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Gays in the Military [binder] [2]

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GAY COMMUNITY

March 25, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT: GAY COMMUNITY RELATIONS

As we discussed in the morning meeting, we need a point person to serve as a liaison to and communicate with the gay community. As we agreed, you will be that person.

In addition to naming a liaison, the administration needs to develop an overall strategy towards the gay community. I hope that this memo will begin this process.

Let me begin by saying that we must continually communicate with the mainstream gay community (i.e. Human Rights Campaign Fund, Gay and Lesbian Task Force, etc.) Our communication with the community at large through the above organizations will strengthen their voice. In both the long and short terms, this can only help.

Any given strategy, however, is more than with whom you communicate. It requires actions and a sense of purpose.

Following are the actions I think need to be taken immediately in order to stabilize relations with the mainstream gay community and to regain their trust:

1. AIDS CZAR: We have a candidate for the position with a tentative date for announcement around April 6th or 7th. The only issue that still needs to be addressed is to whom that person will report.

2. AIDS RESEARCH: As part of the stimulus package, we increased funding for AIDS research from \$1.1 billion to \$1.3 billion. This is important to the gay community, and therefore we need to "advertise" it to the proper organizations and community specific press.

3. HEALTH CARE TASK FORCE: Carol Roscoe is in the process of setting up a meeting between AIDS service organizations and a representative from the task force. The meeting participants should be cleared with The Campaign for Human Rights, Gay and Lesbian Task Force, etc.

4. AIDS QUILT: Hillary and Tipper should visit the AIDS Quilt while it is in town for the March on Washington.

5. PRESIDENTIAL MEETING: As we discussed, I think we should wait to decide on this issue until after the weekend. At that time, the concerned individuals might have a less emotional perspective on the need for this meeting. If we do decide to pursue a meeting, it should be cleared with the appropriate leadership.

6. NIH RE-ORDER: In the NIH legislation, we re-ordered something to the satisfaction of the gay community and this needs to be communicated in a targeted fashion.

The above actions will, we hope, establish a trust between this administration and the gay community on a range of issues. We need to continue to build on that trust.

To do so, we must find issues that have support both within the gay community and in the general public. Within the gay community, health care and civil rights are the priority issues. These are issues which also enjoy broad public support. In general, the American public supports increased funding for AIDS research; the public also opposes discrimination towards gays as a principle.

Focusing on these two issues, because they are "agreement issues," will help build a trust that will be needed to deal with more difficult issues. However, we must be careful to do this without looking like we are capitulating to their demands.

In terms of health care, I think we have covered the bases with the AIDS research funding increase, the Carol Roscoe meeting, and the NIH re-order.

In terms of civil rights, there are two key issues that need to be resolved: the administration's strategy on gays in the military and the administration's position on civil rights legislation that impacts the community.

1. GAYS IN THE MILITARY: You need Mack to get Les, Sandy, Howard, and yourself around a table to determine a policy/strategy towards the hearings and final report. The hearings should be driven by and directed towards what type of final report we can expect.

2. CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: Civil rights legislation was recently introduced that concerns the gay community. Some research needs to be gathered on the legislation and how it impacts the issues of gays in the military. Furthermore, we need to assess whether this legislation has a chance of passing.

The above issues are the real thorns in our relations with the gay community. The quicker the administration can offer a resolution on these issues, the better off we will be in July. I know that everyone feels burnt on the military issue and

therefore wants to avoid it. I think that would be a mistake. Your hardest task will be making us all focus on and decide what to do.

One final point: When asked about the administration's relationship to the gay community, I always remind reporters that Bill Clinton ran a campaign that openly courted the gay community. He ran a campaign which sought their financial and political support. The significance of this action and the relationship the President forged with the gay community should not be lost.

Until the Clinton/Gore campaign, the gay community had never been treated or respected as a serious political community. They were always ushered in the back door or, even worse, met with discreetly. The campaign Bill Clinton ran established them in a way that changed their community's political stature. In short, by listening to them, he gave them a political voice. This was no small accomplishment and should not be forgotten.

cc: Mack McLarty

cc RL 6 & LB
Steve

June 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR ALEXIS HERMAN
MARK GEARAN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: KEITH BOYKIN

SUBJECT: GAYS IN THE MILITARY UPDATE

This memo summarizes the major happenings in the gays in the military story. The topic is likely to resurface in the news Thursday and Friday of this week.

General Colin Powell will speak at Harvard University's Commencement Exercises tomorrow (Thursday) afternoon. I have received a draft copy of his speech, and I am told that the final version will not address the military ban, but the General is likely to receive questions on the topic at his press availability in Cambridge. A number of students plan to protest his speech by wearing "lift the ban" stickers on their mortarboards and carrying pink balloons. No civil disobedience is planned at this time. At the moment, his speechwriters are still working on late revisions, but I have asked to receive a copy of the speech once it is finished.

Also tomorrow, the Washington Post is scheduled to publish an op-ed written by former Republican Senator Barry Goldwater. Goldwater supports lifting the ban and opposes the various "don't ask; don't tell" proposals. In the op-ed, Goldwater says, "If I were in the Senate today, I would rise on the Senate floor in support of our commander-in-chief. He may be a Democrat -- but he happens to be right." Goldwater will also appear on "Larry King Live" Thursday night and may be booked on the morning shows for Friday.

I have received a number of phone calls from leaders of gay and lesbian organizations who have heard rumors and speculation (1) that the President or Administration has accepted the so-called "Nunn compromise," and (2) that some compromise plan will be announced soon, possibly as early as Friday.

Several people, both on the Hill and in the various groups, have asked me when the White House plans to coordinate a strategy on this issue. Both Rep. Frank's and Sen. Kennedy's offices would like a meeting between the White House and members of Congress to work out a legislative strategy for supporting the President's proposal. Congressman Frank also thinks the gay groups should be engaged in implementing the strategy. Sen.

Kennedy's office thinks it would be a good strategy to try to release the President's Executive Order and the "Implementation Plan" simultaneously rather than separately. Future Senate hearings on the military ban may involve taking the implementation plan to Fort Bragg to get responses, according to Sen. Kennedy's office.

Rudy DeLeon, Secretary Aspin's special assistant, said he will be preparing some form of legislative strategy, so he should probably be in on any congressional meetings with the Administration.

cc Steve
cc [unclear] / 6 & L/m

June 12, 1993

AmH

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
MARK GEARAN

CC: ALEXIS HERMAN
FROM: KEITH BOYKIN
SUBJECT: FINAL OVERVIEW ON GAYS IN THE MILITARY

The President consistently articulates libertarian and utilitarian arguments for non-discrimination. For example, he usually justifies his position in favor of lifting the ban as an effort to encourage Americans' self-fulfillment and productivity. He has repeatedly committed himself to protecting those people who, as he says, "work hard and play by the rules."

The President has rejected separating (i.e., discharging) members of the armed forces because of their sexual orientation "status alone," but he would accept separation for behavior. The behavior, however, must be "wrong," which means that seemingly innocuous actions such as declaration of one's sexual orientation would not be grounds for separation. The President's position conflicts with Senator Nunn's position that the mere declaration of homosexuality would constitute behavior.

The President has used conclusory terms such as "objectionable," "destructive," "improper" or "disqualifying" in describing what behavior would be wrong. He has not defined any specific disqualifying behavior other than "sexual harassment, whether homosexual or heterosexual."

The President clearly opposes any changes in the code of military conduct. This suggests that the continued presence of the anti-sodomy regulations would not necessarily bar his plan to lift the ban. Here again, Senator Nunn disagrees with the President's conclusion.

The President has made very few public comments about the various compromise proposals that have surfaced since January. Despite the uproar over the prospect of what some call "segregating" troops, the President has only once even mentioned this possibility, and that was nearly three months ago. He did not say he would accept "segregation"; he said only (1) he thought it would be constitutional under current law and (2) his opinion on such action would depend on the Secretary's report.

The President has made only one public comment about the various "don't ask; don't tell" compromises (May 27, 1993, CBS Town Meeting). Without endorsing either the Frank or Nunn

proposals, the President suggested a compromise resolution might be likely if the "don't tell" provision does not penalize homosexuals who do not "out" themselves but are "outed" by others. In other words, a gay sailor turned in by a shipmate would not be discharged unless the gay sailor did something himself to make an issue of his sexual orientation.

This proposal would seem to eliminate some of the "witch hunts," especially many of those directed at women who rebuff men and are subsequently investigated for homosexuality. However, the gay and lesbian groups would see such a compromise as a major retreat if it penalized homosexuals for casual, non-confrontational, or accidental disclosure of one's sexual orientation.

On January 29, the President said "the single thing that has been dividing people on this debate...is whether a person, in the absence of any other disqualifying conduct, can simply say that he or she is homosexual and stay in the service." Therefore, any compromise that prohibits a service member even to acknowledge his or her sexual orientation would be a full retreat on what the President has called the "single" issue of the debate.

As you will note from the quotations about the Joint Chiefs and the Congress, the President highly values the support of the Joint Chiefs. Paradoxically, the President appears more concerned about the opinion of the Joint Chiefs (who are subordinate to him) than about the opinion of members of Congress (who he acknowledges have the power to "overturn" his Executive Order). I think this paradox reflects the reality that if the Joint Chiefs endorse a compromise Executive Order, then many members of Congress will not actively oppose it.

The President's comments indicate his preference for a compromise solution over a divisive political battle. He hailed the initial six-month study compromise as evidence of the end of gridlock in Washington, D.C. and has repeatedly attempted to portray the subsequent debate as a very narrowly focused disagreement.

Finally, the President has gone out of his way to address concerns that lifting the ban would impose the government imprimatur on a particular lifestyle. He often responds to this argument even when the issue is not raised by the questioner, and he acknowledges his sensitivity to the appearance of lifestyle endorsement. His standard answer to the lifestyle question (until May 27) denies any connection between lifting the ban and endorsing a lifestyle. However, in his last public comment on endorsing a lifestyle, in response to a question from a Southern minister at a town hall meeting, the President for the first time acknowledged the endorsement problem as "a legitimate concern."

GAY LEADERS

GAY/LESBIAN COMMUNITY CONTACT LIST

April 21, 1993

Gregory Adams	March on Washington (co-chair) (202) 628-4013, 0493
Caroline Aronovitz	Department of Justice spokesperson (202) 514-2018
Andrew Barrer	Coalition '93 Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund (202) 842-8679 - office (202) 333-3306 - home
Keith Boykin	White House Communications (202) 456-7151 (202) 332-5662
Robert Bray	National Gay & Lesbian Task Force (202) 332-6483 - office (202) 332-6069 - overnight phone
Chandler Burr	New Yorker (free lance writer) (202) 291-0545
Rocco Claps	Democratic National Committee (202) 863-8056 (202) 547-5173
Mario Cooper	Porter Novelli (202) 973-5827, 6827
Karen DeWitt	New York Times (reporter) (202) 862-0348
Chai Feldblum	Campaign for Military Service (legal) (202) 265-6666
Rep. Barney Frank	U.S. Congress (202) 225-5931
Mike Fredrickson	Names Project Quilt (202) 822-7753
David Geffen	The Geffen Company (31)) 285-7962
Mort Halperin	Department of Defense Assistant Secretary for Human Rights (703) 695-3341
Bob Hattoy	White House Personnel (202) 371-1916 - home

Alexis Herman	White House Office of Public Liaison (202) 456-6455
Billy Hileman	March on Washington (co-chair) (202) 628-4013, 0493
Michael Iskowitz	Sen. Kennedy's office (202) 224-6572
Paul Kawata	National Minority AIDS Council
Lisa Keen	Washington Blade (editor) (202) 797-7000, x233
Gregory King	Human Rights Campaign Fund (spokesman) (202) 628-4160
Jeff Levi	AIDS Action Council
David Mixner	Lift the Ban; FOB (Staying at Mayflower Hotel during March)
Tim McFeeley	Human Rights Campaign Fund, Exec. Director (202) 628-4160
Torie Osborn	National Gay & Lesbian Task Force, Executive Director (202) 332-6483 - office (202) 232-5529 - home
Paul Richard	White House Staff Secretary's Office (202) 456-6600
Karen Ringen	AIDS Action Council
Eric Rosenthal	Human Rights Campaign Fund, Political Director (202) 628-4160
Bill Rubenstein	ACLU Lesbian & Gay Rights Project, Director (212) 944-9800, x544
Jeffrey Schmalz	New York Times (reporter) (212) 556-4391 (212) 663-4826
Eric Schmitt	New York Times (reporter)
Tom Sheridan	Campaign for Military Service (lobbyist) (202) 265-6666; 462-7288
David Smith	Campaign for Military Service, Communications Director (202) 265-6666; Sky Page pin #571-9446

[illegible]

Campaign for Military Service, Coordinator
(202) 265-6666 - office
(212) 362-8282 - home

Campaign for Military Service, Coordinator
(202) 265-6666 - office
(212) 362-8282 - home

U.S. Congress
(202) 225-3111

The New Republic (Editor)
(202) 331-7494

Gay & Lesbian Victory Fund,
Executive Director
(202) 842-8679

Black Gay & Lesbian Leadership Forum
AIDS Project Los Angeles
(213) 962-1600, x572 or x584 - office
(800) 759-7243, Pin # 862-5854 - beeper

Black Gay & Lesbian Leadership Forum
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(213) 962-1600, x572 or x584 - office
(800) 759-7243, Pin # 862-5854 - beeper

March 25, 1993

COMMUNICATIONS

To: Alexis Herman
Fr: Ricki Seidman
Re: Contacts on Gays in the Military

The following individuals would be useful contacts in developing strategy and coordinating with the Campaign for Military Service. I have worked closely with each of them at my previous jobs. They are thoughtful, reasonable people and really want to help us.

David Crane
People for the American Way

467-4999

Lori McHugh
PR Consultant for Campaign for Military Service
(formerly Kennedy's Labor Comm. Press Secretary)

667-0901

Michael Iskowitz
Senator Kennedy's office

224-6572

cc: Keith Boykin, Mark Gearan

Chuck Blitz

805-962-8888

M E M O R A N D U M

March 25, 1993

TO: Alexis Herman

FR: Keith Boykin

RE: Meeting with gay leaders

I met with several leaders of the Campaign for Military Service (CMS) today. CMS is an umbrella organization representing 30 different civil rights groups, including the ACLU, the NAACP, the Black Gay and Lesbian Leadership Forum, the American Jewish Congress, and other groups. The group has formed to secure congressional and public support for an executive order to lift the ban on gays in the military. As you may already know, CMS's coordinator, Tom Stoddard, wrote a letter to President Clinton yesterday urging the President not to consider segregating gays in the military.

Mr. Stoddard and the other leaders were confused about whether your upcoming meeting will be with gay leadership generally or more selectively with the groups involved in the military ban issue. He said he has a meeting with Rahm Emanuel scheduled for Friday about the military ban.

Because Senate hearings begin Monday, the issue of gays in the military is more immediately pressing than the larger, but important, issues on the gay civil rights agenda (e.g., the March, AIDS czar, HIV immigration ban). CMS would like to do two things: (1) meet with White House staff prior to Monday's hearings to discuss Administration strategy for the hearings, and (2) organize an informal working group to communicate between the White House and CMS on daily developments.

N/CC
G&L

M E M O R A N D U M

April 18, 1993

FR: Keith Boykin

RE: Meeting with gay/lesbian leaders

Because of the misreporting about what took place at the President's meeting with gay and lesbian leaders, here are my notes about what was said:

AIDS -- The President began the meeting by acknowledging that "I guess this is a historic meeting." Shortly into the President's introductory remarks, Phill Wilson, who was seated next to the President, seized on a break in the President's sentence and started to introduce the group's purpose. Phill described himself to the group as an African American gay man living with AIDS. In response to Phill, the President said that he had fully funded the Ryan White Act, that he had been turned down twice in his attempts to staff the AIDS czar position because the candidates had "family considerations" to look out for, and that he would try to appoint an AIDS czar by next Friday, the weekend of the March.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON -- Nadine Smith and Billy Hileman moved the conversation to the subject of the March on Washington, and they and others spoke about the symbolic importance of the President's participation in the March. The President confirmed that he would not be physically present at the March because of his events in Jamestown and Boston, but he expressed a willingness to listen to the group's requests for some form of live participation, such as a video hookup or telephone call. He indicated that he would think about it some more after he returned to his office from a Rose Garden ceremony.

Several participants, including Bob Hattoy, put in emotional pitches for the President to do something for the March, and at one point the President tried unsuccessfully to divert the conversation. "Let's talk about something else," he said. Billy Hileman described his experiences as an openly gay teacher who knows other gay teachers who fear associating with him lest they be stereotyped as homosexual or subjected to gay bashing. Billy said the President's remarks could address violence against gays and lesbians. Torie Osborn suggested the President could satisfy the crowd with five simple words: "Welcome gay and lesbian America." Torie also described the decade as "the gay nineties," which caused the President to jolt his head back and break out in laughter.

GAYS IN THE MILITARY -- Tom Stoddard and others moved the conversation to the ban on gays in the military. Without really saying so, the President made it clear that he was still committed to lifting the ban. He said that just about every

woman in uniform in the White House had come up to him and told him to keep fighting for this. He told a story about a presidential ceremony with a championship high school football team from the sticks when the coach came up to talk about gays in the military, and to Clinton's surprise, told the President that he was doing the right thing. He expressed confidence that the ban could be lifted if we keep fighting to change attitudes, and he indicated that he might be able to win over some of the Joint Chiefs. He also said that Colin Powell was better on the gay issue than had been publicly suggested and pointed to Powell's letter to the editor in USA Today on Friday. Then the President mentioned a discussion Powell had had with him, but he asked the participants to keep the Powell discussion secret.

Tom Stoddard told the President that Sam Nunn had been using the President's own language about status versus conduct against the White House, and the President -- indicating that he had read his briefing memo -- jumped in to ask if Tom wanted him to use "misconduct" instead. The President also said that Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney and the Canadian Ambassador had offered their assistance to the cause since Canada has already lifted its ban and no problems have been reported, according to Mulroney. Clinton also said he had hoped that the Canadian Ambassador would be called to testify at the Senate hearings, but he understood how it could be inappropriate for a foreign ambassador to do so.

When Tom Stoddard thanked the President for his leadership on the gays in the military issue, the President responded demurely that the whole topic came up accidentally as he responded to an unexpected question after a speech he gave at the JFK School.

OTHER ISSUES -- The President brushed aside concern about poll numbers, and candidly admitted that his unfavorables are pretty high right now, but he said his favorables are up around Reagan's. Nevertheless, he dismissed concern about being political versus being right, saying he didn't care as long as everyone was with him come election time four years from now. The President also noted that an old friend had told him that he would go down in history as the President who did health care and gay rights.

The meeting also touched on an executive order banning discrimination in federal hiring, but the President made no firm statements on the subject. There was no discussion about gay appointments or about HIV travel and immigration policy. When asked about the HIV policy at the post-meeting press conference, Phill Wilson said the topic did not come up "at this meeting," indicating that he expected to develop a longterm relationship with the White House.

NOTES ON REACTION TO
THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH GAY/LESBIAN LEADERS

GAY LEADERS' SPIN -- At the post-meeting press availability, Tom Stoddard praised the President's moral leadership. Responding to a reporter's suggestion that the group had been snubbed because the press had been excluded, Tim McFeeley said, "It is possible to have a cordial meeting without the press." And Torie Osborn had come up with the soundbite of the day when she told the press the President said his body will be in Boston but his soul will be with the marchers in Washington. We couldn't have scripted it any better.

Billy Hileman made some comment about how the President expressed his support for gay teachers and another speaker revealed what the President had said about appointing an AIDS czar before the March, but those were the only two bad comments. Most of the cameras fixed in on Billy, a red-headed, mustached white guy who was dressed in jeans, combat boots, t-shirt, leather vest, freedom rings, ear rings, bracelets, and black leather cap worn backwards. He seemed to revel in the attention and stood around posing even after the press availability had ended.

PRESS COVERAGE -- The evening news coverage was mixed. Even Brit Hume's piece was positive, in spite of the lead that suggested we had tried to hide the group from the press. At the end, Hume said the White House couldn't have hoped for a stronger endorsement than it got today. Susan Spencer wasn't bad either, suggesting that the group's positive spin meant that after so many years on the outside the group was pleased just to be in the White House. But Jim Micklasezvski was horrible. First he listed a litany of items that he said the group said the President had promised. Not true. Second, he said that the meeting would be a mixed blessing for the President and that Clinton may have overinflated the group's expectations.

Of the print coverage, Karen DeWitt's New York Times story was short and straightforward. It ran next to a picture of the group members walking into the White House, with Billy Hileman (hat and all) in the rear. Jeffrey Schmalz's Sunday Times story focused on the perceived division between the mainstream gay leaders at the meeting and the more activist types who accused the meeting participants of selling out. His story reported a discussion about whether White House staff members were comfortable with gay issues, but no such discussion took place. The story also misidentified Alexis Herman as a gay staff member.

Ann Devroy's front page Washington Post piece was mostly accurate, although it suggested that the White House had tried to downplay the meeting. Both the Post and the Philadelphia Inquirer ran their stories with the White House photo from the meeting. The Inquirer story quoted the Rev. Lou Sheldon of the

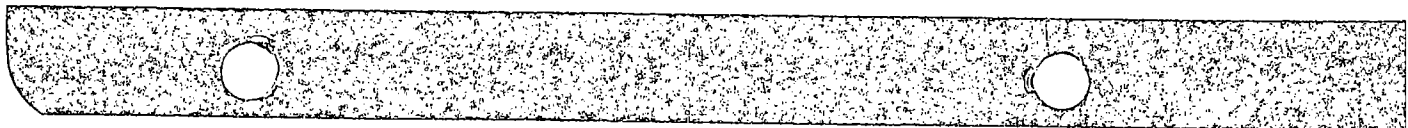
Traditional Values Coalition who described Clinton as the confirmed "homosexual president" much like Bush wanted to be the "education president."

Joyce Price's Washington Times story was way off the mark. The headline said "Clinton plans hookup to gay-rights rally" but the article nowhere supported that claim. Price could only find gay leaders who said they wanted a hookup or hoped for one, but no one (and certainly no one in the White House) said a hookup was "planned." The New York Daily News front page screamed out in huge bold letters that engulfed the full tabloid page:

BILL'S GAY PLEDGE

- * Military Ban will end on July 15
 - * Vows an AIDS czar within a week
- (story on page 2)

GAY MILITARY CASES



cc Steve
R/G/K m

✓ AMH'S

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDE

05-Apr-1993 03:59pm

TO: Alexis Herman
TO: Ricki Seidman
TO: S. Collier Andress
TO: Heather Beckel

FROM: Keith Boykin
Office of Communications

MAY - 3 1993

SUBJECT: Pending gay cases likely to make news by July 15

April 5, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO STAFF

FROM: Keith Boykin

RE: Cases involving gays in the military

The following high-profile cases (identified by names) related to gays in the military are winding their way through the U.S. civilian and military justice systems.

Margarethe Cammermeyer: (W.D. WA) Cammermeyer, the chief nurse of the Washington State National Guard, admitted her homosexuality and was separated from the Army National Guard based on her statements and witnesses statements at an administrative board hearing. She filed suit on June 11, 1992 and now opposes DoD's motion for a stay until July 15.

Mel Dahl: (9th Cir.) Dahl was discharged on January 13, 1982 for homosexual statements (no acts). Dahl lost on his equal protection and free speech claims and appealed the decision in 1990. The Ninth Circuit reversed the equal protection decision and sent the case back to the trial court, which has not yet decided the case. The trial court judge denied the government's request for a stay until July 15, 1993.

Marine Corps. Sgt. Justin Elzie: (NC) Following President Clinton's announcement that he intended to lift the ban on gays in the military, Sgt. Elzie, 30, declared his homosexuality during a television interview on January 24. Because of Elzie's 10-year record, a military board recommended on March 31 that he be given an honorable discharge. On April 1, 1993 firebombs exploded outside a gay bar in Jacksonville, North Carolina. At

least one witness reported spotting several Marines running away from the scene.

First Lt. Heidi De Jesus Lopez: (N.D. Texas) The Air Force initiated discharge action against Lopez on October 9, 1992 for bisexual status and homosexual conduct (sodomy). She filed suit December 22 for a preliminary injunction to prevent the continuation of her discharge proceedings. The District Court denied the injunction for ripeness, so the hearings have proceeded while Lopez awaits the Fifth Circuit's decision on her appeal.

Keith Meinhold: (C.D. CA) After 12 years of exemplary enlisted service in the U.S. Navy, Meinhold was discharged honorably after announcing his homosexuality on a television program. No homosexual conduct was admitted or alleged. The trial judge declared the gay ban unconstitutional and ordered a

permanent injunction against applying the military ban to any person. Thus, the ban may not be enforced in the Central District of California. On February 19, 1993, Judge Hatter denied the Government's motion that the court's order be limited to Meinhold. Although President Clinton cited the decision approvingly during the debate over gays in the military, the Justice Department appealed the decision. The Ninth Circuit on March 12, 1993 denied a motion to stay the lower court's order until the appeal had been decided on the merits.

Staff Sgt. Thomas Paniccia: (D. Ariz.) Paniccia announced his homosexuality on "Good Morning America" on July 23, 1992. He repeated this admission to the media on several occasions and was discharged from the Air Force on October 7, 1992. Shortly after Bill Clinton was elected, Paniccia filed suit on November 17, 1992. On the last day of the Bush administration (Jan. 19), the government filed an answer in the case. The Justice Department has not yet requested a stay in accordance with President Clinton's directive.

Crae Pridgen: (NC) Following President Clinton's announcement that he intended to lift the ban on gays in the military, Crae Pridgen, a gay non-service member, was assaulted by three Marines at a gay bar in Wilmington, North Carolina. The Marines reportedly yelled homophobic epithets at Pridgen and attacked him in retaliation for the President's announcement to lift the ban. The criminal assault trial of the three Marines begins April 5, 1993. The Southern Poverty Law Center plans to file a \$40,000 civil suit against the Marines.

Dusty Pruitt: (C.D., Cal.) Lesbian member of the clergy discharged from the Army Reserves in 1986. Pruitt's lawsuit was dismissed by the trial court. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected her free speech argument but reversed the dismissal and sent the case back to the trial court on the discrimination claim. The parties agreed to a stay until April 12, but a hearing is scheduled April 5 on DoD's request for a stay until July 15.

Allen Schindler: (Japan) Gay sailor aboard the U.S.S. Belleau Wood. He was brutally beaten to disfigurement and killed by several other sailors while on a port call in Japan. Court martial proceedings against his assailant are pending in Japan.

Claude Secora: (S.D. OH) Secora was honorably discharged in 1978 based on "homosexual tendencies" and the fact that he had "habitually associated with persons known to be homosexual" and "had frequented a known homosexual establishment." According to the record, Secora had been "married" to his homosexual partner, had exchanged rings with him and, according to his partner, engaged in the "full range" of homosexual acts with him. The relationship lasted for a long time, and ended after a quarrel in which Secora allegedly tossed his lover over a highway bridge. After years of litigation, Secora urged the District Court to

delay final action pending a decision in the Pruitt case. The Justice Department filed a request for a stay on March 15, 1993. Plaintiff has not yet responded to the requested stay.

Lt. Richard Selland: Disclosed his homosexuality to his commanding officer on January 21 believing that the newly inaugurated president would lift the ban on gays in the military. His captain ordered him off the boat that night and the Navy began administrative hearings. His separation proceedings are subject to review by the Attorney General.

Joe Steffan: (D.D.C.) A few weeks before his scheduled graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1987, Steffan admitted his homosexuality and resigned from the Academy. Steffan filed suit in 1988, which was dismissed in 1990 after Steffan refused to answer deposition questions related to homosexual acts. The appeals court reversed the dismissal, but the trial court ultimately threw out the case for summary judgment. Steffan appealed, and the Justice Department lost a motion for a stay pursuant to the President's directive, but the court set oral argument for September 13, 1993, which is after the July 15 stay request date.

Tracy Thorne: Homosexual fighter pilot discharged from the military.

Major Joyce Walmer: (D. Ks.) A military police officer assigned to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Walmer lived with her non-military lesbian "spouse" until the relationship broke up eight years ago. After hearing Walmer's testimony that she had engaged in prohibited sexual conduct with her lover, an administrative discharge board recommended she be honorably discharged. In January 1993, the trial court granted a TRO to prevent discharging Walmer and scheduled a hearing on a permanent injunction for May 24. Senator Sam Nunn wants the government to continue seeking Walmer's removal. White House counsel Walter Dellinger is looking into this case and preparing a memo for Senator Nunn.

FYI

cc [unclear] file
[unclear] 4/1/93

Amey's

April 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO ALEXIS HERMAN

APR 6 1993

CC: Steve Hilton
George Stephanopoulos

FROM: Keith Boykin

RE: Cases involving gays in the military

The following high-profile cases (identified by names) related to gays in the military are winding their way through the U.S. civilian and military justice systems.

Margarethe Cammermeyer: (W.D. WA) Cammermeyer, the chief nurse of the Washington State National Guard, was separated from the Army National Guard. She filed suit on June 11, 1992 and now opposes DoD's motion for a stay until July 15.

Mel Dahl: (9th Cir.) Dahl was discharged on January 13, 1982 for homosexual statements (no acts). The trial court has not yet decided the case. The trial court judge denied the government's request for a stay until July 15, 1993.

Marine Corps. Sgt. Justin Elzie: (NC) Following President Clinton's announcement that he intended to lift the ban on gays in the military, Sgt. Elzie, 30, declared his homosexuality during a television interview. A military board recommended that he be given an honorable discharge.

First Lt. Heidi De Jesus Lopez: (N.D. Texas) The Air Force initiated discharge action against Lopez on October 9, 1992 for bisexual status and homosexual conduct (sodomy). The trial court denied her request for a preliminary injunction to prevent the continuation of her discharge proceedings, so the hearings have proceeded while Lopez awaits the Fifth Circuit's decision on her appeal.

Keith Meinhold: (C.D. CA) Meinhold was discharged honorably after announcing his homosexuality on a television program. The trial judge declared the gay ban unconstitutional and ordered a permanent injunction against applying the military ban to any person. The Justice Department appealed the decision, and the appeals court is still considering the appeal.

Staff Sgt. Thomas Paniccia: (D. Ariz.) Paniccia announced his homosexuality on "Good Morning America" on July 23, 1992. On the last day of the Bush administration (Jan. 19), the government filed an answer in the case. The Justice Department has not yet requested a stay in accordance with President Clinton's directive.

Crae Pridgen: (NC) Following President Clinton's announcement that he intended to lift the ban on gays in the military, Crae Pridgen, a gay non-service member, was assaulted by three Marines at a gay bar in Wilmington, North Carolina. The criminal assault trial of the three Marines began April 5, 1993. The Southern Poverty Law Center plans to file a \$40,000 civil suit against the Marines.

Dusty Pruitt: (C.D., Cal.) Lesbian member of the clergy discharged from the Army Reserves in 1986. Pruitt's lawsuit was dismissed by the trial court. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the dismissal and sent the case back to the trial court on the discrimination claim. The parties agreed to a stay until April 12, but a hearing is scheduled April 5 on DoD's request for a stay until July 15.

Allen Schindler: (Japan) Gay sailor aboard the U.S.S. Belleau Wood. He was brutally beaten to disfigurement and killed by several other sailors while on a port call in Japan. Court martial proceedings against his assailant are pending in Japan.

Claude Secora: (S.D. OH) Secora was honorably discharged in 1978 based on "homosexual tendencies" and the fact that he had "habitually associated with persons known to be homosexual" and "had frequented a known homosexual establishment." The Justice Department filed a request for a stay on March 15, 1993. Plaintiff has not yet responded to the requested stay.

Lt. Richard Selland: Disclosed his homosexuality to his commanding officer on January 21 believing that the newly inaugurated president would lift the ban on gays in the military. His captain ordered him off the boat that night and the Navy began administrative hearings. His separation proceedings are subject to review by the Attorney General.

Joe Steffan: (D.D.C.) A few weeks before his scheduled graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1987, Steffan admitted his homosexuality and resigned from the Academy. Steffan filed suit in 1988, but the case is still in court. The government has to file briefs in the case before July 15 but oral arguments are not scheduled until September.

Tracy Thorne: Homosexual fighter pilot discharged from the military. He wants to be discharged from the service so he can advocate lifting the ban, but he is awaiting the Attorney General's action.

Major Joyce Walmer: (D. Ks.) An administrative discharge board recommended she be honorably discharged for homosexual conduct. In January 1993, the trial court granted a TRO to prevent discharging Walmer and a hearing on a permanent injunction was scheduled for May 24.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

APR 1 1993

March 31, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO MARCIA HALE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF ADVANCE

FROM: MARSHA SCOTT *MS*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF CORRESPONDENCE
AND PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

Usually, we send all Presidential scheduling requests directly to Ann in Room 185 1/2. I thought, however, you might like to see the attached letter from Dorothy Hajdys. She is the mother of Seaman Allen R. Schindler, Jr., the sailor who was killed, (October, 27, 1992), by two shipmates while in Japan.

cc: Alexis Herman
Rahm Emanuel

Daily calendar of events that followed in
the death of Allen Schindler, Jr.
As told by his mother Dorothy Hajdys

October 27, 1992 Two Sailors came to my door in dress blues. One was the Chaplain from Glenview Naval Base and the other the CACO Officer who was assigned to my case. The CACO Officer's name was Chief Petty Officer Royal. They told me that my son had been assaulted by two men in a park in Sasebo, Japan, and that he was dead. They told me that the men had gotten away, but their were two witnesses and that one had tried to give Allen CPR til the Sea Patrol got there. They continued to give him CPR and took him to the Naval Hospital and at 12:09 a.m. he was pronounced dead. He also told me that I would receive condolences from the Captain within 48 hours.

October 29, 1992 Chief Petty Officer Royal came out with a gratuity check for \$6,000 and told me that two men had been arrested and that they were in the brig and that the first one had confessed to the murder, and the second one was taking the fifth Amendment. He could not tell me if they were from Allen's ship or anything. He did not give me anything in writing. He told me my son's body was in Okinawa, Japan for the autopsy, and would then be shipped to Travis Air Force Base, California, within 48 hours and would be there for 24 hours and then shipped to Chicago. He also informed us that Allen's personal belongings would accompany his body. He also stated that there would be a person escorting Allen's body, that would be someone who knew him.

October 30, 1992 Heard nothing.

October 31, 1992 Heard nothing, 48 hours had passed called Chief Petty Officer Royal (he was not there). I left a message at his work and his residence for him to call me as soon as possible, did not hear from him that day.

November 1, 1992 Still heard nothing, called Chief Petty Office Royal again. I again left a message for him to call me as soon as possible. I left another number of where I could be reached, again he never returned my call. Later that night I called Washington, they could not tell anything. I told them that my CACO Officer had not been returning my calls and had not heard from him in over 3 days. I just wanted to know were my son's body was or what was happening, but no one could tell me anything.

November 2, 1992 I again called Chief Petty Officer Royal and the office was not open on Monday. I then called his residence and left another message for him to call me. I then called Washington again to tell them that I was still unable to contact my CACO Officer. All this time I had nothing in writing saying my son was dead. Later that day Chief Petty Officer Royal called me and told me he wasn't sure were my son's body was and would get back to me. A few hours later I got a call from a Sr. Chief Petty Office Ruley. He told me that he had been put on the case and that he would like to come out the next day to talk to me and would try and have some answers for me.

November 3, 1992 Sr. Chief Petty Officer Ruley came out to see me. He brought with him copies of papers that had dates from October 27 til November 3, 1992, with information regarding my son's death. Until this time I had nothing in writing. Chief Ruley went over

many things that Royal had told me that were not right about the death benefits and told me the right answers. There was also some question as to what my son's rank was. He told me that Allen's body was on the way from Japan to the states and was in Hawaii, and should be at Travis Air Force Base soon, and that they would call me as soon as his body got there. I asked him to find out if the coffin would be able to be open or not. I had no idea how bad my son had been beaten. Chief Ruley said as soon as he got back to the office he would make some calls and see what he could find out. About two hours later he called me and told me Allen's body was in California and they would be calling me to let me know about the condition of his body. About a hour later they called me and said that they had done all they could, but my son's face had been destroyed and they did not think I would want an open coffin, but it would be up to me.

November 4, 1992 At about 10:30 a.m. I received a call that Allen's body was at the funeral home in Steger, and that I could come and see him, but not to come alone. They told me that I should bring my brother's with me. When I got there I was told by my minister that I shouldn't go in and see Allen. He told me that he had never seen anything like it before. My brother's and daughter went in first and then I went in. There was a body in the coffin, but it looked nothing like my son. There were cuts on the side of his head and the whole top of his head was caved in and the tip of his nose was all that was sticking out. They then closed the coffin. We then went down stairs and Petty Officer Harvey (the man who escorted my son's body), told us that the two men were from the Belleau Wood. The one who had confessed was 6' 4" and 240 lbs, and was a body builder. The other man was taking the fifth Amendment. Petty Officer Harvey had only seen Allen 1 or 2 times and did not know him. He had only been on the ship for 4 days before Allen was killed. He did not know alot about the ship, but said that there was a lot of politics on the ship, meaning that you could not just go and see the Captain, you had to go through the chain of command. This would mean it would take a day or two before you would see the Captain. This was not common when a ship was in a foreign country. Petty Officer Harvey has been in the Navy for eight years.

November 5, 1992 The wake for my son. Sr. Chief Ruley was there and also Petty Officer Harvey. When everyone had left at 9:00p.m. my daughter and her husband and Chief Ruley went back in and had them open the coffin, so that she could see the tatoos on his arm. Until this time we were not able to know for sure that the body in the coffin was my son. The tatoos of a shark and also the Midway were on his arm. So, we then knew that it was him.

November 6, 1992 The funeral services. Chief Ruley and Petty Officer Harvey were there. At the cemetery there was a honor-guard and there was a 21 gun salute. Chief Ruley was very helpful and was supportive of the family the whole time. We invited them to come to the church for dinner and he then told me he would be out on Monday, but if I needed him for anything just to call him. When I got home the letter from the Captain had came in the mail, and was sent to me regular mail with the stamp taped to it. There was nothing personal in it he just said he was sorry for my son's death, and that the whole ship would mourn my son's death.

November 9, 1992 Chief Ruley came out to see how we were doing and to make a time that he could come out and fill out all the papers that needed to be filled out. He had no new information for us.

November 14, 1992 Chief Ruley came and brought papers for us to fill out. He told me that Allen had named no one as beneficiary for his life insurance, and that his father would be entitled to half the money, unless I could prove that he never supported Allen. I was also told that Allen had never signed up for the G I Bill even though he had told me that he had, and that they had taken the money from his pay for one year. I was told there was no record of them ever taking money from his pay.

November 23, 1992 Allen Sr. filed for half of the life insurance.

December 1, 1992 I sent Chief Ruley proof that Allen had signed up for the G I Bill, and also that they had taken it from his pay.

December 6, 1992 Pacific Stars & Stripes called me for the 2nd time. They had called me about a week before and gave me Vins name, and told me that he had been charged and court-martialed and was not charged with the murder. When he called the second time he told me that my son was killed because it was a gay-bashing and gave me the name of the other man Helvey.

December 7, 1992 Marine Captain Marchiori called me from Japan. I asked him what the motive was for my son's death, he said he did not know. I asked again what my son had seen a lawyer about 2 weeks before he was killed and after asking 2 or 3 times he told me that Allen had seen a lawyer because he had declared himself homosexual and was trying to find out what his rights were. Until this time nothing had been told to me about this. I had no idea that my son may have been killed because of that. I was also told that Vins had already had his court-martial on November 23, 1992. He was charged with leaving the scene of a crime and failure to report a crime. He was given a bad conduct discharge and a 1 year sentence(which was reduced to 4 months). Until then I was under the understanding that he was still taking the fifth ammendment.

December 11, 1992 Pacific Stars & Stripes called to tell me that a article would be in the paper the next day, and it would go over the news wire, and that I should be prepared to have alot of calls.

December 12, 1992 The Chicago Tribune called me about my son's death.

December 13, 1992 My son's 23rd birthday. Every local news channel was at my house, ABC, NBC, CBS and Fox T.V. nightly news.

December 14, 1992 Captain Marchiori telephoned he had no new information.

December 15, 1992 Jim Stewart NBC called.

December 16, 1992 Nightly News with Dan Rathers showed scenes of the bathroom was also on CNN.

December 22, 1992 I talked to a man in Oakland, California, about Allen's personal belongings. He told me he would send them on the 23rd, but they did not arrive until the 26th.

December 26, 1992 Allen's personal belongings arrived. There were some items that were on the list that were not there. The one box arrived partially torn open.

December 29, 1992 Greg Monsma from the San Diego Veteran's Association called and said a spokesman from the Navy stated the beating happened on the ship. I told him I had never hear that. The prosecuting office also called to tell me that the Article 32 was being postponed until January 19, 1993.

December 30, 1992 Tim Trent from Washington called and stated the Navy would pay for me and my daughter Kathy to go to Japan.

January 4, 1993 I spoke to Greg Monsma about a memorial they are having in San Diego for Allen on January 17, 1993. He had met with 15 of Allen's friends, and they told him that Allen had kept a journal. I spoke to Rick Gonzales and he also said that Allen kept a journal.

January 5, 1993 I spoke to Gil Reza (LA Times) he said that a reliable spokesperson from the Navy told him that after Vins was sentenced, he said he had kicked and punched Allen.

January 9, 1993 A article ran on the front page of the L.A. Times. I received many calls from CNN and Prime Time and also producers.

January 11, 1993 I received a letter from a person on the ship, which included pictures of Helvey and Vins. I talked with the prosecuting attorney who stated Allen's journal was part of evidence and that he had just received a copy of it.

January 12, 1993 Received a faxed copy of Allen's journal.

January 14, 1993 Gabriel from 20/20 came to the house to show us a tape and take down information. I agreed to have 20/20 do a article on my son's death.

January 15, 1993 Candlelight Vigil in Seattle, Washington.

January 16, 1993 Billy and I went to San Diego for a Memorial Service for Allen. I met with Jim Jennings and alot of Allen's friends. I also talked with David Greg of New World Production.

January 17, 1993 Had Memorial Service for Allen in San Diego was very nice. We left for Chicago at 11:00p.m., arrived in Chicago at 4:55a.m.

January 18, 1993 Left at 6:55 a.m. for Washington D.C. for a Candlelight Vigil and to meet with members of the Senate and the Congress. Had a meeting with the Human Rights Committee and with 20/20. I stayed at the Washington Hilton. I went to the Candlelight Vigil there was over 200 people there.

January 19, 1993 Went to Senator Nunn's office and spoke to people from his office about Allen's death. I also went to Senator Carol Mosely-Braun's office and spoke to people from her office. I also went to Congressman Mel Reynolds office and spoke to people from his staff. I then returned home. I got a call from the Navy telling me that the Article 32 had started, but Vins was in the hospital and they had to wait until he got out of the hospital, which they thought would be Friday.

January 24, 1993 I read in the paper that the Article 32 had been completed.

January 25, 1993 Navy Commander Newmen called me to tell me the Article 32 had been completed and that it would be about a week before we would find out what the Navy was going to charge Helvey with.

February 1, 1993 Navy did not call.

February 2, 1993 Navy called and said there had not been a decision made yet as to what Helvey would be charged with.

February 3, 1993 3:00 a.m. the Navy called and told me that Helvey had been charged with 1st degree murder. He was also charged with 2 counts of assault and 2 counts of giving false witness under oath, and 1 count of resisting arrest. Later that evening I was told by a reporter that his mother had said that she had talked to her son. Mrs. Helvey stated that her son said that he had made a pre-trial agreement. If he pleaded guilty he would get 15-40 years, but if he pleaded innocent he would get the death penalty. He told his mother that he was going to plead innocent because he didn't kill Allen that Vins had. After the conversation I had with this reporter I then called Chief Ruley and told him that I wanted to talk to the prosecuting attorney now. About a hour later I received a call from the prosecuting attorney's office, he told me that there had been no deal made, and that there would not be a deal made.

February 5, 1993 I went to Congressman Reynolds office to talk to him about Allen. At that time he told me he was trying to arrange for me to fly to Washington the week of the 15th.

February 8, 1993 Prosecuting attorney's office called to reassure me that no deal was going to be made. He also told me what went on at Helvey's arraignment. The date for the trial was postponed until April 27, 1993, because Helvey is trying to get a civilian lawyer.

February 10, 1993 I received a call from a reporter who told me that Vins was out of jail.

February 11, 1993 I talked with Congressman Reynolds about Vins being out of jail. He said he would check into it, but he thought that Vins was probably in protective custody.

February 12, 1993 I talked with another reporter who said that Vins was not in protective custody that he was free, but was being detained in Japan until the trial. I then talked with Chief Ruley who knew nothing about this. About a half hour later he called and said he would be sending a fax with information concerning Vins. The fax states that Vins was let out of jail on February 2, 1993 because of good behavior. Later that evening I attended a memorial service in Chicago for my son.

March 16, 1993

President William Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C. 20001

My Dear Mr. President:

My name is Dorothy Hajdys and I am the mother of Seaman Allen R. Schindler, Jr., the sailor who was killed on October 27, 1992 in Sasebo, Japan by two fellow sailors from his own ship.

My son on September 24, 1992 told the Captain of his ship that he was homosexual. One month and three days later he was dead. I believe it was a gay-bashing.

I know that many people have written to you about this matter and I hope that this letter is seen by you and not given to someone else to handle. I am writing you this letter because I would like to meet with you personally and tell you my story.

I pray that if the ban is lifted on Gays, that there will not be more people killed like my son. Just because of who they are. I still can not understand how anyone could have that much hate for another person.

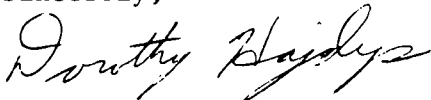
In 1963 I was a senior in High School when President Kennedy was killed. As a senior in high school I felt that he was a great man and would do great things to change our country. You are the First President since Kennedy that I felt could make a real difference in our Country.

I have been to Washington, D.C. and talked with members of the Congress and Senators. Congressman Mel Reynolds has been very helpful to me.

Enclosed is a copy of everything that I have found out since the death of my son from the Navy till February 12, 1993.

I hope that you will make my dream of Justice come true, and let me talk to you personally about my case.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dorothy Hajdys".

Dorothy Hajdys
90 E. 25th St.
Chicago Heights, IL 60411
(708) 754-5987

Handwritten:
J. J. J.
cc memo
a. J. J.

HELLER, EHRMAN, WHITE & MCAULIFFE
ATTORNEYS

A PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS

333 BUSH STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104-2878
FACSIMILE (415) 772-6268
TELEPHONE (415) 772-6000

601 SOUTH FIGUEROA STREET, 40TH FLOOR
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017-5758

TELEPHONE (213) 689-0200 • FACSIMILE (213) 614-1868

701 FIFTH AVENUE
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98104-7098
FACSIMILE (206) 447-0849
TELEPHONE (206) 447-0900

525 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA 94301-1908
FACSIMILE (415) 324-0638
TELEPHONE (415) 328-7800

1201 PACIFIC AVENUE
TACOMA, WASHINGTON 98402-4308
FACSIMILE (206) 572-6743
TELEPHONE (206) 572-6666

May 4, 1993

1300 S.W. FIFTH AVENUE
PORTLAND, OREGON 97201-5696
FACSIMILE (503) 241-0950
TELEPHONE (503) 227-7400

550 WEST 7TH AVENUE
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501-3871
FACSIMILE (907) 277-1920
TELEPHONE (907) 277-1900

MAY - 6 1993

98628-0001

The Honorable Alexis Herman
Assistant to the President and
Director, Office of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Building
Room 122
Washington, D.C. 20500

Frank Buttino v. Federal Bureau of Investigation, et al.

Dear Ms. Herman:

This firm is co-counsel to the certified class of gay and lesbian employees of and applicants to the Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI" or the "Bureau"). Our representation is pro bono. The class is suing under the Equal Protection Clause to end the FBI's practice of discrimination, and for the reinstatement of Frank Buttino, the named representative of the class and a twenty-year veteran of the Bureau. The Bureau revoked Mr. Buttino's security clearance and fired him after it learned that he is gay.

I am writing to you because of your assistance in arranging the recent Oval Office meeting between the President and various gay and lesbian leaders. As you are aware, the President raised the issue of discrimination against gays and lesbians in the Executive Branch outside of the military. Regrettably, the FBI maintains an official policy of discriminating against any homosexual conduct (including that between consenting adults in private) and a practice of discriminating on the basis of sexual orientation.

Trial in this case is set for September 13, 1993 in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, i.e., San Francisco. Although the Bureau is very

The Honorable Alexis Herman
May 4, 1993
Page 2

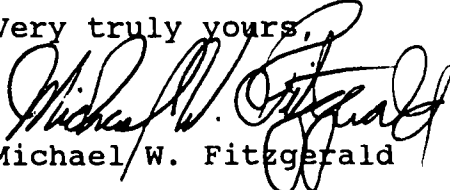
likely to lose this case, the Bureau refuses to settle. This refusal to settle is not only unjust to Mr. Buttino, but also forces the Bureau to take positions on constitutional and political issues that are at odds with the policies of this Administration.

Accordingly, it would be appropriate for either the White House or Presidential appointees at the Department of Justice to review the Bureau's refusal to settle this case. We have already written to Judge Hubbell through the DOJ attorney handling this case, Kevin M. Simpson ((202) 514-3336). Because of the important constitutional issues involved, we have also written to Professor Dellinger. I respectfully ask that you discuss this case with them, and also bring this case to the attention of whomever else you believe should appropriately consider it.

Please call me at (213) 244-7860 if you have any questions. I would be happy to discuss this case further with you, either in person or by phone, if you think that would be helpful.

Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

Very truly yours,



Michael W. Fitzgerald

Enclosures

cc: Kevin M. Simpson, Esq.
(w/out enclosures)

G/L TASK FORCE
POLICY INSTITUTE

FAX Transmission

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute
1734 Fourteenth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009-4309

Return Fax Number: 202-332-0207

Office Phone: 202-332-6483

TTY: 202-332-6219

Date: 1/27Please Deliver to: Christiana LinThis is page 1 of 8 Receiver's Fax #: 456 - 6218Transmitted by: Robin Kane / Richard Wood

Comments: _____

per our conversationsR

20th Anniversary

NATIONAL
NGLTF
GAY & LESBIAN
TASK FORCE

*leading the fight
for freedom*

TO: Christiana Lin, White House Public Liaison

FROM: Robin Kane, Public Information Manager
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

RE: Petitions supporting the President's position on
rescinding the ban on gays in the military

DATE: Wednesday, January 27, 1993

As per our conversation, I am informing the White House Public Liaison Office that our organization currently holds 15,000 petition signatures supporting President Clinton's commitment to rescinding the ban on gays in the military.

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) would like to use these petitions in the most effective way to support the President's position. We are willing to participate in a public event, handing the signatures to a member of the White House staff, if you feel this would be helpful. We ask that you decide how these signatures could best be utilized by your office.

Members of NGLTF and other activists have been collecting the signatures for the past two years at various events around the country. We had anticipated delivering these petitions this month to the White House (regardless of who occupied it) to mark the 50th anniversary of the anti-gay policy.

NGLTF is the nation's oldest gay and lesbian civil rights advocacy organization. We are recognized in the media and by the gay and lesbian movement as the leading organization on gay civil rights issues and the movement's primary spokespeople. Tanya Domi, director of the NGLTF Civil Rights Project and Military Freedom Initiative, is currently the most frequently quoted advocate for repealing the military ban, appearing just this week on C-SPAN, CNN, National Public Radio, CBS, and more. She is a former Army captain, co-author of the Military Freedom Act of 1992 (H.R. 5208) and pro-bono legislative director of the Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Veterans of America.

-- more --

34 14th Street NW
Washington DC 20009
202-332-6483
FAX 202-332-0207
TTY 202-332-6219

Page 2

Should your office opt for a public event, Ms. Domi would be an appropriate messenger to deliver the signatures to the White House.

I have attached a fact sheet on NGLTF, a sample of the petition, a bio of Ms. Domi, and a recent press clip quoting NGLTF on the issue, for your information.

Please contact me so that we may discuss how NGLTF can best support President Clinton's courageous stand. Thank you.

NATIONAL
NGLTF
 GAY & LESBIAN
 TASK FORCE
Policy Institute

**NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE,
 NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE POLICY INSTITUTE**

FACT SHEET

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) is the oldest national gay and lesbian civil rights advocacy organization. NGLTF lobbies, organizes, educates and demonstrates for full gay and lesbian civil rights and equality. The Task Force works to create a society where gay people can live open and free from violence, bigotry and discrimination.

NGLTF and the NGLTF Policy Institute

NGLTF was founded in 1973 in New York City and is now headquartered in Washington, D.C. NGLTF is a prominent voice for and defender of America's estimated 24 million gay people. In 1991, NGLTF changed its structure and formed the NGLTF Policy Institute. The NGLTF Policy Institute, a 501(c)3 organization, houses educational and organizing programs. NGLTF houses the organization's lobbying and other legislative activities.

The Task Force has 15 full-time staff members, plus numerous volunteers and interns, and a 24-person board of directors. The Task Force has a consolidated 1993 budget of \$1.67 million, representing a 20 percent growth over the 1992 budget. The Task Force's political work is divided into three primary areas: Lobbying, Grassroots Organizing and Education. NGLTF's Creating Change Conference is an annual skills-building gathering for gay activists. NGLTF is a member of the International Lesbian and Gay Association.

NGLTF's Goal

The Task Force works to eradicate prejudice, discrimination and violence based on sexual orientation and HIV status, and to serve its members in a manner that reflects the diversity of the lesbian and gay community. NGLTF is committed to ending systems of oppression in all forms.

NGLTF Projects and Initiatives

-- ANTI-VIOLENCE PROJECT conducts and publicizes original research on the alarming pervasiveness of "gay bashing" and victimization, provides training and resources to organizations and helps pass federal, state and local hate crimes laws.

- more -

- PRIVACY/CIVIL RIGHTS PROJECT works to abolish sodomy laws that criminalize gay and lesbian sexuality in the 24 states and D.C. where they exist. The project provides advocacy and technical assistance on the grassroots level to help activists secure local and state civil rights protections.
- LESBIAN AND GAY FAMILIES PROJECT works to secure legal recognition and protection for gay families, including domestic partnership, foster parenting and other rights.
- CAMPUS PROJECT helps gay and lesbian students, faculty, staff and alumni fight for equality at colleges and universities.
- MILITARY FREEDOM INITIATIVE challenges the anti-gay discriminatory policy of the U.S. Department of Defense.

Lobbying

NGLTF, through its Public Policy Program, lobbies the U.S. Congress, White House, federal agencies and non-governmental groups (unions, professional and religious organizations) on a range of gay and lesbian civil rights and AIDS legislation and policies. NGLTF also is a critical link between constituents and their members of Congress. NGLTF sponsors annual Lobby Days (including Midwest Lobby Days) tracks voting records of Members of Congress on gay and AIDS issues, and releases Congressional "Report Cards."

Since 1982, NGLTF has lobbied and testified extensively on federal AIDS policy throughout the legislative and regulatory process. NGLTF helped secure passage of the Federal Hate Crimes Statistics Act, Americans With Disabilities Act and AIDS emergency relief funding (Ryan White/CARE bill). NGLTF also is working on the Federal Gay and Lesbian Civil Rights bill, AIDS and Homelessness, federal AIDS appropriations, freedom of expression (NEA), and numerous anti-gay amendments.

Public Education

The Task Force is an information clearinghouse for the gay and lesbian community and media. It produces and distributes newsletters and numerous other publications. NGLTF's Public Information department works with national and international mainstream and gay press to cultivate and shape gay-related news.

Membership

The Task Force has approximately 17,000 members nationwide. Membership dues are \$35 and \$20. Members elect NGLTF's Board of Directors and receive Task Force publications. More than 100 groups participate in the NGLTF Cooperating Organization program.

7/31/91

End Military Discrimination: LET GAY & LESBIAN PEOPLE SERVE!

Dear Mr. President,

We urge you to sign an Executive Order to immediately rescind Department of Defense Directive 1332.14 which excludes lesbians and gay men from the U.S. Armed Forces. **Let our people serve!**

Name	Address	Phone
<u>David Newman</u> (Please print)	<u>1921 MAURY St. Louis Mo 63110</u>	<u>664-3931</u>
<u>Zuleyma T. Halpin</u> (Please print)	<u>7500 Trenton St. Louis, Mo 63130</u>	
<u>Susan M. Andorfer</u> (Please print)	<u>3650 Shaw, #3W, St. Louis, MO 63110</u>	
<u>Greg Hacke</u> (Please print)	<u>946C Marshall / Ave, St. Louis, Mo 63119</u>	<u>963-0221</u>
<u>Mark Reed</u> (Please print)	<u>#1523 S. 10th, #108, St. Louis, Mo. 6304</u>	<u>314/436-7876</u>
<u>NIDA ZADA</u> (Please print)	<u>1022 RUE DE LA BANQUE #A</u> <u>CREVE COEUR, MO 63101</u>	
<u>Stephen Palm</u> (Please print)	<u>229 Chalmers Ct. St. Louis MO 63122</u>	
<u>Debra Low</u> (Please print)	<u>2728 AM St. Louis MO 63104</u>	<u>(314) 664-4896</u>
<u>Michael Hurling</u> (Please print)	<u>7860 Brevel Dr. U. City, MO 63130</u>	<u>(314) 727-6792</u>

TANYA L. DOMI
10271 Green Holly Terrace
Silver Spring, Maryland 20902
(W) 202-332-6483 (H) 301-681-2755

Tanya L. Domi, a former Army captain, is the director of the civil rights project at the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Domi is also the pro bono legislative director for National Gay, Lesbian and Bi-Sexual Veterans of America, a nationwide veteran's organization with more than 7,000 members in 30 chapters.

Domi was instrumental in drafting the Military Freedom Act of 1992, H.R. 5208, the first measure introduced in Congress by Rep. Patricia Schroeder that would prohibit discrimination against gays and lesbians in the armed forces. The measure was subsequently introduced in the Senate by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum.

Prior to arriving at NGLTF, Domi served in staff capacities in the U.S. House of Representatives, the Hawaii State Senate and as a military analyst with the Council for a Livable World Education Fund. As a defense aide to Rep. Frank McCloskey, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, Domi specialized in weapons procurement; base closure; personnel affairs to include women in combat, reservists/guardsmen, POW/MIA and veteran affairs. During her tenure, Domi contributed to the successful bill drafting and lobbying strategy that repealed the combat exclusion law prohibiting women combat aviators. In 1992, Domi was nominated by Rep. Les Aspin to the President's Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces.

As chief-of-staff to Sen. Anthony K.U. Chang, Hawaii State Senate, Domi advised Chang on international affairs policies relating to Hawaii's special relationship with the former Soviet Union, Pacific Rim countries and commercial space enterprises.

As a career Army officer who entered the Army as a Private and rose to the rank of Captain before being honorably discharged in 1990, Domi was highly decorated and was a qualified parachutist and drill instructor. She served as company commander of the Schofield Barracks Military Police Company, 25th Infantry Division, executive assistant to a Department of Defense Joint/Combined Study of the Readiness of the Philippines Armed Forces; Military Police Operations officer that served as liaison to the Honolulu Police Department and specialized in sex abuse of children and women, among others. Domi was nominated for the Douglas MacArthur Leadership Award in Hawaii in 1989.

Domi has been active in Democratic Party politics for nearly 20 years and has worked campaigns in Indiana, Michigan, Hawaii, and Maryland. A member of Women for Clinton/Gore National Advisory Committee, Domi provided policy papers to the campaign on women in combat and gays in the military. She facilitated Brigadier General Pat Foote's endorsement and veteran surrogates to speak on behalf of the campaign nationwide, including Maryland.

Domi is also an accomplished journalist and has been published in the New York Times, The Christian Science Monitor, The American Sentinel, ArmsFAX, the Indianapolis Star, and the Asia Pacific Defense Forum, among others. She has also appeared on CNBC's "McLaughlin Group", "McNeil-Lehrer News Hour", CNN's "Crier and Company", and "Newsday" programs, among others.

Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, Domi received a Bachelor of Applied Arts degree in journalism and political science from Central Michigan University. She was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Army, with distinction, in 1982 and honorably discharged in 1990.

TOP GENERALS EASE STANCE ON GAY BAN

Despite Doubts, Joint Chiefs'
Chairman Vows to Follow
Clinton and Congress

By ERIC SCHMITT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1 — After weeks of public debate on the merits of allowing homosexuals to serve in the armed forces, senior military officials are now adopting a slightly more conciliatory tone about the possibility of lifting the ban on homosexuals.

Gen. Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan, the Army Chief of Staff, said in separate statements on Monday night that they were pleased President-elect Bill Clinton would consult with them before ending the ban.

General Powell said the ban would not "break the armed forces" or prompt "mass resignations," and he urged supporters and opponents of the ban to "keep some of the emotion out of this debate."

Both generals forcefully reaffirmed their opposition to lifting the ban as a threat to discipline, combat morale and the privacy of heterosexual soldiers, but they leavened their statements with conciliatory remarks.

Plan to Heed President

"We will take our instructions from the President and the Congress," General Powell told a student audience at the American University here. "And once we receive those instructions we will execute them."

Gay and lesbian advocates said they interpreted General Powell's comments as backpedaling from the military's earlier position.

Tanya Domi, a former Army captain who is the civil rights project director for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in Washington, said, "He's admitting that it might be difficult, but that the military can do it."

Col. F. William Smullen, a spokesman for General Powell, said the general's statements were a "lesson in Civics 101, not a concession statement."

Both Mr. Clinton and military leaders seem to be taking a step back from a highly charged issue that has threatened to poison the President-elect's relations with the armed services before he even takes office on Jan. 20.

Mr. Clinton, while still committed to lifting the ban, seems to have edged away from the impression that he will lift it unconditionally in one of his first acts. Mr. Clinton now favors consulting with senior military officials, which could delay a final decision by months.

After his speech on Monday night, in response to a student's question, General Powell discounted initial reports that lifting the ban would wreak havoc in the 1.8-million-member uniformed military. The ban does not apply to civilian employees in the Defense Department.

"I have never been of the view that this would break the armed forces of the United States if we went in this direction," he said in his speech.

But the general, who is expected to serve out his term as chairman, which expires next September, took pains to point out what he considered potential pitfalls. "I've got to consider what you say to a youngster who might come and say, sergeant, general, in the most private of my accommodations, I prefer to have heterosexuals around me than homosexuals," he said.

General Powell said he was "very pleased" that Mr. Clinton "will take the time to study it fully and have all sides of the issue aired." He said he was being inundated by public comment, "and it's on both sides of the issue."

Colonel Smullen said General Powell had received about 300 letters on the issue in the past three weeks, running 4 to 1 in support of keeping the ban.

192
The New York Times

JUN 24 1993

FROM STEPHEN E. HERBITS

TO

912026387045

P.02

Gays in The Military

The President's options have effectively been reduced to two. His choice carries significant consequences: for the issue itself and for his long-term political position.

Description

A. The "Minimal Acceptable Progress" option (MAP) represents the following:

1. Discrimination based on status alone is prohibited. ✓
2. Significant constraints will be placed on public conduct and public speech.

Speech which is intended to be intrusive or to disrupt the unit may be disciplined. ✓

Most issues will be managed by unit commanders in the normal course of responsibilities. ✓

3. Public sexual conduct and misconduct remain proscribed by the UCMJ and will be enforced equally for heterosexuals and homosexuals. ✓
4. Private, consensual adult conduct will remain proscribed under the UCMJ and will be enforced equally for heterosexuals and homosexuals. ✓
5. There will be clearly established thresholds for initiating investigations of conduct, which will apply equally to all service members. ✓
6. Private speech will be permitted. Individuals will be allowed to acknowledge their sexual orientation. ✓

The extensive data developed by the Rand study supports the proposition that this minimalist approach is both acceptable to the military rank and file and progress for gays. The examination of unit cohesiveness is particularly important.

MAP is a significant compromise from full "open" and equal status, yet it retains the principle of non-discrimination based on status.

The Air Force would support this option.

JUN-24-1993 FROM STEPHEN E. HERBITS TO 912026387045 P.03

B. The Military Working Group (MWG) proposal is different.

1. It does not permit homosexuals to serve in the military if found out to be gay (i.e. discrimination based on status remains.) X
2. It declares homosexuality, per se, incompatible with military service. X
3. It establishes a different standard for punishment for private consensual homosexual conduct, with simply a higher threshold for initiating investigations.
4. It prohibits both public and private speech. No private declarations of homosexuality are allowed at any time or place. X

This option puts the military in the internally contradictory position of not investigating circumstances that are likely to indicate a violation of military rules or law. This dilemma is particularly offensive to the military culture which relies on integrity and a strict code of conduct.

This option also tells homosexuals to lie about themselves on the one hand while living within the military's tradition of integrity on the other.

The Army supports this option. Chief of Staff Sullivan ~~has~~ been threatened by the "Four-Star Council." (7) The MWG proposal is supported by the religious right and Nunn.

Cost/Benefit

Minimal Acceptable Progress (MAP)

The chances of winning MAP in the House are reasonable if General Powell endorses it.

It is not necessary to foresee a victory for MAP in Congress to justify Presidential support for it. Whatever the Congressional outcome, such support is preferable politically to the President.

JUN-24-1993

FROM STEPHEN E. HERBITS

TO

912026387045

P.04

Win or lose, this option provides the President with the following:

1. A cautious and thoughtful decision.
2. A good fight for what he believes in, campaigned on, and is right on.
3. A position which preserves his support by the social moderates and left. This broad constituency is an important component of the President's base. Maintaining his commitment to social moderation will be seen as a constructive contrast to moving to the center on economic and redistribution issues. Political economics is the traditional arena for compromise. ✓
4. An important signal to the military that the Presidency remains the final decision authority, discouraging even greater attempts to undercut his plans and programs. ✓
5. An opportunity for the Clinton Department of Justice (DOJ) and the courts to use the President's position of no military basis for discrimination to prevail in overruling the Congress in a constitutional challenge. (?)
6. The only vehicle to avoid forcing DOJ to defend MWG in a way that may adversely affect all future gay civil rights challenges in a range of areas (e.g. employment, housing, etc.).

Military Working Group (MWG)

Adopting the MWG position will mean the codification of discrimination based on status and the unequal enforcement of private conduct.

1. MWG may be defeated in the Congress. The left, acting on behalf of gays and the civil rights movement, will actually prefer codification of the current ban by the Republicans to a Presidentially supported MWG. The left would forge a majority by joining the right who will want to defeat any Presidential initiative. (?)
2. MWG will offend Americans of a socially moderate bent. (?)
3. MWG will not be enough to gain the support of social conservatives. ✓

JUN-24-1993 FROM STEPHEN E. HERBITS

TO

912026387045

P.05

3. MWG will be a set-back to the discrimination battle in the long-term because it will undercut future legal battles. It will be worse for the discrimination issue. ✓
4. MWG will define the President as "caving" for short-term political reasons despite expert analysis supported by the Rand study.

Supporting MAP is Better for America

1. Codification of the present 50 year-old policy represents less of a burden on future progress than MWG. MWG is a specious assertion of modest immediate improvement based on a false proposition regarding the threshold of investigations.
2. A false perception of progress permits Congress to delay revisiting the issue when political pressure builds again.
3. White House/Congressional concurrence to an outcome that represents no real progress will trigger a set-back in self-esteem among homosexuals, particularly gay youth, while sending a false signal of political consensus that homosexuality is unacceptable.

Next Steps

In the event Aspin fails to gain the support of either Powell or Nunn, the President implements the MAP option by Executive Order making points listed in Appendix A.

In the event Congress passes legislation overruling the Executive Order, the President makes a second statement with points listed in Appendix B.

6/23/93
12:00 noon

APPENDIX A

POINTS TO BE MADE BY THE PRESIDENT IN ANNOUNCING THE
EXECUTIVE ORDER

1. There will be no discrimination based on status. ✓
2. There will be significant constraints on public conduct and public speech (to be described). ✓
3. There will be equal enforcement of sexual conduct and misconduct. { very tough ✓
4. MAP is preferable to MWG because MWG undermines the military culture and its reliance on integrity and a strict code of conduct. No
5. MAP is also preferable for individuals who will not be asked to ~~live a lie~~ which is contrary to military integrity. ✓
6. Implementation will be careful and deliberate. ✓
 - a. It will focus on unit commanders. ✓
 - b. Its focus will be acceptance, not endorsement. ✓
7. Practical implications of a change in policy will actually be minimal. (Use Rand material). ✓

** TX CONFIRMATION REPORT **

AS OF JUN 24 '93 18:07 PAGE.01

WEXLER GROUP

COMMAND

	DATE	TIME	TO/FROM	MODE	MIN/SEC	PBS	STATUS
071	06/24	18:04	222	202 728 1123	03--S	03'22 007	OK

JUN 24 1993 16:51 FROM STEPHEN E. HERBITS TO 912026387045 P.07

APPENDIX B

POINTS TO BE MADE BY THE PRESIDENT IN THE EVENT OF
ADOPTION BY CONGRESS OF MWG OPTION

1. Congress has acted out of fear, rather than engaging in thorough deliberations.
2. I will continue to pursue MAP because the military rank and file and society are ready for this. ?
3. I will take certain steps despite Congressional action.
 - a. Change investigation system
 - b. Legal strategy in tandem with Department of Justice.) ?
4. The principle of MAP is morally correct.

*7-19-93
J. P. ...
...*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 19, 1993

Attached is Secretary Aspin's directive to the service chiefs concerning the new policy on homosexual conduct in the armed forces, and the new policy guidelines on homosexual conduct.

#



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

July 19, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: Policy on Homosexual Conduct in the Armed Forces

On January 29, 1993, the President directed me to review DoD policy on homosexuals in the military. The President further directed that the DoD policy be "practical, realistic, and consistent with the high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion our armed forces must maintain."

An extensive review was conducted. I have paid careful attention to the hearings that have been held by both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, conferred with the Joint Chiefs and acting Secretaries of the Military Departments and considered recommendations of a working group of senior officers in the Department of Defense and those of the Rand Corporation.

The Department of Defense has long held that, as a general rule, homosexuality is incompatible with military service because it interferes with the factors critical to combat effectiveness, including unit morale, unit cohesion and individual privacy. Nevertheless, the Department of Defense also recognizes that individuals with a homosexual orientation have served with distinction in the armed services of the United States.

Therefore, it is the policy of the Department of Defense to judge the suitability of persons to serve in the armed forces on the basis of their conduct. Homosexual conduct will be grounds for separation from the military services. Sexual orientation is considered a personal and private matter, and homosexual orientation is not a bar to service entry or continued service unless manifested by homosexual conduct.

I direct the following:

Applicants for military service will not be asked or required to reveal their sexual orientation. Applicants will be informed of accession and separation policy.

Servicemembers will be separated for homosexual conduct.

Commanders and investigating agencies will not initiate inquiries or investigations solely to determine a member's sexual orientation. Servicemembers will not be asked or required to reveal their sexual orientation. However, commanders will continue to initiate inquiries or investigations, as appropriate, when there is credible information that a basis for discharge or disciplinary action exists. Authority to initiate inquiries and investigations involving homosexual conduct shall be limited to commanders. Commanders will consider, in allocating scarce investigative resources, that sexual orientation is a personal and private matter. They will investigate allegations of violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice in an even-handed manner without regard to whether the conduct alleged is heterosexual or homosexual or whether it occurs on-base or off-base. Commanders remain responsible for ensuring that investigations are conducted properly and that any abuse of authority is addressed.

The constraints of military service require servicemembers to keep certain aspects of their personal lives private for the benefit of the group. Our personnel policies will be clearly stated and implemented in accordance with due process of law.

Commanders remain responsible for maintaining good order and discipline. Harassment or violence against other servicemembers will not be tolerated.

Homosexual conduct is a homosexual act, a statement by the servicemember that demonstrates a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts, or a homosexual marriage or attempted marriage.

A statement by a servicemember that he or she is homosexual or bisexual creates a rebuttable presumption that the servicemember is engaging in homosexual acts or has a propensity or intent to do so. The servicemember has the opportunity to present evidence that he does not engage in homosexual acts and does not have a propensity or intent to do so. The evidence will be assessed by the relevant separation authority.

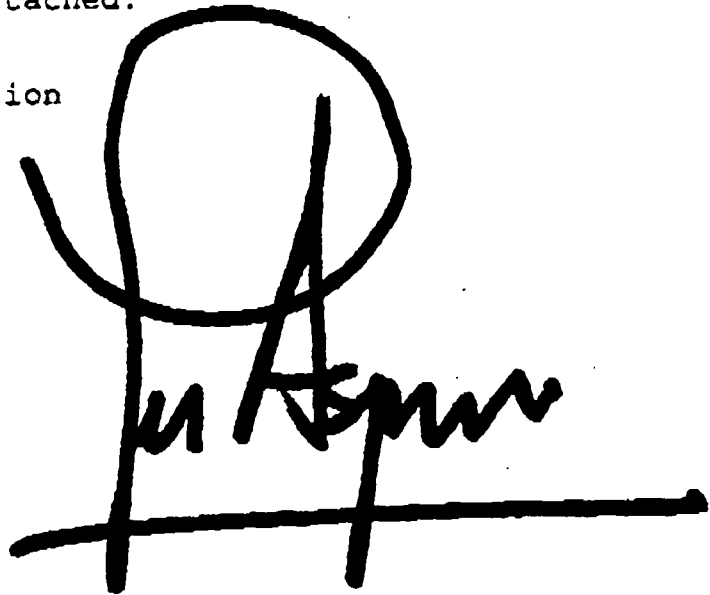
A homosexual act includes any bodily contact, actively undertaken or passively permitted, between members of the same sex for the purpose of satisfying sexual desires or any bodily contact which a reasonable person would understand to demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts. Sexual orientation is a sexual attraction to individuals of a particular sex.

The interim policy and administrative separation procedures that I established on February 3, 1993, will remain in effect until October 1, 1993. Secretaries of the Military Departments and responsible officials within the Office of the Secretary of

Defense shall, by October 1, 1993, take such actions as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this directive. Secretaries of the Military Departments will ensure that all members of the armed forces are aware of their specific responsibilities in carrying out this new policy. This memorandum creates no substantive or procedural rights. Any changes to existing policies shall be prospective only.

Policy Guidelines are attached.

cc: Secretary of Transportation

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink. The signature appears to be "J. A. Spurr" with a large loop at the top and a horizontal line at the bottom.

POLICY GUIDELINES ON HOMOSEXUAL CONDUCT IN THE ARMED FORCES

Summary of Policy

• Accession Policy

- Applicants for military service will no longer be asked or required to reveal if they are homosexual or bisexual, but applicants will be informed of the conduct that is proscribed for members of the armed forces, including homosexual conduct.

• Discharge Policy

- Sexual orientation will not be a bar to service unless manifested by homosexual conduct. The military will discharge members who engage in homosexual conduct, which is defined as a homosexual act, a statement that the member is homosexual or bisexual, or a marriage or attempted marriage to someone of the same gender.

• Investigations Policy

- No investigations or inquiries will be conducted solely to determine a servicemember's sexual orientation. Commanders will initiate inquiries or investigations when there is credible information that a basis for discharge or disciplinary action exists. Sexual orientation, absent credible information that a crime has been committed, will not be the subject of a criminal investigation. An allegation or statement by another that a servicemember is a homosexual, alone, is not grounds for either a criminal investigation or a commander's inquiry.

Activities

- Bodily contact between servicemembers of the same sex that a reasonable person would understand to demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts (e.g., handholding or kissing in most circumstances) will be sufficient to initiate separation.
- Activities such as association with known homosexuals, presence at a gay bar, possessing or reading homosexual publications, or marching in a gay rights rally in civilian clothes will not, in and of themselves, constitute credible information that would provide a

basis for initiating an investigation or serve as the basis for an administrative discharge under this policy.

- The listing by a servicemember of someone of the same gender as the person to be contacted in case of emergency, as an insurance beneficiary or in a similar context, does not provide a basis for separation or further investigation.
- Speech within the context of priest-penitent, husband-wife or attorney-client communications remains privileged.

Off-Base Conduct

- No distinction will be made between off-base and on-base conduct.
- From the time a member joins the service until discharge, the servicemember's duty and commitment to the unit is a 24 hour-a-day, seven-day-a-week obligation. Military members are required to comply with both the UCMJ, which is federal law, and military regulations at all times and in all places. Unacceptable conduct, homosexual or heterosexual, is not excused because the servicemember is not "at work."

Investigations and Inquiries

- Neither investigations nor inquiries will be conducted solely to determine an individual's sexual orientation.
- Commanders can initiate investigations into alleged homosexual conduct when there is credible information of homosexual acts, prohibited statements or homosexual marriage.
- Commanders will exercise sound discretion regarding when credible information exists, and will evaluate the information's source and all attendant circumstances to assess whether the information supports a reasonable belief that a servicemember has engaged in proscribed homosexual conduct. Commanders, not investigators, determine when sufficient credible information exists to justify a detail of investigative resources to look into allegations.

Credible Information

- Credible information of homosexual conduct exists when the information, considered in light of its source and all attendant circumstances, supports a reasonable belief that a servicemember has engaged in such conduct. It requires a determination based on articulable facts, not just a belief or suspicion.

Security Clearances

- Questions pertaining to an individual's sexual orientation are not asked on personnel security questionnaires. An individual's sexual conduct, whether homosexual or heterosexual, is a legitimate security concern only if it could make an individual susceptible to exploitation or coercion, or indicate a lack of trustworthiness, reliability, or good judgment that is required of anyone with access to classified information.

The Threat of Extortion

- As long as servicemembers continue to be separated from military service for engaging in homosexual conduct, credible information of such behavior can be a basis for extortion. Although the military cannot eliminate the potential for the victimization of homosexuals through blackmail, the policy reduces the risk to homosexuals by making certain categories of information largely immaterial to the military's initiation of investigations.
- Only credible information that a servicemember engaged in homosexual conduct will form the basis for initiating an inquiry or investigation of a servicemember; suspicion of an individual's sexual orientation is not a basis, by itself, for official inquiry or action.
- Extortion is a criminal offense, under both the UCMJ and United States Code, and offenders will be prosecuted. A servicemember convicted of extortion risks dishonorable discharge and up to three years confinement. Civilians found guilty of blackmail under the U.S. Code may be subject to a \$2000 fine and one-year imprisonment. The risk of blackmail will be addressed by educating all servicemembers on the policy and by emphasizing the significant criminal sanctions facing convicted extortionists.

Outing

- A mere allegation or statement by another that a servicemember is a homosexual is not grounds for official action. Commanders will not take official action against members based on rumor, suspicion or capricious allegations.
- However, if a third party provides credible information that a member has committed a crime or act that warrants discharge, e.g., engages in homosexual conduct, the commander may, based on the totality of the circumstances, conduct an investigation or inquiry, and take non-judicial or administrative action or recommend judicial action, as appropriate.
- Commanders are responsible for initiating an investigation when credible information exists that a crime or basis for discharge has been committed. The commander examines the information and decides whether an investigation by the Service investigative agency or a commander inquiry is warranted, or if no action should be taken.

Harassment

- Commanders are responsible for maintaining good order and discipline.
- All servicemembers will be treated with dignity and respect. Hostile treatment or violence against a servicemember based on a perception of his or her sexual orientation will not be tolerated.



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

July 19, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: DEFENSIBILITY OF THE NEW POLICY ON HOMOSEXUAL
CONDUCT IN THE ARMED FORCES

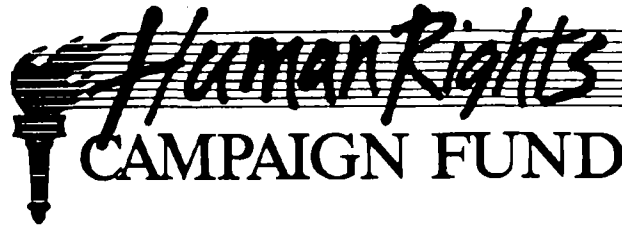
The Supreme Court has repeatedly stated that the courts must review decisions by the President and by military commanders deferentially, taking into account the separate nature and special needs of military society. As a consequence, it is possible to justify in the military setting constraints on individual liberty and choice that might be invalid in civilian society. Because of the extraordinary deference paid by the courts to military service, we are confident that the new policy proposed by the Secretary of Defense will be upheld against constitutional challenge. Moreover, the proposed policy (hereafter, "the policy") that the Secretary of Defense has submitted changes earlier policy in three respects that should improve the ability of the Department of Justice to defend the policy in court.

First, the policy changes the premises on the basis of which questions involving the service of homosexuals in the military are to be resolved. The policy reiterates the prior Defense Department view that "homosexuality is incompatible with military service because it interferes with the factors critical to combat effectiveness." However, the policy adopts a new position that sexual orientation is a private matter and is not a bar to service "unless manifested by homosexual conduct." Under the policy, therefore, the military would be directed to judge an individual's suitability for service on the basis of conduct, and homosexual conduct (but not an unmanifested orientation) would be grounds for separation from service. We can be confident that the prohibition on acts that everyone would regard as explicitly sexual would be sustained under existing case law.

Second, the policy implements the distinction between "status" and "conduct" that you drew in your January 29 directive. Most important in this regard is the treatment of statements of homosexuality or bisexuality as creating "a rebuttable presumption that the service member is engaging in homosexual acts or has a propensity or intent to do so." First Amendment problems would

arise if the policy proscribed certain speech, in and of itself because of disapproval of the content or the viewpoint expressed. This approach provides much clearer authority than did the pre-January policy for the argument that the Department of Justice has been making persuasively to the courts up to this point that a member who credibly disproved any intent or propensity to commit physical acts would not be subject to separation. The new policy suggests a meaningful opportunity to rebut the presumption flowing from statements of homosexuality. As a consequence, the Department of Justice will be better able to argue that the policy is not directed at speech or expression itself, and that any burdens in those respects are incidental to the achievement of an important governmental interest.

Third, the policy would substantially change pre-January investigative policies. Applicants for military service would not be questioned about their sexual orientation or behavior. Investigations would no longer be conducted for the sole purpose of determining an individual's sexual orientation. Commanders will initiate investigations only where there is credible evidence of "homosexual conduct." This change will make decisions made under the policy appear fairer, more even-handed, and conduct-based, and therefore easier to defend.



News from the Nation's Largest Lesbian and Gay Political Organization

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Gregory King
202-6268-4160 work

**HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN FUND OPPOSES RESTRICTIONS
ON COMBAT ROLE FOR LESBIAN AND GAY TROOPS**

WASHINGTON, DC (March 23, 1993) In response to questions at a press conference today, President Clinton indicated that a policy of discriminating against lesbian and gay troops in combat roles might be an "appropriate distinction." Tim McFeeley, Executive Director of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, the nation's largest lesbian and gay political group, issued the following statement criticizing the President's assertion:

"We strongly oppose any policy change which would give lesbian and gay personnel the special privilege of exemption from service in combat. Every Pentagon study on this issue has documented that lesbian and gay personnel are just as competent than their non-gay peers and are just as able to serve. Restrictions on combat service by lesbian and gay personnel are based solely on prejudice and intolerance and have no relation to the competence of lesbian and gay individuals to perform their duties with courage, determination and effectiveness.

"There is absolutely no basis for discrimination against lesbian and gay Americans in the armed forces or in any job within the armed forces. During the Persian Gulf War, the Pentagon halted discharges against lesbian and gay personnel, many of whom served with distinction during the conflict. To suggest that lesbian and gay personnel are suited for peacetime roles and not suitable for combat positions is nonsense. We will not support any proposal which endorses discrimination against lesbian and gay personnel. We urge President Clinton to make clear his opposition to discrimination at all levels of the military. We regret that the President missed an opportunity today to strongly reaffirm his support for an end to a policy which denies our country the service of competent and qualified patriotic personnel who wish to serve our country free from arbitrary and unnecessary restrictions."

- 30 -

Eric Rosenthal

Timothy McFeeley

~~For Alexis @~~
~~West Lake~~ ~~TD~~ ~~on~~

MEMORANDUM

To: Alexis Herman
Fr: Debbie Fine
Re: Human Rights Campaign Fund
Date: March 24, 1993

At 10:00 AM today you are meeting with two representatives from the Human Rights Campaign Fund, Eric Rosenthal and Tim McFeeley (Executive Director), along with Bob Hattoy. As you may know, the Human Rights Campaign Fund was our primary contact during the campaign, and they did a tremendous job organizing on a national and grassroots level.

They have been eager to meet with our office primarily to discuss establishing a consistent relationship with the White House. After speaking on a daily basis with Mike and me during the campaign, they now are unsure about whom to call and with whom they can work over here.

That is their primary issue of concern for this meeting. The other issues are:

-- the importance of having a representative of the Administration at the upcoming march on D.C.

-- gays in the military. They are concerned specifically about a statement that the President made yesterday at the press conference that seemed to allude to the possibility that gays and lesbians could be excluded from certain positions in the military. (The statement is attached.) In addition, they will probably raise the upcoming Nunn hearings on gays in the military.

-- AIDS research. They are encouraged by the numbers they have seen on money appropriated to funding AIDS research.

Although they will most definitely raise the above issues, I think they expect to deal with them in more detail with whomever becomes their daily contact.

The primary purpose of the meeting is to listen, and to express support and confirm that we are not backing away from their issues.

cc: Steve Hilton
Mike Lux

John Hester

terests.

Q Mr. President, you seem to be having some difficulty with the Pentagon. When you went to the USS Theodore Roosevelt, the sailors there were mocking you before your arrival, although you are the Commander-in-Chief. The services have been undercutting your proposal for permitting gays to be in the military. There's been no Pentagon creation of the task force that was supposed to be created. The hearings are to start a week from now, and Congress has not gotten any advice from the Pentagon or from the services as to what to propose. Do you have a problem, perhaps because of your lack of military service, or perhaps because of issues such as gays in the military, in being effective in your role as Commander-in-Chief, and what do you propose to do about it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No, I don't have a problem being Commander-in-Chief. You knew that a lot of the service officers disagreed with the position on gays in the military before I ever took office. The Secretary of Defense has not been in the best of health; I think he is either fully recovered now or on the verge of it. And I asked him to give me a report on June 15th. Senator Nunn said back in January that he would have hearings sometime probably in March, so I think we're at the outer limits of the time that he was going to have hearings. And his schedule to have hearings, in my view, has nothing to do with the fact that I asked the Secretary of Defense to present to me on June 15th a report which I expect to receive.

Q Can I follow, sir? The task force was supposed to be created by now, the Pentagon has not created the task force, and there has been no report to the Hill. And, in fact, Senator Nunn has indicated that he thinks some of the compromises that might have been possible, such as not having gays to go sea or be in combat are not constitutional. Does that give you cause?

THE PRESIDENT: Not constitutional?

Q Would not pass constitutional muster.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to get into a constitutional debate, but if you can discriminate against people in terms of whether they get into the service or not based on not what they are but what they say they are, then I would think you could make appropriate distinctions on duty assignments once they're in. The courts have historically given quite wide berth to the military to make judgments of that kind in terms of duty assignments.

Q Mr. President, on another topic, you've laid out some of the criteria you're going to use to choose the next Supreme Court justice: a fine mind, experience in the law, experience dealing with people and a big heart. Does Governor Mario Cuomo fit that criteria, and do you think that he would make a good Supreme Court justice?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm on record on that, but the time I said it, he wound up in the midst of a lot of conversation that I don't think either he or I intended. I will stay with my criteria, I will make the appointment as soon as I reasonably can. Justice White, I think, tendered his letter at this time before the end of this term of Court in order to give me a significant

Clinton Criticized On Gay Job Limits

*Proposal Seen as Creating
Serious Military Problems*

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

Supporters and opponents of President Clinton's plan to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military quickly condemned the president yesterday for saying he might agree to job restrictions on gay service personnel, contending that such a step would create serious morale problems.

Advocates of homosexual rights said barring gays and lesbians from combat and other military assignments would create a separate but unequal career path for them. Backers of the current ban objected that if a number of non-combat jobs were reserved for homosexuals, the chances for heterosexuals of ending up in riskier combat jobs would increase.

"This would not be compromise. This would be capitulation to the other side," said Thomas B. Stoddart, coordinator of the Campaign for Military Service, a coalition seeking an end to the ban on homosexuals in the armed services.

"All we're asking for is to be treated like everyone else," said Navy aviator Tracy W. Thorne, who is facing dismissal for being homosexual. Thorne called the idea of job restrictions "highly inappropriate" and said it would prevent

See GAYS, A17, Col. 5

Clinton Idea To Curb Gays Is Criticized

GAYS, From A1

him from returning to flight duty with the attack jet squadron he served in before publicly declaring his homosexuality.

Supporters of the military's current ban warned that a compromise arrangement would still have a disastrous impact on military morale while leading to further complications. "This is not going to resolve the issue," said Charles S. Moskos, a noted military sociologist at Northwestern University. "Does that mean that gays would be treated like women and not sent into combat?"

The possibility that avowed homosexuals might be allowed to serve in the military but with restrictions was raised in a question to Clinton yesterday. The president responded that if the services can discriminate in accepting recruits, "then I would think you could make appropriate distinctions on duty assignments once they are in."

In response to another question later, Clinton said he would not decide whether to support restrictions until receiving a Defense Department report due June 15 on the proposed removal of the ban. "But I wouldn't rule that out, depending on what the grounds and the arguments were," he said.

The Pentagon was directed in January to prepare the report after Clinton retreated from a plan to end the military ban by executive order. Instead, the president agreed to allow the military services to study the issue and await the outcome of hearings by the Senate Armed Services Committee. The hearings are scheduled to begin next week, but the Pentagon has been slow to start its study.

Many in the military have made no secret of their opposition to serving beside homosexuals, saying the presence of gay personnel particularly in the close quarters of Army trenches or Navy ships would offend heterosexual personnel and disrupt the efficiency of U.S. fighting forces. Permitting homosexuals in the military but keeping them out of the trenches and off ships is an option mentioned by some as a way of meeting the moral objection to an outright ban while taking into account concerns about maintaining troop morale, especially in combat situations.

A senior administration official, speaking to reporters after yesterday's news conference, said the president still "thinks it's wrong to discriminate against people on the basis of what they say they are." The official said he did not know whether the president held a firm position on the constitutionality of barring homosexuals from certain military jobs once they are admitted, and suggested Clinton was speaking rhetorically in addressing this point during the news conference.

Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.), who has led GOP opposition to Clinton's plan, said he wondered if the president's visit last week to the carrier USS Theodore Roosevelt, which included a tour of cramped living quarters at the ship, had changed his view. "I don't if you could call it second thoughts, but at he's more sensitive to the extreme volatility of the issue," Coats said.

Advocates of homosexual rights suggested that military commanders are lobbying Congress to maintain the ban despite the White House's position. A Navy spokesman acknowledged yesterday that the service had provided members of the House and Armed Services committees with copies of an eight-page statement by the commander of a Navy aviation squadron which had a stated case of a homosexual sailor in its

The spokesman said the Navy supplied the statement, from the sailor's lawsuit, after a request from GOP members of the Armed Services Committee. In the statement, first reported by the New York Times, Capt. Gregory A. Markwell said the sailor's presence had "reduced morale, efficiency mission focus within the command."

Northwestern's Moskos, who has been a critic of Clinton's plan, said "de facto" career tracks are a reality in many foreign armies which allow homosexuals in their ranks, including Israel and Germany. In Israel, there is not "a single openly gay commander of an elite unit," and in Germany, homosexuals may be drafted but are not promoted by law, he said.

He suggested that a possible solution to the controversy would be for the U.S. military to adopt a policy of "don't ask, don't seek," for homosexuals to agree to a policy of "don't tell, don't flaunt."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1993

Clinton Says He'd Consider Separating Gay Troops

Remarks Are Contrast With Earlier Stand on the Military

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 23 — Facing resistance from the military over his pledge to allow homosexuals to serve in the armed forces, President Clinton said for the first time today that he would consider proposals to segregate troops by sexual orientation.

Mr. Clinton's comments at a White House news conference contrasted sharply with his public statements during the Presidential campaign and in the first days after he was elected. At those times Mr. Clinton said without qualification that he would end discrimination against homosexuals in the military.

The President's remarks surprised people on both sides of the issue and raised eyebrows in the Pentagon, where officials studying ways to deploy gay soldiers said they had never considered segregation a serious option.

Alarm and Welcome

Organizations that had been urging Mr. Clinton to reverse the ban on homosexuals expressed alarm, saying his comments reflected a retreat. But opponents welcomed the President's remarks for the same reason, citing them as evidence that Mr. Clinton was giving in to pressure from top generals who had asserted that the ban was needed to preserve military discipline and spirit.

In recent weeks, Mr. Clinton had avoided public discussion of the issue. Shortly after taking office, he had sought to put the controversy to rest by delaying immediate action on his pledge, instructing Les Aspin, the Defense Secretary, to write a new policy by July 15 that would examine whether homosexuals should be barred from ground combat and warships, as women are now.

Asked by reporters whether he would support segregation of homosexual members of the service, Mr. Clinton



Paul Hasefrou/The New York Times

President Clinton during his news conference yesterday.

in the Pentagon. "That depends on what the report says," he said. "That's why I'm waiting for the Secretary of Defense to issue the report. But I wouldn't rule that out, depending on what the grounds and arguments were." [Transcript on pages A9 and A10.]

Supreme Court Nomination

Mr. Clinton did not comment on how homosexuals might be separated from heterosexuals — in separate units or separate living quarters within the same unit.

Mr. Clinton addressed several other domestic issues, including how he would select a replacement for Justice Byron R. White, who has announced his retirement from the Supreme Court. Asked whether he would ask potential nominees their position on abortion, Mr. Clinton said: "I will not ask anybody how they will vote in a specific case. I will endeavor to appoint some-

President Raises Possibility Of Segregating Gay Troops

Continued From Page A1

one who has an attachment to a belief in a strong and broad right to constitutional privacy."

The President also said he thought that most Americans would pay "a little more" in taxes for a better health-care system. As the Senate debated and voted today on the framework of the President's budget, he predicted that he would persuade reluctant Senators to vote for his economic plan this week. He said that in the coming days he would propose eliminating the practice of evading campaign spending limits through big contributions to political parties rather than candidates.

And he said his efforts to resolve the longstanding dispute over protection of spotted owls in the Northwest's timber country "will probably make everybody mad."

On the Defensive

It was the questions on homosexuals in the military that seemed to put the President the most on the defensive, to the point where he found himself defending even his ability to lead the armed forces. "No, I don't have a problem being Commander in Chief," he insisted. Dismissing the notion that his not having served in the military had generated some opposition to his proposal to end the ban against homosexuals, he said, "A lot of service officers disagreed with the position on gays in the military before I even took office."

While Mr. Clinton said he would wait until the Pentagon report was completed before making a decision on whether gay soldiers should be treated differently from heterosexual ones, groups on both sides said his comments raised the prospect that he was backing away from his initial stand, that soldiers should be punished or rewarded on the basis of conduct and job performance, not sexual orientation.

Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, the chairman of the Armed Forces Committee who is Mr. Clinton's chief foe on allowing openly gay people in the military, suggested recently that he opposed even permitting the segregation of homosexual soldiers. He said he feared that would be unconstitutional.

Mr. Clinton disputed that notion today, saying: "Well, I don't want to get into a constitutional debate, but if you can discriminate against people in terms of whether they get into the service or not, based on not what they are but what they say they are, then I

would think you could make appropriate distinctions on duty assignments once they're in."

He added that "the courts have traditionally given wide berth to the military to make judgments of that kind in terms of duty assignments."

Mr. Clinton toured a warship for the first time recently when he flew to the carrier Theodore Roosevelt off Norfolk, Va., and viewed the triple-decker berths in the crew's sleeping quarters. Administration officials said that the visit caused the President to begin rethinking his position.

Some Pentagon officials said after Mr. Clinton's comments today that it might be difficult to decide when and how to keep homosexual and heterosexual troops apart.

Thomas S. Stoddard, coordinator of the Campaign for Military Service, a coalition that opposes the ban, said the President's comments were "slightly alarming." But he added, "I believe on study and reflection, the President

Clinton shows new flexibility on on a strong campaign pledge.

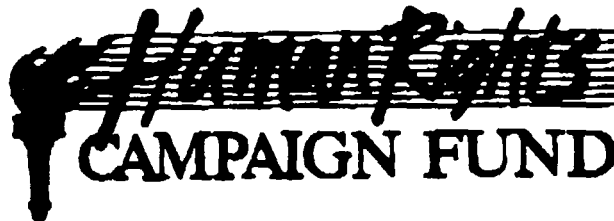
would reject any distinction based on sexual orientation."

Senator Dan Coats, an Indiana Republican who favors keeping the ban and opposes even a compromise to separate gay soldiers, said: "I'm hoping that this is a thoughtful reconsideration of whether or not this is the time to have the Pentagon preoccupied with this subject. The President is discovering that this is a far more complex and difficult issue than he initially realized."

Criticism of Japan

George Stephanopoulos, the White House communications director, said the President had not made any decision about whether to support segregating the troops, but that "he's certainly saying that he's open to it."

Fielding questions on other topics at the news conference, Mr. Clinton issued a surprisingly harsh condemnation of Japan's trade surplus with the United States, which reached \$49.42 billion last year.



News from the Nation's Largest Lesbian and Gay Political Organization

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Gregory King
(202) 628-4160 work
(202) 547-4310 home

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN FUND HAILS INCREASE
IN AIDS RESEARCH FUNDING;

CLINTON BUDGET CALLS FOR \$227 MILLION IN ADDITIONAL SPENDING

WASHINGTON, D.C. (April 8, 1993) The Human Rights Campaign Fund, the nation's largest lesbian and gay political group, today hailed the announcement by Donna Shalala, the U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services, that AIDS research funding will increase substantially in fiscal year 1994.

According to the Office of Technology Assessment, AIDS research, more than the research into any other single disease, benefits research into all other diseases. While the Human Rights Campaign Fund called for an AIDS research budget of \$1.7 billion for AIDS research, the final figure of \$1.3 billion represents an increase of \$227 million for AIDS research.

"The President's budget recognizes that AIDS research funding must be increased if we are to seriously address the crisis we currently face," said Tim McFeeley, Executive Director of the Campaign Fund. "During the campaign, President Clinton assured the American people that AIDS would be given a high priority. His budget for AIDS research demonstrates the leadership and commitment that has been missing in the battle against AIDS for far too long."

The President's budget also increases funding for research on breast cancer, which studies indicate affects lesbians at a higher rate than other women. A total of \$422 million is requested for breast cancer research, an increase of \$216 million over fiscal year 1993. The Human Rights Campaign Fund lobbied extensively for passage of the Women's Health Equity Act, which provided the legislative basis for the increased funding.

AIDS activists praised Secretary Shalala and Leon Panetta, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, for their work in

developing an AIDS budget that recognized the need for greater research funding. "Their personal support made a big difference when the budget was developed," McFeeley stated. "The Clinton budget of \$1.3 billion for AIDS research represents a major step forward in combatting the leading cause of early death in the United States," he said. U.S. health authorities estimate that 40,000 to 80,000 new infections take place each year.

"This increase in funding for research will allow many projects to go forward which could not be funded this year," notes Terry Beswick, the Campaign Fund's AIDS Research Policy Analyst. "Critical studies of vaccines, targeted drug development, basic research and clinical trials will benefit from the fresh infusion of funds," he says. "For people with HIV and AIDS, the Clinton budget proposal represents real hope and a major change in the commitment of our national resources."

Beswick also praised the efforts of presidential aide Bob Hattoy, Rep. Barney Frank and Rep. Nancy Pelosi and Sen. Barbara Boxer for their efforts in securing the increased funding.

cc Steve
a KBN/GRC



To: Alexis Herman
From: Eric Rosenthal
Re: Gays and Lesbians in the Military
May 27, 1993

MAY 27 1993

via FAX (456-6218)

We understand there is a good chance the Administration will announce its proposal on allowing lesbians and gays to serve in the military shortly, possibly within the next week or two. In view of that situation, it is urgent that we meet with public liaison, policy, political, communications and congressional relations staff to discuss this matter. I would appreciate it if you would convene such a meeting.

Thank you very much.

cc: Keith Boykin - 456-2362
Rocco Claps - 863-8196
Bob Hattoy - 456-2259
Steve Hilton - 456-6218
Tom Stoddard - 265-7393

AMH



June 9, 1993

Alexis Herman, Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

JUN 10 1993

via FAX (456-6218)

Dear Alexis:

We continue to be concerned by information emerging from the White House that the President has accepted Senator Nunn's proposal on lesbians and gays in the military. We receive regular requests to support the Administration's programs on a variety of issues and have responded positively, but our calls and notes requesting that we discuss the military situation are not being returned. It is urgent that we meet immediately so that this issue does not get out of hand. The Human Rights Campaign Fund considers itself to be a partner of the Administration and we very much want that relationship to continue.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Tim McFeeley
Executive Director

cc Steve
cc R/G + LM
Bender

HUMAN RIGHTS
CAMPAIGN FUND

1012 14th Street, NW,
6th Floor
Washington, DC 20005

TO: *Allepis Herman*
FROM: *Eric Roenthal*
DATE: *6/25/93*

FAX NUMBER: *456-6218*

PAGES TO FOLLOW: *1*

RESPOND TO FAX: 202/347-5323

If this transmission is not received legibly or is incomplete,
please call *Bill* at (202)628-4160

NOTES: *FYI*

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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Seek better deal on gay ban

The latest purported "compromise" on lifting the ban on gays in the U.S. military is barely a compromise at all. It's more like the status quo with a sugar coating, and it falls far short of ending the military's discriminatory policy.

The new proposed policy, reportedly backed by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, is essentially the "don't ask, don't tell" solution pushed by Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia, the most influential opponent of President Clinton's plan to end the ban on gays.

Under "don't ask, don't tell," the armed forces would not ask new recruits about their sexual orientation. Gays and lesbians could serve in uniform as long as they kept their homosexuality private. Some advocates of ending the discrimination against gays in the military were willing to use this as a starting point for moving toward a compromise.

Unfortunately, the draft policy leaked to the press is in no way a step forward from the proposal Mr. Nunn embraced. If anything, it represents a few steps back.

For example, it specifically states that "homosexuality is incompatible with military service," the thoroughly discredited rationale for having a ban in the first place. Worse yet, the policy will allow military officers to continue the witch hunts that violate American standards of privacy and fairness.

They will be able to get away with that

because the draft policy says that engaging in homosexual acts — even while off duty — will continue to be grounds for being discharged. It gives military commanders discretion to initiate investigations into whether members of the service are gay.

If this proposal is adopted, it will give the illusion of opening the door to military service for gays. But the reality will be that any gay man or lesbian who steps through that door is guaranteed to face a hostile environment, one in which he or she must live a lie while constantly fearing the prospect of being found out.

Is this the best the president can hope for? All indications are that Mr. Nunn and his cohorts have the votes to continue the military's discrimination against gays in law, thus thwarting President Clinton if he issues an executive order lifting the ban.

But the president can push for a genuine compromise. He should not settle for the policy Mr. Aspin reportedly is ready to recommend.

The president should seek to impose a policy that follows the spirit of "don't ask, don't tell," one that treats the sexuality of military personnel as a private matter not to be flaunted while on duty and not to be subject to prying by the military while off duty.

Gay men and lesbians have already shown they can serve in the military honorably and with distinction. They should be allowed to serve without fear of persecution.

The draft policy leaked to the press is in no way a step forward from the proposal Sen. Sam Nunn embraced. If anything, it represents a few steps back.

MISCELLANEOUS

JUNE 30, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MARILYN YAGER

FROM: KEITH BOYKIN

CC: ALEXIS HERMAN, GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

RE: GAYS IN MILITARY ANNOUNCEMENT PHONE CALLS

In addition to the consultation with the Pentagon and the Armed Services Committee chairs (Dellums and Nunn), the following people should be notified prior to the President's announcement on gays in the military.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PHONE #</u>	<u>SUGGESTED CALLER</u>
David Mixner	(310) 289-1181	The President
Rep. Barney Frank	(202) 225-5931	The President
Sen. Ted Kennedy	(202) 224-6572	The President
Andrew Barrer, Coalition '93	(202) 842-8679	Alexis Herman
David Geffen, The Geffen Co.	(310) 285-7962	Mack McLarty
Tim McFeeley, Human Rights Campaign Fund	(202) 628-4160	G. Stephanopoulos
Torie Osborn, National Gay & Lesbian Task Force	(202) 332-6483	Alexis Herman
Alexander Robinson ACLU	(202) 675-2317	Alexis Herman
Tom Stoddard, Campaign for Military Service	(202) 265-6666	G. Stephanopoulos
William Waybourn Gay & Lesbian Victory Fund	(202) 842-8679	Alexis Herman
Phill Wilson Black Gay & Lesbian Leadership Forum	(213) 962-1600 x572 or x584	Alexis Herman

JULY 19, 1993

*Keith
asked you
to make the
last 2 calls
only*

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: KEITH BOYKIN

RE: GAYS IN MILITARY ANNOUNCEMENT PHONE CALLS

The following people should receive courtesy calls prior to the President's announcement on gays in the military. They are all opinion leaders in the gay community who will likely be contacted by the press today for comment. They all know about the 2 p.m. announcement today, but it would be enormously helpful to ongoing relations if you could just spend a minute telling them formally.

Alexis knows some of the people, and you may want her to help make some of the phone calls.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PHONE #</u>
✓ Tom Stoddard, Campaign for Military Service	(202) 265-6666
✓ Tim McFeeley, Human Rights Campaign Fund	(202) 628-4160
Alexander Robinson ACLU	(202) 675-2317
Torie Osborn, National Gay & Lesbian Task Force	(415) 776-1380
✓ William Waybourn,	(202) 842-8679

William Waybourn,
Gay & Lesbian
Victory Fund

202/842 8679

(202) 462-7288

Alexis
Phill Wilson,
Black Gay &
Lesbian Leadership
Forum

April 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR ALEXIS HERMAN

CC: Steve Hilton

FR: Keith Boykin

RE: D.C. City Council vote

*Told
AMH*

The District of Columbia City Council voted last night to repeal the city's 45-year-old sodomy law. According to the press accounts, the decision could still be overturned by the U.S. Congress, as a similar measure was overturned back in 1981.

Based on the President's strong commitment to D.C. home rule and his support of gay rights, the measure is expected to take effect. Nevertheless, the Council decision could still pose a political controversy for the President if Congress votes to overturn the D.C. decision.

March 31, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL R.E.

SUBJECT: REFERENDUM ON GAYS IN THE MILITARY

As you know, the special election in Texas takes place on May 1, and the run-off (if needed) on June 5.

Senator Krueger is getting attacked on gays in the military. If he loses this election, it could be interpreted as a referendum on the President, in particular as a rejection of the policy.

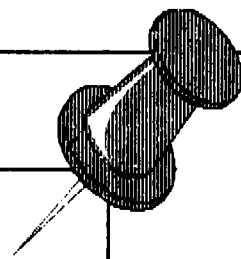
cc: Mark Gearan
George Stephanopoulos
Alexis Herman
Sandy Berger
Tony Lake

● Fax Cover Page

SUBJECT:

Dr. Mort Halperin suggested that I forward this to you.

Thanks.



To: Alexis Herman

From : Don George

For Information Call: 404-231-5479

At:

Pages: 2

M. F. N. L. 404-231-5479

1068 Shady Valley Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30324
Phone: 404-231-5479
Fax: 404-231-5484
February 9, 1993

Alexis Herman
White House Liason Office
Fax: 202-456-6218

Dear Ms Herman:

A coalition of gay and lesbian organizations in Atlanta will hold a "Support the President" rally, Saturday, February 13, to show support for Mr. Clinton's position to end discrimination in the military. Accordingly, the City Council has proclaimed February 13 Bill Clinton Day in Atlanta.

This rally is being held to thank the president for his efforts to end the military ban, to educate the public and media on the issue, and to urge Senator Sam Nunn to get on board and support the president.

We would be most appreciative if President Clinton could send a few words to be read to the crowd assembled in his honor.

If the president sends a message by fax, could he also send a hard copy for my souvenir files.

Thank you very much.

For the Coalition,

Don George, MD

Don George, Chair
Atlanta Field Committee
Human Rights Campaign Fund

1068 Shady Valley Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30324
Phone: 404-231-5479
Fax: 404-231-5484
February 9, 1993

Marcia Hale
Director of Scheduling
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Fax: 202-456-6208

AMH
Marcia wanted
you to see
this as it
could be
"explosive"
R

Dear Marcia:

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For the Coalition,

Don George, Chair
Atlanta Field Committee
Human Rights Campaign Fund

1068 Shady Valley Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30324
Phone: 404-231-5479
Fax: 404-231-5484
February 9, 1993

Marcia Hale
Director of Scheduling
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Fax: 202-456-6208

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Thank you very much.

For the Coalition,

Don George, Chair
Atlanta Field Committee
Human Rights Campaign Fund

*cc Stone
✓ a RBL*

WALLACE LEEDY
5530 Spanish Oak Lane #E
Agoura, CA 91301-3729
(818) 879-1203

Brub

April 30, 1993

Alexis Herman
Public Liaison, Deputy
Assistant to the President
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

MAY - 6 1993

Enclosed is a copy of my behavioral science paper on homosexuality for your edification and use in the current government review of homosexuals in the military. This paper is also being sent to other selected public figures with an urgent need to know the true scientific basis of homosexuality.

In my paper, I have defined homosexuality and described its etiology. In brief, homosexuality is simply a different form of sexual addiction--male to male and female to female. As it is with heterosexual sexual addiction, the main reasons a person acquires this illness are commonly found in the dynamics of the family, along with the awesome powers of addiction and sexuality. Homosexuality can also be described as the "flip-side" of heterosexual sexual addiction. Homosexuality is not biologically determined. It is a mental-emotional behavior-based illness.

I am convinced you need this information now to make the decisions required for the benefit of the nation as a whole. I would appreciate hearing from you on your response to my findings on this extremely important subject.

Sincerely,

Wallace Leedy

Wallace Leedy
Retired; Independent Researcher
Social-Behavioral Sciences
and Public Policy

HOMOSEXUALITY
The Mystery is Solved
By Wallace Leedy

What is homosexuality? Is it a lifestyle? Is it a sexual preference? Is it a sexual orientation? Is it a unique genetic disorder? Of course not! All of the above are nonsense. Then what is it? It is sexual addiction, of a different kind, where the person is addicted sexually to others of the same gender--male to male and female to female.

With the application of logical thinking, and from studying the literature on addiction in general and sexual addiction in particular, along with human sexuality and family relationships, one must conclude that homosexuality is simply a different form of sexual addiction--male to male and female to female. Therefore, sexual addiction is not confined to heterosexuals, a fact heretofore unrecognized by society and its professionals (MD psychiatrists, PhD psychologists and other practitioners working in the area) or any others trying to determine what homosexuality is and its etiology.

The term homosexuality simply describes the activity--sexual contact between two or more people of the same gender. It offers nothing in the way of explaining what homosexuality is, or describing the conditions leading up to it. And herein lies the problem to understanding this mental-emotional, behavior-based illness. A person searching for a scientific explanation must first examine the behavior itself, and then not try to justify an illness, as is being done today by most professionals working in the area, by the media and entertainment industry, and by homosexuals. It is all too easy to fall into the trap of "I don't understand it, so it must be biological."

*look beyond for
a meaningful
explanation--
not a justifi-
cation!
One should*

To recognize homosexual behavior as an illness, just think about what homosexuals do, with and to each other. Now that is not a good, clean, healthy, happy, wholesome activity. It is sick. Each participant is out of control, Emotions have taken over--the mind is not working. And in time, after a few more same gender sexual encounters, the behavior becomes an addiction, not just promiscuity. It was in 1982 when I came to the conclusion that homosexuals were sick.

For a meaningful explanation of homosexuality and its etiology, there is a common pattern among homosexuals in their relationships with their parents. Where a heterosexual sexual addict admires and emulates the

sexually addicted parent of the same gender, the homosexual is not on good terms with his or her parents, especially the parent of the same gender, and thusly rejects the relationship of the parents to each other and to him or her. Therefore, homosexuality can also be described as the "flip-side" of heterosexual sexual addiction.

In contrast to the destructive relationships found in families containing sexual addicts (both types), there is also a common pattern that good, clean, healthy, happy, wholesome, productive parents raise good, clean, healthy, happy, wholesome, productive children. The question then arises: Is the unsatisfactory relationship with parents a requirement for becoming a homosexual? And the answer is: probably not, as there is no doubt a myriad of reasons a person can become addicted sexually, either a heterosexual sexual addict or a homosexual, just as there is for any other addiction. Keep in mind the awesome power of addiction. Addictions have no limits; they are in every segment of society. If it's available, try it! Try it again, and again, . . . and one is "hooked" (addicted). A person just "has to have it," whatever it is!

For examples of the family dynamics involved for sexual addicts of both types, one only needs to look around among friends, neighbors, relatives, close associates, ministers and lay leaders, and public figures. There are excellent examples among well recognized sexually addicted public figures, and in the literature for heterosexual sexual addicts only of course since homosexuals up to now, have not been recognized as sexual addicts. The most obvious public figure examples of sexual addicts displaying the common family dynamics include President John Kennedy and Neuroscientist, Dr. Simon LeVay, recently with the Salk Institute in San Diego. The family dynamics of the Kennedy family is well documented in the literature and the family dynamics of Dr. LeVay, a homosexual, has been well documented, unintentionally, through recent interviews with him on CBS's 60 Minutes, ABC's 20/20 and Primetime Live, and on CNN's Larry King Live.

And now for the role of the professionals: psychiatrists, psychologists, neuroscientists, other licensed practitioners, and the public schools. Prior to 1973, the American Psychiatric Association defined homosexuality as a mental illness. Then in 1973, since they didn't really know what homosexuality was, they took it off their list of illnesses, thus declaring it a "non-illness." They did not say that it was healthy.

The psychologists have been in much the same state as the psychiatrists in the last few decades. Although much has been written, they too have not known what homosexuality is, therefore the growing belief that it must be biological. However, there are a few psychologists who still claim that ~~it~~ is behavioral based, including the connection with negative relationships with parent(s) but without really knowing what it is either. In 1979, there was a major breakthrough with the publication of Dr. Patrick Carnes' book "Out of the Shadows," the definitive work on heterosexual sexual addiction. Dr. Carnes is a psychologist in Minneapolis. From this beginning, much has been done in the understanding and treatment of heterosexual sexual addiction, but no "bridging" to homosexuality. Sexual addiction and gambling make up the two major nonsubstance abuse forms of addiction. What is common to all addictions is the emotional "high" (or thrill) that is ultimately achieved.

In our higher education system such as UCLA, in its course on human sexuality, homosexuality is taught as a sexual orientation and an acceptable and honorable "lifestyle." It is simply part of the "human condition." The reason I know this is because I audited the class in the Fall semester of 1991, along with other pertinent classes, shortly after I had made the connection of homosexuality with sexual addiction. Auditing pertinent classes at a reputable university is my way of doing a fast and thorough literature search.

As for our public school system, everyone should be aware of the ever growing general coverage of homosexuality as a sexual orientation and an approved lifestyle. It is presented in some cases as low as the first grade. Almost everyone by now is aware of the school programs where the child has "two mommies" or "two dads." This, along with the distribution of condoms, encourages sexual promiscuity which leads to sexual addiction (both types). I am sorry to say, but such mentality exhibited by our public schools is somewhat akin to giving a box of matches to a four year old child and telling him/her to go out in the forest and play. No wonder all the indicators of our behavioral ills are getting worse every year--alcohol, drugs, sexual addiction, teenage pregnancies, premature births, illegitimate births, divorce, crime--along with one of the most degrading of all conditions, that of poverty.

In the studies so far by scientists searching for a biological basis for homosexuality, all have recognized that an environmental influence is involved. It is

also interesting to note that none has been able to put together a valid sample of cadavers used in their research. A valid sample would consist of a sufficient number of cadavers for each of the following categories: ~~heterosexual~~ homosexual males and heterosexual females, homosexual males and homosexual females, and bisexual males and bisexual females. The bisexuals represent a third class of sexual addicts and are no doubt the most complex and confused of all. For the most part they are still in the "closet" and will probably stay there. From a logical analysis, bisexual males were no doubt responsible for most of the transmission of AIDS to the heterosexual population in the early 1980's from a previously homosexual disease in the United States.

The primary reason our professionals have failed to understand homosexuality as a mental-emotional behavior-based illness is, as stated above, that they have been looking for a justification, not an explanation. They have also been focusing on the subject from a much too narrow frame of reference. They need to take more of a systems view of the problem and consider all related factors: family relationships, sexuality, and addictive behaviors, especially sexual addiction. When our professionals make this change in their approach to the problem, I am sure they too will make the connection between homosexuality and sexual addition.

Understanding homosexuality is really quite simple when one has "solved the mystery," as described in this paper. Homosexuals themselves are the most confused of all in trying to understand why they are different. They too have not known what homosexuality is and how they got that way. So why shouldn't they begin to think that it is a natural way of life. They have only two choices open to them: deny or justify. In recent decades, more and more of them have chosen to justify. And in their efforts to justify, most have settled on a few standard phrases, such as, "I was born to be gay," "one would not choose to be gay," "it's biological," "it's genetic," etc.. It is interesting to note that people with other types of mental-emotional illnesses also use similar phrases. For example, Jeffrey Dalmer, a serial killer, came to believe "it was meant to be." Dalmer's case was recently presented on television through ABC's "DayOne" program with Forrest Sawyer.

It is also fascinating to note that people (sexual addicts and others) often use the common phrase that they "fell in love" with a certain person. To understand what is really going on is to realize that the term "fell in love" really means that they "fell into sex" and then called the relationship "love" and

tried to make it meaningful. Love is best described as when another person's welfare is more important than your own. Sexual "bonding" is sexual addiction and is a temporary arrangement between any two people, whether it is a heterosexual couple or two homosexuals. It is not true love. It is sick. A true bonding can only take place after a commitment to love has been made, as in a heterosexual marriage, and is based first on that commitment. Sexual relations under marriage is a reward. Too many people continue to get this fact backwards. That is why our divorce rate continues to climb, along with other negative statistics, and sexual addiction in all three forms continue to thrive.

There are a few additional facts about addicts in general and sexual addicts in particular that are pertinent for the discussion here. One needs to realize that addictions typically run in multiples. Rarely does a person have just one addiction. Alcohol, drugs and sex are a standard combination. And all addicts will do anything to protect their addiction, whether they are "in or out of the closet." So what are the potential problems of sexual addicts (of all three types) in the military and in any work place? To answer these questions, it is necessary to know: (1) the working conditions, (2) the living conditions where applicable, and (3) the health hazards involved. With sexual addicts, all addictions and sexually transmitted diseases (STD's) are the most obvious.

The study and treatment of homosexuals by the professionals, our public officials, and the general public at large, often display a compassion, a caring, a feeling of concern and fairness. In some cases there have been feelings of fear and hatred. But first a thorough factual understanding of homosexuality is required. The facts about homosexuality have now been presented for the first time anywhere in the world. It is now time for decisions to be made by our officials and the public at large that are based on these facts, not fiction.

THE SHERIDAN GROUP

Government and Public Relations

APR 20 1993

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: TOM SHERIDAN
CHAI FELDBLUM

DATE: APRIL 16, 1993

RE: FOLLOW UP TO MEETING OF 4-15-93

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

INITIALS: AOB DATE: 7/28/16
2015-0017-F

At your request, we are forwarding a detailed memo of our conversation last week. We were greatly encouraged by the depth and frankness of our meeting. You were very generous with your time and we are hopeful that this initial investment will ultimately succeed in a victory for the President and the gay and lesbian community.

CURRENT STATUS:

We understand that White House staff are meeting internally to coordinate a strategy for winning on the issue of gays in the military. As we expressed in our first meeting there are three essential issues that require immediate attention: (1) a clear communications message; (2) policy clarification on status vs. conduct; and (3) active involvement of the White House Congressional liaison or other appropriate senior staff with important members of Congress.

According to our conversation, the first two issues are proceeding within the White House. We understand that the attention and timing of the Congressional liaison's work may be delayed until the resolution of the Economic Stimulus package. We remain anxious that these three issues proceed to a mutually agreeable conclusion at the earliest possible juncture. Please continue to keep us informed.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR MILITARY SERVICE -- STRATEGY AND PROGRAM:

LOBBY: We provided for you our campaign plan for the lobby operations. In addition, we provided you with our most recent targeting information on a confidential basis. Please find, attached, an internal draft of our twelve week persuasion\message campaign. We'd appreciate your feedback on all of the above.

LEGAL: The legal department of CMS is focused on the substantive issues regarding the Executive Order and the implementation plan. We have provided you a memo detailing the important distinctions on status vs. conduct. We will be sending you, in the coming week or two, a more detailed description of the legal and policy components we believe are necessary for an effective lifting of the ban.

MEDIA: Our media operation is engaged in managing the public dissemination of our message. In addition, our polling firm, Mellman and Larzarus is working within this area. We have provided a copy of our latest polling data. The CMS "Tour of Duty" bus tour has generated a large volume of media attention. This combination of "Freedom Ride" themes and the Clinton\Gore bus trips has enabled the campaign to reach out to America in an effective way.

GRASSROOTS: The CMS plan for grassroots was provided in your briefing packet. As you know, our ability to win support for the President's position is dependent on our ability to generate public support. Our grassroots operation is focused on Members of the Senate and House in targeted states.

A CHECK LIST FOR ACTION:

With apologies for the outline format of this section, the following is a list of ideas and actions for the consideration of appropriate White House personnel. The requests are organized by categories of activity (noted above).

- LOBBY:
- 1) Strategy meeting with Congressional Liaison and CMS. We remain concerned that Congressional leaders require some substantial signals from the White House in order to maintain support for the President's position. Simple and relatively time efficient meetings with key members of Congress would be very helpful to the overall success of the Congressional advocacy process. A meeting with CMS staff to review current Congressional strategy and an opportunity to present suggestions would be most welcome.
 - 2) Meeting with President Clinton and Senate Armed Services Committee friends and the Senate Majority Leader (Kennedy, Robb, Levin and Bingaman). **Suggested Agenda:** Ask for help and share the White House strategy for winning ultimate vote on Executive Order plus strategy to protect the current compromise during debate on DOD

Authorization and Appropriation measures in case of possible negative amendments.

- 3) Meeting with President Clinton and House Armed Services Chairman Dellums, Majority Leader Gephardt, House Appropriations subcommittee Chairman Murtha, Congressional leaders: Frank, Studds, Hoyer, Fazio, Schroeder and Lewis. **Suggested Agenda:** House strategy for supportive hearings, request for an ad hoc Whip's operation, strategy to protect the DOD Authorization bill and the appropriations bill.
{NOTE: There have been no formal discussions with House leaders and the President on this issue.}
- 4) There is a special need to "court" some swing Members of Congress at any opportunity that presents itself. This courting does not need to be specifically on the issue of gays in the military, but may be simple opportunities to spend time with the President, First Lady, or senior staff. **Targets:** Sen. Glenn, Sen. Graham, Rep. Murtha, Rep. Skelton, Rep. Spratt.
- 5) Staff members of the Armed Services Committee need some attention from White House personnel. Either Alexis (as the point person) or someone from the National Security Council should spend time talking with and courting Congressional staff on this issue. **Suggested targets** (in order of priority):
Arnold Punaro, Staff Director, Senate Armed Services Committee
Marilyn Elrod, Staff Director, House Armed Services Committee
David Lewis, Staff, Senator Levin
Michael Iskowitz, Staff, Senator Kennedy
Margy Sullivan, Staff, Rep. Gephardt
- 6) If the meetings with the President are successful, House and Senate leaders will surely begin regular meetings to coordinate strategy. Senate and House liaisons should be attending those meetings, constantly reinforcing the White House commitment on this issue. Regular communications with CMS on these meetings, targets for member to member lobbying, hearings strategy and issue briefings would be most useful.

LEGAL:

- 1) A meeting of White House personnel and CMS regarding current status and development of an Executive Order and implementation plan. Suggested individuals to be asked to participate in this meeting include: Pentagon (deLeon and Halperin),

NSC staff, White House Legal Counsel (if they are designated to be involved), Joint Chiefs' staff, DOJ staff responsible for military cases, CMS staff, Alexis and staff. **Agenda:** Examine broad principles for implementation and agree on process for ongoing communications and collaboration mechanisms.

MEDIA: 1) White House Communications staff and CMS media team meeting to discuss media strategy, overall message and press strategy. In addition, this meeting could include joint presentations by CMS and DNC pollsters. **Agenda:** message plan, media opportunities, polling data, events planned, ongoing communications and collaboration.

GRASSROOTS: 1) Coordinated grassroots plans with DNC support. Specifically, CMS could use assistance in obtaining support from local elected officials, a grassroots press on Armed Services Committee members during advocacy hearings (likely to be in mid to late May) and, finally, a commitment to a full DNC grassroots press the week before the President announces the Executive Order and implementation plan (July 15).

2) Using CMS polling data and demographic targets, the DNC would provide voter files for aggressive mail and telephone campaign.

3) Meeting with DNC Chairman Wilhelm, Political Director Smith, Liaison Claps and CMS Staff to map out overall strategy and solidify commitments.

OVERALL: 1) Meeting regarding overall strategy with Carville and Begala.

2) Meeting with CMS Executive Committee and senior staff with Alexis and team. Would be helpful the week of April 19th.

3) A regularly scheduled meeting of CMS principal staff and appropriate White House staff to update information and strategize appropriate solutions.

We'll be in touch this week to talk with you about these ideas and suggestions. Thank you again for your commitment.

To: CMS DEPARTMENT HEADS
FROM: TOM SHERIDAN
RE: COORDINATED STRATEGY
DATE: APRIL 9, 1993

DRAFT

With a limited amount of time left in our campaign and the rush of Congressional business over the next three months, the legislative staff has brainstormed and come up with an idea we'd like to share.

Over the next 14 weeks (that's all folks), Congress will be in session for twelve. Our campaign has identified a number of messages that may be persuasive with members of Congress. In the interest of focus we propose the following "message of the week" ideas and offer some suggestions for the integration of various departments of CMS. Our ideas are not solid so all input, amendment and criticism is welcomed. Let's discuss this in detail on Thursday evening.

APRIL 20 - 21 -22 : NATIONAL LEADERS

Since most of the national leaders and celebrities of the gay rights movement will be in town and visible during the March, it would be wise to "warm up" the March by having these leaders visit with key members of Congress. Target #1's

Lead: Executive Committee of CMS
Lobby: Secure leaders. Schedule meetings. Assign lobbyist
Legal: Develop literature
Media: Press Conference or Media Hit
Devel: Ask national leaders for donations
Grass: No visits unless they give us their lists.

APRIL 27-28-29: POSTER CHILDREN

The bus has returned and our famous vets have returned. This will be the week of the international hearings on the Senate side. Our "stars" can be scheduled to meet with #2's and #3's. They will focus the message of the visit on the international comparisons and our overall message of "Discrimination -- We're Soldiers First".

Lead: GLBVA
Lobby: Secure "poster children". Schedule meetings. Assign lobbyist.
Legal: Develop literature. Brief lobbyist and "poster kids"
Media: There should be plenty with the hearing hook
Devel: The fundraiser was the week before-- Relax
Grass: Local GLBVA Chapters focus on Affidavits.

MAY 4- 5-6: MOTHERS DAY

Our goal here is to put mothers on Capitol Hill talking about the discrimination faced by their sons and daughters. We want to focus on Mrs. Schilder, Mrs. Domi, Mrs. Thorne etc... Our point is to take back the "family issue" and use it on our side. A mother vs. a politician is always a win for us. We'll need to think of some creative way to deliver our message with the mothers --flowers jump to my mind.

Lead: P-Flag, NOW, Gold Star Mothers
Lobby: Secure participants, schedule meetings, assign lobbyist, think of creative gimmick
Legal: Special talking points
Media: This could be a great press conference -- what about the wreath at Arlington idea.
Devel: Mothers Day cards sold and addressed on Congress
Grass: P-Flag Chapters do the cards from above.

MAY 11-12-13: RELIGIOUS LEADERS

God is on our side. Using all of the endorsing and supportive religious leaders we can find, our objective will be to blitz the Hill with religious figures (preferably in clerical attire). The moral arguments can be dissolved with a particularly strong showing from the moderate church groups. We should do a particular out reach to the gay\religious groups (ie: Dignity, Integrity etc...)

Lead: Jay Lippner, Religious Action Center
Lobby: Secure participants, schedule meetings, assign lobbyists. Target members for visits (#3's).
Legal: Talking Points
Media: Another great press opp. (how about at the National Cathedral).
Devel: A collection at a prayer service (stretching it)
Grass: Ecumenical events across the country. Letters.

MAY 18-19-20: STRAIGHT VETS

The veteran's organizations are solidly against us and the perception is that all straight people think this is a bad idea. We need to debunk that notion. This is where we find the friends of gay soldiers who think the ban should be lifted. Older vets who served with gay comrades would be great -- especially if that fellow soldier did something heroic. I am most concerned about this group being large enough. We'll need to do a lot of work to find people willing to participate. Target #3's and #4's.

Lead: GLBVA plus everyone else.
Lobby: Participants, Appointments, Lobbyists
Legal: Talking Points
Media: One on One interviews -- target Vet pubs.
Devel: (Will straight people give money?)
Grass: Local supporters (straight vets) write, call.

MAY 25-26-27: DEMOCRATIC \ REPUBLICAN BIG DONORS

Money talks. Gay and Straight large donors to the parties should be solicited to come to Washington for a series of scheduled meetings, dinners, breakfasts etc... These individuals already have relationships with members and have contributed to campaigns. In some cases those that are gay may be comfortable in coming out to the member in a comfortable, private and controlled environment. For progressive big donors who are straight the message would be very powerful -- this is not just a "gay issue". This weeks lobbying will be highly sophisticated since public attention around this part of the persuasion would be harmful.

Lead: Mixner, Geffen, Victory Fund, HRCF Federal Club
Lobby: Schedule one on one meetings with CMS principles
Legal: Prepare individual dossiers for each meeting
Media: NONE
Devel: Perhaps our "bundling program" is launched here.
Grass: ?

NOTE: This may be the week of Dellums hearings.

JUNE 1-2-3: CONGRESSIONAL RECESS FOR MEMORIAL DAY

Grass: All efforts focused here
Lobby: Assist Grass in district visits.

JUNE 8-9-10: CIVIL RIGHTS

Our basic discrimination message needs to be articulated here by the traditional civil rights groups. This message is clearly broader than just race. It must include women, Asians, people with disabilities, Hispanics. Very visible leaders in all of these communities should be strongly encouraged to participate.

Lead: LCCR
Lobby: Schedule meetings, Assign lobbyist
Legal: Talking Points
Media: Lincoln Memorial event
Devel: ?
Grass: All local affiliates do mail, phone.

JUNE 15-16-17: FATHERS DAY

This will the mirror image of the mothers day event. Where possible we would like our fathers and their sons to make these visits together. Again, we are hoping to recapture the "family values" aspect of this campaign. Target #3's

Lead: P-Flag, GLBVA
Lobby: Schedule meetings, assign lobbyist
Legal: Talking Points
Media: Washington Monument or Archives (Founding Fathers, Father of our country) Press Event.
Devel: Cards again
Grass: Cards sent to Capitol Hill

JUNE 22-23-24: ELECTED OFFICIALS / POLICE / FIRE DEPT / *PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES.*
"All politics is local" . . . Most of our federal legislators will be looking for "cover" and the support of other politicians. Knowing that there is support from the local elected officials in

their states and cities provides support from the local political establishment. We's hope to have as broad a geographic and demographic mix as possible. We should aim for a handful of Governors, Attorney Generals and big city Mayors and then lots of local folks.

Lead: HRCF and Victory Fund with DNC support
Lobby: Schedule visits, outreach to NGA, NACo, USCM.
Legal: Draft resolutions for local gov'ts to pass before coming to DC
Media: Could do some great press with notables
Devel: not sure on this
Grass: Have all supporters press for county, city, town, state resolutions and participation from their elected officials. Goal 500 gov't resolutions.

JUNE 29-30 AND JULY 1 -- CONGRESSIONAL RECESS

GRASS: This should be our all out press in the grassroots

JULY 6-7-8: STARS

To start our GOTV blitz, we should bring in as many celebrities as possible to do one-on-one meetings with members who are still undecided or leaning with us. There are a number progressive celebrities who may be willing to assist in getting to members who are not yet solidly supporting our position. The celebrity hook will also help with White House involvement and media interest on our side. We must plan to control the message and media for the week prior to the vote. This strategy allows us to build momentum for the final push and the issuance of the Executive Order.

Lead: People for the American Way \ Geffen
Lobby: Highly individualized opportunities with stars and members.
Legal: Talking Points (hopefully on the E.O.)
Media: You'll be crazy trying to handle it
Devel: In the evening we could do dinners for \$\$\$\$\$\$
Grass: Letters, Phone calls

JULY 13-14-15: ALL HANDS ON DECK

All those who participated on this program to date should be invited back for a major blitz of Capitol Hill. Teams of individuals who have participated before or who couldn't come when the affinity group visited would be dispersed across the Hill and at all points where members would enter the Capitol for a vote on this issue (Capitol doors, subway entrances, Office building tunnels).

All departments on the same coordinated program.

6x6/m

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

11-May-1993 04:40pm

TO: Howard Paster
TO: Timothy J. Keating
TO: Lorraine C. Miller
TO: Steve Ricchetti

FROM: Alphonse Maldon
Office of Legislative Affairs

SUBJECT: Gays in the Military

Following are 3 fundamental questions that need to be considered as we develop strategy for gays in military legislation: (1) What is best time for the President to do an Executive Order? (2) What do we want the bill to say? What is success for the President?

It seems that there are 2 reasonable courses of action.

1) The President issues an EO immediately after receiving the Rand report from DOD.

The HASC and SASC would then base their authorization markups on the President's EO. This process would be the basis for Congress to focus and the debate could be limited to the EO. This should reduce the number of amendments from Republicans and conservative Democrats.

Issuance of an immediate EO would defer responsibility to Congress and demonstrate President's commitment to pledges he made during the campaign.

This course of action would be to incorporate the President's position in the House bill and establish rules for floor debate. Members could vote on 3 positions from the floor: Extreme liberal, Conservative, and President's position. DOD/WH would lobby Members in Cmte and Subcmte. There are 17 Members (11 democrats and 6 republicans) on the HASC, Military Forces & Personnel Subcmte. Two of the eleven democratic positions are vacant but we can arrange to fill these positions temporarily to get desired votes. This means that we would need 9 votes. Currently, we unofficially have 6 votes in the Subcmte if votes were taken today. The votes could change depending on what is in the EO. We would need 10 additional votes in the full committee if votes were taken today to lift the ban.

It is possible to get the votes required if Secy Aspin were to conduct private visits with Reps Lancaster, Bilbray and his successor on HASC. Chairman Powell would need to visit Reps

Sisisky, Skelton and Pickett. Secy Aspin would need to get Gen Conaway (Commander, National Guard) to assure Montgomery's vote.

2) In the second course of action, the President would not issue EO until votes were completed on the floor. The following process may apply:

- a) Members are asked not to report out of the Committee, but wait and offer amendments on the floor. Republicans may not like waiting until bill go to the floor because they will have better votes in Cmtes. Justification is that this is a national issue and should be debated on the floor.
- b) Republicans would have to be assured that there would be no attempts to block their votes on the floor.
- c) DOD and WH would concentrate on conservative democrats and selected Republicans for swing votes.
- d) After votes President issues EO.

This process will probably take longer to complete and would cause the media to focus on the President and his support or lack of support for lifting the ban. This is not the best position for the President.

Bender

DEFENSE READINESS COUNCIL

P.O. Box 15351
Alexandria, Virginia 22309

*Danny
+ Stone
Albion*

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ADVISORY BOARD

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USN (Retired)

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SECRETARY

Thomas Wilson, Esq.

TREASURER

Maj. General Donald Logeais
USAF (Retired)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Daniel Heimbach, Ph.D.
USNA '72

May 26, 1993

Alexis Herman
Office of Public Liaison
OEOB
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

MAY 28 1993

Dear Ms. Herman:

Enclosed for your information and action is a copy of a letter sent May 11, 1993 by Admiral Moorer representing the Defense Readiness Council and asking for a meeting with the President.

The meeting requested would be with senior retired members of the military community who are seriously concerned about lifting the ban on homosexuals serving in the armed forces.

Our reason for this request is fair and equal treatment on a vital issue of great importance to the quality, readiness and effectiveness of our combat troupes. As President of all the people, we assume the President is as vitally concerned to hear from military leaders opposed to lifting the ban as he has shown himself to be to hear from those working to lift the ban.

I have also enclosed a copy of a brochure that summarizes the main concerns of the Defense Readiness Council on this important issue. For coordinating this meeting, please call or contact me, Dr. Daniel R. Heimbach, Executive Director, Defense Readiness Council. I can be reached at the address above, or by calling (202) 457-0978.

Sincerely,



Daniel R. Heimbach, Ph.D.
Executive Director

Enclosures

DEFENSE READINESS COUNCIL

P.O. Box 15351
Alexandria, Virginia 22309

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USAF (Retired)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Daniel Helmbach, Ph.D.
USNA '72

May 11, 1993

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

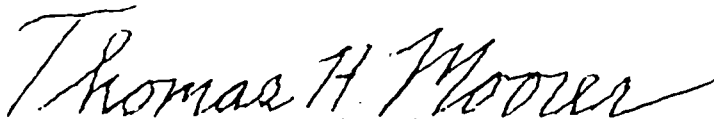
Dear Mr. President:

As you consider ordering Americans into Bosnia, it is critical that our military be maintained at the highest possible state of readiness. No action you take is likely to more seriously impact the combat readiness of our men and women in uniform than what you decide regarding whether to order the military services to accept homosexuals.

Since you met in the Oval Office April 16 with leaders of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgenderal March on Washington, we think it is essential that you also meet with the Defense Readiness Council. The Defense Readiness Council (DRC) is a nonpartisan movement of people with senior military experience and who are focused on the issue of homosexuals and military service. Our members are among the most seasoned military leaders in our country, and represent many hundreds of years of direct experience preparing and leading troops so that they win our nation's wars. This experience also includes much direct experience with the adverse impact that the presence of homosexuals has on the ability of soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines to achieve the military mission.

DRC members would like to present you with vital information which you need to consider before you make a final decision. We look forward to visiting with you as you reach out for advice. Prudence and fairness suggest that you should avail yourself of the broadest range of American military experience before taking an action that could change forever the character and quality of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Very respectfully,



Admiral Thomas Moorer, USN (Ret.), Chairman

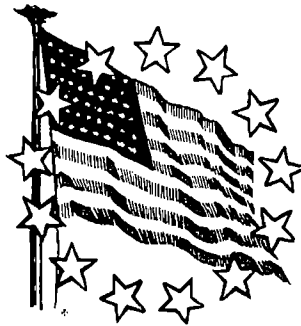
Enclosure

DEFENSE READINESS COUNCIL

Army



Navy



Air Force



Marine Corps



6+4/m

June 4, 1993

Mr. Ernest B. Gutierrez, Jr.
2830 Bamlet Road
Royal Oak, MI 48073

Dear Ernie:

It was good to hear from you and I am certainly pleased that you brought me up-to-date with what you are now doing. It's been a long time.

I appreciate all the kind words you had to say about my new career. These are exciting and challenging days. Each day is different from the past. It has been very rewarding.

Thank you for sending me the article from the Chronicle of Higher Education concerning gays in the military. I am also grateful for your personal comments.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Alexis M. Herman
Assistant to the President and
Director of Public Liaison

AMH:RGM

bcc: Hon. Steve Hilton

2830 Bamlet Road
Royal Oak, Michigan 48073
May 18, 1993

Ms. Alexis Herman
Director of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, DC. 20500

MAY 21 1993

Dear Alexis:

Some fifteen years have elapsed since our paths crossed at the Campaign for Human Development, but I have followed your subsequent successes from a distance, learning both from the media and from former CHD colleagues of your whereabouts and accomplishments. I read of your superb job of supervising the planning and operation of the Democratic National Convention last year. Following those events brought back memories of the week I spent at the 1980 Convention, with the Hispanic caucus (called Hispanic American Democrats back then), also in New York City. Congratulations are also in order to you, for your key new position within the White House! After Washington I went on to spend five years in local politics and civil rights as CEO of the Boston Fair Housing Commission, before returning to philanthropy as an occupation.

I know this letter must come out of the blue to you, so I hasten to add that I am not just writing to catch up. I also write to ask you to let President Bill Clinton know how much I support his stated intent to eliminate the official ban on gays and lesbians serving in our armed forces. As a gay man active with the community organizations in the Detroit area, I can tell you that there is much at stake for us in the President being able to carry out his wishes in this regard, not as a symbolic move, but as a needed advance in our institutional civil rights.

I am enclosing a copy of a recent article from the Chronicle of Higher Education, which gives a perspicacious analysis of the history of the military's resistance to the proposed policy change. I hope that both you and the President will find it useful, and I remain ready to provide any support you might ask with this or any other matter.

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Ernest B. Gutierrez, Jr.

Section 2

March 31, 1993



HEAD OF AMENHOTEP III IN BLUE CROWN. CIRCA 1390-1350 B.C.
THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Opinion: The era
of 'Egypt's Dazzling Sun' **B3**



"CROWN IN MARCH," 1951 HAMILTON COLLEGE COLLECTION

End Paper: Works
by Charles Burchfield **B56**

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Where the Military's Antipathy to Homosexuals Came From

By E. Anthony Rotundo

ONE of the major policy disputes of 1993 bears the label "gays in the military." But this label is misleading; gays are not the main issue. When advocates of letting avowed homosexuals serve in the military argue that gays and lesbians are just as loyal, able, and brave as their "straight" counterparts, opponents rarely dissent.

The issue is not the military competence of homosexuals, but the fears of heterosexuals in the military. Officers fear a breakdown of morale and good order, but most of the grounds they cite are easily dismissed. They say that they fear the unpredictable effects of love affairs between soldiers (but homosexual love affairs already happen in the military); they fear the open practice of sex in the barracks (but President Clinton has reaffirmed the ban on such behavior); and they fear harassment of soldiers by gay and lesbian superiors (but experience in other settings shows that if the military had a clear, well-enforced sexual-harassment policy, it could minimize such incidents. Further, in the wake of the Tailhook scandal, there are signs that the military may be getting serious about opposing sexual harassment.)

Still, there is one concern that is not so easily dismissed. That is the fear that many servicemen will behave in a hostile and disruptive fashion toward gay or lesbian colleagues. As if to prove the point, three marines savagely beat a man at a gay bar in North Carolina this winter, claiming that they wanted to send a message to President Clinton. The problem of "gays in the military," then, is not so much a matter of what gays will do, but what non-gays will do and how they feel about homosexuality. The problem is homophobia.

To those of us who have grown up in the mid- to late-20th century, homophobia

studies and gay and lesbian history has turned up some surprising facts that show that homophobia is not biologically driven, but prompted by learned cultural behavior.

First, we should remember that the ban on homosexuals in the military is only half a century old. This fact is vitally impor-

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seems to be a given. So does homosexuality as we know it. Yet these are time-bound phenomena. The work of scholars in two new fields—men's studies and gay and lesbian history—provides a context for the current debate over military policy.

Some of us who study the history of male roles are trying to understand the part that homophobia has played in defining manhood. We are heavily influenced by scholars such as Jonathan Katz, Estelle Freedman, and John D'Emilio—pioneers in the study of homosexuality in United States history. Research in both men's

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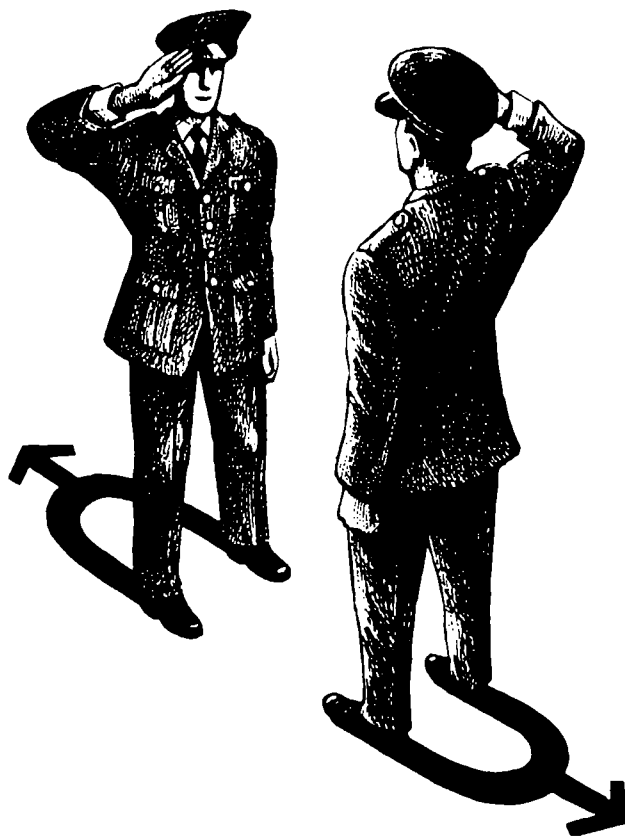
The relevant historical context goes back well beyond 50 years, though. Scholars have shown that open, affectionate, loving, same-sex relationships existed in the military through much of American history. When Alexander Hamilton was serving as an aide to George Washington during the American Revolution, he wrote to another member of Washington's inner circle: "I wish . . . [to] convince you that I love you. I shall only tell you that 'till you

bade us Adieu, I hardly knew the value you had taught my heart to set upon you" (*The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, Columbia University Press, 1961).

WE DO NOT KNOW whether Hamilton's love for this friend was platonic or erotic, but we do know that such intimate friendships and romantic words were acceptable within military culture. There is 19th-century evidence that such relationships existed openly in settings as different as the United States Military Academy at West Point and Civil War hospitals.

These same-sex relationships were not limited to the military. Historians working in a wide variety of fields have found them throughout the historical record of the early and middle 19th century. Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, and Ralph Waldo Emerson were among the men who enjoyed variants of romantic friendship with other men. These ties were socially acceptable, and they certainly did not undermine good order in the military or anywhere else that they existed. Nor were such relationships unique to men. This form of friendship

Continued on Following Page



CHRISTOPHER SULLIVAN FOR THE CHRONICLE



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Continued From Preceding Page

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Historians often use the phrase "romantic friendship" for such bonds, for it makes clear that these relationships had an element of infatuation that is not an accepted part of friendship today. But the term is deliberately ambiguous, because the sexual nature of these bonds is unclear. For most of these relationships, we lack the evidence to say whether there was a sexual dimension, and, if so, what kind.

MORE TO THE POINT, 19th-century people did not ask whether these were sexual liaisons. They knew that people of the same sex might engage in erotic acts together, but the prevailing view held that these acts were isolated instances, expressions of sin that could be repented. Historians of homosexuality tell us that people of that era could not imagine that such acts were the result of a lasting sexual orientation, much less that such an orientation could be the source of a social identity. The very words "homosexual" and "homosexuality" did not exist. Men and women could indulge in romantic friendships with people of the same sex without worrying that their embraces or love made them homosexual.

Conditions that would produce the concept of homosexuality were taking shape during the 19th century,

though. As more and more Americans clustered in large cities, immigrants from the countryside who felt a continuing attraction to their own sex discovered that they were not alone. The anonymity of city life enabled these gays and lesbians to form their own social groupings during the middle and later years of the 19th century.

The same men who helped to shape our modern concept of homosexuality at the turn of the century also created the form of homophobia that we know today. Their homophobia grew out of their redefinition of manhood. These men—scholars, politicians, businessmen, and artists—found little value in inherited concepts of manhood.

"Our own national past is enough to show us that homophobia as we know it is not permanent, universal, or biological."



From this experience, a sense of common social identity began to form.

But such a sense of identity was not enough to spread a concept of homosexuality abroad in society. That happened as a generation of heterosexual men in the late 19th century observed or came into contact with these gay and lesbian groups and developed a kind of folk wisdom about their meaning. For instance, these heterosexual men viewed males with "feminine" mannerisms as homosexuals, but did not label "masculine" men homosexual regardless of their sexual behavior. Such beliefs were formalized in medical thought and social-science theory by scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Earlier generations of elite men, bred in the pre-industrial era, had emphasized certain traits such as individual autonomy, self-reliance, and a refusal to bow to power or position as marks of manliness. But, at the turn of the century, when great corporations and large bureaucracies were emerging, men felt threatened as these traits became hard to practice. Men of privilege also felt threatened by women's public demands for suffrage and other forms of power.

These men turned to elemental concepts in their attempts to root their sense of manhood more securely. Their turn to the primitive reassured and invigorated them by providing a feeling of connection to mighty, "natural" forces at a moment when they felt threatened. Toughness, aggression, and the vigorous expression of primal energies became signs of manhood. Whereas earlier generations had viewed "effeminacy" as a matter of dependence, laziness, and addiction to luxury, men of a hundred years ago conceived a more physical meaning of effeminacy—a soft voice, a weak frame, demure manners, a gentle disposition. They turned "sissy" from a little-used word for sister to a popular term of contempt for males who lacked hardness and toughness.

As the 20th century began, this new scorn for men who seemed like women began to form the basis for our modern homophobia. While there were many kinds of men in gay communities, the ones who drew the attention of "straight" observers at the turn of the century had feminine manners or feminine tastes or liked to dress in women's clothing. Thus, society came to see male homosexuals as people with women's souls trapped in male bodies. In the same manner, lesbians were typed as mannish women. The new generation of social and medical scientists explained to the rest of the world that homosexuality represented an inversion of the sex instinct (which they assumed was naturally heterosexual) and that, in social terms, homosexuals inverted the standard sex roles and gender types.

IN AN ERA when men were especially sensitive about their own toughness and masculinity, the male homosexual provided a particular focus for men's anxieties, a negative referent whose existence clarified the manliness of those who were not like him. Homophobia became a vessel for men's fears about their own "feminine" needs and traits and a vehicle for enforcing the new, demanding code of manhood.

the current debate over gays in the military, an important outcome was that same-sex love, whether erotic or platonic, now produced intolerable anxiety for many men, especially in all-male settings such as the military. As the historian George Chauncey, Jr., has demonstrated in a landmark study published in the *Journal of Social History* in 1985, this anxiety was expressed in a series of investigations of homosexual behavior at the Newport Naval Training Station in 1919 and 1920. For example, a prominent minister, accused of soliciting homosexual contacts among sailors, replied that he was offering them chaste Christian love and brotherhood. Although he was eventually exonerated by a Senate committee, his name and behavior were held up to public scorn—a stern warning to others who might be tempted to pursue the old form of single-sex, romantic friendship.

THE HOMOPHOBIA that created these investigations did not abate. According to the historian Allan Berube, the armed services began to screen out homosexuals shortly before Pearl Harbor. Although the screen was easy to slip through and gays and lesbians served in large numbers during World War II, the military began a major purge of suspected homosexuals right after the war.

This effort quickly became caught up in the hysteria over domestic Communism that accompanied the start of the cold war. The search for an obscure, faceless "enemy within" U.S. society drew on an imaginary foe who was a concoction of political paranoia, homophobia, and the class anxieties of the men who led the search. The result was a series of loyalty acts and executive orders that made this stew of cultural fears into a code of rules and directives. It is the part of this code banning military service by avowed homosexuals that President Clinton seeks to undo.

The cold war is over now. Most people do not think that homosexuals are less loyal to their country than is any other social group. What threatens to hold the ban in place is homophobia. As long as it is connected to feelings of manhood, homophobia will be a significant cultural force—especially in an institution, such as the military, that is widely viewed as an arena for testing and building manliness.

Yet history offers us some glimmer of hope. Our own national past is enough to show us that homophobia as we know it is not permanent, universal, or biological. It is cultural and therefore learned. If homophobia is learned, it can be unlearned—not easily, not overnight or in a year, and perhaps not completely even in a generation. But the homophobia that lies at the root of the "gays in the military" problem can be uprooted.

Those of us who have studied issues bearing on homophobia have an obligation to speak out about what we know and to urge members of Congress to take our knowledge into account when they consider President Clinton's recommendations later this year. We cannot allow learned fear to dictate the personnel policy of a major public institution. We should not let an acquired prejudice deny to the armed forces the full measure of talent from which they might draw if gay and lesbian Americans could serve without denying who they are.

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Section 2

March 31, 1993

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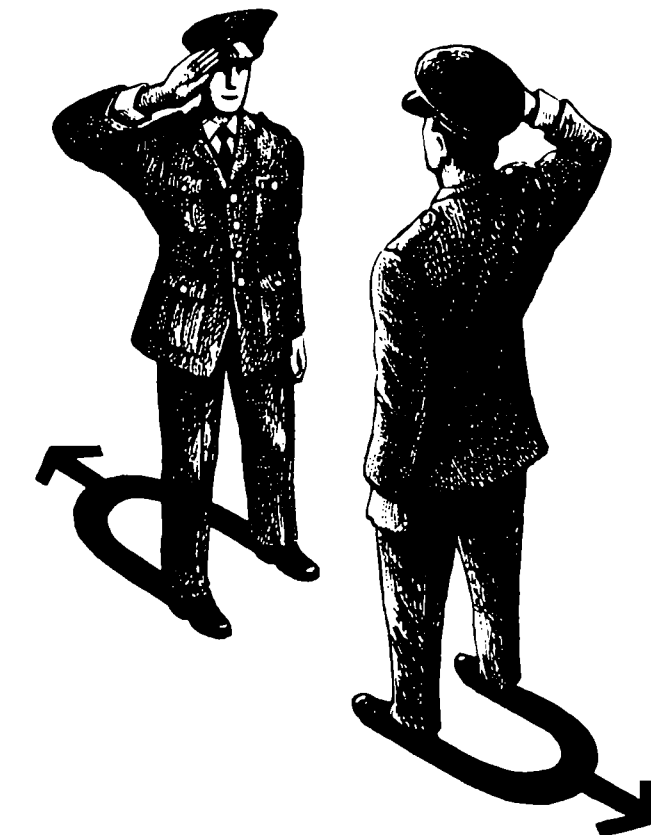
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CHRISTOPHE VORLEY FOR THE CHRONICLE

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Opinion: The era of 'Egypt's Dazzling Sun' B3



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First, we should remember that the ban on homosexuals in the military is only half a century old. This fact is vitally important, because it suggests that the ban derives from the fears of recent generations of men. The relevant historical context goes back well beyond 50 years, though. Scholars have shown that open, affectionate, loving, same-sex relationships existed in the military through much of American history. When Alexander Hamilton was serving as an aide to George Washington during the American Revolution, he wrote to another member of Washington's inner circle: "I wish . . . [to] convince you that I love you. I shall only tell you that 'till you

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DEFENSE READINESS COUNCIL

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

MAY 27 1993

DATE: May 26, 1993TO: ALEXIS HERMAN
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISONFROM: DR. HEIMBACHNo. of pages including cover: -2-

COMMENTS:

This is provide you with a verifiable copy of the letter sent by Admiral Moorer on May 11, 1993 requesting a meeting with the President for members of the Defense Readiness Council on the issue of homosexuals and the military. The DRC represents senior retired military leaders on this issue and is asking for equal treatment by our President as given to the leaders of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgenderal March on Washington when he met with them in the Oval Office of April 16, 1993.

DEFENSE READINESS COUNCIL

P.O. Box 15351

Alexandria, Virginia 22309

**CHAIRMAN OF
ADVISORY BOARD**

Admiral Thomas Moorer
USN (Retired)

**VICE CHAIRMAN OF
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Thomas Wilson, Esq.

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Maj. General Donald Loggans
USAF (Retired)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Daniel Heimbach, Ph.D.
USMA '72

May 11, 1993

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

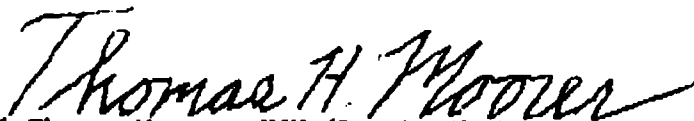
Dear Mr. President:

As you consider ordering Americans into Bosnia, it is critical that our military be maintained at the highest possible state of readiness. No action you take is likely to more seriously impact the combat readiness of our men and women in uniform than what you decide regarding whether to order the military services to accept homosexuals.

Since you met in the Oval Office April 16 with leaders of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgenderal March on Washington, we think it is essential that you also meet with the Defense Readiness Council. The Defense Readiness Council (DRC) is a nonpartisan movement of people with senior military experience and who are focused on the issue of homosexuals and military service. Our members are among the most seasoned military leaders in our country, and represent many hundreds of years of direct experience preparing and leading troops so that they win our nation's wars. This experience also includes much direct experience with the adverse impact that the presence of homosexuals has on the ability of soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines to achieve the military mission.

DRC members would like to present you with vital information which you need to consider before you make a final decision. We look forward to visiting with you as you reach out for advice. Prudence and fairness suggest that you should avail yourself of the broadest range of American military experience before taking an action that could change forever the character and quality of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Very respectfully,



Admiral Thomas Moorer, USN (Ret.), Chairman

Enclosure

Danny + Steve
Algrim

DEFENSE READINESS COUNCIL

P.O. Box 15351

Alexandria, Virginia 22309

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May 26, 1993

Alexis Herman
Office of Public Liaison
OEOB
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

MAY 28 1993

Dear Ms. Herman:

Enclosed for your information and action is a copy of a letter sent May 11, 1993 by Admiral Moorer representing the Defense Readiness Council and asking for a meeting with the President.

The meeting requested would be with senior retired members of the military community who are seriously concerned about lifting the ban on homosexuals serving in the armed forces.

Our reason for this request is fair and equal treatment on a vital issue of great importance to the quality, readiness and effectiveness of our combat troupes. As President of all the people, we assume the President is as vitally concerned to hear from military leaders opposed to lifting the ban as he has shown himself to be to hear from those working to lift the ban.

I have also enclosed a copy of a brochure that summarizes the main concerns of the Defense Readiness Council on this important issue. For coordinating this meeting, please call or contact me, Dr. Daniel R. Heimbach, Executive Director, Defense Readiness Council. I can be reached at the address above, or by calling (202) 457-0978.

Sincerely,

Daniel R. Heimbach
Daniel R. Heimbach, Ph.D.
Executive Director

Enclosures

DEFENSE READINESS COUNCIL

P.O. Box 15351
Alexandria, Virginia 22309

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Daniel Heimbach, Ph.D.
USNA '72

May 11, 1993

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

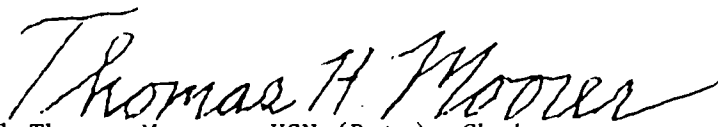
Dear Mr. President:

As you consider ordering Americans into Bosnia, it is critical that our military be maintained at the highest possible state of readiness. No action you take is likely to more seriously impact the combat readiness of our men and women in uniform than what you decide regarding whether to order the military services to accept homosexuals.

Since you met in the Oval Office April 16 with leaders of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgenderal March on Washington, we think it is essential that you also meet with the Defense Readiness Council. The Defense Readiness Council (DRC) is a nonpartisan movement of people with senior military experience and who are focused on the issue of homosexuals and military service. Our members are among the most seasoned military leaders in our country, and represent many hundreds of years of direct experience preparing and leading troops so that they win our nation's wars. This experience also includes much direct experience with the adverse impact that the presence of homosexuals has on the ability of soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines to achieve the military mission.

DRC members would like to present you with vital information which you need to consider before you make a final decision. We look forward to visiting with you as you reach out for advice. Prudence and fairness suggest that you should avail yourself of the broadest range of American military experience before taking an action that could change forever the character and quality of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Very respectfully,



Admiral Thomas Moorer, USN (Ret.), Chairman

Enclosure