

# FOIA MARKER

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|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| Folder Title:<br>Gays in the Military, March 1993 [1]   |               |             |                |             |
| Staff Office-Individual:<br>Defense Policy-Bell, Robert |               |             |                |             |
| Original OA/ID Number:<br>739                           |               |             |                |             |
| Row:<br>31                                              | Section:<br>3 | Shelf:<br>9 | Position:<br>3 | Stack:<br>V |

UNCLASSIFIED  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9300246  
RECEIVED: 02 FEB 93 17

TO: LA ROCQUE, GENE R

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 16 FEB 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NAVY

MP

PERSONS: COY, BETH F

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO RADM LA ROCQUE LTR RE HOMOSEXUALS IN MILITARY

ACTION: LAKE SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 05 FEB 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BELL

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

~~BELL~~  
HAHN  
HALL  
NSC CHRON  
PROCTOR

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY

*CLH*

DATE

*2/20*

BY HAND

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OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY: NSCLG

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 19, 1993

Dear Gene:

Thank you very much for forwarding a copy of Commander Coye's letter to Secretary Aspin supporting President Clinton's effort to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military. Her well-argued views were very helpful, and I appreciate your taking the trouble to send them along.

I enclose a copy of the President's statement on the issue, although I assume you already have one."

Best,



Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

Rear Admiral Gene R. La Rocque, U.S. Navy (Ret.)  
Director  
Center for Defense Information  
1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Enclosure  
White House Press Statement

TAB A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

For Immediate Release:

January 29, 1993

**STATEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE POLICY REGARDING HOMOSEXUALS  
IN THE MILITARY**

The President has directed the Secretary of Defense to conduct a review of the current Department of Defense policy that excludes homosexuals from military service and prepare a draft executive order based upon that review by July 15, 1993

Current Department of Defense personnel policies related to this issue will remain in effect at least through July 15, 1993 while the Department of Defense is conducting the review directed by the President, subject to the following guidance:

First, questions regarding sexual orientation will be removed from future versions of the induction application, and will not be asked in the interim. The briefings on military justice which all recruits are required to receive upon entry to military service and periodically thereafter under Article 137 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice will include a detailed explanation of the applicable laws and regulations governing sexual conduct by members of the armed services.

Second, the Department of Justice is seeking continuances in pending court-cases involving former service members who have been discharged on the basis of homosexuality and who are seeking reinstatement into military service. The continuances would freeze those cases pending the completion of the review directed by the President.

Third, commanding officers will continue to process cases under the current cases and regulations related to homosexuality.

\* Cases involving homosexual conduct will be processed through actual separation and discharge in accordance with current policy.

\* When a case involves only homosexual status and the person involved requests a discharge, the person will be released from active duty.

(MORE)

\* Cases involving acknowledged homosexual status being contested by the individual will be processed through all applicable stages, including notice of the basis for separation, hearing before a board of officers, review of the board's recommendations by the separation authority, and action by the separation authority to discharge the person. If directed by the Attorney General, the final discharge in the cases based only on status will be suspended until the President acts on the recommendations of the Secretary of Defense with respect to current policy. A member whose discharge has been suspended by the Attorney General will be separated from active duty and placed in the standby reserve. Individuals in the standby reserve would have the option to return, upon request, to active duty should the current policy be changed. Those personnel whose cases have not been suspended will be discharged.

\* Commanding officers may, in the interests of the individual of the unit concerned, direct changes in the assignment of personnel during the course of separation proceedings.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON D.C. 20506

0246

February 16, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *Rb*

FROM: KEITH HAHN *KH*

SUBJECT: Letter from RADM Gene La Rocque RE: Homosexuals in the Military

At Tab II RADM Gene La Rocque, Director of the Center for Defense Information, has forwarded a copy of a letter to Secretary Aspin from a retired U.S. Navy female Commander who supports President Clinton's effort to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military.

At Tab I is a response to RADM La Rocque thanking him for forwarding this correspondence and noting the steps the President has taken to end discrimination in the military based on sexual preference.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to RADM La Rocque at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter for Signature  
Tab A White House Press Statement  
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen  
**SIGNED**



# CDI

Center for Defense Information

More Security for Less Money

0246

*Handwritten signature/initials*

27 January 1993

Mr. Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President  
For National Security Affairs  
National Security Council  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Tony,

I think you will be interested in the attached letter from a highly qualified professional U.S. Navy female Commander, retired, who would like to support President Clinton's intention to lift the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. She could make a positive contribution to achieve the goals you and the President wish to achieve. I hope you will have someone consider her recommendations.

Also enclosed is a copy of an Op-Ed piece by my Associate Director, Captain James T. Bush, USN (Ret.).

Sincerely,

*Handwritten signature of Gene R. La Rocque*

Gene R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

Enclosure  
GRL:elh

P.S. Commander Coye has been a member of the Military Advisory Council of the Center for Defense Information for many years. I know her well.

Gene R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

Eugene J. Carroll, Jr.  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Director

James A. Donovan  
Colonel, USMC (Ret.)  
Associate Director

James T. Bush  
Captain, USN (Ret.)  
Associate Director



# CDI

Center for Defense Information

*More Security for Less Money*

28 January 1993

Commander Beth F. Coye  
U.S. Navy (Ret.)  
338 Scenic Drive  
Ashland, OR 97520

COPY

Dear Commander,

Thank you for your very thoughtful and comprehensive analysis on "Gays and Lesbians in the Military." My reservation on lifting the ban on gays and lesbians entering the service only involves the manner in which it is done. It is my belief, in fact I am firmly convinced, that gays and lesbians have and will continue to make positive contributions to the maintenance of a strong military posture.

Gays and lesbians will do well in the service, but I fear that reservations will arise from the "straights" who will need some educating in order to insure a more agreeable acceptance of the gays and lesbians.

I accept completely the right of gays to serve in the military and have been urging that their acceptance in the services be phased in in some manner. As you know from the GAO study the Army has been the most willing to accept gays and lesbians. It may be appropriate to lift the ban in the Army for a period of 6 months to a year followed by a lifting of the ban by the Air Force and the Marine Corps. I suppose this gradual approach would create other problems but it is one system that could be also used in varying ways to expand the role of women in the military and in combat positions.

Your rational suggestions deserve serious consideration here in Washington. I have taken the liberty of sending a copy of your letter to Tony Lake, the new assistant to President Clinton for national security. I felt you would not object to this since you already sent it to Les Aspin. I am also enclosing Captain Bush's recent Op-Ed article in the New York Times.

Sincerely,

Gen R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

*Copy of my  
letter to T. Lake*

Enclosure  
GRL:elh

Gene R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

Eugene J. Carroll, Jr.  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Director

James A. Donovan  
Colonel, USMC (Ret.)  
Associate Director

James T. Bush  
Captain, USN (Ret.)  
Associate Director

Beth J. Coyle  
338 Scenic Drive  
Ashland, Oregon 97520

*Handwritten note:*  
I know you  
have some questions  
about getting to the  
in my mind, it's true  
was some time ago  
Beth

19 January 1993

Secretary of Defense-designate Les Aspin  
Department of Defense  
The Pentagon  
Washington, D. C. 20301

Dear Secretary Aspin:

Firstly, my congratulations to you on your new, exciting assignment! I've followed your career and your views for many years, and was pleased to hear of your nomination as Secretary of Defense.

I know you're in a hectic period of settling in, especially with the Iraqi situation stirring again. Yet I also know that soon you'll be getting to the issue of homosexuals in the military.

My purposes are (1) to forward some thoughts on the question of military gays and (2) to ask that you, or appropriate personnel officials consider me for a short term tour with the Presidential Study Group/Task Force on Military Gays.

This past week I spoke on the issue at the Medford, Oregon Rotary Club. Approximately 170 persons, most of whom were men who had served in the military, attended. Because I stressed policy/political science concepts, the talk -- on this highly controversial subject -- was heard and well received. I believe that the nature of the subject demands that emotions are diffused as much as possible.

**Following are some ideas from the speech, which might be helpful to you:**

A. The most probable policy alternatives re military gays:

1. Leave as is. Keep the executive ban and UCMJ laws.
2. Lift the executive ban. Enforce the laws re homosexual acts as illegal.
3. Lift the executive order, keep the laws on the books, but don't enforce the laws.
4. Lift the executive order and change the laws.

The difficulties in this next stage of policy-making will be to reach consensus on the above alternatives. Military leaders support policy #1 and Gay/Lesbian advocates support policy #4. We need to come to some resolution in a timely manner.

B. Some thoughts about this particular policy decision:

1. There is a decided difference re "the vision thing" between (1) the President and his institutional presidency, and (2) the affected group involved (military). President Clinton has what Thomas Sowell (Conflict of Visions, 1987) calls "an unconstrained vision" wherein man is capable of foreseeing and controlling the social consequences of his decisions...the demands for the less fortunate are not merely charity but justice Rights over interests. Man is essentially good (Rousseau, William Godwin, et al) In general, the military has the constrained vision of man. It is the role of institutions to control man's evil ways (Hobbes, et al).....it will be the job of the new DOD secretary to resolve the differences of opinion and differences of philosophical assumptions re gays in the military.

2. A major factor will be the development of Clinton's leadership style. Will he be willing to face down strong opposition from the powerful interest groups ( for example the military)? Will he waffle? Will he support studying the subject to death? Or will he go with RADM Grace Hopper's (celebrated computer expert) approach? "It's easier to apologize for going ahead with a good idea, than to get permission to do the job." (Hopper) He's not going to get "permission" from military seniors to go beyond lifting the executive order. Will he maintain his unconstrained vision, lift the executive ban and try for consensus re the laws and regulations?

3. Policy makers tend to react and wait, hoping the situation will clear. "Delay is preferable to error." Thomas Jefferson

4. "Any great change must expect opposition, because it strikes at the very foundation of privilege." Lucetia Mott, Quaker and activist

5. We are in transition, with a a major paradigm, or pattern shift. Old institutions are being forced to adopt and adapt (or die)

6. At this moment no one can predict which actors' views will hold more weight than others. Politics is the art of compromise.

7. Clinton will likely take the advice of William James: "Steer safely between the opposite dangers of believing too little or of believing too much"....therefore a moderate, incremental policy course will develop....with in-depth hearings and probably a presidential Commission.

The above points reflect the tone of my speech and thoughts. It seems to me that this same tone might serve you well as you mediate between the extremes on this issue.

COYE - page three

By the way, I took a straw vote on the gay military ban before I spoke with Rotary Club members and was pleasantly surprised: almost half supported lifting the ban. And Medford is a politically conservative city.

I note from an LA TIMES editorial ( 11 January 93, enclosed), that the Administration is considering sending down a "memorandum of instruction" on the subject. This sounds like an incremental yet firm step (a William James position, as discussed above). I support this action, if not an executive order. As you so well stated at your confirmation hearing, the "gathering storm" must be dealt with forthrightly.

Enclosed also is a copy of an Op-ed I wrote that was published in the Medford MAIL TRIBUNE 10 January 1993. Therein I offer specific guidelines for developing a plan to officially open the military to gays and lesbians.

I feel strongly about this policy and might like to serve on a Military Gays' Study Group or Commission that might be forthcoming. While on active duty I served on at least three separate, major Study Groups: NATO's Brosio Study "Comparison of Warsaw Pact and NATO Maritime Strategies and Capabilities" (one year) the VADM Bayne Naval Officer Professional Development Study (six months) and SecNav's Study to Unisex the Laws (one month). I'm a writer, editor and researcher -- I know that commissions and study groups need these skills. Enclosed is my resume. I recommend that the selected members be more balanced politically and more in tune with new paradigms than those who served on the recent presidential Commission on Military Women.

I wish you and the Administration all the best as you begin a new adventure. In some ways the adventure reminds me of JFK's presidential beginnings. I wrote my Masters' thesis on JFK and his national security policies --- heaven knows we need the spirit and charisma of JFK and his presidency.

Sincerely yours,

  
Beth F. Coye  
Commander, U.S. Navy (ret.)  
tel: (503) 482-6833

Enclosures

Copy to:

Representative Ronald Dellums (D-CA)

Representative Pat Schroeder (D-CO)

Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA)

→ RADM Gene La Rocque, Director, Center for Defense Information 

BETH F. COYE  
Commander, U.S. Navy (ret.)

Telephone: (503) 482-6833

338 Scenic Drive  
Ashland, OR 97520

---

OBJECTIVE: Membership on the presidential Commission on Gays in the Military

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## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND SKILLS

### Teaching

- \* Taught political science full-time: 2 years; part-time: one semester at Mesa College.
- \* Taught graduate level courses in International Relations, Naval History, Naval Strategy, Seapower, and Organizational Development at the Naval War College for four years.
- \* Taught and designed numerous and varied workshops as a consultant/Team Leader at the Navy's Human Resource Management Center, San Diego.
- \* Lectured on, inter alia, Changing Role of American Women, Soviet Maritime Challenge, SANE/FREEZE and U.S. Peace Organizations.

### Research

- \* Developed syllabi at Univ. of San Diego for "Sex, Power and Politics" (polisci).
- \* Developed syllabi at Mesa College for Intro to Politics and U.S. Government Courses.
- \* Developed syllabi at Naval War College for International Relations and Naval Strategy (graduate level) courses.
- \* Coordinated research for Naval War College students and faculty projects (3 yrs.)
- \* Authored and edited Naval Officer Professional Development Study (1143 pp.), Washington, D.C...

### Management

- \* Managed and led a naval command of 250 people which provided personnel, pay, and travel support to over 17,000 people.
- \* Led preparation and development of a new naval organization (250 jobs) including administrative policies, and materiel projects.
- \* Directed all phases of human resource management consultant services to over thirty client fleet commands.
- \* Managed a successful small business operation (owner/partner) with annual gross sales of \$180,000.

### WORK HISTORY

- 1991 - 1992            Lecturer, San Diego State College and University of San Diego
- 1988 - 1984            Associate Professor, Mesa College, San Diego
- 1981 - 1984            Business owner and entrepreneur.
- 1960 - 1980            Line officer in U.S. Navy. Significant assignments include:
- Commanding Officer - Personnel Support Activity, Naval Training Center, San Diego, CA (2 years)
- Management consultant/Team Leader - Human Resource Management Center, San Diego, CA (3 years)
- Faculty member - Naval War College, Newport, R.I... (4 years)
- Intelligence analyst - various commands, including Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (NATO), (6 years)

### EDUCATION

- B.A., 1959, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts. Major - Political Science. (12 hrs. in Philosophy, 6 hrs. in Pol. Thought/Theories, 6 hours in U.S. Foreign Relations (Hist.).
- M.A. , 1968 American University, School of International Relations, (Comprehensive areas: Theories of IR, National Security Policy, and Contemporary International Relations.)
- Certificate in Naval Warfare, 1970, College of Naval Warfare, Naval War College, Newport, R.I..., (10 month graduate level course, with a minimum of 15 hours graduate credit.)
- Post-Graduate work, 1987, Salve Regina College, Newport, R.I... International Relations (3 hours in Global Ethics).
- California Community College Instructor Credential, Subject Matter Area: Government (Theory and Practice, Local and International), Certificate No. 11060.

### PUBLICATIONS

"The Role of Women in the Navy in the 1980's and 1990's", Quarterly Series, Center for Oceans Law and Policy, University of Virginia, March 1980.

"We've Come a Long Way, But.. ", Naval Institute PROCEEDINGS, July 1979.

"Is There Room for Women in Navy Management: An Attitudinal Survey", Naval War College Review , January-February 1973.

"The Status of the Restricted Unrestricted Line Officer," An Examination of Navy Policy Toward the Woman Line Officer, Naval War College Review, March 1972.

"U.S. Strategy in the Indian Ocean Area," Naval War College Review , October, 1970.

### HONORS/AWARDS

Meritorious Service Commendation, 1980

Navy Commendation, 1978

Joint Service Commendation, 1973

### VOLUNTEER WORK

President, Board of Directors, San Diego SANE/FREEZE, July 1986 - Sept 1987.

Member, Military Advisory Council, Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.,  
June 1986 - present.

Vice President, Class of 1959, Wellesley College, June 1984 - 1989.

Alumnae Admissions Representative, San Diego Wellesley Club, June 1990 -91.

### REFERENCES

Available upon request.

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## DIALOGUE

## Gays in the Military

Cancel  
Reagan's Ban

By James T. Bush

**M**UCH of the formidable resistance to President-elect Bill Clinton's pledge to allow homosexuals in the military results from a misunderstanding over just what is being proposed, and what the President can do on his own.

Homosexual acts have been illegal in the military since the Uniform Code of Military Justice was adopted in 1951, but the Defense Department's ban on homosexuality has been in effect only since 1982. The clear purpose of that directive a decade ago was to provide a means to get rid of homosexuals who were not involved in illegal behavior.

When I was captain of a nuclear submarine in the 1960's, servicemen could be discharged for reasons concerning sexual orientation, but only if they had performed, or were accused of performing, an illegal act.

Under the current Pentagon policy on homosexuals, military personnel can be dismissed simply for stating that they are homosexual. The 1982 directive also applies to those people "who desire to engage or intend to engage in homosexual acts," not merely to those who are accused of homosexual conduct.

The Pentagon's rationale for the ban is that homosexuality threatens good order and discipline. The order states, without justification, that homosexuality is "incompatible with military service," and that homosexuals "seriously impair the accomplishment of the military mission."

But the Government Accounting Office, Congress's investigative arm, has stated that the policy "is not based on scientific or empirical data," and found that "scientific and medical studies disagree with the military's longstanding policy holding that homosexuality is incompatible with military service."

Before becoming an officer, I served as an enlisted man and an

officer candidate. I served on missile submarines for much of my career. All of my service took place before the ban on homosexual orientation. I was only aware of problems concerning homosexuals on two or three occasions. Yet statistics indicate that 5 to 10 percent of the people I served with were homosexuals. Considering that, I have no evidence to indicate that homosexuality is incompatible with military service.

The policy costs the taxpayers money. Although there are no data on the costs of investigating and discharging people for homosexuality, there are statistics indicating that training costs for replacement are about \$28,000 for an enlisted person and \$121,000 for an officer.

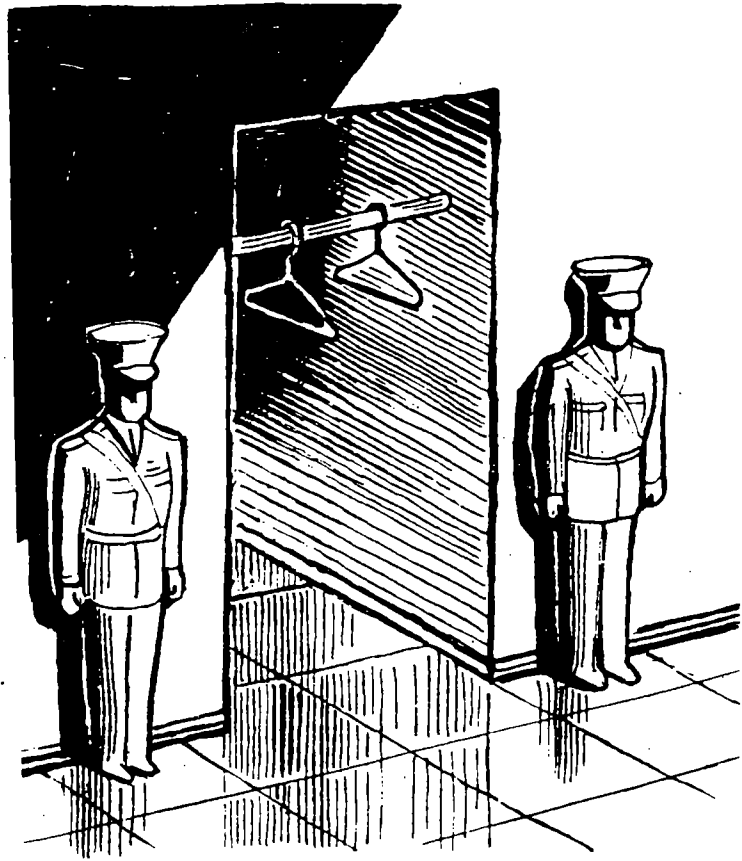
Mr. Clinton has proposed allowing homosexuals to stay in the military

**Sexual behavior,  
not orientation,  
is the issue.**

by canceling the 1982 directive. He has not proposed changing the laws against homosexual conduct. Blatant, inappropriate conduct of any kind, including homosexual acts, will still result in disciplinary action. Presumably, if the 1982 ban is canceled and current laws against homosexual conduct remain, they will be enforced to the same extent as laws against adultery or soliciting illegal acts.

Canceling the ban will, however, allow gays and lesbians to declare their sexual orientation without fear of losing their jobs. It is hard to see what harm would be done by allowing homosexuals to state their orientation (should they choose to do so) so long as their performance is satisfactory and other service members suffer no adverse effects.

In recent years, Americans have gradually come to accept the homosexual life style so long as it does not harm other people. But the military has not shown the enlightened attitude on this issue that was displayed in the racial integration of the armed forces ordered by President Harry S. Truman in 1948. By canceling the Reagan-era directive banning homosexuals, Mr. Clinton can show similar leadership on civil liberties, with similar benefits for the military. □



*James T. Bush, a retired Navy captain, is associate director of the Center for Defense Information.*

Rec'd 2/18 12:15pm  
National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: JDZ

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URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

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| D/APNSA             | <u>2</u>    |           |             |
| APNSA               | <u>3</u>    |           |             |
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| NSC Secretariat     |             |           |             |
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A = Action    I = Information    D = Dispatch    R = Retain    N = No Further Action

cc:            VP            McLarty            Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

Chargé  
Tab I

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

*Gene:*

Dear Admiral ~~La Rocque~~:

Thank you very much for forwarding a copy of Commander Coye's letter to Secretary Aspin supporting President Clinton's effort to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military. Her well-argued articulated views and recommendations make an important contribution to our consideration of this important issue.

*views were very helpful, and I appreciate your taking the trouble to send them along.*  
As you know, on January 29 the President outlined immediate steps to be taken on this issue and directed the Secretary of Defense to review the current Defense policy on homosexuals in the military. ~~I have attached a copy of his statement announcing these steps.~~ *enclosure* *the President's* *on the issue, although I assume you already have me.*

~~Please pass my respects to Commander Coye for her insights on this issue.~~

*Best,*  
~~Sincerely,~~

Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

Rear Admiral Gene R. La Rocque, U.S. Navy (Ret.)  
Director  
Center for Defense Information  
1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Enclosure  
White House Press Statement

*Homosexuals in Mil. Army*

0246

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 16, 1993

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THROUGH:

ROBERT BELL *RB*

FROM:

KEITH HAHN *KH*

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Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security  
Affairs

Attachment  
White House Press Statement

Rear Admiral Gene R. La Rocque, U.S. Navy (Ret.)  
Director  
Center for Defense Information  
1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

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For Immediate Release:

January 29, 1993

**STATEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE POLICY REGARDING HOMOSEXUALS  
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(MORE)

\* Cases involving acknowledged homosexual status being contested by the individual will be processed through all applicable stages, including notice of the basis for separation, hearing before a board of officers, review of the board's recommendations by the separation authority, and action by the separation authority to discharge the person. If directed by the Attorney General, the final discharge in the cases based only on status will be suspended until the President acts on the recommendations of the Secretary of Defense with respect to current policy. A member whose discharge has been suspended by the Attorney General will be separated from active duty and placed in the standby reserve. Individuals in the standby reserve would have the option to return, upon request, to active duty should the current policy be changed. Those personnel whose cases have not been suspended will be discharged.

\* Commanding officers may, in the interests of the individual of the unit concerned, direct changes in the assignment of personnel during the course of separation proceedings.



# CDI

Center for Defense Information

More Security for Less Money

0246

*Staff*  
*Bob Bush*

27 January 1993

Mr. Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President  
For National Security Affairs  
National Security Council  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Tony,

I think you will be interested in the attached letter from a highly qualified professional U.S. Navy female Commander, retired, who would like to support President Clinton's intention to lift the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. She could make a positive contribution to achieve the goals you and the President wish to achieve. I hope you will have someone consider her recommendations.

Also enclosed is a copy of an Op-Ed piece by my Associate Director, Captain James T. Bush, USN (Ret.).

Sincerely,

Gene R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

Enclosure  
GRL:elh

P.S. Commander Coye has been a member of the Military Advisory Council of the Center for Defense Information for many years. I know her well.

Gene R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

Eugene J. Carroll, Jr.  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Director

James A. Donovan  
Colonel, USMC (Ret.)  
Associate Director

James T. Bush  
Captain, USN (Ret.)  
Associate Director



28 January 1993

Commander Beth F. Coye  
U.S. Navy (Ret.)  
338 Scenic Drive  
Ashland, OR 97520

COPY

Dear Commander,

Thank you for your very thoughtful and comprehensive analysis on "Gays and Lesbians in the Military." My reservation on lifting the ban on gays and lesbians entering the service only involves the manner in which it is done. It is my belief, in fact I am firmly convinced, that gays and lesbians have and will continue to make positive contributions to the maintenance of a strong military posture.

Gays and lesbians will do well in the service, but I fear that reservations will arise from the "straights" who will need some educating in order to insure a more agreeable acceptance of the gays and lesbians.

I accept completely the right of gays to serve in the military and have been urging that their acceptance in the services be phased in in some manner. As you know from the GAO study the Army has been the most willing to accept gays and lesbians. It may be appropriate to lift the ban in the Army for a period of 6 months to a year followed by a lifting of the ban by the Air Force and the Marine Corps. I suppose this gradual approach would create other problems but it is one system that could be also used in varying ways to expand the role of women in the military and in combat positions.

Your rational suggestions deserve serious consideration here in Washington. I have taken the liberty of sending a copy of your letter to Tony Lake, the new assistant to President Clinton for national security. I felt you would not object to this since you already sent it to Les Aspin. I am also enclosing Captain Bush's recent Op-Ed article in the New York Times.

Sincerely,

Gen R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

*Copy of my  
letter to T. Lake*

Enclosure  
GRL:elh

Gene R. La Rocque  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Director

Eugene J. Carroll, Jr.  
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Director

James A. Donovan  
Colonel, USMC (Ret.)  
Associate Director

James T. Bush  
Captain, USN (Ret.)  
Associate Director

Beth J. Coye  
338 Scenic Drive  
Ashland, Oregon 97520

*Admitted  
I know you  
have some information  
about getting to be  
in my mind, it's time  
has come. Don't need  
it.*

19 January 1993

Secretary of Defense-designate Les Aspin  
Department of Defense  
The Pentagon  
Washington, D. C. 20301

Dear Secretary Aspin:

Firstly, my congratulations to you on your new, exciting assignment! I've followed your career and your views for many years, and was pleased to hear of your nomination as Secretary of Defense.

I know you're in a hectic period of settling in, especially with the Iraqi situation stirring again. Yet I also know that soon you'll be getting to the issue of homosexuals in the military.

My purposes are (1) to forward some thoughts on the question of military gays and (2) to ask that you, or appropriate personnel officials consider me for a short term tour with the Presidential Study Group/Task Force on Military Gays.

This past week I spoke on the issue at the Medford, Oregon Rotary Club. Approximately 170 persons, most of whom were men who had served in the military, attended. Because I stressed policy/political science concepts, the talk -- on this highly controversial subject -- was heard and well received. I believe that the nature of the subject demands that emotions are diffused as much as possible.

**Following are some ideas from the speech, which might be helpful to you:**

A. The most probable policy alternatives re military gays:

1. Leave as is. Keep the executive ban and UCMJ laws.
2. Lift the executive ban. Enforce the laws re homosexual acts as illegal.
3. Lift the executive order, keep the laws on the books, but don't enforce the laws.
4. Lift the executive order and change the laws.

The difficulties in this next stage of policy-making will be to reach consensus on the above alternatives. Military leaders support policy #1 and Gay/Lesbian advocates support policy #4. We need to come to some resolution in a timely manner.

B. Some thoughts about this particular policy decision:

1. There is a decided difference re "the vision thing" between (1) the President and his institutional presidency; and (2) the affected group involved (military). President Clinton has what Thomas Sowell (Conflict of Visions, 1987) calls "an unconstrained vision" wherein man is capable of foreseeing and controlling the social consequences of his decisions...the demands for the less fortunate are not merely charity but justice. Rights over interests. Man is essentially good (Rousseau, William Godwin, et al). In general, the military has the constrained vision of man: it is the role of institutions to control man's evil ways (Hobbes, et al).....it will be the job of the new DOD secretary to resolve the differences of opinion and differences of philosophical assumptions re gays in the military.

2. A major factor will be the development of Clinton's leadership style. Will he be willing to face down strong opposition from the powerful interest groups ( for example the military)? Will he waffle? Will he support studying the subject to death? Or will he go with RADM Grace Hopper's (celebrated computer expert) approach? "It's easier to apologize for going ahead with a good idea, than to get permission to do the job." (Hopper) He's not going to get "permission" from military seniors to go beyond lifting the executive order. Will he maintain his unconstrained vision, lift the executive ban and try for consensus re the laws and regulations?

3. Policy makers tend to react and wait, hoping the situation will clear. "Delay is preferable to error." Thomas Jefferson

4. "Any great change must expect opposition, because it strikes at the very foundation of privilege." Lucetia Mott, Quaker and activist

5. We are in transition, with a a major paradigm, or pattern shift. Old institutions are being forced to adopt and adapt (or die).

6. At this moment no one can predict which actors' views will hold more weight than others. Politics is the art of compromise.

7. Clinton will likely take the advice of William James: "Steer safely between the opposite dangers of believing too little or of believing too much".....therefore a moderate, incremental policy course will develop....with in-depth hearings and probably a presidential Commission.

The above points reflect the tone of my speech and thoughts. It seems to me that this same tone might serve you well as you mediate between the extremes on this issue.

COYE - page three

By the way, I took a straw vote on the gay military ban before I spoke with Rotary Club members and was pleasantly surprised almost half supported lifting the ban. And Medford is a politically conservative city.

I note from an LA TIMES editorial ( 11 January 93, enclosed), that the Administration is considering sending down a "memorandum of instruction" on the subject. This sounds like an incremental yet firm step (a William James position, as discussed above). I support this action, if not an executive order. As you so well stated at your confirmation hearing, the "gathering storm" must be dealt with forthrightly.

Enclosed also is a copy of an Op-ed I wrote that was published in the Medford MAIL TRIBUNE 10 January 1993. Therein I offer specific guidelines for developing a plan to officially open the military to gays and lesbians.

I feel strongly about this policy and might like to serve on a Military Gays' Study Group or Commission that might be forthcoming. While on active duty I served on at least three separate, major Study Groups: NATO's Brosio Study "Comparison of Warsaw Pact and NATO Maritime Strategies and Capabilities" (one year) the VADM Bayne Naval Officer Professional Development Study (six months) and SecNav's Study to Unisex the Laws (one month). I'm a writer, editor and researcher -- I know that commissions and study groups need these skills. Enclosed is my resume. I recommend that the selected members be more balanced politically and more in tune with new paradigms than those who served on the recent presidential Commission on Military Women.

I wish you and the Administration all the best as you begin a new adventure. In some ways the adventure reminds me of JFK's presidential beginnings. I wrote my Masters' thesis on JFK and his national security policies --- heaven knows we need the spirit and charisma of JFK and his presidency.

Sincerely yours,

 Beth F. Coye  
Commander, U.S. Navy (ret.)  
tel: (503) 482-6833

Enclosures

Copy to:

Representative Ronald Dellums (D-CA)

Representative Pat Schroeder (D-CO)

Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA)

→ RADM Gene La Rocque, Director, Center for Defense Information 

BETH F. COYE  
Commander, U.S. Navy (ret.)

Telephone: (503) 482-6833

338 Scenic Drive  
Ashland, OR 97520

---

OBJECTIVE: Membership on the presidential Commission on Gays in the Military

---

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND SKILLS

### Teaching

- \* Taught political science full-time: 2 years; part-time: one semester at Mesa College.
- \* Taught graduate level courses in International Relations, Naval History, Naval Strategy, Seapower, and Organizational Development at the Naval War College for four years.
- \* Taught and designed numerous and varied workshops as a consultant/Team Leader at the Navy's Human Resource Management Center, San Diego.
- \* Lectured on, inter alia, Changing Role of American Women, Soviet Maritime Challenge, SANE/FREEZE and U.S. Peace Organizations.

### Research

- \* Developed syllabi at Univ. of San Diego for "Sex, Power and Politics" (polisci).
- \* Developed syllabi at Mesa College for Intro to Politics and U.S. Government Courses.
- \* Developed syllabi at Naval War College for International Relations and Naval Strategy (graduate level) courses.
- \* Coordinated research for Naval War College students and faculty projects (3 yrs.)
- \* Authored and edited Naval Officer Professional Development Study (1143 pp.), Washington, D.C...

### Management

- \* Managed and led a naval command of 250 people which provided personnel, pay, and travel support to over 17,000 people.
- \* Led preparation and development of a new naval organization (250 jobs) including administrative policies, and materiel projects.
- \* Directed all phases of human resource management consultant services to over thirty client fleet commands.
- \* Managed a successful small business operation (owner/partner) with annual gross sales of \$180,000.

### WORK HISTORY

1991 - 1992      Lecturer, San Diego State College and University of San Diego

1988 - 1984      Associate Professor, Mesa College, San Diego

1981 - 1984      Business owner and entrepreneur.

1960 - 1980      Line officer in U.S. Navy. Significant assignments include:

                    Commanding Officer - Personnel Support Activity, Naval Training Center, San Diego, CA (2 years)

                    Management consultant/Team Leader - Human Resource Management Center, San Diego, CA (3 years)

                    Faculty member - Naval War College, Newport, R.I... (4 years)

                    Intelligence analyst - various commands, including Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (NATO). (6 years)

### EDUCATION

B.A., 1959, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts. Major - Political Science. (12 hrs. in Philosophy, 6 hrs. in Pol. Thought/Theories, 6 hours in U.S. Foreign Relations (Hist.).

M.A. , 1968 American University, School of International Relations, (Comprehensive areas: Theories of IR, National Security Policy, and Contemporary International Relations.)

Certificate in Naval Warfare, 1970, College of Naval Warfare, Naval War College, Newport, R.I..., (10 month graduate level course, with a minimum of 15 hours graduate credit.)

Post-Graduate work, 1987, Salve Regina College, Newport, R.I... International Relations (3 hours in Global Ethics).

California Community College Instructor Credential, Subject Matter Area: Government (Theory and Practice, Local and International), Certificate No. 11060.

### PUBLICATIONS

"The Role of Women in the Navy in the 1980's and 1990's", Quarterly Series, Center for Oceans Law and Policy, University of Virginia, March 1980.

"We've Come a Long Way, But...", Naval Institute PROCEEDINGS, July 1979.

"Is There Room for Women in Navy Management: An Attitudinal Survey", Naval War College Review, January-February 1973.

"The Status of the Restricted Unrestricted Line Officer," An Examination of Navy Policy Toward the Woman Line Officer, Naval War College Review, March 1972.

"U.S. Strategy in the Indian Ocean Area," Naval War College Review, October, 1970.

### HONORS/AWARDS

Meritorious Service Commendation, 1980

Navy Commendation, 1978

Joint Service Commendation, 1973

### VOLUNTEER WORK

President, Board of Directors, San Diego SANE/FREEZE, July 1986 - Sept 1987.

Member, Military Advisory Council, Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C..., June 1986 - present.

Vice President, Class of 1959, Wellesley College, June 1984 - 1989.

Alumnae Admissions Representative, San Diego Wellesley Club, June 1990 -91.

### REFERENCES

Available upon request.

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Alumnae Admissions Representative, San Diego Wellesley Club, June 1990 -91.

## REFERENCES

Available upon request.

## DIALOGUE

# Cancel Reagan's Ban

By James T. Bush

**M**UCH of the formidable resistance to President-elect Bill Clinton's pledge to allow homosexuals in the military results from a misunderstanding over just what is being proposed, and what the President can do on his own.

Homosexual acts have been illegal in the military since the Uniform Code of Military Justice was adopted in 1951, but the Defense Department's ban on homosexuality has been in effect only since 1982. The clear purpose of that directive a decade ago was to provide a means to get rid of homosexuals who were not involved in illegal behavior.

When I was captain of a nuclear submarine in the 1960's, servicemen could be discharged for reasons concerning sexual orientation, but only if they had performed, or were accused of performing, an illegal act.

Under the current Pentagon policy on homosexuals, military personnel can be dismissed simply for stating that they are homosexual. The 1982 directive also applies to those people "who desire to engage or intend to engage in homosexual acts," not merely to those who are accused of homosexual conduct.

The Pentagon's rationale for the ban is that homosexuality threatens good order and discipline. The order states, without justification, that homosexuality is "incompatible with military service," and that homosexuals "seriously impair the accomplishment of the military mission."

But the Government Accounting Office, Congress's investigative arm, has stated that the policy "is not based on scientific or empirical data," and found that "scientific and medical studies disagree with the military's longstanding policy holding that homosexuality is incompatible with military service."

Before becoming an officer, I served as an enlisted man and an

officer candidate. I served on missile submarines for much of my career. All of my service took place before the ban on homosexual orientation. I was only aware of problems concerning homosexuals on two or three occasions. Yet statistics indicate that 5 to 10 percent of the people I served with were homosexuals. Considering that, I have no evidence to indicate that homosexuality is incompatible with military service.

The policy costs the taxpayers money. Although there are no data on the costs of investigating and discharging people for homosexuality, there are statistics indicating that training costs for replacement are about \$28,000 for an enlisted person and \$121,000 for an officer.

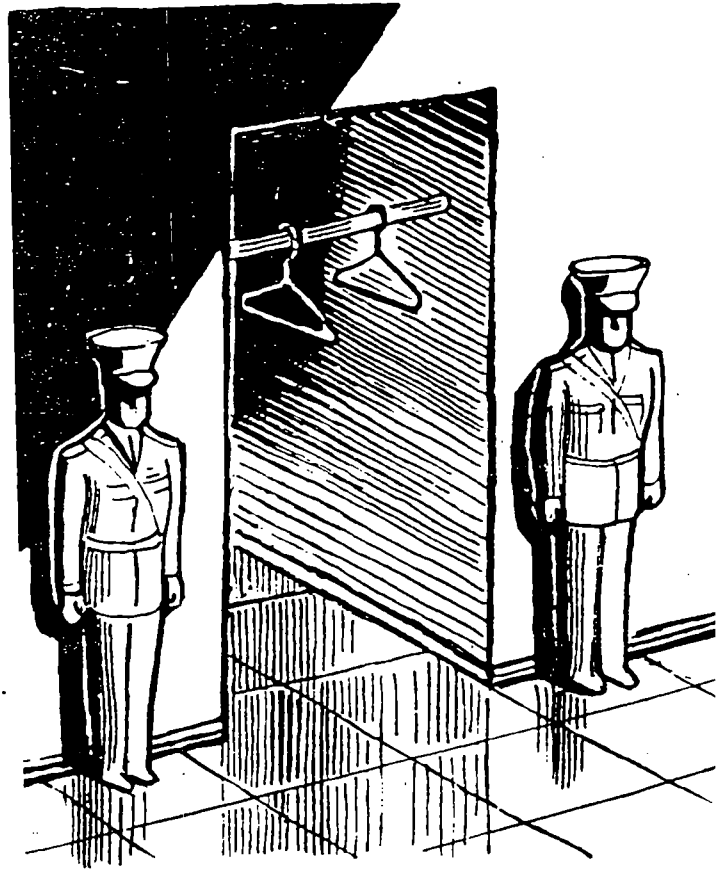
Mr. Clinton has proposed allowing homosexuals to stay in the military

**Sexual behavior,  
not orientation,  
is the issue.**

by canceling the 1982 directive. He has not proposed changing the laws against homosexual conduct. Blatant, inappropriate conduct of any kind, including homosexual acts, will still result in disciplinary action. Presumably, if the 1982 ban is canceled and current laws against homosexual conduct remain, they will be enforced to the same extent as laws against adultery or soliciting illegal acts.

Canceling the ban will, however, allow gays and lesbians to declare their sexual orientation without fear of losing their jobs. It is hard to see what harm would be done by allowing homosexuals to state their orientation (should they choose to do so) so long as their performance is satisfactory and other service members suffer no adverse effects.

In recent years, Americans have gradually come to accept the homosexual life style so long as it does not harm other people. But the military has not shown the enlightened attitude on this issue that was displayed in the racial integration of the armed forces ordered by President Harry S. Truman in 1948. By canceling the Reagan-era directive banning homosexuals, Mr. Clinton can show similar leadership on civil liberties, with similar benefits for the military. □



*James T. Bush, a retired Navy captain, is associate director of the Center for Defense Information.*

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0366

February 8, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

FROM: ROBERT BELL *RbB*

SUBJECT: MEMCON -- Presidential Meeting with the Joint  
Chiefs of Staff, January 25, 1993

Attached for your approval is a Memorandum of Conversation (Tab I) based on the meeting between the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff January 25 on gays in the military.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the MEMCON at Tab I and file as a memorandum for the record.

Attachment  
Tab I MEMCON for January 25, 1993 Meeting

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Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526  
White House Guidelines,  
September 11, 2006

By *ADB* NARA, Date *8/19/16*  
2015-0017-F

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

0366

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
The Vice President  
George Stephanopoulos, Director of Communications  
Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs  
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Samuel Berger, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Robert Bell, Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control (Notetaker)

Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense  
General Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
Admiral David Jeremiah, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
General Merrill McPeak, Chief of Staff of the Air Force  
Admiral Frank Kelso, Chief of Naval Operations  
General Gordon Sullivan, Chief of Staff of the Army  
General Carl E. Mundy, Commandant of the Marine Corps

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By 103 NARA, Date 8/19/16  
2006-0227-F

DATE, TIME  
AND PLACE:

January 25, 1993 -- 4:00-6:00 P.M. EST  
The Roosevelt Room

The President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff met for two hours in the Roosevelt Room to discuss a number of critical defense issues, including the status of homosexuals and lesbians in the U.S. military. (C)

The President: I hope this will be the first of several such meetings. We have a lot of difficult decisions this year -- the budget, foreign policy decisions. I hope we have a close, continuing relationship. We should have the next meeting at the Pentagon, and talk some more about these issues. I know the

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Declassify on: OADR

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primary purpose of this meeting is expressing your views on the question of gays in the military. I am eager to hear them. ~~(C)~~

Let me first ask General Powell to outline a general statement as to work we will do in subsequent meetings, working through Secretary Aspin. There are tough calls to make on the budget -- whether we even have a good baseline. We should use half the meeting to discuss the personnel issue. ~~(C)~~

General Powell: It is a pleasure to be here. We look forward to your coming to the Pentagon. As President, you are Commander-in-Chief of an exquisite force -- the best ever we've had in peacetime. It's hard to reflect on just how far we have come the last 20 years. Twenty years ago we had drug problems, morale problems, and were just beginning with an all-volunteer force. We stuck with it and rebuilt the Army, working with people like Congressman Aspin to get well. All is now well. We can accomplish any task. ~~(C)~~

Three and a half years ago, we recognized the Cold War was over. This forces us to rethink everything of the last 40 years. The military and civilian leadership came up with a new approach and changed our conceptual way of thinking. Now the emphasis is regional, dealing with regional crises. ~~(C)~~

The last three years have witnessed major changes in the defense establishment. In two or three years, we will have had a 25% decline, including:

- a million personnel are to be taken out of the force including:
  - 500,000 active duty;
  - 250,000 reserves (though Congress has been blocking this);
  - 250,000 civilians
- 800 installations closed;
- 100 major programs are in progress of being killed;
- 800,000 jobs lost directly, plus 400,000 indirectly, and places like California and Texas have been hard hit. This will continue next year, too. ~~(C)~~

Our goal: don't break the force. Our challenge: when we get to the base force, there will be pressures to go lower. Our argument: be careful increasing the rate of change. We are going as fast as we can now without breaking the force, but we are still doing more than during the Cold War: Iraq, Somalia, drug interdiction, etc. Our plea: give us time to work out any steeper glide path. The kind of quality force you now have -- wasn't always that way. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, JFK

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blew the whistle -- but had no ready division. Now, every division, wing, ship is ready. This is the only way to have a volunteer force. But you have to make the right investment to get it. (C)

The President: I share your commitment. I accept that there is a limit to how fast we can downsize. Also, I do not want the defense budget to be used as a political football, to hide things, or to pretend it is not easy. Les (Aspin) and Leon (Panetta) are going to go to "truth in budgeting." We will try to agree on appropriate guidelines with Congress. I also want to maintain a strong commitment to our personnel. Let's turn now to the gays in the military question. (C)

General Powell: Let's have each chief make a statement. I'll go first. We are here to serve, to try to always be soldiers, but we also must give our advice. We as a group of six feel strongly about this. Also, people in the field are getting in touch with us on this. It is necessary for me to be a straight-shooter. (C)

Let me begin with a tutorial on the nature of military service. Our mission is to close and destroy -- killing -- by rifle, by plane, by ship -- and to be prepared to give your life to do it, or for your buddy. It is necessary to have teamwork to perform the mission. There is a difference between military and civilian life -- recognized as different by the courts. The UCMJ is different. Embedded deeply in our psyche and culture is teamwork, cohesion. The military must also reflect society. We are the "people's army" (a phrase that should not belong to Chairman Mao) -- a voluntary army. We must compete economically for these people. (C)

We discriminate constantly: height, weight, age, physical fitness, drugs, alcohol, and homosexuality. We can fire someone for things not suitable in civilian life. Associations in the military are not voluntary. The civilian right to privacy simply does not exist. However, the imposition of rules must be reasonable. Barracks are different -- much like ghettos. (C)

Homosexuality is a problem for us. Sodomy is against the UCMJ and contrary to the law in 24 states and the District of Columbia. This law was given to us by Congress. To go in this direction we're not sure is reflective of the views of society. (C)

There have always been homosexuals in the military, but it has been a cause for discharge. We are proud for those who served. Why do we discharge homosexuals?

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- Law requires it.
- UCMJ violated unless they maintain celibacy.
- Challenges have been rejected by courts.
- Creates discordance.
- We have dropped the security risk concern, which Dick Cheney called an "old chestnut."
- AIDS: a medical problem -- 1,700 in the force have tested positive. We have parked them; they are not deployable. They are transferred to the VA once it is manifested.
- Privacy: this is the most important reason. How do we deal with privacy in a situation where you're told who to room with? If it is a Black soldier, we say: "You must room with him." If a female showed up and the female said "no, I won't room with him," we'd say "no" -- you are mixing gender. If a homosexual shows up, do we force association? Is it like a gender difference or an ethnic problem? (C)

What do we tell the Sergeant? It is not enough to change the rules; we must give guidance on the situation. Many American parents have concerns about forced association and the immaturity of 18 year-olds. Wives are concerned about the situation at remote locations. One alternative -- to create four different genders -- is not realistic and works against unit cohesion. (C)

This is not a civil rights issue, and it is a civil rights issue. We deny civil rights all the time. The comparison with Blacks is off-base. Race involves benign characteristics; sexuality is different. It is a civil rights issue because if we say no difference with homosexuals, then all benefits must apply. We can't have two classes -- medical care, equal opportunity, promotion, schools, etc. (C)

One argument is that lots of other armies do it. But the United Kingdom -- which views its armed forces leadership as "absent parents" -- takes a stronger line than us. Armies that let gays in then find ways to pressure them out or deny them promotion. With our societal values, we couldn't. (C)

In summary, this is the most controversial issue in the force. I make no moral judgment myself, but I think they can best serve in other areas. A possible solution is this: we stop asking; it would not be a condition of entry. There would be no chasing, no witch hunting, as long as their orientation is not apparent. We could then take some time after this first step to decide what is best. (C)

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General Sullivan: We are honored you'd take time to listen. This strengthens the bond of trust that should exist between us. Trust is the essence of leadership. We have an enormous management challenge in this period of transition, but leadership is more important. In the Army, I'll take 260,000 military personnel and 100,000 civilians out of the force over four years. All nuclear weapons are out of the Army. We are coming back from overseas. We are changing our doctrine. These changes pose enormous leadership challenges. Hundreds of colonels, majors, and captains are being separated involuntarily. (C)

To say that gays in the military is an issue is an understatement. It is the issue in the U.S. Army. Everywhere I go it comes up. The majority of the U.S. Army -- the vast majority -- is opposed to changing the ban. If my soldiers were here, they'd concur. My recommendation: don't change the policy. (C)

I understand your goal of changing the status of gays, but I frankly don't know how or when you get to the second-, third-level questions. If gays are allowed to proclaim their homosexuality publicly, we must tell junior officers what to do. I believe the decision must be to put them out. What if a straight refuses to shower with a gay? Do we reprimand, counsel, or release him? What do we do with soldiers whose religious beliefs think it is a sin? Release him? This is a point cadets at West Point made to me during a recent visit there. (C)

I understand my relation to you. I am your subordinate. You as Commander-in-Chief have final say. I ask, however, that if you change the policy, you permit us to participate in the change so we can explain to ourselves what it means. My recommendation is do not change, but if we do, let them not declare. If they can do that, then we start down a slippery slope. (C)

The President: Do you have any objection to no longer asking the entry question? (C)

General Sullivan: If you don't ask and they don't declare. But if they declare, then release. (C)

General Powell: I am mindful of differences in the gay community... (C)

The President: Let's come back to that.

Admiral Kelso: Thank you for this opportunity. I'm the representative of the American sailor. He looks to us for leadership. They have pretty strong views about this. Those opposed are in the majority by a long shot. In life at sea, it

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is hard to find privacy. It is not practical to separate by sex or gender four different ways. U.S. sailors are vocally against a change. I am asked, "when are you going to hear my views?"  
(C)

There is no way to differentiate between avowed gays and those who do not proclaim their preference. A policy to admit, expect celibacy, then release those who are caught would be unworkable. It would severely disrupt unity. I want to keep the current policy. (C)

There will be trouble with recruitment if the policy is changed -- retention and morale problems. The all-volunteer force is very important -- politically -- to us. We cannot go to any alternative. We're dependent on volunteers. We must have an environment people would send their children to. There is no opportunity to go to a draft. (C)

My recommendation: retain the current policy. If it is changed, I'd like to participate. I'm willing to stop asking, but not ready if they are avowed. Then I'd still want the opportunity to discharge. (C)

General Mundy: Thank you for this opportunity. We come today in two roles. We're receiving the same input. We are military advisers to you. You are Commander-in-Chief. Your order alone can cause us to execute. On this side of the table are 215 years of dealing with training, leading, combat, garrisoning, managing. We are not here to flaunt that. We want to make it 215 years plus six days. Our job is to help you. (C)

We also represent and serve those who serve. It is incumbent on us to reflect their views. To do so, I'll be as direct as I'll ever be. I hope it's our toughest meeting ever. (C)

Some perspective: we have 3.8 million active, reserve, and guard members. There are also 2.8 million family members, as much a part as the military members. They transfer, move, play in Little League, have schools. We look after them. There are also millions of veterans who write us; some get recalled. We also represent the veterans organizations you so rightly addressed. There are 8.8 million veterans; 7.5 million have sent you letters opposing a change. Finally, there are the moms and dads of our soldiers. They pass to you the ultimate authority for life and death. (C)

Let me focus on the uniformed members. Your decision sends them to war. This is a decision over the effectiveness of their organization and what they are trained for. Sixty-six percent of the U.S. Marine Corps is under 25. This is the impressionable age, when you need maximum leadership. They can swing either way. We want the right direction if we are to have a quality force. This isn't "From Here to Eternity." They are smart,

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educated, bright. Fifty percent of the Corps is married. Most of all, they are loyal. No other constituency will have this degree of loyalty to you. We swear to obey your orders. We inculcate that in our ethos. We'll not demonstrate, organize bloc votes, contribute to your opponents. They are proud of the privilege to serve. We don't pay them commensurate to their service -- six months at sea in the boiler room of a carrier. They do it for pride. They are and must be a team. Teamwork is, if anything else, selflessness. Every NFL losing team coach knows about this. (C)

For all the reasons cited by the others, my firm, strong, continuing belief is that those who admit to acts implicit in homosexual behavior or those who associate with gay pride as "licentiousness unconstrained by law or morality" (as quoted by the Queer Nation protestor who was interviewed during your inaugural parade) will have a negative effect. It doesn't matter what the Dutch have done. We're the role model; we're the best. (C)

I believe the need to proclaim "I am gay" will have the same effect as saying "I'm KKK; I'm a Nazi; I'm a rapist." It fractures teamwork. It is saying "I commit an act America doesn't accept." (C)

There are a number of myths. First, this is not a situation of the scope we are led to believe. Despite what Eric Schmitt (New York Times reporter) says, it is not true that there are tens of thousands of them there (in the military). There are not that many gay Marines at that bar outside Camp Lejeune you saw on TV -- not 100, not 40. Second, we do not have witch hunts in the Armed Forces. For the past decade, four-tenths of one percent of all discharges from the Marine Corps was for homosexuality. Of all discharges for unsuitability, only one and a half percent was for homosexuality. (C)

The stacks of letters we've received, the articles -- every form of communication recounts the emotion. Parents have called to revoke their waiver of authority for recruits have already occurred. We've gotten letters saying: "My son will not volunteer." The effect on recruitment worries me. My young leaders have written imploring me: "Disband the Marine Corps before we impose this dishonor." The emotion is that high. They simply don't agree to what is immoral, a threat to health, an intrusion on privacy, a threat to the effectiveness of the organization. If we must stop asking the question, okay. If we must stop pursuing, okay. But don't change the policy. (C)

General McPeak: I draw a distinction between orientation, status, and behavior. I think we are close on orientation and behavior. On orientation, we can agree to stop asking the question. We know homosexuals are there -- not 10%; not zero. On behavior, I like Secretary Aspin's proposal to come up with a

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code of conduct that applies to all and puts certain things off limits. I think we do that now. We punish outrageous behavior. In a public relations context, we can come out with something. (C)

Status, which I call revealed orientation, is the crunch issue. I don't know how to deal with it. I agree when someone acquires homosexual status in a unit, it will work against the cohesion of the unit. Rightly or wrongly, we discriminate against gays because we feel differently. (C)

In the Armed Forces, we've been pretty good in dealing with discrimination -- because we the senior leadership, junior officers, and NCO's got to work in an affirmative way -- not because Truman issued an Executive Order. I don't see how to do that here. I don't know how we can promote a reversal of public attitudes. (C)

I like the idea of throwing it over to Secretary Aspin for six months. I like it because it postpones it, gives us flexibility. I don't think we will come up with anything, but it helps prepare the nation. I do think you shouldn't change the rule on status while we do study. But if you change the rule, it's a de facto admission you can give up the problem we're studying. I have doubts about the courts' reaction. Courts have only focused on status cases, not behavior. This is the case in all cases where someone discharged is suing to get back in -- one has come up recently. During six months, those who acknowledge homosexuality could be dealt with by holding up cases -- not a bad idea. But if we hold up cases, we're saying we can back off on unit cohesion. (C)

I hope we can find a middle ground. But I want you to know whatever you decide, I'll salute smartly. You'll have my support. (C)

The President: Let's hear from Admiral Jeremiah after I get some medication. Senator Gore has some questions he can ask. I mean Vice President Gore. (Laughter) (C)

The Vice President: I was a "Spec Five." But I want you to hear the answers. (C)

The President: Let's take a break then for five minutes.  
(Break) (C)

Admiral Jeremiah: This subject dominates the discussion of everyone, not just among us. On training commanders, at church, every discussion we have. In my time I've never seen an issue with this much resonance. It is overwhelming, dominating. (C)

The economic costs of a change are significant. Recruiting costs will go up. The cost of retention will increase. Our studies

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show that whereas 11% now who say they won't stay, this goes to 45% if we change the policy. This is not a valid measure -- I recognize retention is a function of leadership -- but it gives some measure of the problem. (C)

There is an analogy with the drug era. Until we got the druggies out, the rest of the force did not agree to stay. As long as most command attention was focused on the drug problem, leadership was denied to the rest of the force. (C)

Housing is a problem -- on ships, subs. We have already dealt with that once with women. Barracks -- there is a cost aspect. Military housing and the cost of medical care. So there are economic direct costs as well as the impact on readiness. (C)

You are the Commander-in-Chief. You deserve the Armed Forces' loyalty, because of our built-in trust and confidence. Just as they are teams, so are we. We must have confidence in each other. We are strongly supportive of what must be done, but as we make this decision, soldiers will die for their country. Their views deserve to be heard. (C)

The Vice President: Let me ask you some questions and tell you where I am coming from. I have made a personal journey. I recognize analogies to Afro-Americans is different, but there are some parallels too. My question is, what is your underlying theory of homosexuality? Is it a behavioral characteristic, a choice, to use General Powell's word? Do you believe that is the case, or as a majority of scientists think, is there a genetic basis? (C)

General Powell: I don't know the answer. I don't make my case on that difference. (C)

The Vice President: For me, the answer makes a big difference. If we had all the science done, we would find a majority of homosexuals are born with a predisposition. Also, there is a continuum. Some are on the line. Assuming you have soldiers born with a predisposition; they are patriotic; and they commit no act in the military that violates the UCMJ. If that person is separated due to status, then that person in a way is discriminated against in a way similar to Blacks. (C)

When President Truman issued his Executive Order, I am informed that the Joint Chiefs were quite strongly opposed, but they made it work despite this. General McPeak said that "rightly or wrongly," discrimination is there. If the Joint Chiefs were opposed then, they still made it happen. (C)

General Sullivan made a point about religious beliefs. I'm a Southern Baptist. I go to a missionary church. I am quite aware of what you talk about, but I don't know anyone whose religious beliefs keep them from associating with someone whose own

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personal beliefs are different. If the view is that homosexuality is a matter of choice, it can lead more easily to view discrimination based on status as justified. That is not so if it is genetic. It is a very different situation. (C)

The President: I owe it to you to say where I'm coming from. This whole thing on both sides causes me great discomfort. There are men and women who are patriotic, served with distinction, are otherwise highly conformist persons in the best sense. I have friends who are gay. I have always been in a funny position. I believe some are born gay, and others not. The job of society is not to discriminate on the basis of moral judgment. I believe my gay friends should be able to serve. (C)

The thing that bothers me most about status versus behavior is the privacy argument. All objections flow from what is inside other men and women in the Armed Forces, what you feel about yourself in a situation where you have no control over many things. (C)

When you back up from the argument that I'll just separate myself and consider substitutes -- the argument that no hitting in showers would mean men and women in the same shower -- I had this argument with a friend -- it is the best argument for not asking. Then there is no need to lie; it gives dignity. Then, going back to status versus behavior, only behavior matters, assuming no declaration. (C)

What I honestly believe is that there are people who love their country enough who are gay, who would be willing to adhere to very strict standards, but are asking to go the next step and declare. I still believe I should keep my commitment, but I should do nothing to violate my commitment as Commander-in-Chief, nothing to undermine morale. We should stop asking the question and ask you to look at it for six months. (C)

The legal question is in the courts. General McPeak said that stopping the kicking out will prejudice the review, but if we keep discharging, I think courts will stop it anyway. I accept that there are real, serious privacy, perhaps morality, issues. I also think many gays are willing to be held to the highest standards. We should try to get there. (C)

I would like to stop asking the question, take the next six months, and try to answer the questions. I am very mindful of my oath. I have to try to be consistent with that oath. My view is that we can work through some of these things; in some services better than others, some situations are better than others. (C)

Let's take six months; stop asking the question. The legal situation will probably grind to a halt. This will present you some problems. We will need to work through in the next 24-48 hours what that means. (C)

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I think of that Army Colonel who became a media figure. Her best friend is the mother of one of my best friends. She would have gladly died for her country. (C)

I would like to have further opportunities to discuss and explore this. There is a lot of support in Congress for your position. If they are clever -- and they are -- they can do things. I hope they wouldn't do anything for six months. (C)

General Mundy: Whatever you do, it is very important you send a positive signal to your most loyal constituents. There is likely to be a great reaction of "victory" among gay rights organizations. (C)

The President: I do not consider disqualifying conduct to be confined to sexual activity. The people I would like to keep wouldn't show up at a Queer Nation parade. They demonstrated throughout my inaugural. (C)

Admiral Jeremiah: I saw two gay couples dancing at the Ball I attended. In a civilian environment, I would have no exception. At an officers' club, no. (C)

The President: Absolutely! I never said anything to suggest that my distinction against status versus behavior goes well beyond sexual conduct. Practical matters are difficult. (C)

General Powell: We need time to figure out what the practical rules are. (C)

The President: I never thought in terms of the three distinctions General McPeak made until he said it. I want to think about it. The one thing that impressed me over the years was the ones who came to me and said they were gay and really loved their country were ones trying to conform. That doesn't get into Queer Nation or gay pride. There may be a way to find distinctions. Let's lay on the table the matter of people who do nothing the next six months but say they are gay. (C)

Secretary Aspin: Let me make a suggestion. Let's get someone outside the military -- Justice -- to call a time out so the Joint Chiefs don't have to call time out. These guys must represent their constituents during the next six months. They lose credibility if they suspend cases, but if the Attorney General does call a hiatus -- a time out -- they are not involved. The Acting Attorney General is willing. Mort Halperin checked. Second, we must think about the announcement out of this meeting. Everyone is watching. We need an "honest injun" announcement. It must not look like they've caved. (C)

The Vice President: What about the truth? "We had a very frank and useful exchange of views..." (C)

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Secretary Aspin: How do we characterize what we agreed on? (C)

The Vice President: "It is the President's intent that the question no longer be asked. The Chiefs agreed on that point. The related questions of how to characterize behavior and deal with status will be studied for six months. The dialogue between the Chiefs and the President will continue -- Secretary Aspin is directed to work with the Chiefs to find answers to the questions raised here. Any questions regarding prosecutions during the six months will be up to the Justice Department." (C)

The President: We don't have to have a position coming out of this meeting. We can work that out over the next 24 hours. Just say today: "very grateful Chiefs came over, very impressed with the arguments they made." Then work out a statement within the next 24 hours. (C)

Secretary Aspin: We've got a couple of days here. It is not "greased lightning" in the Congress. (Laughter) It would be helpful if there were a day or two before the announcement is made so there would be the impression you took the Chiefs' views under advisement. Ultimately, the question comes down to this: during these six months are the discussions "whether" or "how." My view -- it may be too cute to sell -- is to say this: "we're discussing "how" to decide "whether." These guys are not yet committed to "whether." The Chiefs are trying to get through the night. (C)

Mr. Berger: For some time, there has been some value in phrasing. The President can't say "whether" is up for grabs. (C)

The President: Say: "I asked you to study 'how.' You agreed." In your mind, it is still a big question of "whether." If no answer to "how," we may have no agreement on "whether." You haven't given up. Do we say "we agreed to stop asking the question?" No. Say "I asked you to look at 'how.' You agreed." This is an issue of great concern for you. You haven't agreed on "whether." You hope if "hows" are as great as you think, you'll persuade us on "whether." (C)

Admiral Kelso: I am uncomfortable in being in disagreement with you. (C)

General Powell: It is okay. (C)

The President: But you are. It is no problem. Lots of Presidents got in trouble for not allowing dissent. You'll go to the Hill and will often be asked your views. That's okay; just tell me your views first. (C)

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The Vice President: Admiral Kelso has a valid point. Say, "in this meeting you did not ask them to agree to agree or disagree -- just to study the question." ~~(C)~~

The President: That's a better way. It leaves my position intact. ~~(C)~~

Mr. Lake: You should say that at the end of the day, you will support the President. ~~(C)~~

Mr. Stephanopolus: It is important to say you have mutual respect. That's gold. ~~(C)~~

Secretary Aspin: Yes. (U)

The President: Don't let the media drive a wedge between us. I'm not doing this for gay groups. I am doing it for people who are gay and want to serve their country. This has been a great meeting. I hope we have meetings with easier subjects. ~~(C)~~

General Powell: I guarantee we'll always tell you what we think. ~~(C)~~

The President: Thank you for coming. (U)

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9300047  
RECEIVED: 23 JAN 93 16

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 25 JAN 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE POLICY

AP

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND FOR PRES MTG W/ JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF ON 25 JAN

ACTION: NOTED BY PRES

DUE DATE: 27 JAN 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BELL

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BELL

NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526  
White House Guidelines,  
September 11, 2006

By ADB NARA, Date 8/19/16  
2015-0017-F

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THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

WASHINGTON

01-25-93

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By AD3 NARA, Date 8/19/16  
2015-0017-F

MEETING WITH  
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
DATE: January 25, 1993  
LOCATION: Cabinet Room  
TIME: 4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.  
FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

I. PURPOSE

To provide you the opportunity to begin a dialogue with the Joint Chiefs of Staff on critical national security issues.

II. BACKGROUND

Recent newspaper stories about the discussions within the Administration on the gays in the military issue have made a difficult situation worse. As of this weekend, the Joint Chiefs were reportedly very angry and feel they are being used as window dressing for a gameplan that has already been decided. To make matters worse, our friends on the Hill believe that the recent press reports have significantly undercut Senator Mitchell's ability to ward off or delay early votes on this issue in the Senate.

While there is nothing that can likely be done to reverse the Chiefs' opposition to a change in the existing policy, the degree of intensity of the Chiefs' opposition matters enormously. Thus it is critical that this meeting succeed in taking the edge off the Chiefs' anger. To do this, you must convince them that you are genuinely interested in their views, and that while you will not waver on your commitment to change the underlying policy, the process by which the new policy is implemented is still open to constructive advice.

It is crucial that this meeting address an agenda broader than the gays in the military issue. George has said publicly that it will do so. While the meeting will include a frank discussion of this issue, it should be preceded by discussion of other priority national security topics, to include the defense budget and the roles and missions review. You could emphasize at the end of the meeting that you intend to pursue a dialogue on those and other military issues.

At attachment A is a memo from Secretary Aspin outlining a strategy for the meeting, describing his current thinking on

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this issue, and appending drafts of your order to him and a press announcement. We will clear these with Howard Paster and others. Les suggests several talking points for the meeting. We have included at attachment B an amended version you may want to use. Les does not object to them.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Tab C.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press, writing pool.

V. SEQUENCE

You will greet your guests and open the meeting by asking some questions about the defense budget.

Attachments

Tab A Memorandum from Secretary Aspin  
Tab B Talking Points  
Tab C Participants List  
Tab D Bios of the Joint Chiefs

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

January 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: The Secretary of Defense *JA*  
Re: Meeting With The Joint Chiefs of Staff

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On Monday, you will be meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The meeting is scheduled for one hour and there are a number of important topics to be addressed.

My recommendation is that you open the meeting with a series of comments on the American military.

- o Today's military is the best trained and the most professional in the history of our country. Throughout the country, no institution of the American government has won greater respect than the U.S. military. This is a standard you intend to maintain.
- o As Commander-In-Chief you should make clear that you will seek their advice and comments before deciding on whether to use military force. Decisions on the use of force are among the most consequential that a President will make. Therefore, you should make this request -- that they always be candid and never reluctant to say what's on their mind.
- o The Joint Chiefs will frequently be asked to appear before Congress. On the Hill, the Chiefs are frequently asked their personal views. Make clear that you expect that. However, also make clear that you do not want to be surprised. When they disagree, they should put the issue on the table with you directly.

To get the discussion started, you may want to say this:

There are a number of items we could put on the agenda -- Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia. We definitely want to cover these in the future. We will be having other meetings.

The major issue today is the question of gays in the military. I want to hear your views. I do not want you to leave this meeting without giving everyone a chance to put it on the table. So let's start there.

While you should expect the Chiefs to speak with emotion on behalf of the existing policy, you should also recognize that the elements of a compromise are falling into place.

#### ELEMENTS FOR COMPROMISE

On Thursday, I met with the Chiefs. The conversation was candid and, at times, emotional. Homosexuals in the military dominated the discussion. In implementing the Administration's program to end discrimination against homosexuals I outlined three objectives.

1. The policy must end discrimination on the basis of status;
2. The policy must maintain military morale and discipline. To that end, the policy must include a strict code of conduct regarding behavior of uniform military personnel toward each other to insure that all men and women are free of sexual harassment and any abuse of power. The strict code of conduct will also insure that commanders in the field will have the necessary authority to assure the discipline and esprit necessary to retain the combat effectiveness of our military units.
3. The policy must be defensible in Congress.

As expected, the Chiefs raised their objections to the change. They want an opportunity to express their concerns in person. You should know that Senator Dole has been soliciting their views. The Chiefs are aware that were they to work with conservatives in the Senate, they could win a vote supporting the current position.

The Chiefs, however, agree that their mission is "not to torpedo the President," especially in the early days of your administration.

Additionally, you have some special leverage. One thing that will push the military toward compromise is the prospect that this item will be decided by the courts. A judicial decree along the lines of the recent Canadian case would give the military little flexibility. Their incentive for compromise is the drafting of a strict code of military discipline that goes to their concerns.

At a minimum, the Chiefs are willing to stop asking the question on sexual orientation that is now required on military personnel forms. That is an important step in the right direction.

Additionally, Congressman Barney Frank has spoken with the acting Attorney General, Stuart Gerson. Gerson has offered to intervene in any pending legal cases while the Administration reviews. That is also very helpful.

#### OUR STRATEGY

These are the actions that are necessary to implement our strategy.

#### **Action Number #1 -- The President Gives Instruction**

By Wednesday, the President should direct the Secretary of Defense to 1) develop a policy to end discrimination based on status against homosexuals in the military and 2) to propose a strict code of conduct for military personnel regarding sexual behavior. The Secretary should have until early June to work this matter and report to the President. Gay rights groups are pressing for a date prior to a scheduled rally on April 15. I believe, however, that an April deadline will not give us sufficient time to fully consult.

Once the President has issued this instruction, as a matter of policy, the Clinton Administration will suspend any legal actions or discharges against homosexuals based on

status. I will coordinate this with the Attorney General.

**Action Number #2 -- Deferring An Immediate Vote In The Senate**

The situation in the Senate remains tentative. I have spoken with the Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell. He understands our strategy, but continues to express concern that conservatives might attempt to force an immediate vote. If there were an early vote on the merits, we would not win.

To avoid the early Senate vote on the merits, Senator Mitchell is prepared to debate this topic after the Administration's policy has been detailed. We then have a chance to prevail on a substitute amendment acceptable to our position, or a tabling motion.

Senator Kennedy and Representatives Barney Frank and Gerry Studds have been consulted and have discussed the strategy with gay groups. They report a positive reaction.

Senator Sam Nunn has been straightforward in his comments. He will be initiating hearings in March. However, the fact that he plans these hearings is another argument for delaying an early Senate vote.

**Action Number #3 -- Secretary of Defense Conducts A Review Of The Policy**

The Secretary of Defense creates a small, internal Department of Defense task force, consults with military people at all levels and works out a strict code of conduct.

**Action Number #4 -- The President Issues An Executive Order**

The President issues an Executive Order after the Secretary reports back to him. At this point, the President has fulfilled his commitment. He has changed the immediate policy of discrimination based on status, while also recognizing the distinctive nature of military life and the need for morale and discipline not required in civilian life.

D R A F T

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Prior to July 15, 1993 please submit for my approval a draft of an Executive Order ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces of the United States, and mandating a strict code of conduct to be enforced uniformly.

In preparing the draft, I expect you to consult fully with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Military Services, with other Departments affected by the Order, and with concerned individuals and organizations outside the Executive Branch.

DRAFT

PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

I have today instructed the Secretary of Defense to draft for my review and approval an Executive Order to two ends.

First, the Order will fulfill my commitment that no one will be deprived of the opportunity to serve in the Armed Forces because of their sexual orientation. The order will end the practice of denying induction to or discharging gays and lesbians based on orientation. This form of discrimination has no place in our society. Many gay men and lesbians have served their country well. They have a right to serve without having to ~~hide~~<sup>deny</sup> their sexual orientation.

Second, the Order should propose a strict code of conduct regarding behavior of uniformed military personnel toward each other to insure that all men and women are free from sexual harassment and abuse of power. This strict code of conduct will also insure that our commanders in the field will have the necessary authority to assure the discipline and esprit de corps necessary to retain the combat effectiveness of our military units.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have expressed their reservations and concerns about the first of these changes. I have, in turn, assured the Joint Chiefs that they will have a full opportunity to participate in formulation of the Executive Order. I have also assured them that my Administration will engage them in developing a strict code of military conduct to be applied uniformly.

I am also aware of the fact that many members of the Congress have concerns about this policy. I am consulting with Senate and House leaders to ask their support in postponing any substantive consideration of this issue on the floor of either body until the Pentagon review is completed. That is, in my view, the appropriate time for the Congress to debate this matter.

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

- Let me welcome you back to the White House and say what a pleasure it is for me to meet each of you here. I hope that today's meeting will be the first of many such meetings on critical national security issues.
- I'd like to spend one half hour establishing a dialogue on two of the issues before us: the defense budget and roles and missions, and reserve the second half of the meeting to hear your views on the military personnel question that has received so much attention. Because I do take very seriously your views on that question.
- So let's begin the meeting by talking about the defense budget. As you know, Secretary Cheney recently submitted his proposed Department of Defense budget for Fiscal Year 1994 and the outyears through 1999. That budget proposes \$266 billion in budget authority for Fiscal Year 1994 and \$1.66 trillion in budget authority through 1999.
- During my campaign, I committed to further reductions over this six-year period on the order of \$60 billion. I believe that these cuts, though painful, are necessary if we are to restore the economic well being of our nation. As I am sure you agree, if we are to have a strong foreign policy and national defense it must be underpinned by a strong economy. At the same time, I said repeatedly that we must avoid the "hollow force" problems we experienced in the 1970s.
- As we consider revisions to the spending profile submitted by the last Administration, it is crucial that we establish

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White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By 203 NARA, Date 8/19/16  
2015-0017-F

an objective baseline. I am concerned by questions that arose during Secretary Aspin's confirmation hearing as to whether Secretary Cheney's budget reflects realistic assumptions. Skepticism was expressed at this hearing with regard to the assumption made by the Bush Administration and on which I based my own calculations that \$70 billion in savings can be identified through management improvements. Doubts were also voiced as to whether some of the weapons procurement programs in the budget are underfunded. I would appreciate hearing your views on both of these criticisms.

-- (FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE:) I am also interested in hearing your views about your recently completed roles and missions review. In making reductions in the defense budget below the Bush Administration's baseline, there will obviously be a premium on avoiding unnecessary overlap and redundancy to the maximum extent possible. Are there further streamlining options in the roles and missions area that were not endorsed in this study that we might need to revisit as we consider additional reductions in military spending?

-- (FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE:) Let's now turn to matters of military personnel. I believe that today's military is the best trained and the most professional in the history of our country. In the life of this nation, no institution of the American government has won greater respect than the U.S. military. With your help, this is a standard that I intend to maintain.

- . I also believe our Armed Forces must reflect both the strengths and the diversity of all our people. During my campaign I emphasized my belief that if people are denied a right to serve their country in the military, "it should be on the basis of behavior, not status." I intend to honor my commitment on this issue.
- There are, however, a number of difficult legal, social, and practical issues of implementation that must be carefully considered and on which I am keenly interested in your views.
- I regret that recent stories in the press have given a false impression that I have already figured out all the answers. Today's meeting represents the beginning of a dialogue between us on this subject - not the end. I want to hear your honest and heartfelt views. I also recognize that you will be asked to appear before Congress and give your personal views on this and other subjects. I want to make clear that I expect you to do so. I also want to make it clear that I do not want to be surprised. When you disagree with me on an issue, I want you to put that disagreement on the table with me directly, rather than having me read it in the paper or see it on T.V. With that in mind, let's open this discussion to your comments.
- (FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE:) I want to come to the Pentagon soon to continue our discussion of the budget, roles and missions, and other issues such as acquisition reform, defense conversion and readiness.

-- And again, I welcome having your straight-forward views on all issues and appreciate the professionalism with which you expressed yourself here today. The nation has a great stake in the confidence we have in each other, and I believe this was a good start.

## PARTICIPANTS

The President

The Vice President

Thomas F. McLarty, Chief of Staff

Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National  
Security Affairs

Samuel R. Berger, Assistant to the President and Deputy for  
National Security Affairs

Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense

General Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Admiral David E. Jeremiah, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of  
Staff

General Merrill A. (Tony) McPeak, Chief of Staff of the Air Force

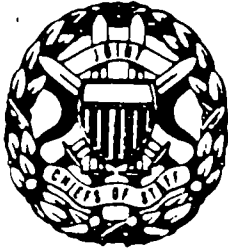
Admiral Frank Kelso, Chief of Naval Operations

General Gordon R. Sullivan, Chief of Staff of the Army

General Carl E. Mundy, Commandant of the Marine Corps

Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National  
Security Affairs

Robert Bell, Senior Director, Defense Policy and Arms Control,  
NSC Staff



## General Colin L. Powell

### Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

General Colin L. Powell was appointed the twelfth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of Defense, by President George Bush on October 1, 1989. He was reappointed for a second term in October 1991. In this capacity, he serves as the principal military advisor to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council. Prior to his current assignment, General Powell served as Commander in Chief, Forces Command, headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. He also served as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from December 1987 to January 1989.

General Powell was born in New York City on April 5, 1937, and was raised in the South Bronx section of New York. He graduated from the City College of New York in 1958, and was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Regular Army through the Reserve Officer Training Corps program.

After finishing Infantry Officer's Basic Training, and Airborne and Ranger Schools, he was assigned to Germany, where he served as a Platoon Leader, Executive Officer and Rifle Company Commander. General Powell went to Vietnam in late 1962, and served as an Advisor to a Vietnamese Infantry Battalion.

General Powell returned to Vietnam in 1968, serving as an Infantry Battalion Executive Officer and Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, 23rd Infantry Division (Americal). In 1971, he earned a Master of Business Administration Degree from George Washington University. In 1972, General Powell was selected to be a White House Fellow, and served his fellowship year in the Office of Management and Budget.

In 1973, he assumed command of the 1st Battalion, 32d Infantry in Korea. Upon completion of the National War College in 1976, he assumed command of the 2d Brigade, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) at Fort Campbell, Kentucky.

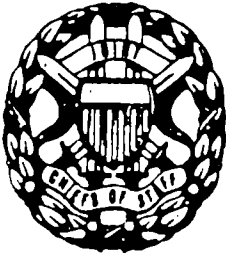
In 1977, General Powell returned to Washington to serve in the Immediate Office of the Secretary of Defense. Over the next three years, he served as Senior Military Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense. For a brief period in 1979, he served as Executive Assistant to the Secretary of Energy.

In 1981, General Powell became the Assistant Division Commander for Operations and Training, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, Colorado. In 1983, he returned to Washington to serve as Senior Military Assistant to Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger. In July 1986, he assumed command of the V U.S. Corps in Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany.

His military awards and decorations include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal with two Oak Leaf Clusters, The Distinguished Service Medal (Army), the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with Oak Leaf Cluster, the Soldier's Medal, the Bronze Star Medal, the Purple Heart, the Air Medal, the Joint Service Commendation Medal, and the Army Commendation Medal with two Oak Leaf Clusters. General Powell has received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, President's Citizens Medal, the Secretary of State Distinguished Service Medal, and the Secretary of Energy Distinguished Service Medal.

General Powell is married to the former Alma Vivian Johnson, and they have three children: Michael, Linda, and Annemarie.

REVISED: FEBRUARY 1992



## Admiral David E. Jeremiah Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Admiral David E. Jeremiah is the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In this capacity, he serves as the Nation's second highest ranking military officer.

He was born on February 25, 1934, and is a native of Portland, Oregon. He graduated from the University of Oregon in 1955 and received his commission through Officer Candidate School in 1956.

Admiral Jeremiah served on seven Pacific Fleet destroyers, including command of the USS Preble (DDG 46). He commanded Destroyer Squadron 24 from September 1979 until October 1980.

While serving as Commander, Cruiser-Destroyer Group Eight, from August 1984 until April 1986, he commanded Task Force 60 in the Mediterranean and directed the capture of the Egyptian airliner carrying the hijackers of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro. He also directed actions resulting in the sinking of two Libyan warships and the destruction of an anti-air missile site during freedom of navigation operations in the Gulf of Sidra between January and March 1986.

His early shore assignments included two tours in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations and a tour in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation. After serving as Executive Assistant to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, from October 1980 until May 1982, he was reassigned to Washington, D.C., and served as Executive Assistant to the Chief of Naval Operations until July 1984. In June 1986, he assumed duties as Director, Navy Program Planning and was promoted to Vice Admiral on July 1, 1986.

Admiral Jeremiah received his fourth star in September 1987 and became the 23rd Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, that same month. He was appointed by the President as the second individual to be named the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, assuming that position on March 1, 1990. He began his second term on March 1, 1992.

Admiral Jeremiah has a Master of Science degree in Financial Management from George Washington University. He attended the Armed Forces Staff



College from July 1970 until January 1971, followed by four months as a student at the Harvard Business School's Professional Management Development Course.

His Navy awards include the Distinguished Service Medal with three gold stars, Legion of Merit with gold star, Meritorious Service Medal with gold star, and Achievement Medal with combat "V." In July 1991, President Bush awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal for significant contributions during the Persian Gulf crisis and the successful liberation of Kuwait. He also has various foreign awards, unit commendations and campaign ribbons.

Admiral Jeremiah is married to the former Connie Jo Beem of University City, Missouri. They have two daughters: Krista and Jodi.

Revised: 1 April 1992

# UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

HEADQUARTERS MARINE CORPS, DIVISION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20380, (703) 614-4309



## GENERAL CARL E. MUNDY JR., USMC Commandant of the Marine Corps

General Mundy was commissioned a second lieutenant in June 1957, following graduation from Auburn University. Early assignments included service in the 2d Marine Division; duty aboard the Aircraft Carrier TARAWA and the Cruiser LITTLE ROCK; instructor at the Marine Corps Basic School; and as Officer Selection Officer, Raleigh, North Carolina. In 1966-67, he served in Vietnam as operations officer and executive officer of the 3d Battalion, 26th Marines, 3d Marine Division, and as an Intelligence officer in the Headquarters, III Marine Amphibious Force.

After Vietnam, his principal assignments were:

- Aide de Camp to the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps
- Inspector Instructor, 4th Air-Naval Gunfire Liaison Company, Miami, Florida
- Commanding Officer, 2d Battalion, 4th Marines, 3d Marine Division
- Plans Officer, Headquarters Marine Corps
- Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, 2d Marine Division
- Chief of Staff, Sixth Marine Amphibious Brigade
- Commanding Officer, 2d Marines, 2d Marine Division, and 36th and 38th Marine Amphibious Units

Following advancement to brigadier general in April 1982, General Mundy's assignments have been:

- Director of Personnel Procurement, Headquarters Marine Corps
- Commanding General, Landing Force Training Command, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, and Commanding General, 4th Marine Amphibious Brigade
- Advanced to major general in April 1986
- Director of Operations, Headquarters Marine Corps
- Advanced to lieutenant general in March 1988
- Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans, Policies and Operations, Headquarters Marine Corps, and Marine Corps Operations Deputy to the Joint Chiefs of Staff
- Commanding General of the Fleet Marine Force Atlantic, the II Marine Expeditionary Force, the Allied Command Atlantic Marine Striking Force, and designated to command Fleet Marine Forces which might be employed in Europe
- Promoted to general on July 1, 1991
- Present duties since July 1, 1991

General Mundy is a native of Atlanta, Georgia. He is a graduate of the Marine Corps Command and Staff College, and the Naval War College. His decorations include the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star Medal, the Purple Heart, two Navy Commendation Medals, and the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry. He is married to the former Linda Sloan of Waynesville, North Carolina. They have three children: Elizabeth, Carl III, and Timothy. Both sons are Marine officers.

(Revised July 3, 1991 HQMC)



# Biography

# United States Air Force

Secretary of the Air Force, Office of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20330-1000

## GENERAL MERRILL A. McPEAK

General Merrill A. McPeak is chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force, Washington, D.C. As chief, he serves as the senior uniformed Air Force officer responsible for the organization, training and equipage of a combined active duty, Guard, Reserve and civilian force of over 900,000 people serving at approximately 3,000 locations in the United States and overseas. As a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he and the other service chiefs function as military advisers to the secretary of defense, the National Security Council and the president.

General McPeak was born Jan. 9, 1936, in Santa Rosa, Calif. He earned a bachelor of arts degree in economics from San Diego State College in 1957 and a master's degree in international relations from George Washington University in 1974. The general completed Armed Forces Staff College in 1970, National War College in 1974, and the executive development program at the University of Michigan Graduate School of Business in June 1979.



The general was a distinguished graduate of the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps program and entered the Air Force in November 1957. He completed pilot training at Hondo Air Base, Texas, and Vance Air Force Base, Okla., and received pilot wings in January 1959. General McPeak was designated a distinguished graduate of flying training. He then completed F-100 combat crew training at Luke Air Force Base, Ariz., and Nellis Air Force Base, Nev.

His first operational assignment was flying F-104 Starfighters with the 436th Tactical Fighter Squadron, George Air Force Base, Calif. He subsequently transferred to the 79th Tactical Fighter Squadron, 20th Tactical Fighter Wing, Royal Air Force Station Woodbridge, England, where he flew F-100 Super Sabres. From May 1964 until August 1965 he was a member of the 3rd Air Force Tactical Evaluation Team, exercising and evaluating pilots and operational units in the United Kingdom.

In September 1965 General McPeak returned to Luke Air Force Base as a gunnery instructor and later served as wing weapons officer for the F-104G program. This assignment involved training pilots for West Germany's Luftwaffe.

From December 1966 to December 1968 General McPeak flew the solo and lead solo positions with the U.S. Air Force Air Demonstration Squadron, the Thunderbirds. He performed in nearly 200 official air shows in the United States and abroad.

Reporting to the Republic of Vietnam in December 1968, the general served as an F-100 tactical fighter pilot with the 37th Tactical Fighter Wing, Phu Cat Air Base, then as operations officer and, later, as commander of the "Misty" high-speed forward air controller unit. His unit subsequently was assigned to the 31st Tactical Fighter Wing at Tuy Hoa Air Base, where he served as chief of the wing Standardization and Evaluation Branch. During his tour of duty in Vietnam, he flew 269 combat missions.

After graduating from the Armed Forces Staff College in July 1970, he spent three years as an air operations staff officer in the Directorate of Plans and Policy, Headquarters U.S. Air Force, Washington, D.C. He completed the National War College in June 1974 and concurrently earned his master's degree. He then was assigned as assistant deputy commander for operations of the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing, MacDill Air Force Base, Fla.

The general was military fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City from July 1975 to June 1976. He took command of the 513th Combat Support Group, Royal Air Force Station Mildenhall, England, in July 1976 and in July 1977 became vice commander of the 406th Tactical Fighter Training Wing, Zaragoza Air Base, Spain.

From July 1978 to February 1980 General McPeak was assistant chief of staff for current operations, Allied Air Forces Central Europe, at the Central Region Air Operations Center, Boerfink, West Germany. He then assumed command of the 20th Tactical Fighter Wing, Royal Air Force Station Upper Heyford, England. In June 1981 he was assigned to Headquarters U.S. Air Forces in Europe at Ramstein Air Base, West Germany, as chief of staff. In October 1982 he became deputy chief of staff for plans, Headquarters Tactical Air Command, Langley Air Force Base, Va. From May 1985 to June 1987 he was deputy chief of staff for programs and resources at Air Force headquarters. In June 1987 he assumed command of 12th Air Force and U.S. Southern Command Air Forces, Bergstrom Air Force Base, Texas. He became commander in chief, Pacific Air Forces, Hickam Air Force Base, Hawaii, in July 1988. He assumed his present position in October 1990.

General McPeak is a command pilot and parachutist with more than 6,000 flying hours in a variety of aircraft, principally fighters. The air forces of Germany, Spain, Mexico, Thailand, Yugoslavia, France, Israel, Russia, Bulgaria, Venezuela and Poland have awarded him pilot wings. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London.

He was promoted to general Aug. 1, 1988, with same date of rank.

General McPeak is married to the former Elynor Moskowitz of San Diego. They have two sons, Mark and Brian.



# Biography

## United States Army

Office, Chief of Public Affairs  
Washington, D.C. 20310

**General Gordon R. Sullivan**

**Chief of Staff, United States Army**

General Sullivan is a native of Boston, Massachusetts. He was commissioned a second lieutenant of Armor and awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Norwich University in 1959. He holds a Master of Arts degree in Political Science from the University of New Hampshire. His military schooling includes the Armor School, the Command and General Staff College and the Army War College.

During his career, he has served in a variety of command and staff positions including four years in joint and allied assignments. His extensive overseas assignments include four tours in Europe, two in Vietnam and one in Korea. General Sullivan also served in assignments of increasing responsibility on the Army Staff in Washington, D.C., including a tour as the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans and as the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army.

General Sullivan has commanded at platoon through division level. In United States Army, Europe he commanded the 4th Battalion, 73rd Armor and the 1st Brigade, 3rd Armored Division, followed by an assignment as 3rd Armored Division's Chief of Staff. He also served as the 1st Infantry Division Operations Officer (G-3) at Fort Riley, Kansas and the VII Corps Operations Officer (G-3) in Germany. Subsequently, he served as the Assistant Commandant of the Armor School at Art Knox, Kentucky, on the NATO staff as the Deputy Chief of Staff for Support of Central Army Group in Germany and as the Deputy Commandant of the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He served as Commanding General of the 1st Infantry Division at Fort Riley, Kansas.

General Sullivan has received numerous awards for his service both in peacetime and in combat, to include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Purple Heart and the Combat Infantryman Badge.

On June 23, 1991, General Sullivan assumed his duties as the thirty-second Chief of Staff of the United States Army. As Chief of Staff, General Sullivan is the senior general officer in the Army. He is directly responsible to the Secretary of the Army for the efficiency of the Army and its preparedness for military operations. He also serves as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

- LET ME WELCOME YOU BACK TO THE WHITE HOUSE AND SAY WHAT A PLEASURE IT IS FOR ME TO MEET EACH OF YOU HERE. I HOPE THAT TODAY'S MEETING WILL BE THE FIRST OF MANY SUCH MEETINGS ON CRITICAL NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES.
- I'D LIKE TO SPEND ONE HALF HOUR ESTABLISHING A DIALOGUE ON TWO OF THE ISSUES BEFORE US: THE DEFENSE BUDGET AND ROLES AND MISSIONS, AND RESERVE THE SECOND HALF OF THE MEETING TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON THE MILITARY PERSONNEL QUESTION THAT HAS RECEIVED SO MUCH ATTENTION. BECAUSE

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CARD 2 OF 7

- I DO TAKE VERY SERIOUSLY YOUR VIEWS ON THAT QUESTION.
- SO LET'S BEGIN THE MEETING BY TALKING ABOUT THE DEFENSE BUDGET. AS YOU KNOW, SECRETARY CHENEY RECENTLY SUBMITTED HIS PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1994 AND THE OUTYEARS THROUGH 1999. THAT BUDGET PROPOSES \$266 BILLION IN BUDGET AUTHORITY FOR FISCAL YEAR 1994 AND \$1.66 TRILLION IN BUDGET AUTHORITY THROUGH 1999.
- DURING MY CAMPAIGN, I COMMITTED TO FURTHER REDUCTIONS OVER THIS SIX-YEAR PERIOD ON THE ORDER OF \$60 BILLION. I BELIEVE THAT THESE CUTS, THOUGH PAINFUL, ARE NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO RESTORE THE ECONOMIC WELL BEING OF OUR NATION. AS I AM SURE YOU AGREE, IF WE ARE TO HAVE A STRONG FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By 403 NARA, Date 8/19/16  
2015-0017-F

DEFENSE IT MUST BE UNDERPINNED BY A STRONG ECONOMY. AT THE SAME TIME, I SAID REPEATEDLY THAT WE MUST AVOID THE "HOLLOW FORCE" PROBLEMS WE EXPERIENCED IN THE 1970S.

-- AS WE CONSIDER REVISIONS TO THE SPENDING PROFILE SUBMITTED BY THE LAST ADMINISTRATION, IT IS CRUCIAL THAT WE ESTABLISH AN OBJECTIVE BASELINE. I AM CONCERNED BY QUESTIONS THAT AROSE DURING SECRETARY ASPIN'S CONFIRMATION HEARING AS TO WHETHER SECRETARY CHENEY'S BUDGET REFLECTS REALISTIC ASSUMPTIONS. SKEPTICISM WAS EXPRESSED AT THIS HEARING WITH REGARD TO THE ASSUMPTION MADE BY THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND ON WHICH I BASED MY OWN CALCULATIONS THAT \$70 BILLION IN SAVINGS CAN BE IDENTIFIED THROUGH MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENTS. DOUBTS WERE ALSO VOICED AS TO WHETHER SOME OF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARD 4 OF 7

THE WEAPONS PROCUREMENT PROGRAMS IN THE BUDGET ARE UNDERFUNDED. I WOULD APPRECIATE HEARING YOUR VIEWS ON BOTH OF THESE CRITICISMS.

-- (FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE:) I AM ALSO INTERESTED IN HEARING YOUR VIEWS ABOUT YOUR RECENTLY COMPLETED ROLES AND MISSIONS REVIEW. IN MAKING REDUCTIONS IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET BELOW THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S BASELINE, THERE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE A PREMIUM ON AVOIDING UNNECESSARY OVERLAP AND REDUNDANCY TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE. ARE THERE FURTHER STREAMLINING OPTIONS IN THE ROLES AND MISSIONS AREA THAT WERE NOT ENDORSED IN THIS STUDY THAT WE MIGHT NEED TO REVISIT AS WE CONSIDER ADDITIONAL REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY SPENDING?

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CARD 5 OF 7

- (FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE:) LET'S NOW TURN TO MATTERS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL. I BELIEVE THAT TODAY'S MILITARY IS THE BEST TRAINED AND THE MOST PROFESSIONAL IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY. IN THE LIFE OF THIS NATION, NO INSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS WON GREATER RESPECT THAN THE U.S. MILITARY. WITH YOUR HELP, THIS IS A STANDARD THAT I INTEND TO MAINTAIN.
- I ALSO BELIEVE OUR ARMED FORCES MUST REFLECT BOTH THE STRENGTHS AND THE DIVERSITY OF ALL OUR PEOPLE. DURING MY CAMPAIGN I EMPHASIZED MY BELIEF THAT IF PEOPLE ARE DENIED A RIGHT TO SERVE THEIR COUNTRY IN THE MILITARY, "IT SHOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF BEHAVIOR, NOT STATUS." I INTEND TO HONOR MY COMMITMENT ON THIS ISSUE.

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CARD 6 OF 7

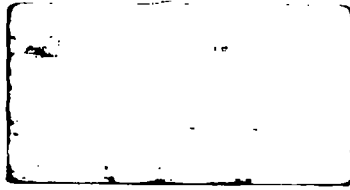
- THERE ARE, HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND PRACTICAL ISSUES OF IMPLEMENTATION THAT MUST BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED AND ON WHICH I AM KEENLY INTERESTED IN YOUR VIEWS.
- I REGRET THAT RECENT STORIES IN THE PRESS HAVE GIVEN A FALSE IMPRESSION THAT I HAVE ALREADY FIGURED OUT ALL THE ANSWERS. TODAY'S MEETING REPRESENTS THE BEGINNING OF A DIALOGUE BETWEEN US ON THIS SUBJECT - NOT THE END. I WANT TO HEAR YOUR HONEST AND HEARTFELT VIEWS. I ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT YOU WILL BE ASKED TO APPEAR BEFORE CONGRESS AND GIVE YOUR PERSONAL VIEWS ON THIS AND OTHER SUBJECTS. I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT I EXPECT YOU TO DO SO. I ALSO WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I DO NOT WANT TO BE SURPRISED. WHEN YOU DISAGREE WITH ME ON AN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ISSUE, I WANT YOU TO PUT THAT DISAGREEMENT ON THE TABLE WITH ME DIRECTLY, RATHER THAN HAVING ME READ IT IN THE PAPER OR SEE IT ON T.V. WITH THAT IN MIND, LET'S OPEN THIS DISCUSSION TO YOUR COMMENTS.

- (FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE:) I WANT TO COME TO THE PENTAGON SOON TO CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET, ROLES AND MISSIONS, AND OTHER ISSUES SUCH AS ACQUISITION REFORM, DEFENSE CONVERSION AND READINESS.
- AND AGAIN, I WELCOME HAVING YOUR STRAIGHT-FORWARD VIEWS ON ALL ISSUES AND APPRECIATE THE PROFESSIONALISM WITH WHICH YOU EXPRESSED YOURSELF HERE TODAY. THE NATION HAS A GREAT STAKE IN THE CONFIDENCE WE HAVE IN EACH OTHER, AND I BELIEVE THIS WAS A GOOD START.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0047

January 24, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ROBERT BELL *RbS*  
SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff

Background

Recent newspaper stories about the discussions within the Administration on the gays in the military issue have made a difficult situation worse. As of this weekend the Joint Chiefs were very angry, and feel like they are being used as window dressing for a gameplan that has already been decided. Some of the Chiefs have recently complained that "the fix is in," that decisions on the policy and the implementation of the policy have already been set in concrete, and that this "consultation" is just for show.

To make matters worse, our friends on the Hill believe that the recent press reports have significantly undercut Senator Mitchell's ability to ward off or delay early votes on this issue in the Senate. His ability to argue that "hearings must be held" or that "the Chiefs must be consulted" will be hard to sustain if opponents such as Senator Coats can wave a copy of the Washington Post in which a headline proclaims that President Clinton has already adopted a plan.

Secretary Aspin's January 23 memo states "the Chiefs are aware that were they to work with conservatives in the Senate they could win a vote supporting the current position." In the hearings that Senator Nunn will hold this spring, the Chiefs will say that they are opposed to a change in this policy. That having been said, the Chiefs are, above all, loyal Americans, professional military officers, and committed to follow the orders of their Commander-in-Chief. As Secretary Aspin observes in his memo, the Chiefs agree "that their mission is 'not to torpedo' the President, especially in the early days of (his) Administration."

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526  
White House Guidelines,  
September 11, 2006

By ADB NARA, Date 8/19/16  
2015-0017-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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- \* While there is nothing that can likely be done to reverse their opposition, the degree of intensity of the Chiefs' opposition matters enormously. Thus it is critical that this meeting succeed in taking the edge off the Chiefs' anger. To do this, the President must convince them that he is genuinely interested in their views, and that while he will not waver on his commitment to change the underlying policy, the process by which the new policy is implemented is still open to constructive advice.

As Sandy said yesterday, it would be a disaster if this meeting were to address only the gays in the military issue. It would be a disaster for the media play and in terms of the atmospherics of the meeting itself. I recommend the following concept for the conduct of the meeting:

1. The purpose of the meeting is to begin a dialogue with the Chiefs on a host of critical issues. While the meeting will include a frank discussion of the gays in the military issue, that discussion should be preceded and followed by discussion of other priority national security topics, to include the defense budget, the roles and missions review, and the current situation in Iraq.
2. If possible, the meeting should open with the presentation by the President of a Presidential medal to retiring General Adrian Saint John. This ceremony had been previously scheduled in December but was unavoidably delayed. Jim Woolsey, who worked closely with General Saint John during the CFE negotiations, has recommended that the President present this medal personally at an early date. The President's honoring of this warrior/diplomat, who fought his way across Germany in World War II and has devoted 50 years of his life to public service, will make a deep impression on the Chiefs and underscore the President's esteem for the professionalism and dedication of our uniformed military. The press could be invited to film this ceremony and then be excused from the room. This would be a better video picture for news stories tomorrow night about the gays in the military issue than a picture of the President sitting across a table from a group of stony-faced generals and admirals. We will, however, need to confirm that General Saint John could be available for such a ceremony tomorrow.
3. Following this brief ceremony the President would invite the participants to be seated and open discussion on two military topics of priority importance to the Chiefs and to the success of President Clinton's Administration: the military budget and the roles and missions review. Suggested questions for the President to ask are included in the attached talking points.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4. After these topics have been aired, the President should turn to the topic of military personnel. As Secretary Aspin recommends in his memo, the President should emphasize his belief that today's military is the best trained and the most professional in the history of our country and that is a standard that he intends to maintain. In this context, the President could then raise the issue of gays in the military. The attached talking points also include a suggested script for making this transition.
5. The meeting should not end on the gays in the military issue. We do not want the Chiefs to walk out into the glare of cameras looking stern or angry. Once the discussion of gays in the military issue has gone around the room enough to insure that each Chief has had a chance to articulate his core views, the President should turn the discussion to the situation in Iraq. Here, he should note that U.S. strategy is under review and ask the Chiefs if, in the interim while this review is being completed, our military deployments in the region are adequate. The Chiefs are enormously proud of their services' performance in Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, and in the recent operations and the President should draw them out on particulars.
6. The President should end the meeting by noting that there is another critical region where U.S. policy is under review - Yugoslavia - but time doesn't remain in this meeting to do justice to the issue. The President should pledge to meet again with the Chiefs at an early date, perhaps at the Pentagon, with Yugoslavia at the top of the agenda.

At Tab I is the meeting memorandum to the President's for your signature.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

#### Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
  - Tab A Memorandum from Secretary Aspin
  - Tab B Talking Points
  - Tab C Participants List
  - Tab D Bios of the Joint Chiefs

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0101

January 27, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM:

ROBERT BELL *RB*

SUBJECT:

Transcript of Senator Nunn's Remarks on Gays  
in the Military

Per our telecon last night, attached is the full transcript of Senator Nunn's remarks on this issue Monday.

He is planning a major floor speech on this topic, which may be delivered today. Knowing Senator Nunn's style, I anticipate he will:

- Reiterate his support for the current policy, but say he has an open mind;
- Urge close consultations between the President and the Hill and between the President and the Joint Chiefs; and
- List the 10-20 key questions about the practical, moral, and legal aspects of the proposed policy change that he believes have not yet been answered (or, in his view, thought through).

Attachment

Tab A      Transcript of Senator Nunn's Remarks

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- Monday, January 25, 1993

News Conference: Senator Sam Nunn, Senator Pete Domenici, Senator  
John Danforth, and Senator David Boren - Consumption Tax  
Transcript ID: 911613 (125 lines)

NEWS CONFERENCE WITH:  
SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA)  
SENATOR PETE DOMENICI (R-NM)  
SENATOR JOHN DANFORTH (R-MO)  
SENATOR DAVID BOREN (D-OK)

TOPIC: CONSUMPTION TAX

1:15 P.M.

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993

SENATE RADIO/TV GALLERY

EXCERPT OF QUESTIONS ON

Q Senator Nunn, could you please address Senator Mitchell's  
comments yesterday that he doesn't think -- reported comments that he  
doesn't think there are 30 votes in the Senate that would uphold a  
resolution ending the ban on homosexual -- (inaudible) --

(Senators conferring.)

SEN. DANFORTH: Thank you very much.

SEN. NUNN: I'm sorry. Would you mind repeating.

SEN. DANFORTH: Letters over there.

Q Could you address what Senator Mitchell reportedly said that  
there are not -- there are no more than 30 votes in the Senate that would  
support a resolution lifting the ban on gays in the military?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I'm not sure that Senator Mitchell ever said that.  
What I read in the paper was a memorandum from Congressman Aspin --  
Secretary Aspin -- to President Clinton that basically talks about what  
Senator Mitchell said. Senator Mitchell never said that to me, so you'd  
have to ask him about that.

My own view is that I don't have any count on how people stand in the  
Senate. I don't whether there are 30 votes to uphold the existing policy,  
or 60 votes or -- I'm not sure.

Q Senator, what's your own vote?

Q How would you support it?

SEN. NUNN: I support the current policy, and I've said that on a number of occasions. I do believe we ought to have hearings.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the United States shall raise and support Armies, and shall provide for those Armies and Navies and Air Forces, and it is the specific duty to provide in statutes for the provision for those Armies and Navies and Air Forces. And the question about our constitutional duty -- And we have to address that.

It is fine for the President to decide what he's going to do in order to carry out the fundamental policy dealing with our military -- and our responsibility, and the Congress of the United States.

I'm going to be having hearings on this subject. I promised Senator Metzenbaum last year, on the floor of the Senate, that we would have hearings on this subject. And we will have hearings on the subject sometime beginning in the month of March.

It may take some weeks, and it may take months. So, I'm not saying we'll wrap everything up in March. There are many complicated questions on the subject, and I plan to -- probably tomorrow -- make a speech on the floor where I will enumerate those questions that we will be going into in March.

I think our committee ought to go into the hearings with a view of hearing from everyone. All of us have our own individual views. But, I think we ought to all be willing for those views to be shaped after we have heard from the President and his team, Secretary Aspin, and also after we've heard from many members of the military on both sides of the issue.

and women in the military have been in the military for a long time, and they have been in the military for a long time, and they ought to be heard from. And I can assure the men and women in the military that they will be heard from whatever their views.

We'll have not only top-ranking officers and members of the Joint Chiefs -- we'll want to hear from them -- but I'll also have some enlisted people and some young officers so that we can get a view of the military. This is an important issue of the military. And before we make a decision on it in the Congress, and I would also hope in the future, we would have the military's own view.

Q In the -- (inaudible) -- memo, it says that -- (inaudible) -- your leadership. -- (inaudible) -- keeping the ban in place, does that

mean it's -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I just -- I really don't want to comment on a memo that I haven't read. I haven't seen the memo. I read it in the paper. And I don't want to -- I can't conclude where the votes are. I can't conclude what the Congress should -- is going to do. I can conclude the Constitution of the United States puts this responsibility on the Congress of the United States as well as the President of the United States and Command-in-Chief.

It's not simply a presidential prerogative.

Q Senator, -- (inaudible) -- your mind is made up. You said the other time that you should be open -- open to what comes out of the hearings. Does this suggest that --

SEN. NUNN: I didn't -- I said I had a different position  
current position. That is my strong, I think, view of the  
current policy, not a good reason for not listening to  
other views that ought to be heard and considered. Those

~~whether or not I change my mind or not will depend on the testimony we have~~  
~~and the views of an awful lot of other people. So far as I have been on~~  
~~it, I don't think I can rest on anything.~~

But, I also recognize there are court cases. There are challenges. There are many people who are in the military today who are not disclosed as homosexuals, but who probably either are or have those tendencies.

We have a whole series of questions about whether this is a state of mind, or whether we will basically be governing conduct. So, it's a complicated, complex issue.

Anyone who thinks that you can just make a decision, sign an Executive Order, and that's it, hasn't looked at the underlying questions there. There are an awful lot of question on this subject, and I'll be going into those on the floor, probably some time tomorrow.

Q Senator, is the President -- (inaudible) --

Q -- (inaudible) -- the situation now?

SEN. NUNN: I have no -- I have no vote count. I don't purport to try to speak for anyone other than myself on the subject. We do have a lot of interest in the subject. Senator Metzenbaum raised it on the floor last year. He did not push for a vote. And I pled to have hearings on it. And I'm telling you here today that we will have hearings beginning some time in March.

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: Absolutely. We'll hear from -- we'll hear from all points of view on the subject. We certainly will have people in gay groups that will be invited to be heard, both in the military and, certainly, from some organizations outside the military.

Q -- (inaudible) -- have handled it so far?

SEN. NUNN: Will I comment on it?

Q Are you concerned about the way -- the manner in which -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: We'll I'll just say that if there's a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] (Laughter.)

Q Does that mean you're dissatisfied?

SEN. NUNN: No. It just means what I said. I just am not part of the strategy. I haven't been -- I haven't --

Q -- (inaudible) -- on the Congress concerning Zoe Baird last week, and now --

SEN. NUNN: I didn't get the question. I heard the references, but --

Q How would you describe the beginning of the relationship between the Clinton White House and Congress with the Zoe Baird -- (inaudible) -- of last week, and now this coming up Monday morning?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I didn't view that as a contest -- the Zoe Baird nomination as a contest between the Congress and the President. I think the people in the White House concluded -- as the people in the Congress and the Senate concluded as the week went on -- that this was not a nomination that could be sustained.

And I think that she was -- probably qualified for other positions, but the nature of her mistakes were basically -- went right to the heart of her job. And that's what you look at in this situation. And she would have been charged for carrying out the very laws that she had admitted she breached with knowledge.

When I first heard about the subject of Zoe Baird, I did not know whether she understood the implications of the law and had gone forward even understanding that she was violating the law. When she admitted that, then I didn't make any public statement, but it was clear to me that that went to the heart of her job.

So, I didn't see this as a contest between the President and the Congress. I don't see this as a contest -- this whole homosexual issue



SEN. NUNN: I had breakfast with Secretary Aspin on Friday morning. We had many things we discussed. This was one of them. This was certainly not --

Q -- (inaudible) -- had a conversation with him prior to the Friday -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I don't know. Friday morning is when I had breakfast with him. I'm not sure when the memo was written. I don't know the date of the memo. I had breakfast with him on Friday morning, but I've had discussions

--

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I've had several -- a number of conversations with Secretary Aspin. And there have been several occasions where this subject has come up, so it was not limited to Friday. We've had several conversations. And I've had several conversations with President Clinton.

Q Senator, it seems to me that you're the best qualified person probably in the Congress to assess the mood of the Congress. And if you don't know if -- number one: it's surprising. But, -- (inaudible) -- has to do with surprising.

SEN. NUNN: I never pretend to know the mood of Congress until we vote. I've seen Congress change it's mind on a dime.

We saw last week how quickly the Senate of the United States can react to public opinion. The ultimate question will be what the American public thinks about it.

I think until you have a thorough set of hearings, until the Congress of the United States has a chance to focus on it. Most people have been concerned about taxes or education or health. Most people haven't sat around and focused on this one issue.

So, I don't think the Congress has the count is. And I think the American people are closely divided. I think a thorough set of hearings, perhaps a presidential commission, should precede any kind of definitive final action.

Q And do you feel there should be a recorded vote in the Congress on this?

SEN. NUNN: Well, it's -- it's just like any other vote. If it's controversial, there will be a recorded vote. If it's not -- if we were to come to some amazing consensus that had no controversy, then I would not object, per se, to a voice vote. I'd be very shocked if that happens.

Q Do you think it can be avoided for too long?

Q Do you think that it is possible that Congress will go for a couple of months without a vote on it?

SEN. NUNN: I do not know. I -- that's something Senator Mitchell will have to determine. I'm not trying to run away from a vote on the subject.

I do think, though, before we make any kind of definitive decision in the Senate of the United States -- and I would think the House would want to do the same thing -- we'd want to have thorough hearings, and have the record there so that everybody could understand that these issues are not simple.

People think this is a sort of a black and white issue that's very simple, and that you can just make a decision like amnesty, and that's it. Far from it.

There are all sorts of issues that flow from your initial decision. If your initial decision is to change the policy, there are all sorts of very important questions that could flow from that. And if you're going to make this decision without thinking about these questions, then basically I think that's a mistake. That's what I'm saying.

Thank you.

Q -- (inaudible) --

~~SEN. NUNN: Well, let me make this clear. The President can do certain things by Executive Order. There's certain things he can't do by Executive Order.~~

~~He can't change the uniform code. He can't change the Uniform Code of Military Justice. He can't change the Uniform Code of Sentences. He can't change the Uniform Code of Military Justice. He can't change the Uniform Code of Sentences. He can't change the Uniform Code of Military Justice. He can't change the Uniform Code of Sentences.~~

~~So, there are certain things that the President can do by Executive Order. There are certain things that he can't do by Executive Order. There are certain things that he can't do by Executive Order. There are certain things that he can't do by Executive Order.~~

~~There are all sorts of questions that flow from it. There are questions that flow from it. There are questions that flow from it. There are questions that flow from it. There are questions that flow from it. There are questions that flow from it. There are questions that flow from it.~~

~~and I'll look for it to be passed.~~

END

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0101

January 27, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ROBERT BELL *RB*  
SUBJECT: Transcript of Senator Nunn's Remarks on Gays  
in the Military

Per our telecon last night, attached is the full transcript of Senator Nunn's remarks on this issue Monday.

He is planning a major floor speech on this topic, which may be delivered today. Knowing Senator Nunn's style, I anticipate he will:

- Reiterate his support for the current policy, but say he has an open mind;
- Urge close consultations between the President and the Hill and between the President and the Joint Chiefs; and
- List the 10-20 key questions about the practical, moral, and legal aspects of the proposed policy change that he believes have not yet been answered (or, in his view, thought through).

Attachment

Tab A Transcript of Senator Nunn's Remarks

Copyright (C) 1993 by Federal Information Systems Corporation

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- Monday, January 25, 1993

News Conference: Senator Sam Nunn, Senator Pete Domenici, Senator  
John Danforth, and Senator David Boren - Consumption Tax  
Transcript ID: 911613 (125 lines)

NEWS CONFERENCE WITH:  
SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA)  
SENATOR PETE DOMENICI (R-NM)  
SENATOR JOHN DANFORTH (R-MO)  
SENATOR DAVID BOREN (D-OK)

TOPIC: CONSUMPTION TAX

1:15 P.M.

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993

SENATE RADIO/TV GALLERY

EXCERPT OF QUESTIONS ON ~~HOUSE SENATE~~

Q Senator Nunn, could you please address Senator Mitchell's  
comments yesterday that he doesn't think -- reported comments that he  
doesn't think there are 30 votes in the Senate that would uphold a  
resolution ending the ban on homosexual -- (inaudible) --

(Senators conferring.)

SEN. DANFORTH: Thank you very much.

SEN. NUNN: I'm sorry. Would you mind repeating.

SEN. DANFORTH: Letters over there.

Q Could you address what Senator Mitchell reportedly said that  
there are not -- there are no more than 30 votes in the Senate that would  
support a resolution lifting the ban on gays in the military?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I'm not sure that Senator Mitchell ever said that.  
What I read in the paper was a memorandum from Congressman Aspin --  
Secretary Aspin -- to President Clinton that basically talks about what  
Senator Mitchell said. Senator Mitchell never said that to me, so you'd  
have to ask him about that.

My own view is that I don't have any count on how people stand in the  
Senate. I don't whether there are 30 votes to uphold the existing policy,  
or 60 votes or -- I'm not sure.

Q Senator, what's your own vote?

Q How would you support it?

SEN. NUNN: I support the current policy, and I've said that on a number of occasions. I do believe we ought to have hearings.

The Constitution of the United States, the United States shall raise and support arms, specific duty to provide in statutes for the provision for those arms and navy, and air, question about our constitutional duty, and I have to address that.

It is fine for me to decide to do it, but I decide what he's going to do, and we order the fundamental policy dealing with our military, a shared responsibility, and the Congress of the United States, and the

I'm going to be having hearings on this subject. I promised Senator Metzenbaum last year, on the floor of the Senate, that we would have hearings on this subject. And we will have hearings on the subject sometime beginning in the month of March.

It may take some weeks, and it may take months. So, I'm not saying we'll wrap everything up in March. There are many complicated questions on the subject, and I plan to -- probably tomorrow -- make a speech on the floor where I will enumerate those questions that we will be going into in March.

I think our committee ought to go into the hearings with a view of hearing from everyone. All of us have our own individual views. But, I think we ought to all be willing for those views to be shaped after we have heard from the President and his team, Secretary Aspin, and also after we've heard from many members of the military on both sides of the issue.

and women in the military, and they have been heard from, and they ought to be heard from. And I can assure the men and women in the military that they will be heard from whatever their views.

We'll have not only top-ranking officers and members of the Joint Chiefs -- we'll want to hear from them -- but I'll also have some enlisted people and some young officers so that we can get a view of the military. This is an important issue of the military, and before we make a decision on it in the Congress, and I would also hope in the Senate, we would have the full hearing.

Q In the -- (inaudible) -- memo, it says that -- (inaudible) -- your leadership. -- (inaudible) -- keeping the ban in place, does that

mean it's -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I just -- I really don't want to comment on a memo that I haven't read. I haven't seen the memo. I read it in the paper. And I don't want to -- I can't conclude where the votes are. I can't conclude what the Congress should -- is going to do. I can conclude the Constitution of the United States puts this responsibility on the Congress of the United States as well as the President of the United States and Command-in-Chief.

It's not simply a presidential prerogative.

Q Senator, -- (inaudible) -- your mind is made up. You said the other time that you should be open -- open to what comes out of the hearings. Does this suggest that --

SEN. NUNN: I didn't -- I said I had a strong opinion on the current position, that is my personal position. I don't know what the current policy is, and I don't know what the other views that ought to be heard, and I don't know what those views are.

What will change my mind or not will depend on the testimony we have and the views of a whole lot of other people. I don't know what the current policy is, and I don't know what the other views that ought to be heard, and I don't know what those views are.

But, I also recognize there are court cases. There are challenges. There are many people who are in the military today who are not disclosed as homosexuals, but who probably either are or have those tendencies.

We have a whole series of questions about whether this is a state of mind, or whether we will basically be governing conduct. So, it's a complicated, complex issue.

Anyone who thinks that you can just make a decision, sign an Executive Order, and that's it, hasn't looked at the underlying questions there. There are an awful lot of question on this subject, and I'll be going into those on the floor, probably some time tomorrow.

Q Senator, is the President -- (inaudible) --

Q -- (inaudible) -- the situation now?

SEN. NUNN: I have no -- I have no vote count. I don't purport to try to speak for anyone other than myself on the subject. We do have a lot of interest in the subject. Senator Metzenbaum raised it on the floor last year. He did not push for a vote. And I pled to have hearings on it. And I'm telling you here today that we will have hearings beginning some time in March.

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: Absolutely. We'll hear from -- we'll hear from all points of view on the subject. We certainly will have people in gay groups that will be invited to be heard, both in the military and, certainly, from some organizations outside the military.

Q -- (inaudible) -- have handled it so far?

SEN. NUNN: Will I comment on it?

Q Are you concerned about the way -- the manner in which -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: We'll I'll just say that if there's a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] (Laughter.)

Q Does that mean you're dissatisfied?

SEN. NUNN: No. It just means what I said. I just am not part of the strategy. I haven't been -- I haven't --

Q -- (inaudible) -- on the Congress concerning Zoe Baird last week, and now --

SEN. NUNN: I didn't get the question. I heard the references, but --

Q How would you describe the beginning of the relationship between the Clinton White House and Congress with the Zoe Baird -- (inaudible) -- of last week, and now this coming up Monday morning?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I didn't view that as a contest -- the Zoe Baird nomination as a contest between the Congress and the President. I think the people in the white House concluded -- as the people in the Congress and the Senate concluded as the week went on -- that this was not a nomination that could be sustained.

And I think that she was -- probably qualified for other positions, but the nature of her mistakes were basically -- went right to the heart of her job. And that's what you look at in this situation. And she would have been charged for carrying out the very laws that she had admitted she breached with knowledge.

When I first heard about the subject of Zoe Baird, I did not know whether she understood the implications of the law and had gone forward even understanding that she was violating the law. When she admitted that, then I didn't make any public statement, but it was clear to me that that went to the heart of her job.

So, I didn't see this as a contest between the President and the Congress. I don't see this as a contest -- this whole homosexual issue

between the President and the Congress. It may get down to that. We may have differences of opinion when we conclude.

But, one thing we all know is that the military of the United States is important. The morale of the military of the United States is important. We also have certain constitutional protections for every individual in this country.

We have to reconcile those things, and we have to take into account not only the views of homosexuals which are important -- many of them have served ably, and I'm sure many of them continue to -- but also the rights of privacy of those men and women in the military that are not homosexual. Both have to be heard from.

We also have a very important consideration about the military being different from any other walk of life. Almost any other job you describe, when you get through with the job, you go home at night. You have your privacy of your home. In the military, that's just not the case.

And people in the military -- who have served in the military -- understand that and understand it well. When you go into the military of the United States, you give up a certain amount of privacy. And that makes the military unique and different from almost every other aspect of life.

And we have to consider that in looking at the cohesion of the military, and looking at the morale of the military, and in determining if changes should be made; and if they are going to be made, how to make those changes.

Q Senator, as a matter of national priority, do you think that this issue at this time prevents things from the military when there are troops in Somalia, when the administration is trying to come up with an alternative policy perhaps, or continuation of the policy in Iraq -- (inaudible) -- about the former Yugoslavia? Is this the time for this issue when there are so many other military matters to consider?

SEN. NUNN: [REDACTED]  
Congress, and probably even have a presidential commission that would deliberate on these issues. And the Senate could take any action that it wanted on these issues, and come out with recommendations some time much later this year.

But, [REDACTED]  
But, [REDACTED] go to his platform. He has his view. And we will certainly take that into account.

Q Senator, -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: No disrespect, David. Excuse me. (Laughter.)

Q Have you and Mr. Aspin -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I had breakfast with Secretary Aspin on Friday morning. We had many things we discussed. This was one of them. This was certainly not --

Q -- (inaudible) -- had a conversation with him prior to the Friday -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I don't know. Friday morning is when I had breakfast with him. I'm not sure when the memo was written. I don't know the date of the memo. I had breakfast with him on Friday morning, but I've had discussions --

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I've had several -- a number of conversations with Secretary Aspin. And there have been several occasions where this subject has come up, so it was not limited to Friday. We've had several conversations. And I've had several conversations with President Clinton.

Q Senator, it seems to me that you're the best qualified person probably in the Congress to assess the mood of the Congress. And if you don't know if -- number one: it's surprising. But, -- (inaudible) -- has to do with surprising.

SEN. NUNN: I never pretend to know the mood of Congress until we vote. I've seen Congress change it's mind on a dime.

We saw last week how quickly the Senate of the United States can react to public opinion. The ultimate question will be what the American public thinks about it.

I think until you have a thorough set of hearings, until the Congress of the United States has a chance to focus on it. Most people have been concerned about taxes or education or health. Most people haven't sat around and focused on this one issue.

So, I don't think the Congress -- (inaudible) -- If they have, I don't know what the count is. And I think the American people are closely divided. I think a thorough set of hearings, perhaps a presidential commission, should precede any kind of definitive final action.

Q And do you feel there should be a recorded vote in the Congress on this?

SEN. NUNN: Well, it's -- it's just like any other vote. If it's controversial, there will be a recorded vote. If it's not -- if we were to come to some amazing consensus that had no controversy, then I would not object, per se, to a voice vote. I'd be very shocked if that happens.

Q Do you think it can be avoided for too long?

Q Do you think that it is possible that Congress will go for a couple of months without a vote on it?

SEN. NUNN: I do not know. I -- that's something Senator Mitchell will have to determine. I'm not trying to run away from a vote on the subject.

I do think, though, before we make any kind of definitive decision in the Senate of the United States -- and I would think the House would want to do the same thing -- we'd want to have thorough hearings, and have the record there so that everybody could understand that these issues are not simple.

People think this is a sort of a black and white issue that's very simple, and that you can just make a decision like amnesty, and that's it. Far from it.

There are all sorts of issues that flow from your initial decision. If your initial decision is to change the policy, there are all sorts of very important questions that could flow from that. And if you're going to make this decision without thinking about these questions, then basically I think that's a mistake. That's what I'm saying.

Thank you.

Q -- (inaudible) --

~~SEN. NUNN: Well, let me make this clear. The President can do certain things by Executive Order. There are certain things he cannot do by Executive Order.~~

~~He cannot change the Uniform Code of Military Justice by Executive Order. He cannot change the Uniform Code of Military Justice by Executive Order. He cannot change the Uniform Code of Military Justice by Executive Order. He cannot change the Uniform Code of Military Justice by Executive Order.~~

~~So, there are things that the President can do by Executive Order, there are things he cannot do by Executive Order. This is a very simple matter. I believe that it is a very simple matter. I believe that it is a very simple matter. I believe that it is a very simple matter.~~

~~There are all sorts of questions that flow from it. There are questions that relate to sexual behavior. There are questions relating to base on base behavior. There are questions relating to fraternization. Which is the law, now, between officers and enlisted people and whether they are going to sleep together.~~

~~I will pay attention to these questions. I will pay attention to these questions. I will pay attention to these questions. I will pay attention to these questions.~~

END

TUESDAY

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- Monday, January 25, 1993

News Conference: Senator Sam Nunn, Senator Pete Domenici, Senator John Danforth, and Senator David Boren - Consumption Tax  
Transcript ID: 911613 (125 lines)

NEWS CONFERENCE WITH:  
SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA)  
SENATOR PETE DOMENICI (R-NM)  
SENATOR JOHN DANFORTH (R-MO)  
SENATOR DAVID BOREN (D-OK)

TOPIC: CONSUMPTION TAX

1:15 P.M.

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993

SENATE RADIO/TV GALLERY

EXCERPT OF QUESTIONS ON HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY

Q Senator Nunn, could you please address Senator Mitchell's comments yesterday that he doesn't think -- reported comments that he doesn't think there are 30 votes in the Senate that would uphold a resolution ending the ban on homosexual -- (inaudible) --

(Senators conferring.)

SEN. DANFORTH: Thank you very much.

SEN. NUNN: I'm sorry. Would you mind repeating.

SEN. DANFORTH: Letters over there.

Q Could you address what Senator Mitchell reportedly said that there are not -- there are no more than 30 votes in the Senate that would support a resolution lifting the ban on gays in the military?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I'm not sure that Senator Mitchell ever said that. What I read in the paper was a memorandum from Congressman Aspin -- Secretary Aspin -- to President Clinton that basically talks about what Senator Mitchell said. Senator Mitchell never said that to me, so you'd have to ask him about that.

My own view is that I don't have any count on how people stand in the Senate. I don't whether there are 30 votes to uphold the existing policy, 50 votes or -- I'm not sure.

Q Senator, what's your own vote?

Q How would you support it?

SEN. NUNN: I support the current policy, and I've said that on a number of occasions. I do believe we ought to have hearings.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the Congress of the United States shall raise and support armies. And we have a clear, specific duty to provide in statutes for the well-being and the overall provision for those armies and navies and air forces. There's not any question about our constitutional duty. And I think Congress is going to have to address this policy.

It's fine for the President to give his views. It's fine for him to decide what he's going to do in Executive Orders. But, the fundamental policy dealing with our military is a shared responsibility, and the Congress of the United States needs to speak to it.

I'm going to be having hearings on this subject. I promised Senator Metzenbaum last year, on the floor of the Senate, that we would have hearings on this subject. And we will have hearings on the subject sometime beginning in the month of March.

It may take some weeks, and it may take months. So, I'm not saying we'll wrap everything up in March. There are many complicated questions on the subject, and I plan to -- probably tomorrow -- make a speech on the floor where I will enumerate those questions that we will be going into in March.

I think our committee ought to go into the hearings with a view of hearing from everyone. All of us have our own individual views. But, I think we ought to all be willing for those views to be shaped after we have heard from the President and his team, Secretary Aspin, and also after we've heard from many members of the military on both sides of the issue.

I think something's fundamentally flawed when the people -- the men and women in the military -- have an issue that is as vital to them that affects them, and they never have been heard from. And I believe they ought to be heard from. And I can assure the men and women in the military that they will be heard from whatever their views.

We'll have not only top-ranking officers and members of the Joint Chiefs -- we'll want to hear from them -- but I'll also have some enlisted people and some young officers so that we can get a view of the military. This is an important issue of the military. And before we make decision on it in the Congress -- and I would also hope in the White House -- that we would have their thorough views.

Q In the -- (inaudible) -- memo, it says that -- (inaudible) -- your leadership. -- (inaudible) -- keeping the ban in place, does that

mean it's -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I just -- I really don't want to comment on a memo that I haven't read. I haven't seen the memo. I read it in the paper. And I don't want to -- I can't conclude where the votes are. I can't conclude what the Congress should -- is going to do. I can conclude the Constitution of the United States puts this responsibility on the Congress of the United States as well as the President of the United States and Command-in-Chief.

It's not simply a presidential prerogative.

Q Senator, -- (inaudible) -- your mind is made up. You said the other time that you should be open -- open to what comes out of the hearings. Does this suggest that --

SEN. NUNN: I didn't -- I said I had a current position. That is my current position. That is my strong -- strongly held view that the current policy has a good reason for it. But, I also think there are other views that ought to be heard. And our committee will hear those views.

Whether I change my mind or not will depend on the testimony we have, and the views of an awful lot of other people. So, yes, I have a view on it. I don't have -- I'm not equivocal on the subject. I think the current policy should be adhered to.

But, I also recognize there are court cases. There are challenges. There are many people who are in the military today who are not disclosed as homosexuals, but who probably either are or have those tendencies.

We have a whole series of questions about whether this is a state of mind, or whether we will basically be governing conduct. So, it's a complicated, complex issue.

Anyone who thinks that you can just make a decision, sign an Executive Order, and that's it, hasn't looked at the underlying questions there. There are an awful lot of question on this subject, and I'll be going into those on the floor, probably some time tomorrow.

Q Senator, is the President -- (inaudible) --

Q -- (inaudible) -- the situation now?

SEN. NUNN: I have no -- I have no vote count. I don't purport to try to speak for anyone other than myself on the subject. We do have a lot of interest in the subject. Senator Metzenbaum raised it on the floor last year. He did not push for a vote. And I pled to have hearings on it. And I'm telling you here today that we will have hearings beginning some time in March.

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: Absolutely. We'll hear from -- we'll hear from all points of view on the subject. We certainly will have people in gay groups that will be invited to be heard, both in the military and, certainly, from some organizations outside the military.

Q -- (inaudible) -- have handled it so far?

SEN. NUNN: Will I comment on it?

Q Are you concerned about the way -- the manner in which -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: We'll I'll just say that ~~if there's a strategy there that it hasn't been explained to me.~~ (Laughter.)

Q Does that mean you're dissatisfied?

SEN. NUNN: No. It just means what I said. I just am not part of the strategy. I haven't been -- I haven't --

Q -- (inaudible) -- on the Congress concerning Zoe Baird last week, and now --

SEN. NUNN: I didn't get the question. I heard the references, but --

Q How would you describe the beginning of the relationship between the Clinton White House and Congress with the Zoe Baird -- (inaudible) -- of last week, and now this coming up Monday morning?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I didn't view that as a contest -- the Zoe Baird nomination as a contest between the Congress and the President. I think the people in the white House concluded -- as the people in the Congress and the Senate concluded as the week went on -- that this was not a nomination that could be sustained.

And I think that she was -- probably qualified for other positions, but the nature of her mistakes were basically -- went right to the heart of her job. And that's what you look at in this situation. And she would have been charged for carrying out the very laws that she had admitted she breached with knowledge.

When I first heard about the subject of Zoe Baird, I did not know whether she understood the implications of the law and had gone forward even understanding that she was violating the law. When she admitted that, then I didn't make any public statement, but it was clear to me that that went to the heart of her job.

So, I didn't see this as a contest between the President and the Congress. I don't see this as a contest -- this whole homosexual issue

between the President and the Congress. It may get down to that. We may have differences of opinion when we conclude.

But, one thing we all know is that the military of the United States is important. The morale of the military of the United States is important. We also have certain constitutional protections for every individual in this country.

We have to reconcile those things, and we have to take into account not only the views of homosexuals which are important -- many of them have served ably, and I'm sure many of them continue to -- but also the rights of privacy of those men and women in the military that are not homosexual. Both have to be heard from.

We also have a very important consideration about the military being different from any other walk of life. Almost any other job you describe, when you get through with the job, you go home at night. You have your privacy of your home. In the military, that's just not the case.

And people in the military -- who have served in the military -- understand that and understand it well. When you go into the military of the United States, you give up a certain amount of privacy. And that makes the military unique and different from almost every other aspect of life.

And we have to consider that in looking at the cohesion of the military, and looking at the morale of the military, and in determining if changes should be made; and if they are going to be made, how to make those changes.

Q Senator, as a matter of national priority, do you think that this issue at this time prevents things from the military when there are troops in Somalia, when the administration is trying to come up with an alternative policy perhaps, or continuation of the policy in Iraq -- (inaudible) -- about the former Yugoslavia? Is this the time for this issue when there are so many other military matters to consider?

SEN. NUNN: If I had my way, we would wait the hearings of the Congress, and probably even have a presidential commission that would deliberate on this matter. And, therefore, we would take any action that came out of those hearings and came out of that presidential commission recommendations some time much later this year.

But, that is my personal view, and the President of the United States got elected on the platform. He has his view. And we will certainly take that into account.

Q Senator, -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: No disrespect, David. Excuse me. (Laughter.)

Q Have you and Mr. Aspin -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I had breakfast with Secretary Aspin on Friday morning. We had many things we discussed. This was one of them. This was certainly not --

Q -- (inaudible) -- had a conversation with him prior to the Friday -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I don't know. Friday morning is when I had breakfast with him. I'm not sure when the memo was written. I don't know the date of the memo. I had breakfast with him on Friday morning, but I've had discussions

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Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I've had several -- a number of conversations with Secretary Aspin. And there have been several occasions where this subject has come up, so it was not limited to Friday. We've had several conversations. And I've had several conversations with President Clinton.

Q Senator, it seems to me that you're the best qualified person probably in the Congress to assess the mood of the Congress. And if you don't know if -- number one: it's surprising. But, -- (inaudible) -- has to do with surprising.

SEN. NUNN: I never pretend to know the mood of Congress until we vote. I've seen Congress change it's mind on a dime.

We saw last week how quickly the Senate of the United States can react to public opinion. The ultimate question will be what the American public thinks about it.

I think until you have a thorough set of hearings, until the Congress of the United States has a chance to focus on it. Most people have been concerned about taxes or education or health. Most people haven't sat around and focused on this one issue.

So, I don't think the Congress of the United States has made up its mind on the issue. If they have, I don't know what the count is. And I think the American people are closely divided. I think a thorough set of hearings, perhaps a presidential commission, should precede any kind of definitive final action.

Q And do you feel there should be a recorded vote in the Congress on this?

SEN. NUNN: Well, it's -- it's just like any other vote. If it's controversial, there will be a recorded vote. If it's not -- if we were to come to some amazing consensus that had no controversy, then I would not object, per se, to a voice vote. I'd be very shocked if that happens.

Q Do you think it can be avoided for too long?

Q Do you think that it is possible that Congress will go for a couple of months without a vote on it?

SEN. NUNN: I do not know. I -- that's something Senator Mitchell will have to determine. I'm not trying to run away from a vote on the subject.

I do think, though, before we make any kind of definitive decision in the Senate of the United States -- and I would think the House would want to do the same thing -- we'd want to have thorough hearings, and have the record there so that everybody could understand that these issues are not simple.

People think this is a sort of a black and white issue that's very simple, and that you can just make a decision like amnesty, and that's in far from it.

There are all sorts of issues that flow from your initial decision. If your initial decision is to change the policy, there are all sorts of very important questions that could flow from that. And if you're going to make this decision without thinking about these questions, then basically I think that's a mistake. That's what I'm saying.

Thank you.

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: Well, let me make this clear. The President can do certain things by Executive Order. There's certain things he can't do by Executive Order.

He can't change the Uniform Code of Military Justice by Executive Order; that's a matter of law. He can't change things like Survivors Benefits by law; that's a matter of policy. He probably can't change many of the housing codes in the military without Congress acting on it.

So, there are things the President can do by Executive Order; there are things he can't do by Executive Order. And the mistake so far in this whole debate is to believe that it is a cut and dried issue that you can simply make a decision and do it. It's not that simple.

There are all sorts of questions that flow from it. There are questions that relate to heterosexual behavior; there are questions relating to off-base/on-base behavior; there are questions relating to fraternization, which is the law now between officers and enlisted people and whether that's going to carry forth.

I'll lay all these out in a speech tomorrow, and I'll look forward to

END

7

TUESDAY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

D R A F T

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

*shall*  
Prior to July 15, 1993 please submit *for my review* a draft *report* assessing the means by which the Department of Defense could ~~of an Executive Order ending~~ discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces of the United States. *The report should also include* ~~and~~ *recommendations* mandating a strict code of conduct to be enforced uniformly. *for*

*report*  
In preparing the draft, I expect you to consult fully with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Military Services, with other Departments affected by the Order, and with concerned individuals and organizations outside the Executive Branch. *to ensure that*

*the recommendations contained therein are practical, realistic and consistent with* ~~our high standards~~ *the high standards* of ~~combat effectiveness, unit~~ *military* cohesiveness, ~~morale~~ and discipline. We expect our Armed Forces to maintain.

*esprit de corps, and*

*concerning sexual behavior*

4 This report is intended  
to establish the  
foundation for the  
issuance of an  
Executive

DRAFT

PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

I have today instructed the Secretary of Defense to ~~draft~~ <sup>submit</sup> for  
my review and approval <sup>prior to July 15, 1993 a report ... (pick up same</sup>  
~~an Executive Order to two ends.~~ <sup>language from previous page) The report will also ... (use same</sup>  
~~First, the Order will fulfill my commitment that no one will~~ <sup>libat</sup> ~~be deprived of the opportunity to serve in the Armed Forces because~~ <sup>will</sup>  
of their sexual orientation. The order will end the practice of  
denying induction to or discharging gays and lesbians based on  
orientation. This form of discrimination has no place in our  
society. Many gay men and lesbians have served their country well.  
They have a right to serve without having to ~~hide~~ <sup>deny</sup> their sexual  
orientation.

<sup>will also mandate</sup>  
~~Second, the Order should propose~~ a strict code of conduct  
regarding behavior of uniformed military personnel toward each  
other to insure that all men and women are free from sexual  
harassment and abuse of power. This strict code of conduct will  
also insure that our commanders in the field will have the  
necessary authority to assure the discipline and esprit de corps  
necessary to retain the combat effectiveness of our military  
units.

a change in current  
policy regarding the  
~~status~~ of gays and lesbians  
in the military.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have expressed their reservations and concerns about ~~the first of these changes~~. I have, in turn, assured the Joint Chiefs that they will have a full opportunity to participate in <sup>the conduct of the Secretary of Defense's study</sup> ~~formulation of the Executive Order~~. I ~~have also~~ assured them that my Administration will engage them in developing a ~~strict code of military conduct to be applied uniformly~~.

I am also aware of the fact that many members of the Congress have concerns about this policy. I am consulting with Senate and House leaders to ask their support in postponing any substantive consideration of this issue on the floor of either body until the Pentagon review is completed. That is, in my view, the appropriate time for the Congress to debate this matter.

# # #