

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records
Subgroup/Office of Origin: Council of Economic Advisers
Series/Staff Member: Robert Schoeni
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 21167
FolderID:

Folder Title:
Gays in the Military

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
S	21	3	3	1

No. 593. Armed Forces Personnel—Summary of Major Conflicts

[For Revolutionary War, number of personnel serving not known, but estimates range from 184,000 to 250,000; for War of 1812, 286,730 served; for Mexican War, 78,718 served. Dates of the major conflicts may differ from those specified in various laws providing benefits for veterans]

Item	Unit	Civil War ¹	Spanish-American War	World War I	World War II	Korean conflict	Vietnam conflict
Personnel serving ²	1,000	2,213	307	4,735	16,113	5,720	8,744
Average duration of service	Months	20	8	12	33	19	23
Service abroad: Personnel serving	Percent	(NA)	29	53	73	56	(NA)
Average duration ³	Months	(NA)	1.5	6	16	13	(NA)
Casualties: Battle deaths ⁴	1,000	140	(Z)	53	292	34	1047
Wounds not mortal ⁵	1,000	282	2	204	671	103	153
Draftees: Classified	1,000	777	(X)	24,234	36,677	9,123	5,717
Examined	1,000	522	(X)	3,764	17,955	3,685	8,611
Rejected	1,000	160	(X)	803	6,420	1,189	3,880
Inducted	1,000	46	(X)	2,820	10,022	1,560	1,759

NA Not available. X Not applicable. Z Fewer than 500. ¹ Union forces only. Estimates of the number serving in Confederate forces range from 600,000 to 1.5 million. ² Source: U.S. Department of Defense, *Selected Manpower Statistics*, annual. ³ Covers Dec. 1, 1941, to Dec. 31, 1946. ⁴ Covers June 25, 1950, to July 27, 1953. ⁵ Covers Aug. 4, 1964, to Jan. 27, 1973. ⁶ Army and Marines only. ⁷ Excludes Navy. Covers July 1950 through Jan. 1955. Far East area only. ⁸ During hostilities only. ⁹ For periods covered, see footnotes 3, 4, and 5. ¹⁰ Covers Jan. 1, 1961, to Jan. 27, 1973. Includes known military service personnel who have died from combat related wounds.

Source: Except as noted, the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, Vol. I, 1956; and U.S. Dept. of Defense, unpublished data.

No. 594. Enlisted Military Personnel Accessions: 1990 to 1997

[In thousands (461.1 represents 461,100). For years ending Sept. 30]

Branch of service	1990	1995	1996	1997	Branch of service	1990	1995	1996	1997
Total	461.1	357.3	367.6	380.1	First enlistments	62.1	36.4	39.2	43.7
First enlistments	216.4	160.0	174.6	184.6	Reenlistments	58.6	41.4	40.6	41.6
Reenlistments	237.0	180.8	181.0	187.4	Marine Corps	47.7	46.7	48.7	50.0
Reserves to active duty	15.6	16.6	12.0	8.1	First enlistments	32.9	34.4	34.5	35.1
Army	181.7	135.9	146.0	162.3	Reenlistments	14.4	11.9	0.4	14.7
First enlistments	84.8	57.7	69.7	75.3	Air Force	104.4	81.3	81.6	74.5
Reenlistments	96.5	77.7	76.2	87.0	First enlistments	36.6	31.4	31.2	30.5
Navy	135.3	93.4	91.3	93.3	Reenlistments	67.5	49.7	50.3	44.0

Source: U.S. Dept. of Defense, *Selected Manpower Statistics*, annual.

No. 595. Military Personnel on Active Duty: 1990 to 1997

[In thousands (\$2,043.7 represents \$2,043,700). As of Sept. 30]

Rank/grade	1990	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Total ¹	2,043.7	1,807.2	1,705.1	1,610.5	1,518.2	1,471.7	1,438.6
Recruit—E-1	97.6	83.2	75.4	73.3	63.4	69.3	74.1
Private—E-2	140.3	110.9	114.1	108.2	99.7	99.0	100.8
Pvt. 1st class—E-3	280.1	233.5	214.6	208.4	197.1	200.4	196.0
Corporal—E-4	427.8	383.5	352.2	322.2	317.2	283.8	264.8
Sergeant—E-5	361.5	305.1	295.6	281.0	261.4	254.8	250.6
Staff Sgt.—E-6	239.1	227.4	214.6	198.1	180.5	172.6	169.6
Sgt. 1st class—E-7	134.1	130.5	124.7	119.7	109.3	107.7	104.7
Master Sgt.—E-8	38.0	33.2	31.6	29.9	28.8	28.8	27.6
Sgt. Major—E-9	15.3	13.5	12.8	12.1	11.1	10.7	10.8
Warrant Officer—W-1	3.2	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.0
Chief Warrant—W-4	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.0	1.9
2d Lt.—O-1	31.9	25.8	25.0	24.8	25.6	25.2	24.8
1st Lt.—O-2	37.9	33.5	29.7	27.3	26.1	25.8	25.5
Captain—O-3	106.6	100.2	93.0	89.2	84.3	81.0	78.3
Major—O-4	53.2	50.4	48.0	44.8	43.9	43.9	43.1
Lt. Colonel—O-5	32.3	30.9	29.5	29.0	28.7	28.2	28.0
Colonel—O-6	14.0	13.2	12.5	12.2	11.7	11.6	11.4
Brig. General—O-7	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4
Major General—O-8	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Lt. General—O-9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
General—O-10	(Z)	(Z)	(Z)	(Z)	(Z)	(Z)	(Z)

Z Fewer than 50. ¹ Includes cadets and midshipmen and warrant officers, W-2 and W-3.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Defense, *Selected Manpower Statistics*, annual, and Office of the Comptroller, unpublished data.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{WW II} - \\ \text{gays} &= \frac{0.137}{0.1737} \times 390,771 \\ &= \frac{(.727)(.025) \times 16,113,000}{(.727)(.025) + (.75)(.975)} = 390,771 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Korean} \\ &= \frac{(.606)(.025)}{(.606 \times .025) + (.643)(.975)} \times 5,720,000 \\ &= 134,966 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Vietnam} \\ &= \frac{(.173)(.025)}{(.173)(.025) + (.306)(.975)} \times 8,744,000 \\ &= 124,945 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Total } 650,682$$

apx. number
of gays
serving during
WW II, Korean,
& Vietnam War.



Out In Force

Sexual Orientation and the Military

Edited by
Gregory M. Herek, Ph.D.
Jared B. Jobe, Ph.D. &
Ralph M. Carney, Ph.D.

(The University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Overview

In 1993, the country engaged in a heated national debate about whether the United States military should lift its long-standing ban on service by gay men and lesbians. The compromise eventually reached by President Clinton and the Congress — popularly labeled, "Don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" — was challenged in the courts, but the U.S. Supreme Court has consistently declined to consider the constitutionality of the policy. Nevertheless, the controversy surrounding this issue is likely to shape national policies and attitudes concerning sexual orientation well into the new millennium.

Table of Contents

Extended Summary

Both sides in the debate have repeatedly based their arguments on assumptions and predictions about the consequences of integrating gay people into the military. What would be the effect on unit cohesion and morale? How could heterosexuals' privacy concerns be resolved? Would heterosexual personnel follow orders from a gay superior? Are heterosexuals' hostilities toward gay people so entrenched that they cannot be softened or eradicated? Would gay people face isolation or violence?

Out In Force presents a comprehensive review of social science data relevant to these and related questions. Its 15 chapters by some of the nation's leading social science scholars on sexual orientation and the military offer reasoned and dispassionate discussions of what we know about military organizations, human sexuality, and attitudes toward individuals and groups. The contributors are experts on military psychology, lesbian and gay psychology, organizational psychology, social psychology, and clinical psychology. They include five authors who wrote sections of the RAND Corporation's landmark 1993 report to the Secretary of Defense on the current military policy.

Table of Contents

Preface

**Part One: An
Orientation to the
Issue**

Chapter 1. Social Science, Sexual Orientation, and Military
Personnel Policy
Gregory M. Herek

Chapter 2. Sexual Orientation and Proscribed Sexual Behaviors

Janet Lever & David E. Kanouse

Chapter 3. Sexual Orientation and the Military: Some Legal
Considerations
Peter D. Jacobson

**Part Two: Relevant
Experience from
Other Domains**

Chapter 4. Integration of Women in the Military: Parallels to
the Progress of Homosexuals?
Patricia J. Thomas & Marie D. Thomas

Chapter 5. Applying Lessons Learned From Minority
Integration in the Military
Michael R. Kauth & Dan Landis

Chapter 6. The Experiences of Foreign Militaries
Paul A. Gade, David R. Segal, & Edgar M. Johnson

Chapter 7. Lessons Learned From The Experience of Domestic
Police and Fire Departments
Paul Koegel

**Part Three:
Cohesion, Privacy,
and Attitudes**

Chapter 8. Sexual Orientation and Military Cohesion: A
Critical Review of the Evidence
Robert MacCoun

Chapter 9. The Deconstruction of Stereotypes: Homosexuals
and Military Policy
Theodore R. Sarbin

Chapter 10. Why Tell If You're Not Asked? Self-Disclosure,
Intergroup Contact, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward
Lesbians and Gay Men
Gregory M. Herek

Chapter 11. Sexual Modesty, the Etiquette of Disregard, and the
Question of Gays and Lesbians in the Military
Lois Shawver

**Part Four:
Implementation**

Chapter 12. Issues of Confidentiality: Therapists, Chaplains and
Health Care Providers
Jeffrey E. Barnett & Timothy B. Jeffrey

Chapter 13. Implementing Policy Changes in Large

Organizations: The Case of Gays and Lesbians in the Military
Gail L. Zellman

Chapter 14. The President, the Congress, and the Pentagon:
Obstacles to Implementing the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Policy
Lawrence J. Korb

Chapter 15. Conclusion
Gregory M. Herek, Jared B. Jobe, & Ralph Carney
Index

[Back to top of page](#)

Extended Summary

Part One: An Orientation to the Issue

This section contains three chapters that provide a global perspective for the book. In Chapter 1, "Social Science, Sexual Orientation, and Military Personnel Policy," Gregory M. Herek, Ph.D., details the history of military policy about homosexuality, particularly the assumption that homosexuality is incompatible with military service because of its undermining effects on good order and discipline. He argues that the current *Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue* policy is not about gay people. Rather, its focus is heterosexual military personnel and their attitudes toward serving with lesbians and gay men.

Chapter 2, "Sexual Orientation and Proscribed Sexual Behaviors," is written by Janet Lever, Ph.D., and David E. Kanouse, Ph.D., two authors of the 1993 RAND Corporation report. They describe scientific research on the prevalence of homosexuality and various sexual practices in the general population and consider the extent to which homosexual status and conduct are not synonymous.

The third chapter in this section, "Sexual Orientation and the Military: Some Legal Considerations," is written by Peter D. Jacobson, J.D., a legal scholar who contributed to the RAND report. He concludes that the courts generally defer to the military on a wide range of issues and therefore are reluctant to treat homosexuals as a protected class. As a result, arguments that homosexuals have constitutional protections for serving in the armed forces are not likely to succeed. He notes, however, that a legal trend toward an active rational basis test may result in greater judicial scrutiny, thereby compelling the military to justify restrictions based on homosexual status more than in the past.

Part Two: Relevant Experience from Other Domains

This section includes four chapters describing integration experiences in other domains that have direct relevance to the issue of integrating gays into the U.S. military. Chapter 4 "

Integration of Women in the Military: Parallels to the Progress of Homosexuals?," is written by Patricia J. Thomas, M.S., and Marie D. Thomas, Ph.D., psychologists who are experts on women's roles in the military. They discuss parallels between recent arguments against military service by openly gay personnel and arguments offered in the 1940s against integrating women into the military. In both cases, opponents contended that integration would lead to reductions in military efficiency, spread sexually transmitted diseases, increase sexual harassment and fraternization, violate physical privacy, and destroy order and discipline. The chapter describes how the military positions that women could occupy have been greatly restricted, and explains how restrictions on naval and air combat service by women have recently been relaxed. Implications for the integration of gays are discussed.

Chapter 5, "Applying Lessons Learned From Minority Integration in the Military," is written by Michael R. Kauth, Ph.D., a psychologist at the Veterans Affairs Medical Center in New Orleans, and Dan Landis, Ph.D., a professor of psychology at the University of Mississippi, who has spent his career conducting research on race relations and racial integration, particularly within the military. The chapter traces the history of segregation and equal opportunity for African Americans in the military from the Civil War through World War II. The authors explain that President Truman's 1948 integration order was issued against a backdrop of fears: of an epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases; of an increase in violence and crime; of disruption to morale, order, and discipline; and of a mass exodus by Whites from the military. They also describe the fight for equality in the military by African Americans during the Korean and Vietnam conflicts and the establishment of an Army Institute for education and research in race relations. Finally, the authors discuss the reasons why racial integration has been relatively successful, and they consider possible parallels for the integration of gays in the military.

Chapter 6, "The Experience of Foreign Militaries," is contributed by Paul A. Gade, Ph.D., David R. Segal, Ph.D., and Edgar M. Johnson, Ph.D. It provides a cross-national comparison of the policies of Western democracies on military service by gays, which range from a ban similar to that in the United States (United Kingdom) to strong advocacy of gay rights (the Netherlands). The authors also compare and contrast the conclusions of previous reviews of cross-national policies by the U.S. General Accounting Office, the Department of Defense, and the RAND Corporation. The chapter includes a discussion of the experiences of countries that have changed their personnel policies to allow homosexuals to serve, the methods used to implement those changes, and the means by

which problems were resolved. Finally, the chapter discusses the implications of the foreign military experience for the future integration of gays into the U.S. military.

Chapter 7, "Lessons Learned From the Experience of Domestic Police and Fire Departments," is contributed by psychologist Paul Koegel, Ph.D., who wrote the section of the RAND Corporation report on this same subject. Although examining the experiences of foreign militaries (Chapter 6) offers many insights, it nevertheless requires comparison of different cultures that may be dissimilar in many respects apart from their military establishment. This is not a problem when the experiences of U.S. paramilitary organizations — such as police and fire departments — are examined. Chapter 7 considers the extent to which U.S. military and paramilitary organizational experiences are analogous, and describes how some domestic paramilitary organizations have implemented policies that allow gays to serve and have overcome problems initially associated with implementing those policies.

**Part Three:
Cohesion, Privacy,
and Attitudes**

This section contains four chapters that focus principally on using social psychological research to evaluate arguments against a nondiscriminatory policy and to guide implementation of such a policy. Chapter 8, "Sexual Orientation and Military Cohesion: A Critical Review of the Evidence," is contributed by Robert MacCoun, Ph.D., associate professor of public policy at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. Drawing from his earlier contributions to the 1993 RAND report, Prof. MacCoun reviews the existing scientific literature concerning unit cohesion and its relationship to performance. He explains that the concept of cohesion has multiple facets: horizontal cohesion (among peers in a unit) and vertical cohesion (between unit leaders and followers), task cohesion (shared commitment to achieving a goal) and social cohesion (emotional bonds among unit members). After reviewing relevant scientific studies, he concludes that the presence of openly gay personnel would probably not affect task cohesion, but might have a negative effect on social cohesion in some situations. Moreover, he concludes that openly gay unit leaders may not always be liked, but would be obeyed in most cases. He explains how military norms, roles, regulations, and disciplinary options could be used to ensure that a nondiscriminatory policy would not have a negative effect on the military's functioning.

Chapter 9, "The Deconstruction of Stereotypes: Homosexuals and Military Policy," is contributed by Theodore R. Sarbin, Ph.D., who is professor emeritus at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and is currently affiliated with the Defense Personnel Security Research Center (PERSEREC). A

distinguished social psychologist whose career spans more than half a century, Dr. Sarbin co-authored a controversial Pentagon-funded report in 1989 in which he concluded that the military's anti-gay policy is based on unfounded stereotypes rather than on empirical facts. That earlier report provides the starting point for Dr. Sarbin's chapter in the present volume. After discussing the history of the report, he explains the social construction of homosexuality and the nature of anti-gay stereotypes. Next, he considers the task of deconstructing stereotypes, illustrating his main points with data from interviews that he has conducted with service members. Finally, he explains how current knowledge about stereotypes could be utilized by the military in implementing a nondiscriminatory policy.

Chapter 10, "Why Tell If You're Not Asked? Self-Disclosure, Intergroup Contact, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men," by Gregory M. Herek, Ph.D., explores the scientific literature relevant to the question of why gay men and lesbians disclose their sexual orientation to others. It demonstrates that statements revealing one's sexual orientation are common and unremarkable among heterosexuals. When gay people make similar statements, however, they are often perceived to have revealed inappropriately intimate information about themselves. Such revelations, however, have important social, psychological, and health benefits. Reviewing public opinion data and social psychological studies of heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, Dr. Herek demonstrates that heterosexuals who have had interpersonal contact with a gay person are significantly more likely to have positive feelings toward gay men and lesbians generally than are heterosexuals without such experiences. Moreover, he argues, contact is associated with favorable attitudes primarily when it meets certain conditions: When it is ongoing, when it is intimate rather than impersonal, and when the gay person's sexual orientation is directly disclosed or discussed. Dr. Herek explains how the current military policy prevents such contact from occurring and, consequently, perpetuates negative attitudes among heterosexual personnel.

Chapter 11, "Sexual Modesty, the Etiquette of Disregard, and the Question of Gays and Lesbians in the Military," is written by Lois Shawver, Ph.D., a clinical psychologist in Oakland (CA) and author of *And the Flag Was Still There: Straight People, Gay People, and Sexuality in the U.S. Military*. Dr. Shawver confronts the military's assertions that military life will be disrupted and morale lowered if heterosexuals are forced to share latrines and barracks with openly gay troops. She uses cross-cultural and historical data to demonstrate that American standards of bodily modesty are shaped by culture

and individual experience, and that individuals are able to adapt to novel situations in which they have little or no privacy in dressing or toileting. She describes the "etiquette of disregard" by which heterosexuals and homosexuals alike typically exercise discretion in medical settings, dormitories, art classes with nude models, and locker rooms. Shawver predicts that heterosexual and homosexual personnel will successfully adapt to an integrated armed forces if military leaders ensure that toileting and showering situations are desexualized.

Part Four: Implementation

Part 4 contains three chapters discussing issues of implementing a new policy for homosexuals in the United States military. Chapter 13, "Issues of Confidentiality: Therapists, Chaplains, and Health Care Providers," is written by Jeffrey R. Barnett, Psy.D., and Timothy B. Jeffrey, Ph.D. It discusses the juxtaposition of professional ethics in the health and counseling professions — such as psychotherapy, pastoral counseling, and health care — and military requirements that commanders be informed about all aspects of the lives of their soldiers, sailors, and airmen that may affect the latter's ability to perform their military mission. It discusses the dual pressures exerted on military professionals by ethical codes and military regulations, as well as the effects of possible changes in confidentiality policies for helping professionals in the military.

Chapter 13, "Implementing Policy Changes in Large Organizations: The Case of Gays and Lesbians in the Military," is contributed by Gail L. Zellman, Ph.D., a psychologist, who wrote on this subject for the RAND report. Dr. Zellman discusses the factors that favor or hinder implementation of policy changes concerning homosexuals' service in the military. She also reviews the relevant research literature on implementing changes in large organizations. Dr. Zellman discusses how policy changes can be implemented. She considers not only on the Clinton administration's policy, but also a new policy that would set clear standards of conduct to be uniformly enforced for all military personnel. Such a policy would consider sexual orientation *per se* to be "not germane" to decisions about who can serve in the armed forces.

Chapter 14, "The President, the Congress, and the Pentagon: Obstacles to Implementing the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Policy," is by Lawrence J. Korb, Ph.D., senior policy analyst at the Brookings Institution. Dr. Korb was a senior manpower official in the Department of Defense during the Reagan administration, and he played a role in developing the incompatibility policy. He later changed his position on this policy. In his chapter, he presents an insider's view of the events leading up to the Clinton administration's military personnel policy.

The conclusion, written jointly by the editors, summarizes the book's major conclusions and discusses implications for the future. It integrates the previous chapters' discussions of empirical social science research and concludes that allowing homosexuals to serve in the military is not only possible, but workable and justifiable.

[Back to top of page](#)

[Home](#) | [Hate Crimes](#) | [AIDS](#) | [Sacramento](#) | [The Facts](#) | [Military](#) | [Homophobia](#)

[Contents](#) | [Publications](#) | [Net Search](#) | [Latest News](#) | [Contact Us](#) | [Useful Links](#) | [APF Awards](#)

The content of this website is copyright © 1997-2000 by Gregory M. Herek, Ph.D.
All rights reserved

From the Op-Ed page in today's New York Times (2/1/93)...

TRUMAN'S LEGACY TO CLINTON

By Lucian K. Truscott IV (a West Point graduate, author of "Dress Gray." His two grandfathers (a four-star general and a colonel) and father (a colonel) were career soldiers.)

Los Angeles -- Isn't it paradoxical that on the day President Clinton and Vice President Gore attended the funeral service for Thurgood Marshall, Mr. Clinton found himself in the situation Harry S Truman occupied in 1948 in the months leading up to his executive order integrating the military?

I grew up in the integrated Army. One day, schools, housing -- the Army itself -- were segregated; the next day they weren't. Six years would pass before Thurgood Marshall successfully argued *Brown v. Board of Education* before the Supreme Court. Ten more years would be wasted before Congress found the courage to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

But in July 1948, the courage of one man, Truman, ended the decades of dishonor represented by a segregated military in a democratic society. That February, he announced that he had ordered the Secretary of Defense to eliminate discrimination in the armed forces as soon as possible. A storm of protest, especially from Southern Congressmen, ensued: There would be a potential for violence. Whites didn't want to live in the same barracks with blacks.

The day after Truman issued his order, Gen. Omar N. Bradley, the Army Chief of Staff, reportedly said: "The Army is not out to make any social reform. The Army will not put men of different races in the same companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it." That rebellion went nowhere.

Others raised questions: Would a white take orders from a black sergeant or lieutenant? What about bathroom facilities? Would -- gasp! -- whites and blacks share toilets, showers and sinks? What about the feelings of white families who might not want their boys living with blacks? Wouldn't this hurt the retention of soldiers and damage recruitment?

Oh, it was admitted that black units had served with distinction in World War II and before. So long as the black units remained separate but equal, things would be fine, it was said. It was the mixing that would damage the Army: blacks serving side by side with whites would be detrimental to good order and discipline, and destructive of morale.

Substitute "gays" for "blacks," and you've pretty much got the situation facing President Clinton. The same chorus of protest, resistance to change, fear of the unknown.

The idea of segregating gay soldiers in barracks and combat, now under study in the Pentagon, is as anathema as segregating black soldiers. Whether in the military or in schools, separate but equal is inherently unequal.

Reading the reactions of senior military officials, especially that of Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, you would think time had stopped, that Truman's courageous stand never happened.

Opponents of gays in the military say smugly that these two things are not analogous, because integration of the military dealt with skin color, and allowing gays in deals with a "life- style choice." Specious hogwash! Discrimination and segregation based on sexual preference are as unacceptable and plain stupid

as the treatment of blacks before Truman.

It may take Congress, the national headquarters of risk aversion, years to pass the gay rights equivalent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But the principle is the very one Truman faced, and Clinton knows this.

"The issue is whether men and women who can and have served with real distinction should be excluded from military service solely on the basis of their status, and I believe they should not," Mr. Clinton said Friday when he announced the July 15 deadline to draft an order allowing gays to serve in the military.

He will face stiff Capitol Hill opposition. Congressmen who make antebellum noises about this issue should be ashamed, and Mr. Clinton should tell them so. But integration will happen, perhaps beginning in July. Straight soldiers will learn to serve next to, catnap with, sleep near and use the same restrooms as gay soldiers. Officers who resist carrying out the order should be fired.

The equality Truman ordered was inevitable; so is the equality Bill Clinton wants for gay soldiers, sailors, airmen and women.

As my father told me, it doesn't matter what color they are, what sex they are or what their sexual preference is. The only thing that counts is whether or not they can soldier.

** U N C L A S S I F I E D **

ADMINISTRATIVE MESSAGE

ROUTINE

R 202001Z JUL 93 ZYB

FM CMC WASHINGTON DC//CDC//

TO ALMAR

XMT AMCONSUL BRAZZAVILLE CF

UNCLAS //NOOOOO//

MSGID/GENADMIN//

SUBJ/POLICY ON HOMOSEXUALS IN THE ARMED FORCES//

RMKS/1. ON 19 JUL 93, THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF ANNOUNCED HIS DECISION ON A POLICY FOR HOMOSEXUALS IN THE ARMED FORCES. THE POLICY WILL BE EFFECTIVE ON 1 OCT 93. THE POLICY WILL PRESERVE GOOD ORDER, DISCIPLINE, AND COHESION IN OUR MARINE CORPS WHILE ENSURING THAT PERSONS WHOSE BEHAVIOR IS CONSISTENT WITH THE HIGH STANDARDS OF THE ARMED FORCES CAN SERVE, WHILE THOSE WHOSE IS NOT WILL BE SEPARATED. IT IS A SOUND POLICY, AND IT REFLECTS A COURAGEOUS DECISION BY OUR COMMANDER IN CHIEF. THE PRESIDENT SOUGHT, AND WAS GIVEN, THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE ADVICE THOSE IN UNIFORM COULD OFFER; WEIGHED IT; AND MADE A DECISION IN THE BEST INTEREST OF MAINTAINING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ARMED FORCES.

2. KEY ELEMENTS OF THE NEW POLICY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. THE DOD HAS LONG HELD, AS A GENERAL RULE, THAT HOMOSEXUALITY IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH MILITARY SERVICE. EVEN SO, WE RECOGNIZE THAT HOMOSEXUALS HAVE SERVED IN THE ARMED FORCES, SOMETIMES WITH DISTINCTION -- NOT BECAUSE THEY WERE HOMOSEXUALS, BUT BECAUSE THEY WERE ABLE TO CONFORM THEIR BEHAVIOR TO THE CONSTRAINTS OF MILITARY SERVICE.

B. SEXUAL ORIENTATION, DEFINED AS A SEXUAL ATTRACTION TO INDIVIDUALS OF A PARTICULAR SEX, EITHER OPPOSITE OR SAME, IS A PRIVATE MATTER, AND IS NOT A BAR TO SERVICE ENTRY OR CONTINUED SERVICE UNLESS MANIFESTED BY HOMOSEXUAL CONDUCT.

C. SERVICE MEMBERS WILL CONTINUE TO BE DISCHARGED FOR HOMOSEXUAL CONDUCT. FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS POLICY, HOMOSEXUAL CONDUCT IS:

- (1) A HOMOSEXUAL ACT, OR
- (2) A STATEMENT BY A SERVICE MEMBER THAT HE OR SHE IS A HOMOSEXUAL OR BISEXUAL, OR
- (3) A HOMOSEXUAL MARRIAGE OR ATTEMPTED HOMOSEXUAL MARRIAGE.

D. COMMANDERS AND INVESTIGATING AGENCIES WILL NOT INITIATE INQUIRIES OR INVESTIGATIONS SOLELY TO

DETERMINE A SERVICE MEMBER'S SEXUAL ORIENTATION, NOR WILL MEMBERS BE REQUIRED TO REVEAL THEIR SEXUAL ORIENTATION. COMMANDERS WILL, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO INITIATE INQUIRIES OR INVESTIGATIONS WHEN THERE IS CREDIBLE INFORMATION THAT A BASIS FOR DISCHARGE OR DISCIPLINARY ACTION EXISTS.

3. IT IS NOW TIME TO GET ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF IMPLEMENTING THIS POLICY. AS I TOLD YOU ON 29 JAN 93, THE MARINE CORPS WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE MARINES AND WE WILL TREAT ALL MARINES WITH FIRMNESS, FAIRNESS AND HUMAN DIGNITY. THOSE WHO FIRST AND FOREMOST DESIRE TO BE MARINES WILL HAVE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO UNDER THE NEW POLICY.

4. SEMPER FIDELIS, MARINES. GEN C. E. MUNDY, JR.,
COMMANDANT.//

BT

TABLE 13. EDUCATION ATTAINMENT, GSS (1988-1996) AND NHSLS (1992) DATA

EDUCATION ATTAINMENT (PERCENT) BY RELATIONSHIP STATUS AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION					
MEN					
	Married	Other Non-Gay	Gay	Gay with Household Screening	Gay with Opposite-Sex Experience
Below HS Diploma	16.6	18.5	11.5	12.2	7.9
HS Diploma	47.1	49.4	39.6	38.2	30.2
Some College	9.1	11.1	12.2	13.0	15.9
College Degree	17.0	14.4	23.0	23.7	31.8
Post College	10.3	6.1	13.7	13.0	14.3
(Sample Size)	(4067)	(3063)	(139)	(131)	(63)
WOMEN					
	Married	Other Non- Lesbian	Lesbian	Lesbian with Household Screening	Lesbian with Opposite-Sex Experience
Below HS Diploma	14.6	23.0	10.3	9.7	13.0
HS Diploma	52.4	49.5	42.5	38.9	34.8
Some College	11.0	9.6	12.6	12.5	17.4
College Degree	16.0	13.1	21.8	25.0	21.7
Post College	6.1	4.8	12.6	13.9	13.0
(Sample Size)	(4621)	(4773)	(87)	(72)	(46)
FATHER'S EDUCATION (PERCENT) FOR GAY MEN AND OTHER MEN					
	Gay Men		Other Men		
High School or Less	67		70		
Some College	13		13		
College Degree	13		10		
Post College	7		7		
(Observations)	(80)		(3474)		

Source: Authors' compilations from the GSS-NHSLs data.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In the previous essay, we developed a location model predicting that since gay male couples have a lower minimum requirement for housing, they will tend to allocate a higher fraction of their income into other consumption, including amenities. As such, in equilibrium, a larger portion of gay male couples than couples with higher minimum housing needs (e.g., married couples with or expecting to have children) will locate in high amenity cities. As we now consider how gay male couples might sort within cities as opposed to across cities, let us once again examine the utility function that we utilized in the previous essay:

$$(1) \quad U_i = 2A_i(H - \alpha_H)^{1/2}(X - \alpha_X)^{1/2}.$$

In this case, we have assumed that amenities in region i (A_i) represent some bundle of goods and services that function as a normal good desired by all. Utility is a function of amenities as well as consumption of housing (H) and other goods (X) with α_H and α_X representing minimum requirements for housing and other consumption.

But what if amenities are actually a function of some combination of both adult-oriented and child-oriented amenities as shown in Equation (2) below?

$$(2) \quad A_i(\mu_i^a, \mu_i^k) = e^{\mu_i^a + f(\mu_i^k, K)}, \text{ s.t. } f(\mu_i^k, 0) = 0 \text{ and } \frac{\partial f}{\partial \mu_i^k \partial K} > 0 \quad \frac{\partial A}{\partial \mu_i^a} > 0 \text{ for } \dots$$

In Equation (2), the amount of amenities consumed is expressed as a function of some combination of adult- and child-oriented amenities, μ_i^a and μ_i^k respectively. K represents the number of children in a household. The two restrictions placed on Equation (2) suggest that households with no children consume exclusively adult-oriented amenities and the consumption of child-oriented amenities increases with the number of children in the household.

For simplicity, let us now consider only four possible bundles of adult- and child-oriented amenities that could be consumed by a household:

- No amenities: $A(0,0) = 1$
- Adult amenities only: $A(1,0) = e$
- Child amenities only: $A(0,1) = e^{f(1,K)}$
- Both adult and child amenities: $A(1,1) = e^{1+f(1,K)}$.

The relationships among the four bundles can be expressed as follows in Equations (3) through (5).

- (3) $A(1,1) > A(0,1) > A(0,0)$ *what if $K=0$. Are these true?*
- (4) $A(1,1) > A(1,0) > A(0,0)$ $K > K^*$
- (5) $A(0,1) > A(1,0)$ iff $K = K^*$ s.t. $f(1, K^*) > 1$ and $K^* > 0$

In Equation (5) we note that to determine the relationship between $A(0,1)$ and $A(1,0)$, there must exist some K^* that represents the lowest number of children whereby a household would be indifferent between locations with only child-oriented amenities and those with only adult-oriented amenities.

Recall from our original model that location choice between high and low amenities in part results as increasing income allows individuals to allocate more disposable income into amenities. As such, as income increases, so does the likelihood of locating in a high amenity location. Let us now consider how income might affect consumption of amenities (and de facto location choices) among the four amenity bundles presented above. In Figure 1, we examine how different amounts of K affect the consumption of amenities that a household might make. In the case where $K > K^*$, households are predicted to move from $A(0,0)$ to $A(0,1)$ consumption when income reaches some level we will call I_1^* and move from $A(0,1)$ to $A(1,1)$ consumption levels at income level I_2^* . This suggests that as income increases, households with at least K^* children are likely to move from low amenity locations to those with child-oriented amenities to locations with both child- and adult-oriented amenities.

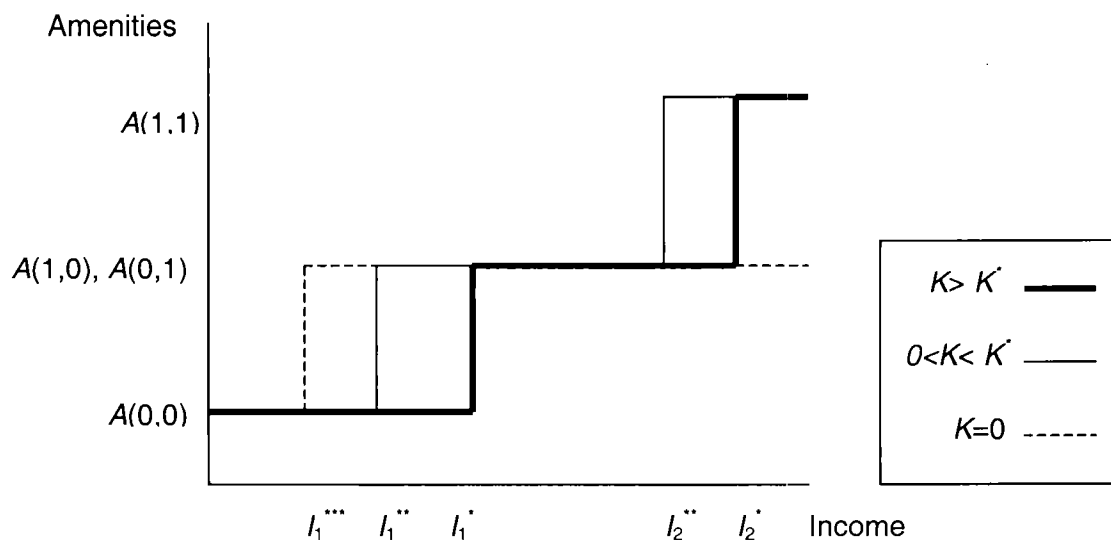


Figure 1

In households where $0 < K < K^*$, the number of children is not enough to induce consuming child-oriented amenities only over adult-oriented amenities. Their movement proceeds from consuming $A(0,0)$ to $A(1,0)$ at income I_1^{**} and moves from $A(1,0)$ to $A(1,1)$ at income level I_2^{**} . These households differ from the households with at least K^* children in that their intermediate step is to locations with adult-oriented amenities only. They begin to consume child-oriented amenities only when their income reaches a level (I_2^{**}) that allows them to locate in places with both adult- and child-oriented amenities.

In the case where $K=0$, households will progress from $A(0,0)$ to $A(1,0)$ at some income level I_1^{***} and remain at $A(1,0)$ as their consumption of amenities cannot go above $A(1,0)$. Put simply, households without children will be most attracted to areas with adult-oriented amenities.

Recall that in our original location model, gay households tended to locate in high-amenity cities because their minimum housing requirements were lower than the requirements of households with children. In our current model, we might expect that both α_H and α_X are actually functions of K and that α_H' and α_X' are both positive. If this is true, then we can assert that as the amount of children in the household increases, the amount of income that can be devoted to amenities decreases because minimum housing and other consumption requirements increase.¹ This implies that $I_1^{**} < I_1^*$.

We can also assert that if rents are equal in areas with only child-oriented amenities and those with only adult-oriented amenities, then the income necessary to begin purchasing adult-oriented amenities is lower than that necessary to purchase child amenities, or $I_1^{***} < I_1^{**}$. The fundamental argument here remains the same. Households without children can devote more income away from housing and other consumption into amenities. Utilizing the same intuition, these conditions will also hold for I_2 , the income necessary to move from consumption of child-oriented amenities only to both child- and adult-oriented amenities.

So far, we have considered this problem utilizing discrete choices of both μ_i^a and μ_i^K . We can also consider the problem allowing both amenity measures to be continuous. Let us examine the relationship between μ_i^a and μ_i^K by first maximizing Equation (2).

¹ We know this to be true since the maximization of our 3-product utility function would require that all three products be equal. Therefore if $(H-\alpha_H)$ and $(X-\alpha_X)$ decrease, so too must A .

$$(8) \quad \frac{\partial \ln A}{\partial \eta^a} = 1 + f(\eta^K, K^o) \frac{\partial \eta^K}{\partial \eta^a} = 0, \text{ so } \frac{\partial \eta^K}{\partial \eta^a} = \frac{-1}{f(\eta^K, K^o)}$$

Utilizing Equation (8), we can show the indifference curves between μ_i^K and μ_i^a in Figure 3. The slope of these curves goes toward 0 as K^o increases and toward infinity at K^o goes to 0. Put more simply, as households increase in the number of children, they are increasingly less willing to trade child-oriented amenities for adult-oriented amenities. In households without children, child-oriented amenities have no appeal at all.

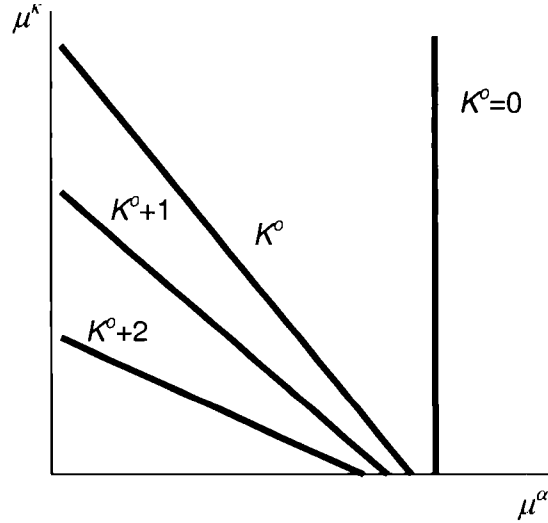


Figure 2

Clearly, most urban areas offer a wide variety of both adult- and child-oriented amenities. However, as we consider location patterns within urban areas, neighborhoods or municipalities could demonstrate wide variation in the bundles of child- and adult-oriented amenities available. The model presented above provides some intuition about how households with low or no children might be prone to sort across various locations within an urban area.

We have observed that the income level required to move from a location with little or no amenities into one with greater amenities increases with the number of children in the household. If each household is given a random draw from the same income distribution, then our theory predicts that the probability of living in a low amenity location increases with the number of children in the household. Therefore, gay and lesbian households are less likely than other types of households to live in low amenity areas since their probability of having children is so much lower. Further, families with low incomes and large numbers of children have the highest probability of living in these locations.

Now let us examine locations some combination of child- and adult-oriented amenities. Recall from Figure 2 that the MRS between child- and adult-oriented amenities decreases with the number of children in the household, suggesting that a household's willingness to trade child-oriented amenities for adult-oriented ones decreases as the number of children increases. In addition, households with no children exclusively desire adult-oriented amenities. This suggests that the probability of a childless household locating in an area decreases as the levels of child-oriented amenities increase and approaches zero as the amenities become exclusively child-oriented. As a result, it seems likely that gay male couples will tend to locate in areas with high levels of adult-oriented amenities and avoid areas with high amounts of child-oriented amenities.

We have so far not addressed how we might classify adult- versus child-oriented amenities. Two issues come to mind when one considers amenities important to families with children: school quality and safety. In many areas, the costs associated with providing quality schools are significantly reflected in real estate taxes. If this is the case, then it seems likely that gay male couples would be located in areas with relatively low real estate taxes while households with children would locate in high tax areas to take advantage of better schools.

Further, we have demonstrated that as a result of their lower minimum requirements for housing and other consumption, gay men would in general devote more of their income toward amenities. While this may indeed be true, it could also be that gay couples devote that extra income not only toward purchasing amenities, but also actually creating them through the process of neighborhood gentrification. If in equilibrium gay couples locate in higher numbers in low tax areas, they may devote a greater portion of their income into creating a more amenity-rich environment by making the neighborhood more attractive both to other gay couples and to other amenities important to adults like restaurants, cultural, and social venues.

New England Edition

Boston: Plenty of sun, highs in the upper 30's. Tonight, mainly clear with some high clouds, lows near 30. Tomorrow, increasing clouds and milder, highs near 50. Weather map, Page B17.

ONE DOLLAR

GORE, IN REVERSAL, SHUNS LITMUS TEST OVER GAY TROOPS

DISAVOWS DEBATE STANCE

Says There Should Not Be Any
Such Inquiries on Opinions
of Joint Chief Nominees

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

DES MOINES, Jan. 7 — Vice President Al Gore backtracked tonight on comments he made in a debate on Wednesday when he said he would require any appointee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to agree in advance to let gays serve openly in the military.

"I did not mean to imply that there should ever be any kind of inquiry into the personal political opinion of the officers in the U.S. military," Mr. Gore told reporters at a quickly assembled news conference here tonight after questions began mounting about his intent.

At a debate in New Hampshire Wednesday night, the vice president said he would require such a litmus test.

"I would insist before appointing anybody to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that that individual support my policy, and yes, I would make that a requirement," Mr. Gore said.

His remarks today put him in line with his opponent for the Democratic nomination for president, former Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey.

Mr. Bradley has also said that current law should be changed to allow homosexuals to serve openly in the military. But when asked in the debate on Wednesday about a litmus test on the issue for his appointees to the Joint Chiefs he said only that if he were elected he would expect military leaders that he appointed to carry out his orders.

The issue surfaced in tonight's debate with Republican candidates for president when Senator John McCain of Arizona, a veteran of the Vietnam War, called Mr. Gore's remarks on Wednesday "disgraceful."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Public Inquiries on Opinions of Joint Chief Nominees

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

DES MOINES, Jan. 7 — Vice President Al Gore backtracked tonight on comments he made in a debate on Wednesday when he said he would require any appointee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to agree in advance to let gays serve openly in the military.

"I did not mean to imply that there should ever be any kind of inquiry into the personal political opinion of the officers in the U.S. military," Mr. Gore told reporters at a quickly assembled news conference here tonight after questions began mounting about his intent.

At a debate in New Hampshire Wednesday night, the vice president said he would require such a litmus test.

"I would insist before appointing anybody to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that that individual support my policy, and yes, I would make that a requirement," Mr. Gore said.

His remarks today put him in line with his opponent for the Democratic nomination for president, former Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey.

Mr. Bradley has also said that current law should be changed to allow homosexuals to serve openly in the military. But when asked in the debate on Wednesday about a litmus test on the issue for his appointees to the Joint Chiefs he said only that if he were elected he would expect military leaders that he appointed to carry out his orders.

The issue surfaced in tonight's debate with Republican candidates for president when Senator John McCain of Arizona, a veteran of the Vietnam War, called Mr. Gore's remarks on Wednesday "disgraceful." [Article and excerpts, page A9]

More so than in any other presidential campaign, Democrats are appealing to gays this year, particularly in California and New York where there are many gay voters, and where a very significant number of delegates will be chosen in primaries on March 7. But homosexuality is still a sensitive issue in many areas of the country, and support for having gays serve in the military could hurt Mr. Gore in the South in the general election if he became the nominee.

Mr. Gore's public retraction — his press secretary, Chris Lehane, called it a "clarification" — came within an hour of his attempt to clear up another campaign embarrassment, this one fostered by his campaign manager, Donna Brazile.

Ms. Brazile had said in a recent

Continued on Page A8

Job Growth in U.S.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

lock



Gore, in a Reversal, Shuns Litmus Test on Gay Troops

Continued From Page A1

interview that Republicans used blacks like General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for photo opportunities but did not really care about them. Mr. Gore called General Powell tonight and told reporters at the same news conference that he had "reaffirmed my respect" for the General. He refused to say whether he had apologized.

Mr. Gore said today that he had been misheard on Wednesday. "That is not what I meant to convey — that's what you heard," he told reporters here tonight in the corner of a high school gymnasium after a pep rally. Even so his remarks Wednesday night seemed unequivocal. Asked if he would tolerate dissent among the top officers, he said, "Of course."

Mr. Gore's remarks had been widely criticized by military leaders and former military officials. Even in his own campaign, there was reaction to Mr. Gore's remarks today.

A 'clarification' and an effort to clear up a second embarrassment.

Senator John Kerry, a Massachusetts Democrat and Vietnam veteran, said commanders of small, specialized units should be allowed to choose members without the hindrance of broad policies.

The Gore campaign has been openly courting black voters and homosexual voters, and Mr. Gore's backtracking tonight on the litmus test and on Ms. Brazile's comments suggested that the campaign had perhaps gone too far on both counts.

There was an odd confluence of these two episodes in the person of General Powell, one of the most popular figures in America. He objected in 1993 to President Clinton's attempt to allow gays to serve openly in the military, which resulted in the compromise of the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. But as someone who has traditionally remained above the political fray, he did not comment on Mr. Gore's suggestion Wednesday on

gates to the Democratic National Convention.

Indeed, Mr. Gore did not back down tonight from his commitment to allowing gays to serve openly in the military. But his comments were a reflection of the difficulty that any commander-in-chief would have in implementing it. "You have to have a determination to implement it if that kind of change is going to take place," he said.

But before Mr. Gore backpedaled on the litmus test, some of his supporters said they believed Mr. Bradley had proved more politically adept than Mr. Gore at winning over gay supporters.

Homosexuals have found increasing strength at the ballot box. People who identify themselves as gay make up between 8 and 9 percent of the primary electorate nationwide and a bit more in New York and California, according to polls of voters leaving the booths in previous elections. In general elections, they account for about 5 percent of the national total.

Some Gore advisers believe that while Mr. Bradley is newer to his overt commitment to gay rights than Mr. Gore, he has gained traction in the gay community for two reasons. One is that Mr. Gore suffers by association with President Clinton. Although Mr. Clinton was the first presidential candidate to openly court gays, many were disenchanted with his compromise on gays in the military, settling for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy that now even Mr. Clinton has called unworkable.

The second reason is that some Gore supporters think Mr. Bradley has out-foxed Mr. Gore in the race for gay votes. "Gore has a stronger record over a longer period of time of being a leader on these issues," said Richard Socarides, until recently the Clinton Administration official who oversaw gay and lesbian issues. "But it's frustrating because he's been out-manuevered on tactics."

For example, while Mr. Gore has long argued privately within the Administration to allow gays to serve openly in the military, it was Mr. Bradley who first said publicly in this campaign that he favored such a policy. Mr. Gore did not publicly declare his support for the policy until after Hillary Clinton and then President Clinton both criticized the current policy. This played into the damaging perception that Mr. Gore is a politician who waits for political cover before taking a bold position.



Vice President Al Gore backpedaled yesterday from his comment about gays in the military and tried to clear up embarrassment over comments made by his campaign manager, Donna Brazile.

an edge over Mr. Bradley and separate himself from the Clinton compromise.

Emily Giske, a vice chairman of the New York State Democratic Party and one of the lesbian leaders whom Mr. Gore is to meet with on Monday in New York, said that while she was watching Mr. Gore's comments at the debate, she thought, "Of course he is looking for a way to put his own stamp on this issue."

California and New York are home to significant blocs of gay voters, and for the first time in presidential politics, those voters are now themselves part of a calculated strategy to win

adviser on gay issues. "the coming of age politics and lesbian Americans."

What is different in this not only the competition vote but that the gay vote perceived to be significant part of Mr. Gore strategy.

The current thinking Gore camp goes like this: is poised to win the Iowa caucuses on Jan. 24 but is neck and neck with Mr. Bradley in the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 1. If New Hampshire legitimizes Mr. Bradley, which votes March 7 and

versal, Shuns on Gay Troops

gates to the Democratic National Convention.

Indeed, Mr. Gore did not back down tonight from his commitment to allowing gays to serve openly in the military. But his comments were a reflection of the difficulty that any commander-in-chief would have in implementing it. "You have to have a determination to implement it if that kind of change is going to take place," he said.

But before Mr. Gore backpedaled on the litmus test, some of his supporters said they believed Mr. Bradley had proved more politically adept than Mr. Gore at winning over gay supporters.

Homosexuals have found increasing strength at the ballot box. People who identify themselves as gay make up between 8 and 9 percent of the primary electorate nationwide and a bit more in New York and California, according to polls of voters leaving the booths in previous elections. In general elections, they account for about 5 percent of the national total.

Some Gore advisers believe that while Mr. Bradley is newer to his overt commitment to gay rights than Mr. Gore, he has gained traction in the gay community for two reasons. One is that Mr. Gore suffers by association with President Clinton. Although Mr. Clinton was the first presidential candidate to openly court gays, many were disenchanted with his compromise on gays in the military, settling for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy that now even Mr. Clinton has called unworkable.

The second reason is that some Gore supporters think Mr. Bradley has out-foxed Mr. Gore in the race for gay votes. "Gore has a stronger record over a longer period of time of being a leader on these issues," said Richard Socarides, until recently the Clinton Administration official who oversaw gay and lesbian issues. "But it's frustrating because he's been out-maneuvered on tactics."

For example, while Mr. Gore has long argued privately within the Administration to allow gays to serve openly in the military, it was Mr. Bradley who first said publicly in this campaign that he favored such a policy. Mr. Gore did not publicly declare his support for the policy until after Hillary Clinton and then President Clinton both criticized the current policy. This played into the damaging perception that Mr. Gore is a politician who waits for political cover before taking a bold position.



Associated Press

Vice President Al Gore backpedaled yesterday from his earlier statement about gays in the military and tried to clear up embarrassment over comments made by his campaign manager, Donna Brazile.

an edge over Mr. Bradley and separate himself from the Clinton compromise.

Emily Giske, a vice chairman of the New York State Democratic Party and one of the lesbian leaders whom Mr. Gore is to meet with on Monday in New York, said that while she was watching Mr. Gore's comments at the debate, she thought, "Of course he is looking for a way to put his own stamp on this issue."

California and New York are home to significant blocs of gay voters, and for the first time in presidential politics, those voters are now themselves part of a calculated strategy to win

adviser on gay issues. "It's part of the coming of age politically for gay and lesbian Americans."

What is different in this election is not only the competition for the gay vote but that the gay vote is now perceived to be significant enough to form part of Mr. Gore's bedrock strategy.

The current thinking inside the Gore camp goes like this: Mr. Gore is poised to win the Iowa caucuses on Jan. 24 but is neck and neck with Mr. Bradley in the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 1. If New Hampshire legitimizes Mr. Bradley, New York, which votes March 7 and is already

Reporter's Note

Voters C With the

By FRANK BRU

PORTSMOUTH, N.H., Voters who attended s Gov. George W. Bush th New Hampshire and low than just a handshake, a a heady brush with a pol rity.

They got a bound, pag of his collected works.

"A Fresh Start for A cy Addresses of Geor brings together Mr. l canon: his November foreign policy ("A Dis can Internationalism' musings on education Achievement"), his on the role of religio in social work ("The

The latter was p pelling, at least acco nalist Clarence P column in The Ch raved, "If it were deserve an Oscar

The reader of America" know book is rife with on the matte ba page book, but a chapter, one p

Never mind pets were ca longer articl mentaries th ing observat paign has lea and to use th

None of th viously kept i Mr. Bush ga vided journal script, a syno of the acaden naries who ir their telephon

But "A Fro which came the hits, in : allows the m types of pe primaries t Bush.

The book the Bush ca despite his tions of him he has clear array of iss several con

But "A F is also a ne style, metl Bush cam through

told reporters at the same news conference that he had "reaffirmed my respect" for the General. He refused to say whether he had apologized.

Mr. Gore said today that he had been mis-heard on Wednesday. "That is not what I meant to convey — that's what you heard," he told reporters here tonight in the corner of a high school gymnasium after a pep rally. Even so his remarks Wednesday night seemed unequivocal. Asked if he would tolerate dissent among the top officers, he said, "Of course."

Mr. Gore's remarks had been widely criticized by military leaders and former military officials. Even in his own campaign, there was reaction to Mr. Gore's remarks today.

A 'clarification' and an effort to clear up a second embarrassment.

Senator John Kerry, a Massachusetts Democrat and Vietnam veteran, said commanders of small, specialized units should be allowed to choose members without the hindrance of broad policies.

The Gore campaign has been openly courting black voters and homosexual voters, and Mr. Gore's backtracking tonight on the litmus test and on Ms. Brazile's comments suggested that the campaign had perhaps gone too far on both counts.

There was an odd confluence of these two episodes in the person of General Powell, one of the most popular figures in America. He objected in 1993 to President Clinton's attempt to allow gays to serve openly in the military, which resulted in the compromise of the "don't ask, don't tell policy." But as someone who has traditionally remained above the political fray, he did not comment on Mr. Gore's suggestion Wednesday on the litmus test. But he did respond to Ms. Brazile's comments, sending a note to Mr. Gore that he had been "disappointed and offended" by them. Mr. Gore, like Mr. Bradley, has put an especially strong emphasis on the gay vote in this campaign, appealing directly to homosexuals in speeches, meetings with gay leaders and in policy positions. In New York, both have slated openly gay dele-

a determination to implement it in that kind of change is going to take place," he said.

But before Mr. Gore backpedaled on the litmus test, some of his supporters said they believed Mr. Bradley had proved more politically adept than Mr. Gore at winning over gay supporters.

Homosexuals have found increasing strength at the ballot box. People who identify themselves as gay make up between 8 and 9 percent of the primary electorate nationwide and a bit more in New York and California, according to polls of voters leaving the booths in previous elections. In general elections, they account for about 5 percent of the national total.

Some Gore advisers believe that while Mr. Bradley is newer to his overt commitment to gay rights than Mr. Gore, he has gained traction in the gay community for two reasons. One is that Mr. Gore suffers by association with President Clinton. Although Mr. Clinton was the first presidential candidate to openly court gays, many were disenchanted with his compromise on gays in the military, settling for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy that now even Mr. Clinton has called unworkable.

The second reason is that some Gore supporters think Mr. Bradley has out-foxed Mr. Gore in the race for gay votes. "Gore has a stronger record over a longer period of time of being a leader on these issues," said Richard Socarides, until recently the Clinton Administration official who oversaw gay and lesbian issues. "But it's frustrating because he's been out-maneuvered on tactics."

For example, while Mr. Gore has long argued privately within the Administration to allow gays to serve openly in the military, it was Mr. Bradley who first said publicly in this campaign that he favored such a policy. Mr. Gore did not publicly declare his support for the policy until after Hillary Clinton and then President Clinton both criticized the current policy. This played into the damaging perception that Mr. Gore is a politician who waits for political cover before taking a bold position.

As a result, Mr. Gore has been looking for ways to distinguish himself on matters of interest to homosexuals. Gore supporters said that the sharper comments at Wednesday night's debate — while not planned because the litmus-test question was not foreseen — stemmed from Mr. Gore's long-held belief that gays should serve openly but also from his need to try to gain



Vice President Al Gore backpedaled yesterday from his earlier comment about gays in the military and tried to clear up embarrassment over comments made by his campaign manager, Donna Brazile.

an edge over Mr. Bradley and separate himself from the Clinton compromise.

Emily Giske, a vice chairman of the New York State Democratic Party and one of the lesbian leaders whom Mr. Gore is to meet with on Monday in New York, said that while she was watching Mr. Gore's comments at the debate, she thought, "Of course he is looking for a way to put his own stamp on this issue."

California and New York are home to significant blocs of gay voters, and for the first time in presidential politics, those voters are now themselves part of a calculated strategy to win the Democratic nomination. Homosexuals figure as prominently in Mr. Gore's plans to stop Mr. Bradley as do African-Americans and organized labor, while Mr. Bradley is counting on them to help transform his insurgent candidacy into the nomination.

"It's the first time there's been a competition in any presidential primary for the gay and lesbian vote," said Jeff Trammell, Mr. Gore's top

adviser on gay issues. "It's the coming of age political and lesbian Americans."

What is different in this campaign is not only the competition for the vote but that the gay vote is perceived to be significant. It is a form part of Mr. Gore's strategy.

The current thinking in the Gore camp goes like this: Mr. Gore is poised to win the Iowa caucuses Jan. 24 but is neck and neck with Mr. Bradley in the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 1. If New Hampshire legitimizes Mr. Bradley, New York, which votes March 7 and is extremely receptive to Mr. Gore, could follow suit. In that case, California, which also votes March 7, becomes all the more critical to Gore.

While Mr. Gore is counting on organized labor and minorities to help him in New York, he is also appealing to homosexuals to stop an anti-gay momentum in California, said. Turnout among gays is higher than usual in California because of an initiative on the ballot to ban same-sex marriage.

Gore advisers said that the president's comments are part of a growing consensus that gay rights is not as politically toxic as it once was, particularly after several high-profile murders.

A Gallup poll last month showed that 70 percent of Americans support allowing gays in the military.

Comments on Joint Chiefs of Staff

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

I would try to bring about the kind of change in the "don't ask, don't tell" policy, that Truman brought about after World War II in the military. And I think that he wanted to serve in on the to be in agreement

tion'
rt to
econd
nent.

ry, a Massachu-
id Vietnam vet-
nders of small,
ould be allowed to
without the hin-
licies.
gn has been open-
oters and homo-
Mr. Gore's back-
i the litmus test
s comments sug-
mpaign had per-
n both counts.
dd confluence of
of in the person of
of the most pop-
rica. He objected
ent Clinton's at-
s to serve openly
ch resulted in the
"don't ask, don't
someone who has
ied above the po-
not comment on
on Wednesday on
he did respond to
nents, sending a
hat he had been
offended" by
ke Mr. Bradley,
ly strong empha-
in this campaign,
o homosexuals in
with gay leaders
ns. In New York,
openly gay dele-

while Mr. Bradley is newer to his overt commitment to gay rights than Mr. Gore, he has gained traction in the gay community for two reasons. One is that Mr. Gore suffers by association with President Clinton. Although Mr. Clinton was the first presidential candidate to openly court gays, many were disenchanted with his compromise on gays in the military, settling for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy that now even Mr. Clinton has called unworkable.

The second reason is that some Gore supporters think Mr. Bradley has out-foxed Mr. Gore in the race for gay votes. "Gore has a stronger record over a longer period of time of being a leader on these issues," said Richard Socarides, until recently the Clinton Administration official who oversaw gay and lesbian issues. "But it's frustrating because he's been out-maneuvered on tactics."

For example, while Mr. Gore has long argued privately within the Administration to allow gays to serve openly in the military, it was Mr. Bradley who first said publicly in this campaign that he favored such a policy. Mr. Gore did not publicly declare his support for the policy until after Hillary Clinton and then President Clinton both criticized the current policy. This played into the damaging perception that Mr. Gore is a politician who waits for political cover before taking a bold position.

As a result, Mr. Gore has been looking for ways to distinguish himself on matters of interest to homosexuals. Gore supporters said that the sharper comments at Wednesday night's debate — while not planned because the litmus-test question was not foreseen — stemmed from Mr. Gore's long-held belief that gays should serve openly but also from his need to try to gain



Associated Press

Vice President Al Gore backpedaled yesterday from his earlier statement about gays in the military and tried to clear up embarrassment over comments made by his campaign manager, Donna Brazile.

an edge over Mr. Bradley and separate himself from the Clinton compromise.

Emily Giske, a vice chairman of the New York State Democratic Party and one of the lesbian leaders whom Mr. Gore is to meet with on Monday in New York, said that while she was watching Mr. Gore's comments at the debate, she thought, "Of course he is looking for a way to put his own stamp on this issue."

California and New York are home to significant blocs of gay voters, and for the first time in presidential politics, those voters are now themselves part of a calculated strategy to win the Democratic nomination. Homosexuals figure as prominently in Mr. Gore's plans to stop Mr. Bradley as do African-Americans and organized labor, while Mr. Bradley is counting on them to help transform his insurgent candidacy into the nomination.

"It's the first time there's been a competition in any presidential primary for the gay and lesbian vote," said Jeff Trammell, Mr. Gore's top

adviser on gay issues. "It's part of the coming of age politically for gay and lesbian Americans."

What is different in this election is not only the competition for the gay vote but that the gay vote is now perceived to be significant enough to form part of Mr. Gore's bedrock strategy.

The current thinking inside the Gore camp goes like this: Mr. Gore is poised to win the Iowa caucuses on Jan. 24 but is neck and neck with Mr. Bradley in the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 1. If New Hampshire legitimizes Mr. Bradley, New York, which votes March 7 and is already extremely receptive to Mr. Bradley, could follow suit. In that case, California, which also votes March 7, becomes all the more critical for Mr. Gore.

While Mr. Gore is counting on organized labor and minorities to help him in New York, he is also relying on homosexuals to stop any Bradley momentum in California, advisers said. Turnout among gays could be higher than usual in California this year because of an initiative on the ballot to ban same-sex marriage.

Gore advisers said that the vice president's comments reflected a growing consensus that supporting gay rights is not as politically perilous as it once was, particularly since several high-profile murders of gays.

A Gallup poll last month found that 70 percent of Americans support allowing gays in the military (although 76 percent of those in senior military ranks are opposed).

"Gore and Bradley are sensing a change in public opinion," said Aaron Belkin, an assistant professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara and director of a center that studies gays in the military. "The issue has become safe."

"And," he added, "they really want the gay votes in California. Both are coming from exactly the same position, they're just trying to outflank each other."

book is rife v
on the matte
page book, bu
chapter, one
Never min
pets were c
longer articl
mentaries th
ing observat
paign has lea
and to use th
None of the
viously kept
Mr. Bush ga
vided journa
script, a syno
of the acad
naries who
their telepho
But "A Fro
which came
the hits, in
allows the m
types of pe
primaries t
Bush.
The book
the Bush ca
despite his
tions of him
he has clear
array of iss
several com
But "A F
is also a ne
style, metl
Bush camp
thorough,
opulently p
emphatic i
suation i
gravitas t
Mr. Bus
election-s
Charge t
by his
Karen P.
William
So "A
a bonus,
itself, at
Aides s
already
Mr. E
pearance
"For
ing at
Chapte

But "A Fro
which came
the hits, in
allows the m
types of pe
primaries t
Bush.

The book
the Bush ca
despite his
tions of him
he has clear
array of iss
several com

But "A F
is also a ne
style, metl
Bush camp
thorough,
opulently p
emphatic i
suation i
gravitas t

Mr. Bus
election-s
Charge t
by his
Karen P.
William
So "A
a bonus,
itself, at
Aides s
already
Mr. E
pearance
"For
ing at
Chapte

ing at
Chapte

A Tri And

Aw:
Bush
eloqu
tion -
Te
the
nig
Br

ments on Joint Chiefs of Staff

I would try to bring about the kind of change in the "don't ask, don't tell" policy, that Truman brought about after World War II in the military. And I think that he wanted to serve in on the to be in agreement

u would only
if they sup-

w policy
lishes
nges
t in
ng
t-

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION