

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Don't Ask / Don't Tell [#1] [1]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	To: Major General Robert Dees; From: Servicemembers Leagal Defense Network; Re: Investigation of SPC in South Korea (2 pages)	09/30/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel Office
Weiner, Robert
OA/Box Number: 12819

FOLDER TITLE:

Don't Ask / Don't tell [#1] [1]

2015-0017-F
sb1242

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.

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)]

- 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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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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.

Servicemembers Legal Defense Network

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

September 29, 1998

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

*Cory D. Latta M.A. L.V.
SEAN MALONEY
RUS WEEVER
JULIAN POSTER*

RS 6-1611

Dear Mr. President:

I write regarding the difficulty the military is having in retaining trained service members. It has been widely reported that the military service chiefs want additional funding to raise pay and offer more benefits in an effort to keep their experienced members. The unsatisfactory alternative that has been considered is to lower standards and recruit Category IV (substandard) personnel who will require disproportionate supervision, training and discipline.

While additional funds could help, the far more cost-effective alternative would be to end gay discharges. Gay discharges have risen a whopping 67% under your "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue" policy. Last year alone, 997 people were kicked out under your policy – an average of two to three people daily. Hundreds, if not thousands, more left at the end of their terms, tired of living in constant fear of McCarthy-like investigations. These are men and women who are competent, proven leaders. Men and women who do not require the extra training and supervision needed by substandard recruits.

Merely replacing those discharged under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue" in the last year cost more than 29 million dollars. This figure, based on GAO's most recent report on the subject, does not include the substantial costs of investigations, administrative processing and the hundreds of thousands of dollars your Administration has spent defending discharges in federal court.

This money could be better spent, even used to pay for the incentives requested by the service chiefs. When the service chiefs ask you for additional funding, Mr. President, tell them to stop the harassment and costly witch hunts that are driving so many fine people from the military. It is not only the right thing to do, it is a cost-effective solution to the current retention problem.

Very truly yours,

Michelle M. Benecke

Michelle M. Benecke
Co-Executive Director

cc: Secretary of Defense William Cohen



WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING

FROM WRONGS TO RIGHTS

PUBLIC OPINION ON
GAY AND LESBIAN AMERICANS
MOVES TOWARD EQUALITY

Presenters

Kerry Lobel

Executive Director
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
klobel @ ngltf.org

Urvashi Vaid

Policy Institute Director
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
uvaid @ ngltf.org

Alan Yang

Author, "From Wrongs to Rights"
Department of Political Science
Columbia University
asy2 @ columbia.edu

NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE

2320 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20009-2702
<http://www.nglhf.org> • phone (202) 332-6483

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

Founded in 1973, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) works to eliminate prejudice, violence and injustice against gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered people at the local, state and national level. As part of a broader social justice movement for freedom, justice and equality, NGLTF is creating a world that respects and celebrates the diversity of human expression and identity where all people may fully participate in society.

Policy Institute

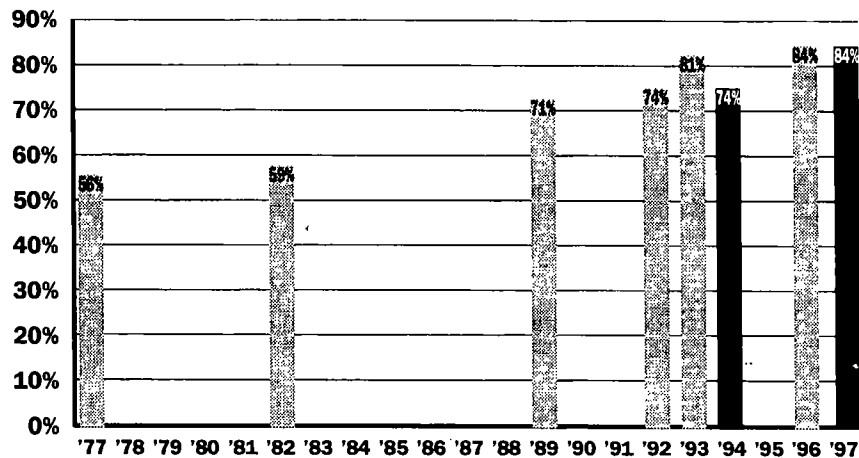
The Policy Institute of the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force is a think tank dedicated to research, policy analysis and strategic projects to advance greater understanding and the equality of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered people of all colors ages and backgrounds.

Specific Objectives of the Policy Institute:

1. To provide critical, accurate, and relevant policy analysis, research, data and reports about the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community. Through relationships with academics, policy experts, and activists, the Institute engages in original research as well as bring to a wider audience practical research done by scholars in different fields.
2. To unite thought with action by bridging the gulf that often exists between intellectuals, policy makers and community activists.
3. To foster collaboration, cooperation, debate, strategic thinking and inter-organizational communication within the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender movement and between academics and activists in order to devise new strategies to eradicate homophobia.
4. To forge coalitions between our communities and other social justice movements who are allies to the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender movement for equality.

Support for Equal Rights in Employment

Figure 1



GALLUP "In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?"

PSRA "Do you think there should or should not be... equal rights for gays in terms of job opportunities?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS IN FAVOR OF EQUAL RIGHTS IN EMPLOYMENT

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

GALLUP (November 1996)

MARGINALS	Yes	No	Dep	DK
	84%	12%	2%	2%
GENDER	Yes	No	Dep	DK
Male (502)	83%	13%	1%	3%
Female (501)	85%	11%	2%	2%
RACE				
White (798)	84%	12%	2%	2%
Black (100)	91%	9%	0%	-
EDUCATION				
LT 12 yrs (102)	79%	18%	2%	1%
HS Grad (309)	85%	12%	1%	2%
Some College (247)	83%	13%	1%	3%
College Grad (183)	88%	5%	3%	4%
Post Grad (155)	91%	7%	1%	1%
PARTY ID				
Democrat (370)	87%	11%	1%	1%
Independent (304)	87%	9%	1%	2%
Republican (288)	80%	15%	2%	2%
AGE				
18-29 (211)	88%	9%	1%	2%
30-39 (246)	86%	11%	-	2%
40-49 (197)	86%	9%	2%	2%
50-59 (124)	84%	13%	2%	1%
60-69 (116)	82%	13%	2%	3%
70+ (100)	75%	20%	1%	4%

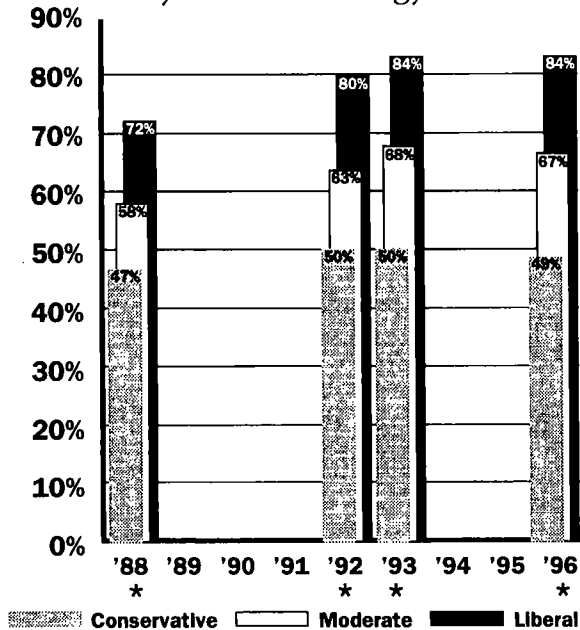
PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES (June 1997)

MARGINALS	Should	Should Not	DK
	84%	13%	3%
GENDER	Should	Should Not	DK
Male (372)	80%	16%	4%
Female (381)	88%	9%	3%
RACE			
White (616)	84%	13%	3%
Black (71)	87%	12%	1%
EDUCATION			
LT 12 yrs (60)	81%	23%	7%
HS Grad (262)	83%	15%	2%
Some College (191)	85%	12%	3%
College Grad (160)	88%	9%	3%
Post Grad (75)	84%	12%	4%
PARTY ID			
Democrat (235)	91%	5%	4%
Independent (270)	87%	12%	2%
Republican (210)	76%	21%	3%
AGE			
18-29 (160)	89%	11%	-
30-39 (155)	84%	14%	2%
40-49 (146)	83%	15%	1%
50-59 (105)	86%	10%	4%
60-69 (89)	84%	10%	6%
70+ (80)	76%	14%	11%

Support for Job Protections

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

Figure 3 Support for Job Protections by Political Ideology

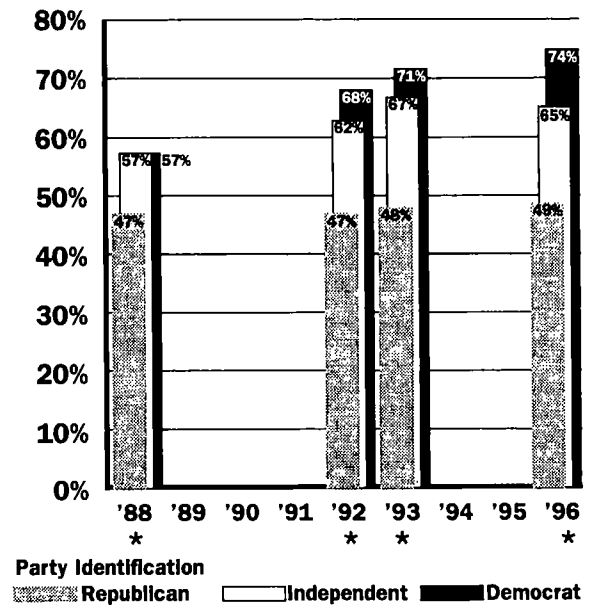


NES "Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS IN FAVOR OF JOB PROTECTIONS FOR HOMOSEXUALS BY CATEGORIES OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

* Differences are statistically significant based on Chi-square test at .05 level.

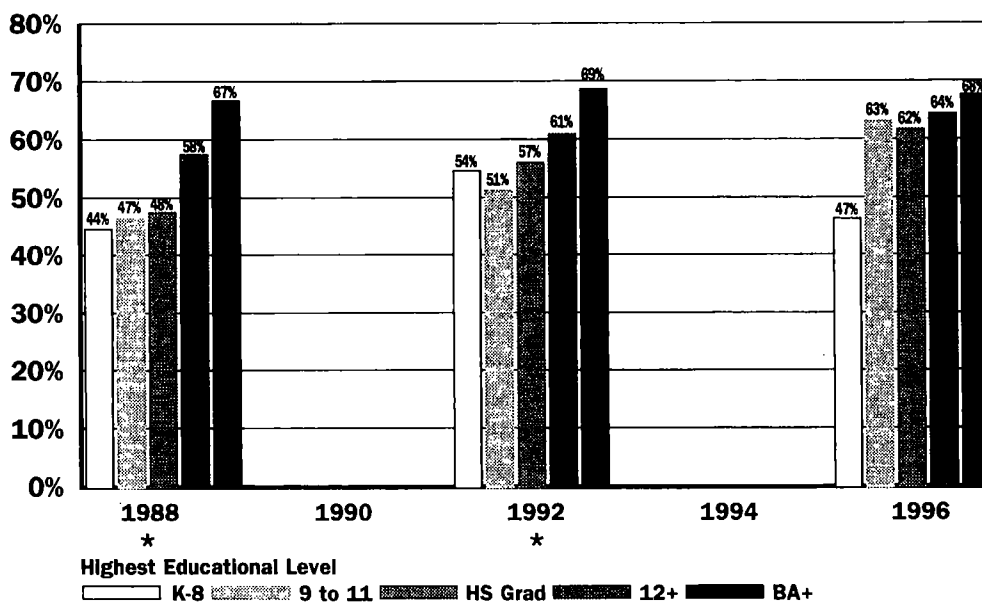
Figure 4 Support for Job Protections by Party ID



NES "Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS IN FAVOR OF JOB PROTECTIONS FOR HOMOSEXUALS BY CATEGORIES OF POLITICAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Figure 5 Support for Job Protection by Education



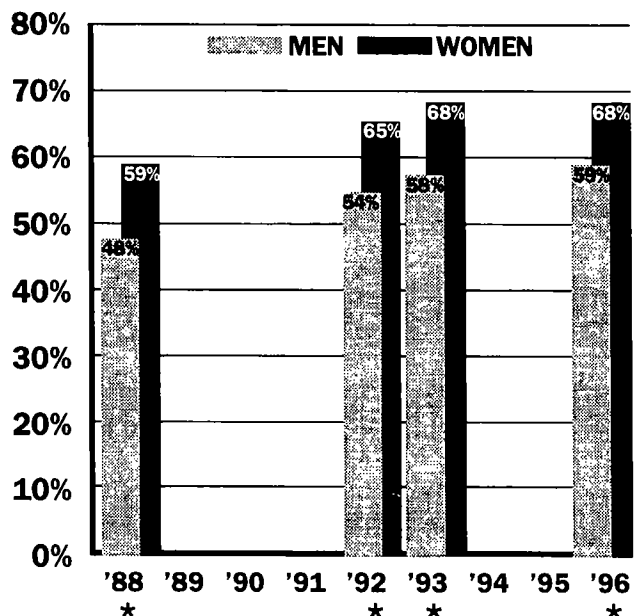
NES "Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT RESPONDENTS WHO FAVOR JOB PROTECTIONS BY CATEGORIES OF HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Support for Job Protections

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

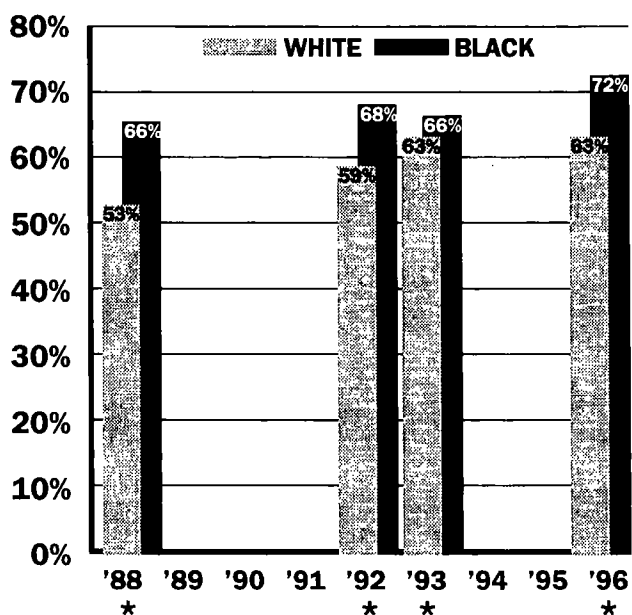
Figure 6 Support for Job Protections by Gender



NES "Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO FAVOR JOB PROTECTIONS BY CATEGORIES OF GENDER.

Figure 7 Support for Job Protections by Race

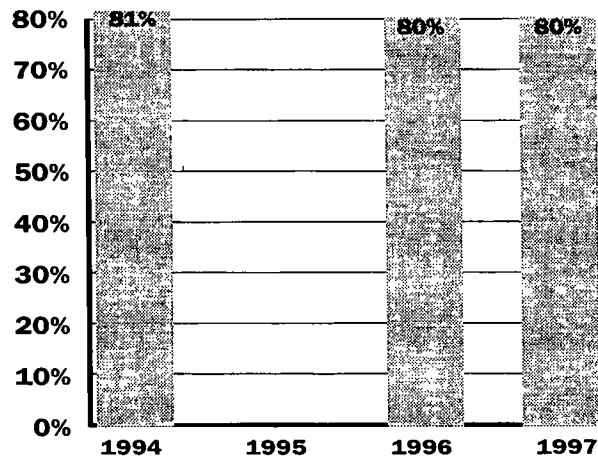


NES "Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO FAVOR JOB PROTECTIONS BY CATEGORIES OF RACE.

Support for Housing Rights

Figure 2 Support for Housing Rights for Gays



PSRA "Do you think there should or should not be . . . equal rights for gays in terms of housing?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS IN FAVOR

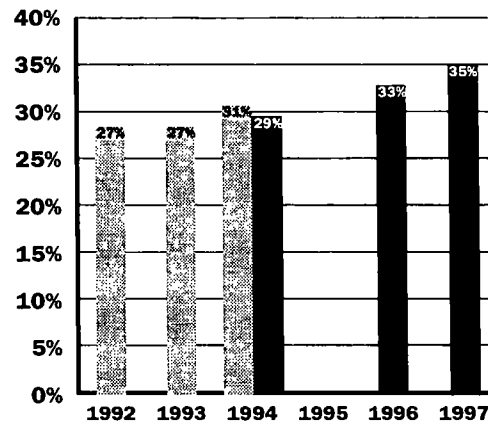
DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

PRINCETON RESEARCH SURVEY ASSOCIATES (June 1997)

MARGINALS	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
	80%	16%	4%
GENDER	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
Male (372)	75%	20%	4%
Female (381)	84%	13%	3%
RACE			
White (616)	79%	17%	4%
Black (71)	84%	15%	1%
EDUCATION			
LT 12 yrs (60)	78%	17%	5%
HS Grad (262)	75%	21%	4%
Some College (191)	83%	13%	4%
College Grad (160)	85%	13%	2%
Post Grad (75)	82%	16%	2%
PARTY ID			
Democrat (235)	87%	9%	3%
Independent (270)	80%	17%	3%
Republican (210)	71%	24%	6%
AGE			
18-29 (160)	85%	13%	2%
30-39 (155)	79%	15%	6%
40-49 (146)	80%	18%	2%
50-59 (105)	83%	15%	3%
60-69 (89)	83%	16%	1%
70+ (80)	62%	27%	10%

Support for Gay Marriage

Figure 13 Support for Gay Marriage



YANKELOVICH "Do you think marriages between homosexual men and between homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law?"

PSRA "Do you think there should or should not be ... equal rights for gays in terms of legally-sanctioned gay marriages?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ARE IN FAVOR OF GAY MARRIAGE

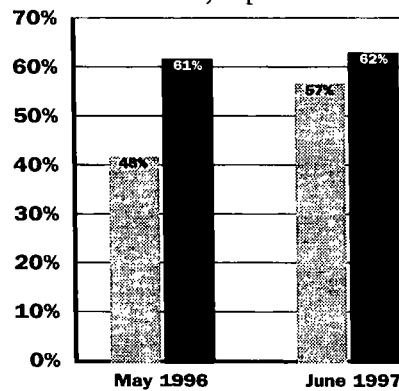
DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES (June 1997)

MARGINALS	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
	35%	56%	9%
GENDER	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
Male (372)	31%	63%	6%
Female (381)	39%	50%	11%
RACE			
White (616)	35%	57%	8%
Black (71)	36%	51%	13%
EDUCATION			
LT 12 yrs (60)	24%	56%	20%
HS Grad (262)	31%	63%	5%
Some College (191)	46%	46%	8%
College Grad (160)	40%	54%	6%
Post Grad (75)	31%	59%	10%
PARTY ID			
Democrat (235)	39%	50%	11%
Independent (270)	44%	50%	7%
Republican (210)	22%	74%	4%
AGE			
18-29 (160)	62%	33%	5%
30-39 (155)	46%	43%	12%
40-49 (146)	36%	60%	4%
50-59 (105)	18%	73%	9%
60-69 (89)	14%	79%	7%
70+ (80)	5%	77%	17%

Support for Benefits for Gay Spouses

Figure 14 Support for Benefits for Gay Spouses



PSRA-1 "Do you think there should or should not be... equal rights for gays in terms of Social Security benefits for gay spouses?"

PSRA-2 "Do you think there should or should not be... equal rights for gays in terms of inheritance rights for gay spouses?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ARE IN FAVOR OF BENEFITS FOR GAY SPOUSES.

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS, PSRA-1 (June 1997)

MARGINALS	Should	Should Not	DK
	57%	37%	6%

GENDER	Should	Should Not	DK
Male (372)	50%	45%	5%
Female (381)	63%	30%	6%

RACE	Should	Should Not	DK
White (616)	55%	39%	6%
Black (71)	71%	25%	4%

EDUCATION	Should	Should Not	DK
LT 12 yrs (60)	64%	24%	13%
HS Grad (262)	55%	40%	6%
Some College (191)	60%	36%	4%
College Grad (160)	53%	45%	2%
Post Grad (75)	51%	44%	5%

PARTY ID	Should	Should Not	DK
Democrat (235)	70%	25%	5%
Independent (270)	59%	34%	6%
Republican (210)	39%	57%	4%

AGE	Should	Should Not	DK
18-29 (160)	74%	23%	3%
30-39 (155)	56%	37%	6%
40-49 (146)	58%	40%	2%
50-59 (105)	42%	53%	4%
60-69 (89)	54%	41%	5%
70+ (70)	41%	39%	20%

INHERITANCE RIGHTS, PSRA-2 (June 1997)

MARGINALS	Should	Should Not	DK
	62%	30%	8%

GENDER	Should	Should Not	DK
Male(372)	55%	37%	9%
Female (381)	69%	24%	8%

RACE	Should	Should Not	DK
White (616)	61%	30%	9%
Black (71)	69%	28%	3%

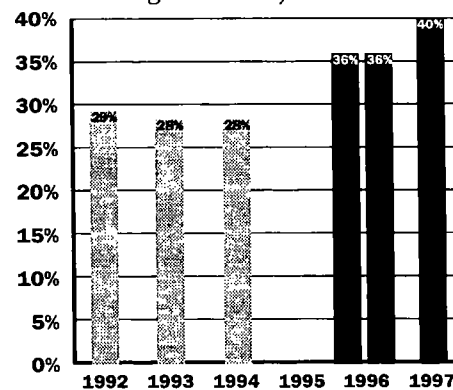
EDUCATION	Should	Should Not	DK
LT 12 yrs (60)	50%	26%	24%
HS Grad (262)	60%	33%	7%
Some College (191)	69%	27%	4%
College Grad (160)	65%	32%	3%
Post Grad (75)	67%	28%	5%

PARTY ID	Should	Should Not	DK
Democrat (235)	72%	21%	7%
Independent (270)	67%	26%	7%
Republican (210)	45%	45%	10%

AGE	Should	Should Not	DK
18-29 (160)	79%	18%	3%
30-39 (155)	61%	32%	7%
40-49 (146)	65%	31%	3%
50-59 (105)	60%	35%	5%
60-69 (89)	51%	35%	14%
70+ (80)	40%	38%	22%

Support for Benefits for Adoption Rights For Gays

Figure 15 Support for Adoption Rights for Gays



NES "Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?" (1994 from Yankelovich "Do you think that homosexual couples should be legally permitted to adopt children?")

PSRA "Do you think there should or should not be ... equal rights for gays in terms of adoption rights for gay spouses?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ARE IN FAVOR OF ADOPTION RIGHTS FOR GAYS

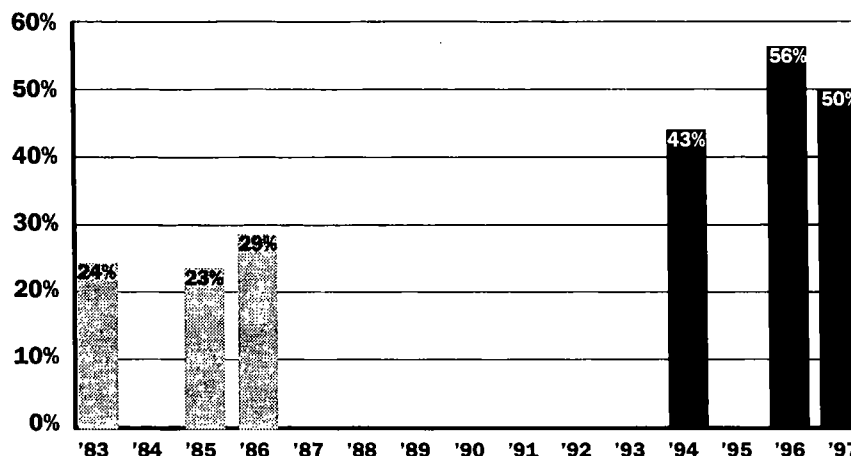
DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

PSRA (June 1997)

MARGINALS	Should 40%	Should Not 49%	Don't Know 11%
GENDER	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
Male (372)	34%	53%	12%
Female (381)	45%	45%	10%
RACE			
White (616)	39%	49%	11%
Black (71)	42%	48%	10%
EDUCATION			
LT 12 yrs (60)	29%	49%	22%
HS Grad (262)	34%	57%	9%
Some College (191)	50%	43%	7%
College Grad (160)	44%	47%	9%
Post Grad (75)	47%	41%	12%
PARTY ID			
Democrat (235)	49%	39%	13%
Independent (270)	45%	46%	9%
Republican (210)	27%	65%	8%
AGE			
18-29 (160)	53%	38%	9%
30-39 (155)	47%	43%	11%
40-49 (146)	50%	44%	6%
50-59 (105)	21%	65%	14%
60-69 (89)	28%	61%	11%
70+ (80)	18%	64%	18%

Have a Gay Friend or Acquaintance

Figure 18 Have Gay Friend or Acquaintance



GALLUP "Do you have any friends or acquaintances who are homosexual?"

PSRA "(Please tell me whether or not each of the following applies to you.) Do you ... have a friend or acquaintance who is gay?"

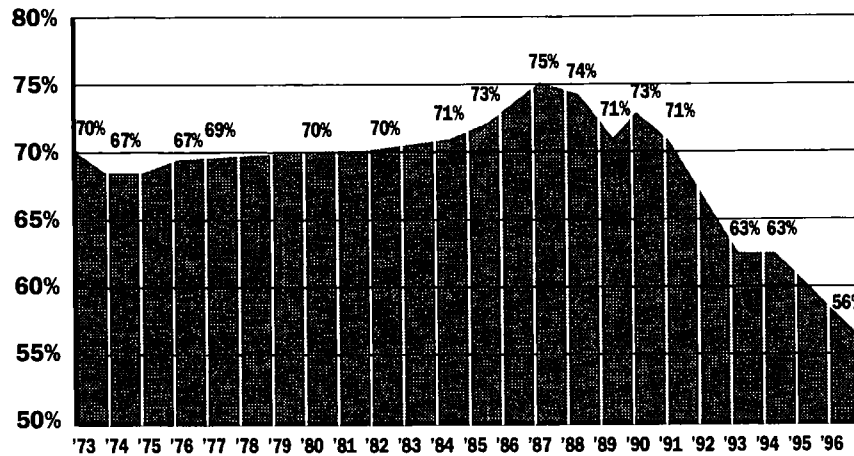
PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO KNOW FRIENDS OR ACQUAINTANCES THAT ARE GAY.

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN **PRINCETON RESEARCH SURVEY ASSOCIATES (June 1997)**

MARGINALS	Yes	No	Don't Know
	50%	47%	3%
GENDER	Yes	No	Don't Know
Male (372)	46%	50%	4%
Female (381)	54%	45%	1%
RACE			
White (616)	52%	46%	2%
Black (71)	41%	56%	3%
EDUCATION			
LT 12 yrs (60)	37%	55%	9%
HS Grad (262)	41%	58%	2%
Some College (191)	58%	41%	1%
College Grad (160)	62%	36%	1%
Post Grad (75)	75%	25%	0%
PARTY ID			
Democrat (235)	44%	55%	2%
Independent (270)	56%	43%	2%
Republican (210)	53%	43%	4%
AGE			
18-29 (160)	54%	46%	0%
30-39 (155)	59%	41%	0%
40-49 (146)	59%	39%	2%
50-59 (105)	40%	59%	1%
60-69 (89)	43%	48%	9%
70+ (80)	34%	60%	6%

Disapproval of Same-Sex Relations

Figure 21 Disapproval of Same-Sex Relations



NORC: "What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex—do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?"

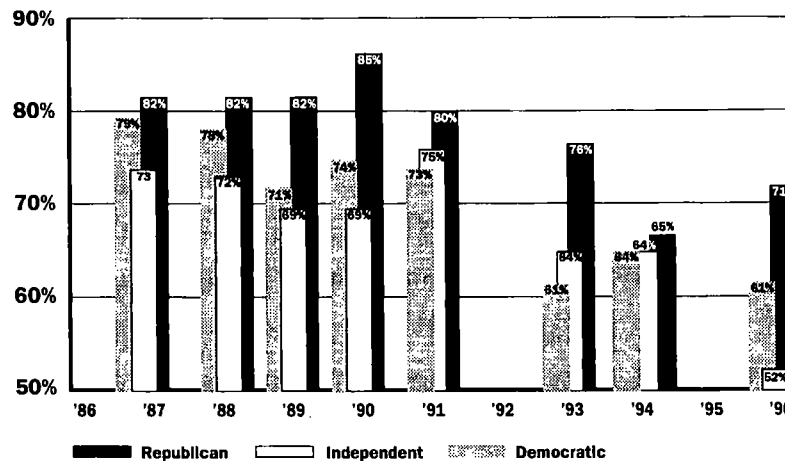
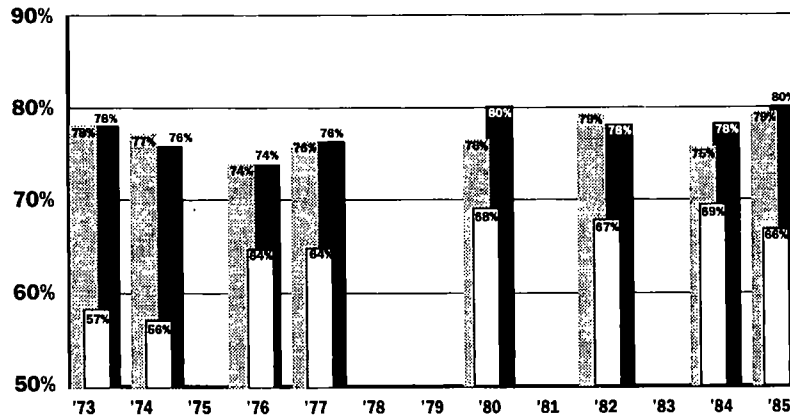
PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS CHOOSING "ALWAYS WRONG."

ADDENDUM: 55% Disapproval reported in 1998 from Hart & Teeter

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

By Party ID

Figure 22 Always Disapprove of Same-Sex Sexual Relations by Party ID

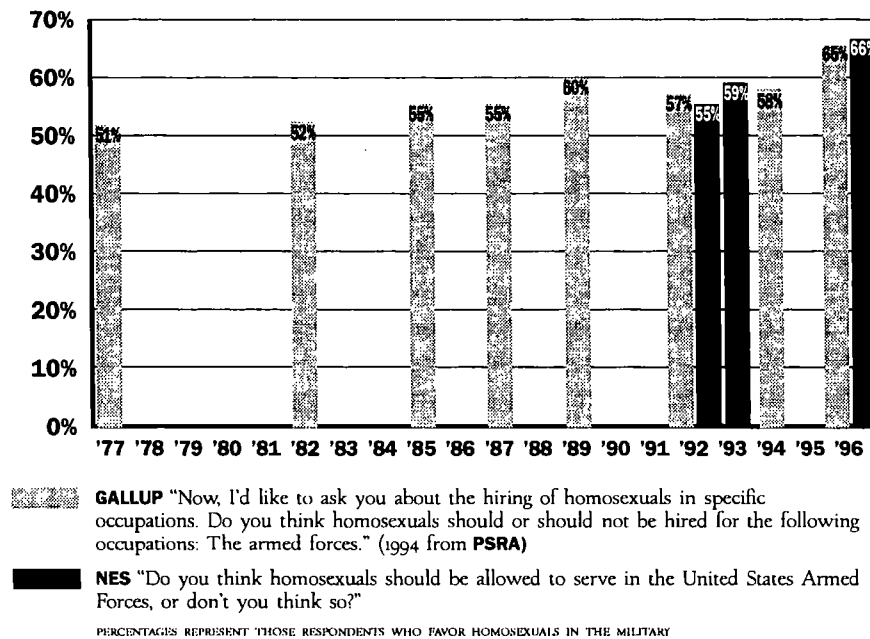


NORC: "What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex—do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?"

PERCENTAGES REPRESENT THOSE RESPONDENTS CHOOSING "ALWAYS WRONG" BY PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Support for Gays in the Military

Figure 10 Support for Gays in the Military



DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

Figure 11 Support for Gays in the Military by Political Ideology

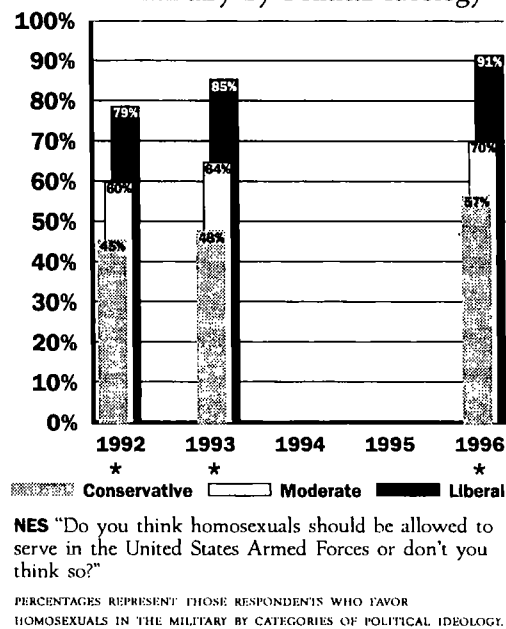
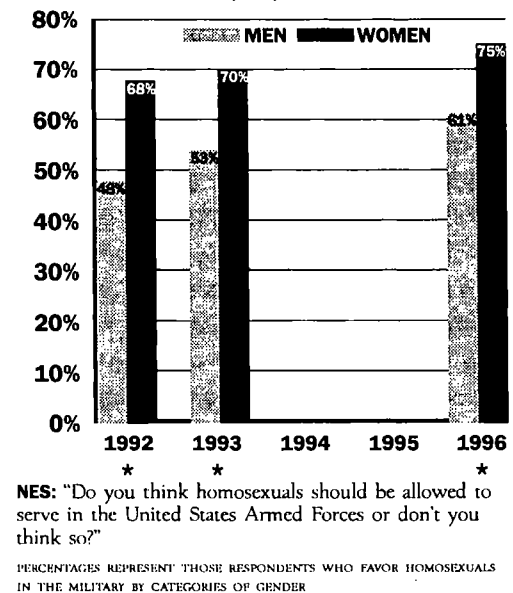


Figure 12 Support for Gays in the Military by Gender



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**The National Gay and
Lesbian Task Force**

11th Annual
**Creating
Change
'98**

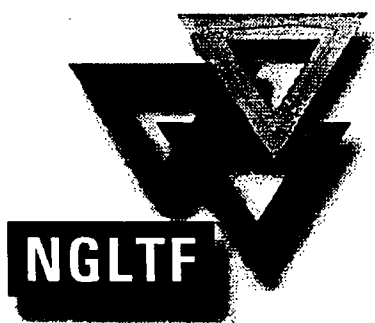


November 11 to 15 98

Westin William Penn Hotel

Pittsburgh

**The National
Conference
for the
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LESBIAN
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and
TRANSGENDER
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NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE

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<http://www.naltf.org>

PRESS RELEASE

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bgressler@naltf.org

MAJORITY OF AMERICANS SUPPORT GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS;

TASK FORCE RELEASES GROUNDBREAKING PUBLIC OPINION REPORT

**"In its opposition to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and
transgender equality, it is the right wing that is out of
step with mainstream America."**

Kerry Lobel, NGLTF executive director

WASHINGTON, DC---May 29, 1998 ---A growing majority of Americans support gay and lesbian equality, according to a new report released by the National Gay and Lesbian Task (NGLTF) Policy Institute. *From Wrongs to Rights: Public Opinion of Gay and Lesbian Americans Moves Toward Equality* is the most comprehensive analysis of trends in public opinion about gay men and lesbians during the past twenty years. The report demonstrates overwhelming support for non-discrimination in housing and employment, as well as spousal benefits for same-sex couples. It also shows increasing support on issues such as same-sex marriage and adoption.

"In its opposition to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender equality, it is the right wing that is out of step with mainstream America," stated Kerry Lobel, NGLTF executive director. "This report empirically and objectively proves that while the voice of the anti-gay right wing may be loud in its opposition to equal rights, its claim to majority public opinion is unjustified."

Among other facts, *From Wrongs to Rights* shows that strong majorities of Americans now support equality in employment (84 percent); housing (81 percent); inheritance rights (62 percent) and social security benefits (57 percent) for same-sex couples; and gays in the military (66 percent). In addition, disapproval of same-sex relationships dropped a substantial 19 points from a peak of 75 percent in 1987 to 56 percent in 1996. The report also shows the percentage of people opposed to same-sex marriage (and those opposed to adoption by gay and lesbian couples) to be declining.

- more -

"These findings confirm that three decades of struggle for gay and lesbian equality has succeeded in winning greater understanding and significant change in public attitudes," said Urvashi Vaid, NGLTF Policy Institute director. "This report proves that over time and in dramatic fashion, the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender movement is winning the battle of public opinion on civil rights issues. Our effort to reach the hearts and minds of the American people by being open and honest about our lives holds the key to our success," added Vaid.

From Wrongs to Rights also demonstrates the paradoxical nature of public support, showing that despite the significant gains in positive attitudes regarding legal equality, gay men and lesbians remain unpopular. Despite the persistence of anti-gay sentiment, however, the report shows that the public's censure of gay and lesbian relations is declining over time.

"In this report, the continuing paradox of the gay and lesbian experience is laid out before us. Our gains in some ways have been as great as the resistance we still face," said Vaid. "The dislike and disapproval we continue to face should serve as a call to all supporters of gay equality to redouble our efforts to educate mainstream America about lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people's experiences and lives."

From Wrongs to Rights is published by the Policy Institute of NGLTF and authored by Alan Yang, doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science at Columbia University. An introduction is provided by Dr. Kenneth Sherrill, Chairman of the Political Science Department at Hunter College, City University of New York. The report examines public opinion polls over the last two decades that measured attitudes toward gay and lesbian people and equal rights issues. The author reviewed only the most credible polls: those that measured opinion among systematically selected and representative samples of the U.S. adult population as a whole.

For a copy of the report or to schedule an interview with Urvashi Vaid and Alan Yang, contact Betsy Gressler, deputy political director, at (202) 332-6483 ext. 3306 or by pager at (800) 757-6476. The report is also available from NGLTF's web site at <http://www.nglhf.org/downloads/yang.html>.

-30-

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force has worked to eliminate prejudice, violence and injustice against gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered people at the local, state and national level since its inception in 1973. As part of a broader social justice movement for freedom, justice and equality, NGLTF is creating a world that respects and celebrates the diversity of human expression and identity where all people may fully participate in society.

FROM WRONGS TO RIGHTS
SUMMARY ANALYSIS AND HIGHLIGHTS
By Urvashi Vaid, NGLTF Policy Institute Director

At the dawn of a new millennium, public opinion in America is moving strongly toward support for equal rights for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) persons. A new comprehensive assessment of public opinion polling data released by the Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) illustrates the success of efforts to achieve civil equality in employment, housing, military service, access to benefits, and equal protection of relationships and GLBT families. The post-Stonewall strategies of coming out, public education, steady lobbying, direct action, and campaigns for legal equality have successfully shifted public opinion toward support for equal rights.

The trends documented in *From Wrongs to Rights: Public Opinion on Gays and Lesbians Moves Toward Equality* show that significant majorities support fair treatment of gay and lesbian workers and equal rights in many other arenas. The report also shows the paradox of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender life in America: strong support accompanies continuing disapproval.

Yet, even here, research of systematically-collected public opinion polls reveals that the public's censure of gay and lesbian sexual relations has dropped drastically over time. The public's feelings toward gay men and lesbians has moved in a significantly positive direction during the last twenty years. However, when compared to other social groups, gay men and lesbians are still one of the most disliked groups in the nation.

Not only has our work paid off, but, in fact, even when we lose, we win. That is the message of *From Wrongs to Rights*. Whether it be the repeal of Maine's state civil rights law in February 1998, the backlash in state legislatures against the specter of same-sex marriage, or the continuing witch-hunts against gays in the military, the outcome of these battles cannot be assessed purely from the votes for or the vitriol against. The very engagement of debate about GLBT people's lives has contributed to a positive shift in public opinion over the past two decades. This progress despite policy setbacks is best illustrated in the gays in the military debate. Despite a ban on open service by gay men and lesbians, 66 percent of the American public supports the inclusion of gays in the military.

This effect is also evident in the same-sex marriage debate. While most Americans still oppose same-sex marriage, opposition is declining. Just as important, a majority of Americans now support some spousal benefits for same-sex couples, such as social security and insurance benefits. The public discourse marriage has generated has contributed to the greater visibility of gay and lesbian relationships and families. As GLBT parents become known, they become better understood. Again, public opinion polls taken over time suggest that while a plurality of Americans still oppose adoption by

same-sex couples, this opposition may also erode over time, as it has in the past two years.

From Wrongs to Rights also helps explain the extreme vehemence and tenacity of the opposition to equality and fairness for GLBT people. Anti-gay forces are increasingly in the minority of public sentiment on issues of non-discrimination. Those that make up this dwindling group are therefore likely to be a more concentrated collective of people who are ardently anti-gay and therefore more vocal and focused in their abhorrence of GLBT people.

The analysis in *From Wrongs to Rights* underscores that political ideology and party affiliation are connected to attitudes and levels of tolerance toward gay and lesbian people. A significant debate currently exists within the Republican Party over its position on social issues - gay rights are often a marker that arouses the wrath of social conservatives. Yet, most Americans, on average, support equal treatment for gay and lesbian people. Should the right wing in the Republican Party win this battle and a Republican presidential candidate strongly and actively oppose basic equality for and civility toward GLBT people, the party runs a good chance of alienating a large number of voters. Indeed, the data analyzed in this report suggest that in their blanket opposition to all forms of equality for lesbians and gay men, it is the anti-gay right wing that is out of step with mainstream American sentiment on this issue.

All of us who have suffered the devastating passage of an anti-gay ballot measure, discrimination on the job, or violence in the streets can take heart from the evidence analyzed by Alan Yang in this report. Our suffering has not been for naught, and our hard work is paying off.

But, *From Wrongs to Rights* serves as an important reminder that our work does not end with the passage of laws. Equality does not equal understanding or social acceptance. To continue the momentum documented in this study, the GLBT movement must continue to educate and speak directly to America, and continue to take heart in the basic goodness and decency of the American people.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS REPORT

LIBERALIZATION OF OPINION

A growing and clear majority of the American public supports lesbian and gay equal rights in employment, housing, and other areas. In fact, trends in public opinion toward lesbian and gay equality have liberalized on nearly every major issue over time – from equality in employment, to housing, to disapproval of homosexual practices. While majorities or pluralities of the American public (56% in 1997) still disapprove of homosexuality, the trend over time has been dramatically toward tolerance (a 19% drop in disapproval since 1987).

MAINSTREAM AMERICA: AN ALLY. NOT A FOE

With the erosion of negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people, a cornerstone of the opposition to gay and lesbian equal rights is clearly on the wane. Indeed, in 1996 and 1997 half of all Americans reported they knew someone who was gay or lesbian

EMPLOYMENT

Support for employment non-discrimination extends to many specific professions such as teachers, doctors, and clergy. In fact, most Americans now believe that sexual orientation should not be a barrier to holding elected office. Support for equality in employment is widespread at all educational levels, suggesting that support is not limited to a narrow, highly educated elite.

Overwhelming majorities have long supported the hiring of lesbians and gay men in occupations such as salesperson (from 68% to 90% between 1997 and 1996), but public support for lesbian and gay teachers, doctors, and clergy was a minority opinion twenty years ago. Now, however, the majority of Americans oppose the exclusion of teachers at all educational levels, based solely on their lesbian or gay status – a marked and traceable change from years past. Support for hiring gay and lesbian elementary school teachers doubled between 1977 and 1996 to 55 percent. A majority now clearly supports the hiring of gay men and lesbians as high school and college teachers.

In addition, gay clergy and doctors also now have the support of the majority of Americans. And, most Americans now believe that being lesbian or gay should not disqualify someone from being President (53%) or from being a Cabinet member (72%).

MORALITY

While there is increasing support for certain civil rights for gay and lesbian people, a slight majority of Americans still believe "homosexual relations between consenting adults" are "morally wrong" (52% in 1997). The moral approval and disapproval of homosexuality has hovered at or near this level for two decades.

GAYS IN THE MILITARY

There is strong evidence that the public has all along been supportive of allowing lesbians and gay men to serve in the armed forces. This support increased substantially (to 66%) between 1992 and 1996, such that a majority of self-identified conservatives now support inclusion of gays and lesbians in the military.

FAMILY ISSUES

Americans support extending benefits associated with marriage, but back down when it comes to marriage itself. The majority of Americans support inheritance rights and Social Security benefits for same-sex couples, yet most (65%) oppose the right to legally marry (though even this resistance is slowly waning).

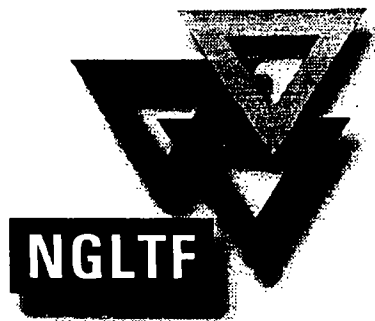
Opposition to permitting same-sex couples to adopt is prevalent but eroding. Polling data for the period 1992 – 1994 showed opposition to adoption by same-gender couples in the two-thirds range. Data from 1996 – 1997 shows this opposition dropping to 49 percent. Differences in political ideology appear to be the most important factor by far when it comes to public support for adoption rights, with liberals more than three times as supportive as conservatives on the issue and twice as supportive as moderates.

SODOMY LAWS

The American public supports privacy, and public opinion evidence lends support to the effort to further decriminalize private, adult, consensual same-sex sexual activity. In the mid-1980s over half (53%) of the American people believed that "homosexual relations between consenting adults in the privacy of their own homes" should be legal. That number is now closer to 70 percent.

DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES

Political ideology has become more significant when measuring opinion on employment and housing rights, while educational differences seem to be increasingly insignificant. Between 1988 and 1996, education's effect on support for employment nondiscrimination declined, with those not completing high school nearly as likely to support equality in employment as college graduates (63 percent v. 68%).



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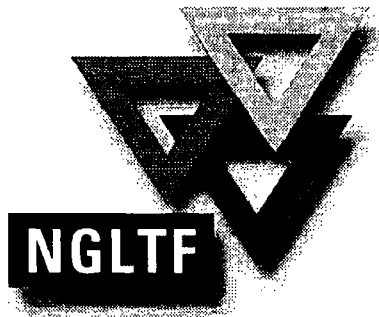
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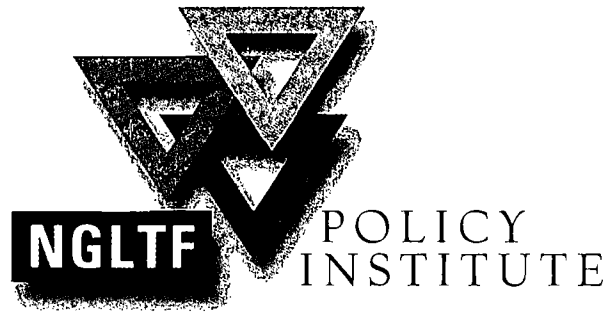
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by Alan S. Yang

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Introduction

by Dr. Kenneth Sherrill

CHAIR, POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT
HUNTER COLLEGE, CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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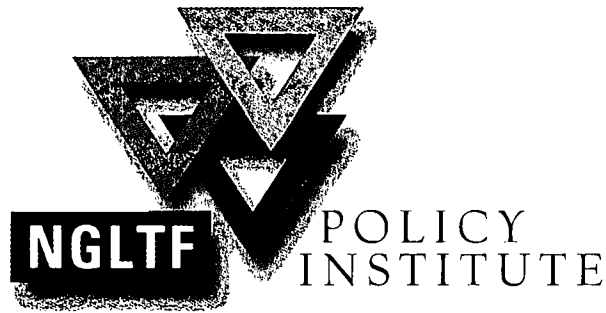
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Servicemembers Legal Defense Network

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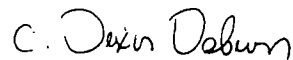
February 23, 1998

Rob Weiner
Senior Counsel
Office of the General Counsel
Old Executive Office Building, Room 128
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Rob:

Enclosed, please find a copy of SLDN's Fourth Annual Report on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue." I have enclosed three of the exhibits for your review. Please let me know if you would like a full set of the exhibits (approximately 150 pages). Also enclosed are the article that appeared in *The Washington Post* regarding the report and an editorial that appeared today in *The Chicago Tribune*.

Sincerely,



C. Dixon Osburn
Co-Executive Director

The Washington Post

R FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1998 A7

Military Criticized on Gay Policy

Associated Press

Four years after the Clinton administration introduced its "don't ask, don't tell" policy for homosexuals in the military, harassment of gays is again on the rise in the armed services, according to a group that advocates gay rights.

"Commanders asked, commanders pursued, commanders harassed," said C. Dixon Osburn, an executive director of the Service members Legal Defense Network.

In its annual report, the group said service members reported 563 "command violations" to it last year, including instances where service members said they were asked about their sexual orientation or harassed in direct violation of the administra-

tion's policy, which sets limits on such investigations.

The number was up from 443 violations reported in 1996, the Washington-based group said.

"Lack of leadership, lack of training, lack of accountability. All are to blame for the military's persistent failure to abide by its own laws," said Michelle Benecke, a former Army captain and co-director of the legal aid group. "A pervasive, hostile atmosphere has been allowed to flourish."

Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon declined to comment on the report yesterday, saying he had not had a chance to study it. He said the Defense Department is preparing its own report about implementation of the policy.

Chicago Tribune

Monday, February 23, 1998

The reality of 'don't ask, don't tell'

The Clinton administration's "don't ask, don't tell" policy on gays in the military has been in effect for four years now, but the Pentagon is still having trouble making the theory behind it match the reality of how it is implemented by commanders in the field. Last month, a federal judge excoriated the Navy for its attempt to get rid of a sailor accused of homosexuality. Last week, a gay rights group charged the services with consistently violating the policy.

"Don't ask, don't tell" was a compromise between the old policy of strictly forbidding homosexuals in the ranks and the alternative of letting gays serve openly. It says, in sum, that military personnel who are gay have an obligation not to take actions or make statements that make their sexual orientation obvious. In return, their commanders are forbidden from inquiring into such matters unless a soldier or sailor has effectively come out of the closet.

But the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network says the number of "command violations" of the policy rose by 27 percent last year. Officers have continued to snoop into these private areas, and incidents of anti-gay harassment have increased. The group also says that discharges for homosexuality are on the rise—the opposite of what was expected from

"don't ask, don't tell."

Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon declined to comment on the report until he had read it. But the SLDN has been doing these reports for four years now. Last year, Secretary Cohen ordered an investigation into the matter—but it has yet to be completed. Maybe the Defense Department is striving to find the truth and address lapses, but its leisurely pace does not inspire confidence.

Neither does the case of Navy Senior Chief Petty Officer Timothy McVeigh, who became a target after e-mailing the wife of a colleague. The woman, not recognizing the screen name, looked up his America Online profile, which listed "boy watching" as a hobby. Given that information, a Navy investigator called AOL and got his full name. A federal judge, however, accused the Navy of conducting a "search and destroy" mission against McVeigh and barred it from discharging him. An anonymous AOL posting, the judge recognized, hardly constituted the public declaration of homosexuality that "don't ask, don't tell" forbids.

The SLDN report suggests this was no isolated lapse. The Defense Department needs to show otherwise—or else get serious about enforcing a policy that so far looks more like rhetoric than reality.



**COMMAND VIOLATIONS
“DON’T ASK, DON’T TELL, DON’T PURSUE”
FISCAL YEARS 1995-1997**

Violations/Year	1995	1996	1997	TOTAL
Don’t Ask	77	89	124	290
Don’t Tell	18	31	22	71
Don’t Pursue	141	191	235	567
Don’t Harass	127	132	182	441
TOTAL	363	443	563	1369

Source: Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, © 1998

HOMOSEXUAL / BISEXUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

DATE:

TIME:

1. Do you engage in homosexual/bisexual activity?

If so when was the last time?

If so with whom?

If so is he/she in the military?

2. have you attempted to engage in homosexual/bisexual acts?

If so, when?

If so with whom?

If so, is he/she in the military?

3. Do you have a propensity to engage in homosexual/bisexual acts?

If so, when?

If so, with whom?

If so, is he/she in the military?

4. Do you intend to engage in homosexual/bisexual acts?

If so, when?

If so, with whom?

If so, is he she in the military?

5. Are you engaged in a homosexual/bisexual marriage?

If so, when did you?

If so, with whom?

If so, is he/she in the military?

Continued Statement of

Q: Have you in the past engaged in homosexual behavior?

A:

Q: Prior to joining the Navy?

A:

Q: What type of behavior?

A:

Q: Are you having a homosexual relationship currently?

A:

Q: Is your partner in the military?

A:

Q: Are you monogamous?

A:

Q: Who is your current partner?

A:

Q: Have you had intercourse with _____?

A:

Q: When was the last time you had sex with _____?

A:

Q: Have you ever had any homosexual relations with _____?

A:

Q: Did you know that _____ was a homosexual?

A:

Q: Does _____ live in _____?

A:

Q: Does he live in _____ proper?

A:

Q: What is his address?

A:

Q: Have you had intercourse with anyone else since you've been in the Navy?

A:

Q: Were they in the military?

A:

Q: Do you remember their names?

A:

Q: What is his address?

A:

Q: Did you have anal intercourse and or oral intercourse with Mr _____ that included penetration?

A:

Q: That was penis to mouth and penis to anus?

A:

Q: Do you intend on engaging in a homosexual marriage?

A:

Q: If you are not discharged from the military will you be involved in Homosexual relationships?

A:

Q: Are you currently involved in a homosexual relationship with anyone in the Navy or military?

A:

CONTINUED STATEMENT OF:

Q: Are you having a fling with anyone

A:

Q: Have you propositioned anyone to engage in or have a homosexual relationship with you who is in the military

A:

Q: So no one in the military is involved with you?

A:

Q: Is there anything else you would like to add?

A:

Q: Who said these things?

A:

Q: Is there anything else you would like to add?

A: ////////////////////////////////////END OF STATEMENT////////////////////////////////////

This statement consists of three pages, typed by Investigator as we discussed its contents. I have reviewed this statement and have made the appropriate corrections. It is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of MAY 1997,
at 1332 hours aboard USS

USN
Command Investigator