos RFSL, 1950-1970*. Holzweg, 2007, pp.184-186

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Lena Lennerhed, "Frihet Att Njuta : Sexualdebatten i Sverige På 1960-Talet" PhD Thesis, Stockholm Univerisy, 1994.p.153

¹⁷ Michael Holm, 'Flumliberaler tankar' *Revolt mot sexueller fördomar, 1985/5*, pp.7-10

¹⁸ Interview with Robert Sandström, May 2020

¹⁹ Michael Holm, "En röd liten stuga i skogen," *Revolt mot sexuella fördomer* 10/1971, p.2

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Interview with Robert Sandstöm, May 2020. (Add smålands post article)

²² Micharl Holm, 'Bög i Åseda,' *Revolt mot sexuella fördomar* 1978/9, p.6

²³ Arnberg (p.163) and Lennerhed (p.196) both draw attention to this article, but the connection between Bjurman's 'revolt pornography' and the name of Revolt press is not made.

²⁴ Lars Bjurman, 'Pop och pornografi,' *Ord och Bild*, 1965/3

²⁵ Interview with Johan Falk, May 2020.

²⁶ Peter Rehberg, "'Männer Wie Du Und Ich': Gay Magazines from the National to the Transnational." *German History*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2016, pp. 468–485.

²⁷ Dan Healey, "Active, Passive, and Russian: The National Idea in Gay Men's Pornography." *Russian Review*, vol. 69, no. 2, 2010, pp. 210–230.

²⁸ Ibid., (p.147)

²⁹ Michael Holm, 'Det är skönt...när det svider: Litet om sadomasochism' *Revolt mot sexuella fördomar* 1971/4 pp.16-18 (p.18)

³⁰ Interview with Johan Falk

³¹ This was mentioned in interviews with Jon Voss, Robert Sandström and Johan Falk.

³² Readers Letters, *Mr SM* no. 25 (1980), p.15.

³³ Interview with Jon Voss

³⁴ See Tom Cubbin, 'Fetters and the Cultural Origins of some Bondage Objects,' *Journal of Homosexuality*, Forthcoming.

³⁵ Lotte Möller, "Från frihetsrörelse till varuhus i sex," *Ord och bild*, 1972, 3, pp.95-106

³⁶ Michel Holm, 'Sex är alltid bra' *Revolt mot sexuella fördomer, 1977/6*, p.1

³⁷ Arnberg

³⁸ Tomasso Milani, 'Is the rectum a goldmine?' in *Queering masculinities in language and culture* ed. Paul Baker and Giuseppe Balirano (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

³⁹ See Bertilsdottir-Rosqvist, "Att Berätta Bögberättelser"

⁴⁰ Holm, Flumliberala Tanker

⁴¹ Don Kulick, "Four Hundred Thousand Perverts." *GLQ: a Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2005, pp. 205-235

⁴² Kulick argues that the "sex wars" that took place among US feminists were largely absent from the Swedish discourse. Instead, as "feminism" came to be promoted within the political system during the 1970s, markers of "good sex" as promoted by organizations like RFSU came to be used as a guide for legislation against activities such as pornography, prostitution and erotic dancing. *Ibid.*, pp.211-212.