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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	To: Chris Lin; From: DNC Political; Re: Contacts (2 pages)	03/26/1993	Personal Misfile
002. memo	To: Waves; From: Christiana Lin; Re: People cleared for the OEOB Rm 122 [partial] [PII] (1 page)	03/26/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Lin, Chris
OA/Box Number: 5145

FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military

2015-0017-F
sb1246

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 15, 1993

MEETING WITH GAY & LESBIAN LEADERSHIP

DATE: April 16, 1993
LOCATION: The Oval Office
TIME: 3:30 - 4:00 p.m.
FROM: Alexis Herman

I. PURPOSE

To reaffirm your support for civil rights for gays and lesbians and to acknowledge the upcoming March on Washington (Sunday, April 25, 1993) for Gay & Lesbian Rights.

II. BACKGROUND

On Sunday, April 25, more than 1 million people are expected to participate in the National March on Washington for Gay & Lesbian Civil Rights. The March could be the largest civil rights demonstration in the history of Washington. The first such march, held in 1987, drew several hundred thousand people to Washington, but even more people are expected this time because the political climate has changed dramatically.

On July 15, Secretary Aspin will report back to you on his recommendations for implementing your plan to lift the ban on gays in the military. Meanwhile, the Senate Armed Services Committee has concluded its first round of hearings on gays in the military, and further hearings are expected in May.

The topics likely to be raised by the meeting participants are as follows:

* **Gays in the military:** You will be asked to reaffirm your commitment to lifting the ban on gays in the military. Tom Stoddard will likely ask you to use the terminology of status and misconduct rather than status versus mere conduct when speaking about the factors that could lead to separation from the military.

* **Administration participation in the March on Washington:** Although you will be out of town the weekend of the march (Sunday, April 25), the march organizers would like you to place a phone call, tape a video, or write a letter to them. The letter or statement could be read by an administration official to be determined later. You may want to tell them that several Administration officials will participate in the weekend's activities.

*** Appointment of a new AIDS czar:** You may want to tell the participants that you have talked to a number of people about the decision, that the process is ongoing, and that your staff is working hard to find a quality AIDS czar.

*** HIV travel/immigration policy:** No change in policy.

*** Executive order banning federal hiring discrimination:** The subject is under review but no decisions have been made yet.

*** National Endowment for the Arts appointment:** No decision has been made yet.

*** Appointment of gays and lesbians to Administration:** At the moment, at least four openly gay persons have been appointed. They are: Roberta Achtenberg, Assistant Secretary of HUD; Romulo Diaz, Chief of Staff to Energy Secretary O'Leary; Bob Hattoy, Associate Director of Personnel; and Keith Boykin, Special Assistant to the President in the Office of Communications.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Tim McFeely	Human Rights Campaign Fund
Torie Osborn	National Gay & Lesbian Task Force
Billy Hileman	March on Washington Committee
Nadine Smith	March on Washington Committee
Tom Stoddard	Campaign for Military Service
William Waybourn	Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund
Phill Wilson	Black Gay & Lesbian Leadership Forum
Andrew Barrer	Coalition '93

Alexis Herman	White House Office of Public Liaison
White House Staff	

IV. PRESS PLAN

The meeting will be closed to the press. A White House photograph may be released but no press will be invited into the meeting. No press availability is planned following the meeting.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Brief welcoming remarks followed by discussion.

VI. REMARKS

You will welcome the participants to the White House. You may want to acknowledge the historic nature of the meeting. (This is the first time in history that the President of the United States has met with leaders of gay and lesbian organizations at the White House.)

You should (1) reaffirm your support for gay and lesbian civil rights, and (2) acknowledge the upcoming March on Washington for Gay and Lesbian Rights as an historic event.

Constit: GAYLES
Key : CAMP6N

Gay/Lesbian Community

Eric Rosenthal
Human Rights Campaign Fund
1012 14th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
work 202/628-4160
home 202-543-7563
fax: 202/347-5323
Tim McFeely, Executive Director
Executive Director

~~Carissa Cunningham~~ (for info)
AIDS Action Council
202/986-1300 ext. 19

Gary Cohen
617-424-1805
617-876-1170 x587

Bob Hattoy
home 202-371-1916
213-933-6450

Tanya Davis

Christine Lubinski

Dan Bross

986 1300

~~Donner~~

Jeff Leary
Aids Action
Foundation

September 20, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO WIL ITOH

FROM: Flo McAfee

RE: OPL Guest List to UN General Assembly Opening

Attached is a list of individuals the Office of Public Liaison would like to invite to the opening session of the UN General Assembly.

In addition, there are several individuals we hope are included by the other appropriate offices. They include:

Andy Young, Former Ambassador
Donald McHenry, Former Ambassador
Geraldine Ferraro
Carl McCall (New York State Comptroller)---Political Office

Please let us know if we may have additional seats.

Thanks

cc: Alexis Herman
Steve Hilton

OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON: UNITED NATIONS INVITEES

FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	TITLE	COMPANY	CITY	STATE	CATEGORY
Edgar	Bronfman, Sr.		World Jewish Congress	New York	NY	Jewish
Adelfa	212-572-7777					
William	Callejo		Callejo and Callejo	Dallas	TX	Hispanic
			Callejo and Callejo	Dallas	TX	Hispanic; started Mexican American Democrats
	214 741 6710					
Gus	708 983-7667	Fax: 708-355-9162				
	Constantine	Supreme President	AHEPA	Naperville	IL	Greek
Clay	Constantinou		Wilentz, Goldman & Spitzer	Woodridge	NJ	Greek
	908-855-6484	(Tutor-Help)				
Wivian	Derryck	President	African American Institutes	New York	NY	African American Org.
	212-350-2906					
Louis	Gerstner	Chairman	IBM Corporation	Armonk	NY	Business
	914-765-4761					
Charles	Goodman	President	Council of Jewish Federation	New York	NY	Jewish
	212-245-7000	475-5000				
Frank	Guarini	President	National Italian American Foudation	Washington	DC	Italian
	201-653-0050					
~~Novnanian~~	~~Novnanian~~	~~President~~	~~Novnanian Industries~~	~~Tinton Falls~~	~~NJ~~	~~Armenian~~
Julian	Kulas		Kulas & Kulas	Chicago	IL	Ukrainian
	312-486-6645					
Robert	Lifton			New York	NY	Jewish
	212-935-8484					
Askold	Lozynskyl	President	Ukrainian Congress Committee of America	Washington	DC	Ukrainian
	212-228-6840					
Payne	Lucas	President	Africare	Washington	DC	African American Org.
	202 462-3614					
Albert	Mokhiber	President	American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee	Washington	DC	Arab
	202-244-2990					
Ronald	Perelman	Chairman	Revlon Group, Inc.	New York	NY	Business
	202-572-5056					
John	Pikarski			Chicago	IL	Polish
	312-782-9351					

Mona

1-25-68

Abel Ince

746-72 7822

112 384 615

OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON: UNITED NATIONS INVITEES

FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	TITLE	COMPANY	CITY	STATE	CATEGORY
Yes ~~LM~~ Letty Cottin	Pogrebin	Chair	Americans for Peace Now	New York	NY	Jewish
~~NO~~ Lester	Pollack		Lazard, Freres & Company	New York	NY	Jewish
Bruce	Barker	President	Forest City Ratner Inc.	Brooklyn	NY	Business
~~NO~~ John	Reed	Chairman & CEO	Citicorp	New York	NY	Business
~~NO~~ Felix	Rohatyn	Partner	Lazard Freres & Company	New York	NY	Business
~~NO~~ George	Salem	President	National Association of Arab Americans	Washington	DC	Arab
~~YES~~ Betty	Shabazz	Director, Public Affairs	Medgar Evers College	Brooklyn	NY	African American
~~NO~~ I'll call Paul	Tagliabue	Commissioner	National Football League	New York	NY	Business
~~NO~~ Franklin	Thomas	President	Ford Foundation	New York	NY	African American
~~NO~~ Laurence	Tisch	CEO	CBS, Inc.	New York	NY	Business
~~NO~~ [scribbled]	~~[scribbled]~~	~~[scribbled]~~	~~American National Committee~~	~~Washington~~	~~DC~~	~~Armenian~~
called left message	Angelo Tsakopoulos		AKT Development Corporation	Sacramento	CA	Greek
~~NO~~ Dennis	Weatherstone	Chairman of the Board	J.P. Morgan & Company	New York	NY	Business
~~LM~~ James	Zogby	President	Arab American Institute	Washington	DC	Arab

Andy Young - 404-224-1950

~~NO~~ Donald McHenry - Georgetown 687-5696

September 20, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR FLO MCAFEE

FROM: MARILYN DIGIACOBBE

SUBJECT: ETHNIC INVITEES FOR UNITED NATIONS OPENING SESSION

CC: Alexis Herman, Steve Hilton

Following is a list of ethnic leaders to be invited to the United Nations Opening Session. It is important that we include as many ethnic leaders in this event as possible. Many of my ethnic constituencies such as -- Greek, Armenian, Irish, Ukrainian, Arab -- have current issues of concern in their native countries which drive the work of their organizations.

ARMENIAN

- ✓ o Mr. Mourad Topalian
Armenian National Committee
1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Suite 206
Washington, DC 20005
202-775-1918
- ✓ o Mr. Hirair Hovnanian
President
Hovnanian Industries
One Hovchild Place
4000 Route 6
Tinton Falls, NJ 07753

ARAB

- ✓ o Dr. James Zogby
President
Arab American Institute
918 16th Street, NW
Suite 601
Washington, DC 20006
202-429-9210
- o ~~Dr. Ray Irani
Chairman & CEO
Occidental Petroleum Corporation
10880 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90024~~
- ✓ o Mr. Albert Mokhiber
President
American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
4201 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #500
Washington, DC 20008
202-244-2990

o Mr. Najeeb E. Halaby
Chairman of the Board
Save the Children
8000 Towers Crescent Drive
Suite 1672
Vienna, VA 22182
703-902-8380

o Mr. George Salem
President
National Association of Arab Americans
c/o Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, NW - #400
Washington, DC 20036
202-887-4140

GREEK

o Mr. Clay Constantinou
Wilentz, Goldman & Spitzer
90 Woodbridge Center Drive
P.O. Box 10
Woodbridge, NJ 07095
908-855-6464

o Dr. Gus Constantine
Supreme President
AHEPA
24 West 788 75th Street
Naperville, IL 60565
202-232-6300

o Mr. Angelo K. Tsakopoulos
AKT Development Corporation
7700 College Town Drive
Suite 101
Sacramento, CA 95826
916-383-2500

ITALIAN

o Hon. Frank J. Guarini
President
National Italian American Foundation
One Journal Square Plaza
Jersey City, NJ 07306
201-653-0050

o Mr. Arthur J. Gajarsa
Vice Chairman
National Italian American Foundation
c/o Joseph, Gajarsa, McDermott & Reiner
1300 19th Street, NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
202-331-1955

IRISH

1-2 names to follow

POLISH

- ✓ o Mr. John Pikarski
25 East Washington Street
Suite 1000
Chicago, IL 60602
312-782-9351
- o Mr. Edward J. Moskal
President
Polish American Congress
5711 North Milwaukee Avenue
Chicago, IL 60646

RUSSIAN

1-2 names to follow

UKRAINIAN

- ✓ o Mr. Askold Lozynskyl
President
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
214 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Suite 225
Washington, DC 20002
212-228-6840
- ✓ o Mr. Julian Kulas
Kulas & Kulas
2236 West Chicago Avenue
Chicago, IL 60622
312-486-6645

Chris Lin

CHIEF SPOKEPERSONS FOR THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

NAFEO Presidential Peer Seminar
Hyatt Regency Hotel,
Hilton Head, South Carolina
August 6, 1993
11:00 a.m.

*Dr. Samuel L. Myers, President, NAFEO *phone call*
3608 Baskerville Drive
Mitchellville, MD 20716
Office: 202-543-9111
Home: 301-464-8715

PRESIDENTS

*Dr. Arthur Thomas
Office: 513-376-6332
Home: 513-376-2848

*Dr. Earl Richardson
Office: 410-319-3200
Home: 410-444-1662

*Dr. Lloyd Hackley
Office: 919-486-1141

*Dr. Franklyn Jenifer
Office: 202-806-2500
Home: 202-966-2660

Dr. Talbert Shaw
Office: 919-546-8300
Home: 919-846-5146

Dr. Edwin Thompson
Office: 404-756-4441
Home: 404-622-9864

Dr. James Lyons
Office: 601-968-2323
Home: 601-968-2577

INSTITUTIONS

Central State University *phone call*
Wilberforce, OH 45384

Morgan State University *LTR*
Cold Spring Lane & Hillen Road
Baltimore, MD 21239

Fayetteville State University *LTR*
Newbold Station
Fayetteville, NC 28301

Howard University *LTR*
2400 - 6th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20059

Shaw University *LTR*
118 East South Street
Raleigh, NC 27611

Atlanta Metropolitan College *LTR*
1630 Stewart Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30310

Jackson State University (601-968-2323) *LTR*
1325 Lynch Street
Jackson, MS 39217

*Major Contributors

National Association For Equal Opportunity In Higher Education
NAFEO • Black Higher Education Center • Lovejoy Building • 400 12th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002 • Telephone (202) 543-9111 • Fax No. (202) 543-9113

Letter from Potus

ALUMNI ASSOCIATIONS PRESENT:

Dr. Hilliard Lackey
President
Council of National Alumni Associations 40
Jackson State University
1325 Lynch Street
Jackson, MS 39217
601-968-2121

Mr. Thomas Dorth
President LTR
Alumni Hall of Fame
1951 Cummings Drive
Atlanta, GA 30311
404-753-1953

Mr. Charles R. Stephens
President
National Alumni Council, UNCF LTR
Indiana University
550 West North Street
Suite 301
Indianapolis, IN 46202
317-684-8920

NAFEO STAFF:

Mrs. Wilma J. Roscoe Very Key
Vice President, NAFEO LTR
6001 Joyce Drive
Camp Springs, MD 20748
Home: 301-899-6690
Office: 202-543-9111

Mrs. Dorothy Moore LTR
4017 Postgate Terrace, #203
Silver Spring, MD 20906

Mrs. Olive Henry LTR
1409 Colony Road
Oxon Hill, MD 20745

Ms. Hanna Brown LTR
4504 Poppe Place
Temple Hills, MD 20748

Dr. Julia Elam LTR
6509 Lisa Lane
Bowie, MD 20720

Ms. Millie Freeman LTR
1705 Leighton Wood Lane
Silver Spring, MD 20910

Dr. Ada Elam LTR
6507 Lisa Lane
Bowie, MD 20720

Mr. Johnson Niba LTR
111 Ritchie Avenue
Silver Spring, MD 20910

March 26, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE HILTON

From: Chris Lin
Subject: Some Campaign History on Gay Issues

As Alexis pointed out, the gay rights movement is at its infancy stage; this accounts for much of the heightened sensitivity around the gay rights issue. Everything that is said and/or unsaid by the President will be taken as a symbol one way or the other.

During the Campaign

Civil Rights Issue:

One most heated incidents surrounding the gay issue during the campaign were over Moor Nine, a proposed amendment to the Oregon state constitution that would set "a standard for Oregon's youth [recognizing] homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism or masochism as abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse."

After much internal debate, Clinton openly denounced Measure Nine saying that he wanted "to be a force for unity in this country, not for division."

The Clinton folk were careful to couch the gay issue in civil rights terms. Clinton almost always he supported "unity" and opposed the violation of anyone's "civil rights." "unconstitutional."

AIDS:

The AIDS issue resurfaced time and again during the campaign as well. Early on, Clinton promised the gay community that he would give an AIDS speech. Many of the campaign advisors were reluctant to have BC give this speech, and it was delayed. Out of a sense of commitment, BC made the speech a week before the election.

As with the gay rights issue, the language around AIDS was very carefully controlled. AIDS was always talked about in the context of health care.

PROMISES:

As you know, we have promised a lot. Among BC's promises was an executive order remanding the ban on gays in the military. In the first few days of office, President Clinton delayed issuing this executive order until July 15. The other oft-referred to promise is that of an AIDS-czar....

March 25, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE HILTON

From: Chris Lin
Subject: Reactions to Gays In Military Issue

From The Gay Community

Members of the gay community have publicly "urged" that President Clinton "make clear his opposition to discrimination against lesbian and gay personnel."

Bob Hattoy, cited as associate director of presidential personnel, spoke out against limiting military assignments for homosexuals (The Washington Times). USA Today noted that both Hattoy and David Mixner were surprised by the President's comment on Tuesday.

Gregory King, spokesman for the Human Rights Campaign Fund (HRCF) expressed that the HRCF is "troubled the White House is exploring this option." The Washington Times

ALSO Tim McFeeley, executive director of the HRCF said, "We regret that the President missed an opportunity to strongly reaffirm his support...." The Los Angeles Times

From the President

Clinton responded on 48 Hours that "he only meant to signal he'd listen to those who advocate restrictin gays' assignments

NOTE: The spin that we need to watch for is one that depicts rivalry among Presidential advisors. This is especially problematic as we do not have someone senior officially assigned to address gay/AIDS issues in the White House (or in our office for that matter).

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

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

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E

05-Apr-1993 03:59pm

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

FROM: Keith Boykin
 Office of Communications

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.

MEMORANDUM

To: Alexis Herman
Steve Hilton

Fr: Debbie Fine

Re: Follow-Up on the The March on Washington and AIDS

Date: April 1, 1993

I just wanted to remind you about the follow-up from the meetings with the Human Rights Campaign Fund and other groups last week. The organizers of the March on Washington made three requests:

- a statement from the President, that would need to go to press tomorrow (4/2). If this is something we do not intend to do, then Rocco or somebody should call to let them know.
- a request for Clinton to appear at one of several proposed events around the march.
- a speech from the central stage reaffirming his support for civil rights.
- an appearance at the AIDS quilt (which they underscored should not be done instead of the above.)

In addition, the Human Rights Campaign Fund has in a request to convene a roundtable on AIDS. This was something that had been proposed as a possibility in coordination with the AIDS czar announcement. I'm not sure if the timeframe for that decision has changed based on the reports on Margaret Hamburg. If the search process will put off the announcement for very long, then some political calls may be helpful to at least those who were at the meeting last Friday.

These may be issues you've already followed-up on, I just wanted to remind you. Thanks.

cc: Mike Lux
Chris Lin

Gays Get Reassurance On Military

White House Meeting
Said to Ease Fears
About Clinton Pledge

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Staff Writer

Facing heavy criticism over President Clinton's statement that he would consider segregating gay troops, White House officials met with prominent gay activists yesterday and told them Clinton will not alter his original position that homosexuals should be able to serve without restriction in the U.S. military.

The officials, led by director of public liaison Alexis Herman, "went a long way to reassure us that Clinton was not retreating from his original position on the military issue and that he would not allow discrimination of any kind," said Nadine Smith, a coordinator of a gay rights march on Washington planned for next month.

The hour-long meeting, which included Bob Hattoy, an openly gay Clinton administration official, and representatives from a half-dozen nationally prominent gay rights organizations, appeared to be part of a concerted effort Clinton is making to distance himself from the position he took Tuesday that he would not rule out segregating gay troops as a compromise to fully lifting the ban on military service. Tuesday's statement, made in response to a question at a news conference, prompted criticism from gay activists nationwide.

The flap illustrates the difficulties that face Clinton, the first president to publicly acknowledge gay Americans as a constituent group, as he tries to address their demands.

Gay rights advocates acknowledge that Clinton is a far more committed advocate than his predecessors. But they cite his decision not to oppose a congressional bill banning the immigration of people in-

See GAYS, A8, Col. 1

White House Reassures Gays About Military Pledge

GAYS, From A1

fectured with HIV and his appointment of only a handful of openly gay federal officials as examples of how he is wavering from his spirited support for gay rights in the campaign.

Before his election, Clinton told gay groups he would appoint homosexuals to key positions and lift the immigration ban.

"On the whole, the road to achieving our goals has been bumpier than we expected," said Eric Rosenthal, political director of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, a national gay political organization.

After taking office, Clinton met overwhelming opposition from military leaders and many lawmakers, including prominent Democrats, when he quickly moved to try to lift the ban on gays in the military.

"Clinton is not backtracking from his commitment to helping gays," said Hattoy, associate director of the White House personnel office and an HIV-positive campaign aide who addressed the Democratic National Convention. "But his plans have met with political reality."

Hattoy was initially outspoken in his opposition to Clinton's Tuesday statement, calling it a "bad mistake." Yesterday, however, he was more reticent. Asked in an interview yesterday how the White House was handling the issue, he said, "I think I've said enough on this subject already."

Gay advocates reject the segregation of troops by sexual orientation, calling the current ban preferable to that option. Gay advisers to Clinton, including Hattoy and David Mixner, a California activist and longtime Clinton friend, also broke with him publicly on the segregation statement.

Reuter reported that in a speech prepared for delivery in Dallas today, Mixner said, "No rhetoric can hide the fact that separating a whole group of American citizens because of who they are is nothing more than segregation. . . . We will never, ever accept segregation as a sign of progress."

Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), who is gay, called Clinton's statement "a big blunder."

The statement prompted a flood of calls from major homosexual donors to Clinton, according to Andrew Barrer, a key Democratic Party fundraiser and director of Coalition '93, an umbrella organization of national and regional gay groups. "They are asking 'Did we make a mistake in our support for this guy?'"

Clinton's pledge to lift the ban during his campaign helped catalyze support for him among

"We will never, ever accept segregation as a sign of progress."

—David Mixner, California activist

homosexuals, who contributed some \$3.5 million to his campaign and turned out for him at the polls.

Even before yesterday's meeting, Clinton softened his remarks. In an interview Wednesday on CBS's "48 Hours," Clinton said, "The question I was asked yesterday was as follows: 'Would you consider any restrictions on duty assignments?' And the answer is [that] I am waiting for the report of the secretary of defense. . . . What I said was if they made a recommendation to me, would I review it and consider it? Of course I would. I mean, I asked them to study this. I can't refuse, then, to get the results of the study and act like—that my mind is made up."

"This is not an area where I have expertise," he continued. "I have to listen to what people say. I will consider the arguments. I have a presumption against any discrimination based on status alone, but I will listen to any report filed."

In another attempt to control the flap, one White House official asked Mixner to cancel a planned appearance on ABC's "Nightline" Wednesday, according to Mixner, who refused to comply.

White House spokesman Dee Dee Myers denied Thursday that the request had been made.

Aside from the military issue, gay advocates complained that Clinton is not moving quickly enough to appoint openly gay individuals to high-level positions in the administration. Over 2,000 gays have applied for federal jobs, according to Barrer, whose Campaign '93 has screened many of the applications.

But only Roberta Achtenberg, a San Francisco supervisor who is openly lesbian, has won appointment to a senior position. Achtenberg has been named assistant secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, but has not yet been confirmed. Clinton has chosen a handful of other homosexuals for lower-level positions.

"That's not enough," said Rosenthal of the Human Rights Campaign Fund. "We're happy that women, blacks and other minority groups are gaining appointments. But if we're going to have a government that looks like America, as Clinton's promised, it should have more openly gay people in it."

Gay activists also have expressed disappointment that Clinton did not lobby against a ban on HIV-infected immigrants entering the United States passed by Congress last month. In spite of a campaign promise to lift the ban, White House officials indicated that they would not oppose the measure. Opponents to the ban are seeking to work out a compromise in a House-Senate conference committee.

"Clearly there was a big fight here, with major support for the ban in Congress," said A. Cornelius Baker, a spokesman for the National Association for People With AIDS. "But it's ridiculous for this country, which has the highest HIV infection rate in the world, to impose a law to keep HIV-infected people out. There is a principle at issue. . . . and we expected Clinton to stick by his promise."

Frank disagrees that Clinton is wavering in his pledge to gays. "The latest statement on the military was a big blunder," he said. "But on the whole Clinton should be given credit for his courageous support of issues that are important to gays."

The Washington Post, March 27, 1993

White House Gets a Warning Against Retreat on Gay Issue

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26 — Leaders of homosexual rights organizations warned White House officials at a meeting today that unless President Clinton better demonstrates his support for homosexuals in the military, a gay and lesbian march on Washington next month would turn into an embarrassing protest.

The meeting came as organizations of homosexuals that provided enthusiastic support for Mr. Clinton in last year's campaign were threatening to withhold political and financial support from the Democratic Party.

White House officials had initially scheduled a meeting next week with nearly 20 representatives of the groups, but instead hastily called the meeting for today in an apparent effort to contain the potential damage from President Clinton's remarks.

'Some Hurt Feelings'

Mr. Clinton touched off the latest furor over this issue in his news conference on Tuesday when, in response to a question, he said that he would not rule out restrictions on the deployment of homosexual soldiers — an assertion that he later said did not represent a change of heart.

Andrew E. Barrer, a major Democratic fund raiser and board member of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, said: "We said that the march could either be a celebration or a protest that we're not getting equal treatment. 'There were some hurt feelings but I don't think there was any anger.'"

David C. Wilhelm, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, met with party fund-raisers in New York on Thursday and they told him they would stop collecting money until the President took action to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military.

Several representatives of the groups said White House officials blamed the press for the dispute over Mr. Clinton's position and reassured them that the President would not back away from his plan to overturn the ban.

The session was called by Alexis Herman, the White House director of public liaison, and attended by several other Administration officials who for nearly two hours listened to complaints from the homosexual organizations about Mr. Clinton's policies.

Ms. Herman said she made no guar-

antees to the groups on the issue of separating troops, which Mr. Clinton now says is merely something he would consider if it was proposed by the Pentagon. Ms. Herman said she did make clear that Mr. Clinton would not back down from his commitment to overturn the full ban on homosexuals in the military.

"I thought it was a good dialogue and a good discussion," she said in an interview. "I basically just reconfirmed what the President has said: that he's against discrimination in the military."

But some participants said that while Ms. Herman did not offer them specific assurances, they left the meeting with the clear understanding that the President would oppose separating troops by sexual orientation.

"Everybody's interpretation was that separating troops was not acceptable," said Torie Osborn, executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. "The clearest piece of the meeting I thought was the clear affirmation of the President's position of lifting the ban. Alexis Herman was wearing a 'Stop discrimination, lift the ban,' button."

Gathering on the Mall

As the meeting got under way, participants said, the White House officials sought to mollify the groups by telling them that efforts were being made to insure that participants at the gay liberation march scheduled for April 25 could gather on the Mall. The National Park Service had denied permission for people in the march — which organizers said they expect to draw a crowd of one million — to gather there be-

In a White House meeting, 'hurt feelings,' but no real anger.

cause the area has been closed so the grass can be reseeded.

Ms. Herman later denied that she made any guarantees, saying the Park Service was out of her jurisdiction. "I was there to listen to their recommendations," she said.

Though concerns about the military ban dominated the session, participants said they also raised other issues: that the President has been slow to appoint an AIDS coordinator and needs to do more to show the public his support for ending discrimination against homosexuals.

"We made clear to the President's representatives that our people are very angry and must have assurances of the President's commitment to eliminate the policy of discrimination," said Thomas B. Stoddard, coordinator of the Campaign for Military Service, a coalition that opposes the ban. "This issue is in a sense the proxy for all other lesbian and gay issues. We received a definitive reaffirmation of the President's pledge."

Describing the session, Ms. Herman said: "I did not sense any feelings of anger in the meeting. I understand the concern that we need to put forth a program to help deal with the AIDS epidemic in this country. I expressed the President's support in particular on AIDS."

But many gay leaders said they have

grown impatient with the time it has taken the President to act on his pledge to overturn the military ban. Faced with opposition on Capitol Hill and among top military officials, Mr. Clinton in January ordered the Pentagon to begin reviewing possible implications of lifting the ban and to come up with a report by July 15.

Warning on Party Money

Mr. Barrer said that at the meeting Thursday with Mr. Wilhelm, about 15 Democratic donors made clear that "we can't give any more money until we see the party doing something." He said it was "important for the President to come out strongly for lifting the ban."

Mr. Barrer said he was hopeful but not convinced that Mr. Wilhelm understood the donors' concerns. "A lot of people in the White House just didn't seem to get it that this was a major issue," Mr. Barrer said.

Even friends and aides to Mr. Clinton have expressed anger about the turn of events. Bob Hattoy, a White House personnel official who made a speech about AIDS at the Democratic National Convention, said he "almost started crying" when he heard the President's remarks this week. Mr. Hattoy attended the White House meeting today.

But other White House officials voiced exasperation with the outcry over the news conference, saying Mr. Clinton has already done more for homosexuals than any other President.

"Bill Clinton openly sought the gay community's support," said one senior aide, speaking only on the condition of anonymity. "He legitimized communications with the gay community. That is a big accomplishment. Gays in the military is not a primary issue."

PHOTOCOPY
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	To: Chris Lin; From: DNC Political; Re: Contacts (2 pages)	03/26/1993	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Lin, Chris
OA/Box Number: 5145

FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military

2015-0017-F
sb1246

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

MEMORANDUM

To: Alexis Herman

Fr: Debbie Fine

Re: AIDS Follow Up Strategy With Human Rights Campaign Fund

Date: March 27, 1993

Attached is a request from the Human Rights Campaign Fund for a roundtable discussion convened by the White House which could include a variety of people who have been involved with AIDS from both a professional and personal perspective. Tim McFeeley suggests this as a possible follow-up to the AIDS Czar announcement, which is one way to maximize focus on the positive moves made by the Administration in the battle against AIDS.

Also attached for your information is a memo on funding for AIDS research. Based on a conversation with Steve Hilton, I am planning to talk with Sylvia Mathews on the status of increased funding.

cc: Mike Lux
Steve Hilton
Chris Lin✓
Danny Wexler



March 23, 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

We have been pleased to work with your administration over the last few months on many issues. In particular, though there have been some concerns along the way, it appears that we are well on the way to having a real war on AIDS at last. On behalf of our membership, we wish to thank you for your leadership against AIDS. Now there is so much work to be done.

We would like to propose that the White House convene a roundtable meeting of AIDS experts, including people with HIV/AIDS and their advocates, scientists and health care workers, educators and parents, Congresspersons and clergy, to discuss the nation's current and planned efforts to combat AIDS. It may be appropriate that this meeting closely follow your appointment of the Special Assistant on AIDS. We would be pleased to assist in the development of this meeting, which we hope could take place in the near future.

Thank you for your consideration. We look forward to the day when this nation will be free of the specter of AIDS, and we are confident that you share this vision.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Tim McFeeley".

Timothy I. McFeeley

TIM/tmb



MEMORANDUM

To: Debbie Fine
From: Terry Beswick 
Date: 3/26/93
Re: President's FY94 NIH Request

* * * * *

The most recent information we have from multiple sources is that the President's budget for NIH AIDS research for FY 1994, due for release on April 5, will be approximately 1.3 billion dollars. (God I hope this is still true when the budget comes out).

This is an increase of some \$230 million, though some sources are quoting higher numbers. FY 1993 spending was \$1.072 billion.

This increase would be about \$165 million less than the NIH to HHS request and over \$300 million less than HRCF's target request, but at least \$180 million more than the NIH was expected to get until just a few weeks ago.

When we were first alerted by administration and congressional sources in mid-February that HHS planned to request flat spending for AIDS research, we immediately began intensive lobbying of the administration and the Senate and House budget committees.

I have to say that we are quite pleased with the reported increase for AIDS research as well as breast cancer research, though we could always justify more. This budget will help make up for the flat spending of the last few years. The administration was great to work with on all levels, at the White House, OMB, HHS, and NIH, and we understand that we would not have been successful without the personal support of Panetta, Shalala, and the president. This is very important to us, and we look forward to making this well known to the gay and AIDS community after April 5. But ...

As I mentioned, there is substantial concern that we will face opposition to increases for AIDS research and breast cancer research because the NIH is being cut overall (after you account for inflation: 1993 funding was about \$10.327 billion, the 1994 proposal is said to be \$10.668 billion). The Bush administration was quite good at pitting disease groups against each other, and many are still in that frame of mind. I have been working with some other disease groups in the

last week to help remedy this through the administration's health care reform proposal, as this is the only option that makes a lot of sense, and so we can avoid this disease vs. disease battle which could turn very ugly and benefit no one. As I mentioned, for whatever reason, no one has had any luck in getting this through. Help!

I will get you a packet of information by Monday or Tuesday that explains our rationale for including in the president's health care reform package some provisions for investment in biomedical research as a long-term solution to bring down the cost of health care. The consciousness is said to be somewhat low within the health care team on this issue. In addition, there are a number of other groups who support this conceptually, and I will provide you with the list. Powerful members of Congress are also behind this.

I look forward to hearing from you about a meeting with Task Force representatives on this issue. However, based on what others are telling me, I fear that we need to talk to someone at a very high level on this ASAP if we are going to get anywhere with it.

Military-Gay Issue Reignites Firestorm

By DAVID LAUTER
and MELISSA HEALY
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—President Clinton got a repeat lesson Wednesday in the dangers of public comment on the volatile issue of gays in the military as his aides scrambled to avoid fire from partisans inflamed by remarks that he made at Tuesday's press conference.

Clinton advisers said the uproar reflects a fundamental problem they face on the issue—Clinton has persisted in treating service by gays as a question open to normal debate and discussion and has seemed mystified that activists on both sides do not do likewise.

On Tuesday a reporter asked Clinton about the possibility of allowing gays into the military but restricting them from combat assignments. Clinton responded by discussing whether the Constitution would allow such a move. Asked a second time later in the press conference, Clinton said he would wait until Secretary of Defense Les Aspin submits a report to him in July. Until then, he said, he "wouldn't rule that out depending on what the grounds and arguments were."

That statement, in turn, set off a wave of attention and reaction and speculation about whether Clinton had been trying to float a trial balloon.

White House officials insisted Wednesday that Clinton had not meant to do so. In a nationally televised interview Wednesday night, the President said he meant only that he would keep an open mind until he read Aspin's report.

"I mean, I asked them to study this," he said in a CBS interview. "I can't refuse then to get the results of the study and act like my mind's made up. I have a presumption against any discrimination based on status alone, but I will listen to any report."

And Pentagon officials, who have opposed Clinton on the issue in the past, lent credence to that position, saying that—while the idea of restricting assignments

for gays has been widely discussed—it has little backing from senior military leaders.

For Clinton, the issue of military gays has been a recurrent headache. During the first two weeks of his Administration, when the subject briefly seemed capable of overwhelming him, "he just didn't get it," said one senior aide. "He was very frustrated. He kept going around saying: 'When is this going to stop?'"

It also created considerable consternation among Clinton's advisers at the time. But now, many appear resigned to the reality that almost any comment by Clinton on the issue, however vague, will guarantee a reaction.

"It's just going to come up," said Clinton political adviser James Carville. "Forgive the expression, but the story is just too sexy for people to leave it alone. It's a fact of life that wasn't invented for Bill Clinton. It's just the way it is."

On Wednesday, that put the White House under siege.

Gay and lesbian groups roundly dismissed the separate track idea, saying the notion was "based solely on prejudice and intolerance." Several gay leaders, reflecting rising frustration among gay activists, scored Clinton for failing to swat the proposal down and to set forth his own minimum requirements in a compromise.

"We regret that the President missed an opportunity to strongly reaffirm his support" for a clear policy opening the entire military to gay men and lesbians, said Tim McFeeley, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign. "We urge President Clinton to make clear his opposition to discrimination against lesbian and gay personnel."

Military officials expressed no more enthusiasm, with experts saying that a separate track would be an "administrative nightmare."

From the military standpoint, separate assignments would put gays on a par with women, who have been barred by law from service in combat units. At a time when the services are on the defensive about main-

taining such distinctions, many officers said they would be hard-pressed to extend such special status to yet another group.

"The concept of trying to develop another group of second-class citizens—I don't think that's had any serious backing around here," said one knowledgeable military officer. "It's unworkable. It's both unworkable to the military and an affront to the gay community."

Worse yet, from the standpoint of senior commanders, the idea of separate assignments for gays clashes with a compromise position military leaders have begun to favor—widely described as "don't ask, don't tell."

Under that compromise, service members would not be asked their sexual orientation. But gay and lesbian service members would be warned that if they declare their homosexuality openly, they could be subject to dismissal.

Gay activist groups almost certainly would reject any such proposal and there is no indication that Clinton would welcome it. But since many leaders are expected to try to pitch the "don't ask, don't tell" position, they are especially wary of competing proposals that would undermine it.

The Pentagon plans to conduct two studies of the potential impact of allowing openly gay men and lesbians to serve in military units. One study will be conducted internally by military officials, while a second is conducted by the Santa Monica-based RAND Corp., White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos said.

Once that process is complete, Aspin is to present a report to Clinton by July 15.

Asked to restate Clinton's position, Stephanopoulos said, "The presumption is against discrimination of any kind. But you have to balance it against the need to maintain military morale and order and cohesion."

"This is the kind of balancing test that will be considered over the next few months as the review is being considered, and this is what the President has in mind," he said.

Los Angeles Times
3-25-93

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	To: Waves; From: Christiana Lin; Re: People cleared for the OEOB Rm 122 [partial] [PII] (1 page)	03/26/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Lin, Chris
OA/Box Number: 5145

FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military

2015-0017-F
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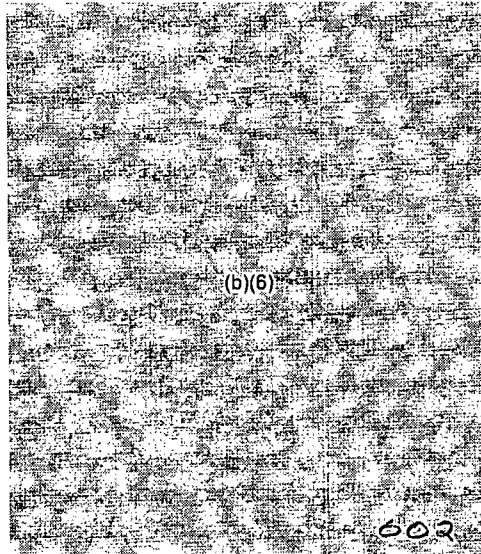
March 26, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: Waves
FR: Christiana Lin
Office of Public Liaison

The following people need to be cleared for the OEOB Rm 122 for Friday, March 26 at 3pm.

Torie Osborn
Andrew Barrer
Fred Hochberg
Nadine Smith
William Hileman
Scout Wechler
Paul Kawata
Thomas Stoddard
Jess Levi
Thomas Sheridan
Chai Feldblum
David Smith
Philip Wilson
Pere Jude Radecic
Minyon Moore
Derek Livingston
Karen Ringen



LEVEL 1 - 14 OF 26 STORIES

Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times

October 25, 1992, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 8D

LENGTH: 630 words

HEADLINE: Measure 9: unconstitutional

BYLINE: NAT HENTOFF

BODY:

Recently, in Eugene, Ore., I was talking to a gathering of booksellers from all over the Northwest. Most were wearing buttons: No. 9.

Measure 9, which will be on the Oregon ballot Nov. 3, is a drastic proposal that would strip gays and lesbians of a large catalog of basic rights. They would be official pariahs. And many non-homosexuals could be punished under Measure 9 for "encouraging" homosexuality.

This is part of the actual language of Measure 9:

"State, regional and local governments and their departments, agencies and other entities - including specifically the state Department of Higher Education and the public schools - shall assist in setting a standard for Oregon's youth that recognizes homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism and masochism as abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse and that these behaviors are to be discouraged and avoided."

Homosexuality, therefore, is bracketed with such criminal behavior as pedophilia and sadism.

As Timothy Egan noted in the New York Times: "Some legal scholars in the state say the measure could be used to remove homosexuals from teaching positions and state jobs - and as a basis to take books from libraries and deny parade permits and liquor licenses."

In Springfield, Ore. - near Eugene - the same group pushing the statewide Measure 9 and financed largely by Christian fundamentalists has already succeeded in getting similar language into the city charter. That law prevents Springfield from doing anything to protect gays and lesbians from discrimination, and it orders the town and all its agencies not to "promote, encourage or facilitate homosexuality."

That could mean, I told the booksellers in Eugene, that if I taught in a high school or a public college and recommended books by Andre Gide or James Baldwin, I could be fired for "promoting and encouraging" homosexuality.

From people living in and near Springfield, I heard chilling stories of physical attacks on gays and lesbians there in celebration of the passing of the municipal act making them less than third-class citizens.

St. Petersburg Times, October 25, 1992

I told the group of booksellers that I thought Measure 9 would eventually be declared unconstitutional. It violates the Oregon state constitution's right of freedom of expression and is also overbroad and vague in its language.

But these court battles could go on for a long time and meanwhile - as has already happened in Springfield - a good many lives would be damaged.

Indications are that the vote will be close. So, when Bill Clinton came to Portland, Ore., last month, the expectation was that the candidate would say something about this profoundly discriminatory proposal.

Yet, as reported by J. Jennings Moss of the Washington Times, "Even though many who cheered him at a noontime rally yesterday lofted signs opposing a strict anti-homosexual state referendum, Clinton kept mum on his support for gay rights.

"If the Arkansas governor wanted to talk about his stand on homosexual issues - he supports ending the military's ban on homosexuals and would like some form of civil rights legislation for homosexuals - the stop in Oregon's largest city would have been a prime place to condemn Measure 9. "

But Clinton said nothing about it in his speech. Later, off stage, Clinton answered a reporter's question by saying he was against Measure 9 because "it's a divisive measure."

The more accurate word is "unconstitutional."

George Bush would have been no better. Actually, he might well have approved Measure 9. What's most lacking in this campaign is a candidate passionate about the Bill of Rights.

Nat Hentoff is a nationally renowned authority on the First Amendment and the rest of the Bill of Rights.

KEYWORD: homosexual legislation state

LEVEL 1 - 8 OF 26 STORIES

The Associated Press

The materials in the AP file were compiled by The Associated Press. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Associated Press.

November 3, 1992, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Political News

LENGTH: 316 words

HEADLINE: Gay Rights Measure Highlights Oregon Ballot

BYLINE: By BRAD CAIN, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: PORTLAND, Ore.

KEYWORD: ELN--Oregon

BODY:

A ballot measure that would officially discourage homosexuality as abnormal behavior overshadowed other issues Tuesday as Oregon voters also decided whether to keep Republican Bob Packwood in the U.S. Senate.

Packwood, seeking a fifth term, was opposed by Democratic Rep. Les AuCoin. Packwood spent more campaign money than any candidate in Oregon history and held a slim lead in late pre-election polls.

President Bush appeared to be in deep trouble in Oregon. Bush decried environmental laws in an effort to win timber votes, but Democrat Bill Clinton held comfortable leads in most pre-election polls in the competition for seven electoral votes.

Measure 9, the anti-gay rights measure, provoked one of the most heated and divisive debates Oregon had seen in years.

Sponsored by the right-wing Oregon Citizens Alliance, the constitutional amendment would prohibit use of government money or facilities to "promote, encourage or facilitate" homosexuality.

It called on schools and other units of government to help set "a standard for Oregon's youth that recognizes homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism or masochism as abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse."

Backers contended the measure was needed to blunt efforts by gay rights activists to gain "special rights" and to promote homosexuality in schools.

Opponents called Measure 9 a mean-spirited and intrusive proposal that would single out homosexuals for discrimination.

The Senate race featured a blizzard of TV attack ads, mainly from Packwood, who raised a record \$ 7.8 million for his re-election bid.

The Associated Press, November 3, 1992

He blanketed the airwaves with ads attacking AuCoin for his voting attendance and his 83 bad checks written on the House bank. Packwood accused AuCoin of not caring about the loss of timber industry jobs.

AuCoin ads linked Packwood with the Reagan-Bush legacy, which AuCoin said left the economy in shambles.

LEVEL 1 - 24 OF 26 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1992

September 14, 1992, Monday, BC cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: Massachusetts

LENGTH: 669 words

HEADLINE: Clinton jeered by unemployed loggers

BYLINE: BY WILLIAM STEWART

DATELINE: PORTLAND, Ore.

KEYWORD: CLINTON

BODY:

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton was greeted Monday with blaring horns of empty logging trucks at a campaign stop in the Pacific Northwest where environmental regulations have been blamed for the loss of thousands of jobs.

Most of the state's displaced timber workers did not hear what they wanted from Clinton, who, with his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore, D- Tenn., promotes environmentalist positions.

Efforts to save the spotted owl have put thousands of Northwest loggers out of work. Clinton gave no promises that he would try to overturn the Endangered Species Protection Act.

Instead, the Arkansas governor blamed President Bush for not putting enough money into retraining programs for the jobless timber workers.

Campaigning in Washington State, Bush said Monday he would refuse to extend the 20-year-old act unless it is radically revised to include more protections for timber jobs.

Clinton said Bush has failed to help sawmills retool for second- growth trees planted during the last 30 years. Virtually all Northwest mills are equipped to cut old-growth trees, measuring 3 to 4 feet in diameter, rather than the younger trees with diameters of 1 to 2 feet or less.

Much of the Northwest's old-growth timber has been placed off limits to save the owl's habitat.

When Clinton came on the stage at Pioneer Courthouse Square, a supporter tossed a bouquet of roses to him.

'Of all the things that have ever been thrown at me, roses are the best,' Clinton said.

But several times in his 30-minute speech, Clinton's voice was drowned out by blaring horns from passing logging trucks by drivers upset with Clinton's views.

Proprietary to the United Press International, September 14, 1992

The trucks carried no logs, only anti-Clinton signs like, "'Spotted Al? He Gored My Job.'"

Clinton implied the Bush campaign may have set up the loggers' demonstration. He told his supporters to attend the president's appearance in the Northwest with signs, but discouraged them from causing noisy interruptions.

"'Bush and Quayle are not for free speech,'" he said. "'If Mr. Bush comes here, I want you to show up with our signs. But I don't want you to honk and I don't want you to talk and I don't want you to cheer. I want you to let him speak. That's the American way.'"

Clinton denounced Oregon's state ballot Measure Nine, an anti-homosexual rights bill modeled after a Springfield, Ore., ordinance. The local law is thought to be the first in the nation against homosexual rights.

He encouraged Oregon voters to direct their attentions instead to the economy, health care and other issues.

"'We ought to be focusing on these things. I want to be a force for unity in this country, not for division,'" Clinton said.

Clinton said if the measure's sponsors, the Oregon Citizens Alliance, want to speak out against homosexuality, "'they can do it on the street corners or in their community meetings, but I don't think we need this in law.'"

Despite the raucous demonstration at Clinton's speech, the campaign appearances of Bush and the Democratic hopeful were seen by representatives of both sides as positive steps.

James Geisinger, president of the Northwest Forestry Association, said he hoped the campaign stops would give a boost to the timber industry.

"'I think only good can come out of the visits,'" he said. "'The fact that the president is going to a sawmill and Clinton is going to visit a family that depends on our industry illustrates that they are both committed to understanding the issue and solving it based on facts rather than politics.'"

Andy Kerr, president of the Oregon Natural Resources Council, said, "'The personal attention of the president may be helpful in resolving this issue, but I feel his interest will wane after the evening news.'"

Kerr said Clinton's support of efforts to retool mills and retrain workers shows he recognizes the need for a "'transition'" from unchecked logging to more responsible use of old-growth forests.

- Thursday, October 29, 1992

Jersey City New Jersey Rally: Bill Clinton, Presidential Candidate
Transcript ID: 881773 (407 lines)

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR BILL CLINTON AT A CAMPAIGN RALLY
IN JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY

THURSDAY, 29 OCTOBER, 1992

GOV. CLINTON: Thank you very, very much. I was worried about being late but it didn't lower the temperature in here. I'm glad to see you.

I want to thank Bob Janieswki (ph) for his leadership, support. I want to thank Governor Florio and Senator Lautenberg and Congressman Payne for their presence here tonight, and I want to thank all of you for coming here.

I have done something today which is somewhat unconventional for a person running for office in the last week of a campaign. I began this morning at the University of Toledo giving a serious talk to a group of students there about the economic policies that I seek to pursue, and why I so strongly believe we need a different economic direction for this country.

Tonight I want to talk to you for a few moments before I go out to the rally about one of the most fundamental challenges facing our people in the health care area. First of all, let me say that the American people plainly will have a decision on Tuesday about whether or not to fundamentally overhaul the system by which we finance health care, control health care costs, and provide basic health care to all of our people.

Today in America, health care costs too much, 30 percent more of our income than any country on earth, much of it going to things that have nothing to do with how healthy we are: to insurance, to administrative costs, to federal regulations, to unnecessary procedures, to the practice of defensive medicine, to the absence of basic primary and preventive health care.

This is weakening our economy. It is exploding the budget deficit. Our system, in spite of all of its costs, covers few people, too few people, and interestingly enough, since Mr. Bush has been president, about 100,000 Americans a month have lost their health insurance. The system is fundamentally broken and we need to fix it.

I have outlined a program to control costs and to provide

affordable health care to all Americans, which a recent bipartisan commission said will save the average family \$1,200 a year more than the Bush plan by the year 2000, will cover all Americans, while his will leave 27 million behind, and will in the next dozen years free up over \$2 trillion to reinvest in our economy.

But there are things that even this health care program alone cannot address, and I want to talk about one of them especially tonight, the issue of AIDS. But before I do, let me say there are other things that we ought to face, too. We have, for example, too long ignored women's health issues. We know they haven't gotten the attention or the funding they need, and it's time we had a president who would work with Congress with a real commitment to fight breast cancer, ovarian cancer, osteoporosis with the same vigor with which we have fought other diseases.

I was deeply dismayed when Mr. Bush vetoed the women's health care bill earlier this year under pressure from the extreme elements of the Republican Party who are anti-choice because of the fetal tissue research issue. That research opportunity offers us the best chance that we have to deal with issues like diabetes, but the core of this administration's commitment to dealing with the issue of women's health was sadly lacking, and if elected on Tuesday I will give that core back to American health policy.

I want to begin the discussion of the AIDS issue in a cold-hearted way and deal then with the more emotional aspects. Everything I hope to save with an American health care system that preserves the best of what we do well, the best research, the best private medical care, a private system of insurance reorganized to cut costs and provide health care, all of these savings could be eaten up by the exploding costs of dealing with this epidemic unless we finally as a people face our common responsibilities.

Imagine how we would feel if a strange new epidemic wiped out the entire population of Kansas City. Well, AIDS has already killed more Americans than that, 150,000. Imagine how we would feel if we were told that everyone in America who works as an accountant, or every little girl in a Brownie troop was suddenly menaced by death at an early age, but yet there are just about as many people today infected with the HIV virus as there are accountants or Brownie scouts in America, over 1 million in each category.

Imagine if we were told that unless we act now, the entire nation of Spain would crack off the continent of Europe in the year 2000 and sink into the sea. We would be profoundly alarmed. But according to the estimates of the World Health Organization, as many as 40 million people around the world will be infected with the HIV virus by the end of this century, more than the present population of Spain. And yet we have not yet mobilized our nation to deal with this crisis as we should.

AIDS can be a terrible, frightening disease. For 10 years now we have been in the grip of an epidemic killing our sons and

daughters, our mothers and fathers, our husbands and wives, our friends and our colleagues. AIDS can strike anyone, and it does.

I think of all the experiences I have had in this long and difficult and challenging race for president, perhaps the most moving has been the personal encounters with people who have been affected by AIDS. I remember meeting a doctor in Texas, an attractive young woman in her late 30s, who devoted herself to dealing with AIDS patients and had gotten the HIV virus because the needle which she had just given an inoculation had its cap pop off just at the moment she was putting it in the wastepaper can and it pricked the -- the prick of the needle on her fingertip made her HIV positive. And yet she was still working with AIDS patients, determined to live on and to work on.

I remember a town meeting I had in Michigan, like the one we're going to have in New Jersey tonight, where a young couple stood up and the woman was in tears and I thought they were going to talk about losing their jobs or their health insurance, and the young wife said that she was HIV positive, and thank God they had a normal child, but she was scared to death about her future and she wanted a president who would deal with this issue all the time, not just at election time.

I remember being in a rodeo arena in Ocala, Texas, where I had been told the people were going to be very conservative and kind of down-home rural like my folks at home, and having one of the first people I met be a woman and then meeting her husband, who handed me the picture of their son from Ocala, Florida who had died of AIDS.

I remember being in colonial Williamsburg, the seat of much of our country's history, preparing for the debate in Richmond, when a grandmother came up to me with tears in her eyes to tell me that both her daughter and her granddaughter had died of AIDS.

I remember most vividly being in Cedar Rapids, Iowa in front of the Quaker Oats building in an unusual situation where I was being demonstrated against in the back of the crowd by pro-life forces, and I came up to a woman with a pro-choice sticker on and she had a child of another race in her arms, and I said, tell me about this baby. Where did you get this baby?

And she beamed. She smiled. She said, this is my baby. This baby was adopted from another state and she has AIDS, but it's my job to keep her alive as long as I can, and I want you to help me, Governor.

I say these things because I know that here in Jersey City I need hardly remind you that AIDS has many faces. This city has the sixth highest rate of AIDS in the country, but we must all remember for all of its terror and far reach, it is still a disease. It is not vengeance or punishment or just desserts. It is an illness. We have fought illnesses before and we must fight this one now.

Not so long ago, polio was an awful scourge. When I was a child, parents still lived in terror of their children contracting it. But when President Roosevelt, himself a polio survivor, lent his weight to the cause of research and eradication, in the matter of a couple of decades polio was an endangered species.

Not so long ago no one spoke the word cancer without fear and a good deal of ignorance. I can remember that well. I lost a stepfather to cancer and my mother is a breast cancer survivor. But now it is commonplace for people to welcome home cancer survivors instead of saying good-bye to cancer casualties. I know personally how that feels.

Already AIDS has given us one comfort. It has introduced us to many American heroes, and introduced many to the heroes inside themselves. Heroes like the people who worked so hard to extend a helping hand to help people with AIDS, even in the early days when it was dark and lonely, who created service organizations and education programs to help people with care and compassion.

Heroes like my friend Elizabeth Blazer and Bob Haddoi (ph) who are here tonight, who spoke with courage before the whole nation at the Democratic convention about being HIV positive. And there is no partisan face to AIDS. Heroes like Mary Fischer, who was invited to speak at the Republican convention and did the same thing.

People like Magic Johnson, who captured the nation's attention when he had the courage to step forward and then to step down from the AIDS Commission because he was tired of inaction and throw his weight behind our campaign to change America.

Heroes like the people I've read about in New Jersey, the people at St. Clare's (ph) home here in Hudson County, who have just welcomed their 100th child with AIDS. People like the York Street sisters who've worked so hard on AIDS education programs. People like those who run Rainbow House for pregnant teens with AIDS. People like those who run the Corpus Christi acute care center in New Jersey. All these people deserve our thanks and our honor and our support.

But for all of this quiet courage, we have still not done enough as a nation to stop the spread of AIDS or to help those who are living with it. Most of us have preferred to believe AIDS is not our problem, that it's a problem for a few particular or isolated groups in our society, that it only affects gay men and IV drug users.

But the truth is it is everybody's problem, not only because it is spreading throughout society but because, as I said, the sheer cost and burden of dealing with the AIDS crisis may absolutely consume all the gains we hope to make in straightening out the other problems in our health care system.

But most important, there is the human element. We don't have

a person to waste in our country and viruses do not discriminate. New Jersey has the highest proportion of women with AIDS in America, double the national average, and the third highest portion of children with AIDS. Here and everywhere more and more people are vulnerable to the virus, more of us are struggling with the pain of knowing dear friends who have tested positive.

I myself have been through that. It only has to happen to you once or twice before your whole attitude about the disease changes dramatically. The face of AIDS for me is no longer a stranger's. It is the face of a mother who must leave children before they grow up, the husband who must say good-bye to a wife before they grow old together. The artist who will leave the world a little less beautiful, the athlete who will leave the world a little less graceful. The child who will leave the world a little less hopeful.

It costs everyone of us in ways that are financial and human and moral. We can't afford the cost in dollars or in death. Today I want to say at the end of this campaign that this nation must rally its will and strength to fight this killer. We can do it. We can win the battle but we have to get to work, and we must deal with it all day, every day, with political leadership and community leadership and not just at election time and not just at heartbreak time.

There is in the beginning the matter of personal responsibility. Those who think they may be positive should be tested as soon as possible so they can be treated. Those whose behavior puts them at high risk should reassess that before they put themselves and those whom they care for in mortal danger.

Children in our schools, at the earliest practical time, should be told in blunt, clear but sensitive terms how people get AIDS and how to avoid it. I do believe the instruction of our children should be based on values that we all share. I think children should be discouraged from having premature sexual conduct and from ever having any conduct with needles carrying drugs, but they must be told that this killer can kill them, and their odds of getting it are far greater than most of them think. The evidence is, people still ignore that.

Nothing we can do as a nation can fix this problem unless we as a people change from the inside out, individually and collectively in our communities. I can promise you that if I'm elected president on Tuesday, no one will have to wage this fight alone. I have a plan and I mean to implement it.

First, I want to provide the leadership this country needs for a loud, clear and consistent war on AIDS. I want to appoint one person, one man or woman to oversee and coordinate all federal efforts related to this issue, a person with my ear, my attention and my support, with the power to cut through red tape and the mandate to get results as quickly as possible.

I want to dust off the reports of the two national AIDS commissions and implement the recommendations as soon as possible. They're good reports and they ought to be followed.

I want to increase federal funding for research, prevention and treatment, to fully fund the Ryan White Health Care Act so that we can help our hardest-hit cities get the care and services they need to their large and growing populations.

Hudson County has done a particularly impressive job of implementing the Ryan White Act so far, but it's clear that you need more help to reach all the people whom you are now prepared to reach and you get it if the act got the funding it requires. I'll do my best to give it to you.

There are many things about AIDS that we do not know but there are some things that we do know and we certainly know how to prevent it. But large-scale prevention efforts have been invisible, at least at the national level. We have no model curricula for our school, no household mailings to follow up on that one courageous effort by Dr. Koop, who was President Reagan's Surgeon General. No nationwide outreach programs like the effort that Jersey City mayor's task force here, which has been taking the message to places where real people will hear it. Americans are dying of the world's most curable affliction -- ignorance -- and we need to cure that first.

I want to develop a vigorous national campaign to provide people with the facts they need, to understand the causes, the treatment and the prevention of AIDS, a direct and honest campaign that will reach into every community that needs it, and especially into our schools where our children are. They need to know that what they don't know can hurt them and can kill them, and we have to find them in the schools. That's where the kids are.

I also think it is clear that we're going to have to tackle the drug problem head-on in a more direct and comprehensive way than we have. We have people all over America by the tens of thousands lined up for treatment. If we had treatment on demand without delay, we could solve a lot of these problems and keep more people alive.

But frankly, even if we could prevent all future AIDS cases, we would still have a responsibility to treat and care for the million or more Americans already infected. And so the third element of a Clinton-Gore AIDS policy is to guarantee that all people with HIV have access to affordable quality care and treatment.

Of course, many of the problems people who are HIV positive have are shared by other Americans. Seventy million of us have no adequate health insurance and about 37 million have no health insurance at all. Countless Americans fear that a sudden illness or accident will force the choice literally between their money or

their lives.

Under our health care system, all Americans will have access to quality and affordable health care through coverage through their employers, or if they're unemployed, through their government. Our plan will include voluntary, confidential and anonymous testing and counseling for IV, as well as the monitoring, therapy and drugs that people who test positive need. And experimental therapies will be more accessible to people with HIV.

The most important thing we can do to help people is to figure out how to stop it, cure it, and immunize people against it. And so the fourth element must be to increase and accelerate research. I will increase funding into both AIDS and general biomedical research. Top priorities will be developing a vaccine and finding therapies that will destroy HIV, repair the immune system, and treat AIDS-related infections.

I will rely on a top-notch team to establish clear research priorities and to respond rapidly to new research options, and we've got, again I'll say, to streamline and speed up the drug testing and approval process for people who are HIV.

Some of you may ask, and certainly some who read about this speech will ask, why we should devote so much research and attention to AIDS when we have other also important health problems, some of which today affect more people. The answer is partly because AIDS is so dangerous, a fast-moving epidemic that is infectious, mysterious and deadly. It's also partly because AIDS is associated with a variety of other illnesses, so that many patients with other problems will benefit from AIDS research.

But more to the point, I don't think we should fund AIDS at the expense of research for other diseases. After all, one of the things we ought to be doing more of in the wake of the end of the Cold War and the decline of the defense budget is directing our scientific energies into health care research of all kinds.

The last element of our policy is to fight discrimination against AIDS itself. I opposed the decision of the Bush Justice Department to support allowing employers to cut off insurance to employees with AIDS by rewriting their policies after AIDS is discovered.

I acknowledge, however, the problem of smaller employees who are self-insured. Many times the employees don't even know their employers are self-insured, and I recognize how much easier it would be to be humane with employees if we had a national insurance reform which mandated large pools for small businesses, self-employed people and farmers so they could have access to rates at the same low levels as people in big companies have.

I will fight discrimination in federal programs. Our legislation should be based on sound, scientific and public health

principles, not on fear or prejudice. Let's do what the scientists and the public health people tell us to do. Let's not take out after people with AIDS as if they represent a threat to us, even when they're doing their best for themselves and for their fellow countrymen and women.

In the end, dealing with AIDS requires us to do what so many other problems require us to do as Americans. They require us to be more personally responsible to prevent the spread of the disease. They require us to create more opportunity so that we can lengthen life and make it as full as possible, and they require us to develop a greater sense of community with sensitivity and compassion and concern for one another.

It is time to reach out our hands, all of us, to someone who is afflicted, to tell our neighbors that we care, to ask our children to come home. To show that we can be big-hearted and hard-headed. To work to build trust and bridges and hope and a future together.

The writer Toni Morrison said that love makes life not just livable but a gallant event. My fellow Americans, we can be a gallant nation again, but it takes courage and the will to find a new grounding for our politics, not of exclusion and fear but of inclusion and hope. To take responsibility for our own behavior and for each other, to seize the opportunities we have to live our lives to the fullest, and to make all of us who are willing to do our part part of America's family.

I ask for your help and your support to this end, not only to fight and conquer AIDS but to build the America you all deserve. Thank you very much.

END

Amk

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SH
MAY 10 1993

DATE: 5/3

MAY - 4 1993

NOTE FOR:

Boy / sandy

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information



Action



Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc: Alexis

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ⁴/₃



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

PETER HOAGLAND
SECOND DISTRICT
NEBRASKA

Fory/Sandy

April 30, 1993

Dear Mr. President:

Regarding our conversation after the meeting with Ways and Means Members, I am forwarding the article about the history of gays in the military that I found quite informative.

For democratic members from regions like mine, it is very important that we conclude this inflammatory issue and return to a DLC-type social agenda.

One option for concluding gays in the military is abolishing the recruitment question, returning the matter to its pre-Reagan status, and declaring victory.

I thought the meeting Thursday was very helpful. It is extremely heartening for us in the House when you take so much time to visit with us.

Sincerely,

Peter Hoagland
Peter Hoagland

President William Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

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The Odd Place of Homosexuality in the Military

By CATHERINE S. MANEGOLD

UNTIL 1942, no specific proviso barred homosexuals from serving in the military. That year, military psychiatrists, new to the ranks, warned of the "psychopathic personality disorders" that would make homosexuals unfit to fight. Then they devised supposedly foolproof guides to ferret them out: an effeminate flip of hand or a certain nervousness when standing naked before an officer.

It never really worked. Homosexuals served throughout World War II and after. In the repressive atmosphere of the 1950's, discharges for homosexuality soared; at the height of the Vietnam War, when recruitment drives were at their peak, enforcement was lax.

That military tradition of keeping out homosexuals could end on July 15, when President Clinton has said he will lift the ban. Pentagon officials, who had been notably recalcitrant in cooperating with the plan, said last week that they are rushing through several studies to address key matters like housing.

As things have stood, homosexuals could serve so long as they could hide. In the 1940's, if something untoward occurred, it was ascribed to "emergency" or "deprivation" homosexuality, according to John Costello in "Virtue Under Fire," a 1985 study of changing sexual mores brought about by World War II. Homosexual interludes were discounted as sparked by frustration. The armed forces thus maintained the facade of sexual purity (read: heterosexuality).

With President Clinton's announcement in January that the ban on homosexuals in the military would be lifted, a military tradition became harder to keep. Gay advocacy groups like the Campaign for Military Service saw the issue rapidly expand into a national debate on the worthiness of homosexuals. They have spent millions

of dollars on a neatly packaged, well-advertised battle, underscored by a march on Washington next Sunday, to win inclusion in the ranks as blacks and women did before them.

Polls show that the nation remains divided, working its way through a subject as fiery as abortion yet imbued with more primal fears and deep social and religious constraints. The result has often been the rhetorical equivalent to the fog of battle, a fog in which women have been peculiarly absent, the ghosts of the debate.

Sex and Puritanical Roots

The argument has many voices. Some say it's a question of civil rights. Others say combat effectiveness. Or fear. Or homophobia and a surge in gay bashing that would devastate unit cohesiveness. Perhaps it is really about control and what would happen to one of the last bastions of American traditionalism if its defining social order were tampered with.

The argument is also, inevitably, about sex. That may be why keeping the subject hidden has always had a certain intrinsic appeal in a country with puritanical roots.

Military leaders who reject the civil rights analogy say the controversy is not about sex or even equal rights, but the agenda of a special interest group. They fear that complying with President Clinton's orders would set a precedent, inviting demands for inclusion by everyone from the mentally handicapped to other sexual minorities like transsexuals. They also argue that it is a privilege to serve in the fighting forces, not a right. "It's a nightmare as far as the military is concerned," said Bernard E. Trainor, a retired Marine lieutenant general. "It threatens the strong, conservative, moralistic tradition of the troops."

Not everyone in the military agrees. Adm. William

The President's promise to lift the ban has made the services think about what they never wanted to think about.

J. Crowe Jr., a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told The Washington Post recently that the argument was fueled "more by emotion than by reason." He said that the armed forces' culture of strict discipline is, in fact, uniquely suited to control the behavior of both homosexuals and the heterosexuals who might bash them — more so than civilian society.

Randy Shiltz, the author of "Conduct Unbecoming," a new history of homosexuality in the military, points to the armed forces' policies on AIDS to illustrate how well the four services can cope with thorny problems when they must. "The armed forces has some of the most enlightened policies on H.I.V. in the country," he said. Discounting fears that wounded AIDS-infected soldiers might bleed on their buddies, he cited as an example the fact that regulations already prevent those soldiers from going into combat.

But even if the military can manage the transition, that does not necessarily mean the controversy will fade. There is a deeper source of discontent: "They want us to move faster than the country," said a former general who did not wish to be identified. Sodomy laws based on

religious proscriptions against sex for sex's sake are still on the books in 24 states. The District of Columbia recently moved to drop its sodomy law, but Congress, which has final say, blocked a similar attempt in 1981.

The Supreme Court, too, was disinclined to undo a taboo that it says dates to biblical times. In its 1986 decision Bowers v. Hardwick, the Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law.

So for months now, Americans have been watching ominous shower shots on the nightly news and wrestling with their fears. Women soldiers have voiced support for the policy change and do not express the fear of being attacked by same-sex predators that preoccupies men. Many of their male comrades, some of whom still believe that women are ancillary to the fighting troops, have made macho threats about just what they would do if they found a gay man in their midst.

Another widespread objection is that it would feminize a male club. Enduring images of homosexual men depict them as effeminate, therefore weak, therefore a drain upon a mighty fighting force. Yet that ignores the role of a dominant participant in homosexual sex, a partner who takes the aggressive "male" role. The argument also raises the question whether anything could have feminized the force more than women. And women are already there.

Yet some soldiers are so perturbed by the prospect of including gay men in the ranks that they are willing to break the rules by assaulting fellow soldiers. Their explanation is that they fear attack or unwanted sexual advances — sexual harassment — as if they really don't believe that no means no. It is likely, too, that some fear their own reactions and the prospect that they might respond sexually. "Hatred of gay men," Ken Corbett, a psychologist, wrote in an Op-Ed article for The New York

Continued on page 3

Homosexuality in the Military Tradition

Continued from page 1

Times in February. "is based on fear of the self, not of an alien other." For decades, psychologists have said that at the core of homophobia is repressed fear and latent homosexuality.

Psychologists point to a rich history of songs, drag shows and jokes in the military that serve to neutralize powerful feelings. As early as 1941, the psychiatrist William Menninger described the typical soldier's wartime relationship as one of "disguised and sublimated homosexuality," a theme given voice in the popular war song, "My Buddy": "I miss your voice and the touch of your hand, my buddy."

That intense companionship was both so common and so acceptable in pop culture must have alleviated some soldiers' fears about unexpected longings. With those fears neutralized and the relationships the cause of celebration, the military became a safe place for the emotional intimacy so compelling to men and women facing the chaos and terror of war.

Seen from a distance, the logic of the military's denial of homosexuality in the ranks was simple: as long as no homosexuals were enlisted, soldiers could play at being lovers (and even consummate the roles) without ever having to acknowledge those feelings. Whatever happened, happened. There was a war on.

The implied double standard was made official in 1982. The Department of Defense regulations adopted that year allow a heterosexual to have homosexual sex and to be exonerated — so long as he or she states that the incident was a lapse. Gay and lesbian soldiers, by contrast, are discharged just for identifying themselves as such.

Women More Vulnerable

Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer, a much-decorated nurse in the Army National Guard who was discharged last May for her sexual orientation, says the ban has left women particularly vulnerable. "There is a tremendous amount of lesbian-baiting in the service," she said. "Any straight man who propositions a woman and she's not interested, well, it can't be because he's not attractive. So it must be because she's a lesbian. It's used as a threat all the time."

Because homosexuals now have to hide, anyone in the armed forces, she says, can sabotage the career of another by making allegations about their sexuality. If homosexuals were allowed to be open, that disruption would disappear. Though men are equally susceptible to such accusations, they are less likely than women to be dismissed because of their orientation. Lesbians are

In the 1940's, if anything sexually untoward occurred, it could be attributed to "deprivation." Then it was all right.

discharged at a rate from two to six times higher than gay men, depending on the branch of the service.

Several books, but most notably Allan Bérubé's "Coming Out Under Fire," trace the start of a gay rights movement in America to the military itself. They argue that the relative openness of gay and lesbian relationships in the military in World War II eventually led to those veterans settling in port cities like San Francisco and New York where, for the first time, they established identifiable subcultures.

Depending on its own convenience, the military operated with a double standard: while there were purges and discharges during that war, scores of written accounts show an easy acceptance among the Allied forces (German S.S. officers, in contrast, faced death by firing squad). Women in particular were likely to escape punishment. The Women's Army Corps actually dealt with lesbianism as a normal part of life. "A lecture to WAC officer candidates on homosexuality, prepared by the Surgeon General's Office and revised by WAC officials," wrote Mr. Bérubé, included the observation that "every person is born with a bisexual nature." In that corps, discharge was used only as a last resort in cases that disrupted a unit.

Men, too, often seemed to accept their gay comrades. Ben Small, a gay Army Air Corpsman stationed near New Guinea, once wrote away for a pile of dresses for a drag show. When the dresses arrived, he recounted in Mr. Bérubé's study, "Well, here's everybody in the office from the lieutenant on down trying on dresses! Everybody suddenly becomes a drag queen!"

Such tolerance would not last through the cold war. By the 1950's, Senator Joseph McCarthy was well into a civilian witch hunt that would quickly bleach the military's ranks as well. At the time, Senator McCarthy's right-hand man, Roy Cohn, and J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, both closeted themselves, presented the argument that homosexuals were

the agents of communism. "One homosexual can pollute a Government office," concluded a report authorized by the Senate in 1950. Military discharges based on sexual orientation doubled in the 1950's and then increased by half again in the 1960's.

When recruitment demands were high during the Vietnam War, the situation loosened. Cal Anderson, an Army court reporter who would later join the Washington State Assembly, recalled in "My Country, My Right to Serve," that he was once caught in the act. The commander's reprimand was short and mild: "Now, I don't care what people do in their own time," he told the terrified young soldier. "But the Army doesn't feel that way, so in the future, be more discreet."

Klinger in Drag

By 1972, the popular television show "M*A*S*H" featured a soldier who almost always appeared in drag: Corporal Klinger, played by Jamie Farr. Though the show stopped short of explicitly dealing with his sexuality — always leaving open the question that he was merely trying to get a discharge — the character became one of the most beloved in the series.

Today, many senior officers see the issue in a long historical perspective. Steeped in military lore that traces homosexuality to pre-Christian history, they point to tales of homosexuality on the front lines from the Sacred Band of Thebes in 338 B.C. (where each soldier was said to be a lover of another) to such military giants as Alexander the Great, Richard the Lion-Hearted and T. E. Lawrence (popularly known as Lawrence of Arabia). Seen in that context, said a retired general, the issue becomes more a matter of management than revolution.

In an open letter to his soldiers printed in the Marine magazine "Leatherneck," last month, Gen. Carl E. Mundy Jr., the Marine Corps Commandant, advised: "We are made up not of individuals who seek self-identity, but of selfless men and women who place

Sex, Lies and Statistics

SINCE the days of the first Kinsey report in 1948, its finding that one person in 10 is gay or bisexual has been repeated over and over. Now comes a study of male sexuality that leaves conventional wisdom in tatters, indicating that the number of men willing to call themselves gay is closer to one in 100.

The new figure has been disputed by gay rights groups arguing that, however confidential a survey, many gay men won't take the risk of identifying themselves.

But whether it measures American sexual practices accurately or is distorted by young men's embarrassment or bragadocio, the study, "The Sexual Behavior of U.S. Men," conducted by the Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers and financed by a \$1.8 million Federal grant, tells the country as much about its sexual practices as any study since Kinsey.

The survey, published by the Alan Guttmacher Institute last week, was designed to help public health officials in the fight against sexually transmitted diseases. It found that white men on average began to have sex at the age of 17 and had had 6.6 partners. Among black men, the average age was 15 and the number of partners 10.2. The survey included interviews with 3,321 men aged 20 to 39.

If the researchers found fewer exclusively homosexual men, a population at high risk of transmitting the H.I.V. virus, than they had expected, they found other risky behavior to be common. More than 23 percent of the men said they had had sex with more than 20 women. Of those who had had four or more partners, only half used condoms.

"As number of partners increase, condom use increases, which is good news," said Koray Tanfer, one of the Battelle researchers. "The bad news is, we only get half as many as we should."

Dr. Tanfer is following up with a survey of the sexual practices of 1,700 women. He said that the men were studied first because earlier studies of women's reproductive health had already given researchers good evidence about their risk for sexually transmitted diseases. FELICITY BARRINGER

country and corps ahead of self... whatever their privately held preferences or belief may be." He urged tolerance: "We treat all marines with firmness, fairness and dignity."

Those comments were supportive, but typically oblique. General Trainor, who now directs the national security program at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, may have encapsulated the military's reaction best. Given half a choice, he said, the military would have looked long and hard at the matter and then decided. "Listen, I'd rather not deal with it."