

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Doug.Case (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:21-JUN-1998 04:22:00.00

SUBJECT: Vice president meets with Gay leaders

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard.Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart.D.Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
WASHINGTON BLADE

June 19, 1998

<http://www.washblade.com>

Vice president meets with Gay leaders

SANTA MONICA, Calif. - Gay civil rights have been progressing but still have a long way to go, said Vice President Al Gore at a meeting with about 15 Gay community leaders on June 13.

Gore engaged in "a candid discussion for about an hour on a wide range of issues," according to Richard Socarides, White House liaison to the Gay community.

Gay family issues were a major focus of the discussions.

"There was a strong concern that the next line of attack on our community æ would be our ability to serve as adoptive parents or as foster parents," said California Assemblymember Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles).

Gore said he and the president "would stringently oppose any federal legislative effort that would make it more difficult for a Gay person to adopt," said Socarides. "The vice president reiterated the administration's position that in all cases the only factors that ought to be considered on adoption are what is in the best interest of the child."

Gay leaders also brought up community concerns around the military's "don't ask, don't tell" policy concerning Gays, and said they were concerned that "overt violations" of that policy - such as in the recent case of Naval officer Timothy McVeigh - would not happen again.

Gore seems "intrinsically supportive of our inclusion and equality," Kuehl said.

Other subjects discussed ranged from AIDS treatment issues to support for Gay youth.

"We essentially asked him to use the bully pulpit that the vice president and the president naturally have around the country [to] include [Gays] in the larger picture," Kuehl said. "He said that he would do his best."

Others in attendance at the meeting included Lorri Jean of the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Community Center, Jeff Jenest of the AIDS Project Los Angeles, and longtime Gay Democratic leader Jean O'Leary.

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:21-JUN-1998 20:28:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7295: Ruling: Gays can be in Calif National Guard

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, June 20, 1998

901 Mission St., San Francisco,CA,94103

(Fax 415-896-1107)(E-MAIL:

chronletters@sfgate.com)(<http://www.sfgate.com>)

Ruling on Gays and State National Guard

A San Francisco judge struck down as unconstitutional yesterday a state regulation that bars gays and lesbians who would be ineligible for the U.S. military under its ``Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy from serving in the California National Guard.

It appears to be the first state ruling to address a state National Guard's implementation of the Clinton administration's ``Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy toward gays and lesbians in the military, lawyers for the

plaintiff in the case said.

Yesterday's ruling by San Francisco Superior Court Judge David Garcia was issued as part of an anti-discrimination lawsuit filed last year by a former lieutenant in the California National Guard who was discharged after he told his supervisor that he was gay.

The judge ruled that the lawsuit will proceed as a class action whose members will include all gay, lesbian and bisexual members of the California National Guard who face discharge if their sexual orientation becomes known.

Lawyers for the plaintiff said the ruling will prevent the California National Guard from hiding behind federal military regulations to justify discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. ===== ATTACHMENT 1

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CREATOR: Doug.Case (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-JUN-1998 17:35:00.00

SUBJECT: Gay Republicans: Selling Out or Growing Up?

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard.Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart.D.Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

"The Other Republican Revolution"

With Urban Gay Men and Lesbians Increasingly Voting Republican, Are We
Selling Out? Or Growing Up?

by Jonathan Capehart

Out Magazine. July 1998

When I walked into the voting booth at the Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center in New York City last November, I, and thousands of other gay men and lesbians, did something revolutionary--we voted Republican. And we didn't vote for just any Republican. We voted to reelect Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the tough guy, law-and-order darling who, along with a booming economy, has helped bring back the polish to the Big Apple.

Even as a registered Democrat, I couldn't vote for Giuliani's inadequate challenger, former Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger. Neither could Scott Gorenstein, a die-hard Democrat and former East Villager who used to take days off to be a "very proud foot soldier in ACT

UP" demonstrations.

"I stood in the voting booth saying, 'I can't believe I'm doing this,'" Gorenstein admits. "With shame and guilt hanging over my head, I remembered all those ACT UP and Queer Nation protests when I was on the left of the Left." Gorenstein clicked the lever for Rudy. His reason was as simple as I was understandable: "The city works."

"More and more, gay men and lesbians in America's urban centers like New York City and Los Angeles are junking ideology and in the process shunning Democrats in favor of Republicans. (we're not talking about voting for rabid conservatives like Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott and House Majority Leader Dick Armey, who would like nothing more than to shunt homosexuals onto their own island. And I don't mean Fire Island either.) In 1997, Giuliani won 39 percent of the overall self-identified gay vote and triumphed in our ghettos, grabbing 55 percent of the Greenwich Village, 59 percent of the East Village, and 60 percent in Park Slope, Brooklyn, and Chelsea. Los Angeles presented a near mirror image: Republican Mayor Richard Riordan roared to reelection with around 50 percent of the gay vote.

Gay men and lesbians in big cities are voting for another group of people who, like us, are tossing old philosophies out of the window. Out new chosen heroes are fiscally conservative, socially moderate Republicans who run their cities like businesses, not political philosophy classes. If gay men and lesbians rushing away from identity politics and the rhetoric of "the liberation of an oppressed minority" run headfirst into a gaggle of

Republicans traveling from Right to center, what comes to pass? The end of an era, perhaps. Without a doubt, the end of many a conventional wisdom.

"What [gay men and lesbians voting for Giuliani] signals to me--having been out since 1943 and living all my life in New York City--is a maturation of the community," declares the pugnacious 76-year-old political activist Alfred Borrello. "We are no longer a petulant, adolescent group seeking its own good. We are coming to realize that the health of the city is for the good of our community. If the city falls to pieces, we fall to pieces."

Matt Foreman, executive director of the Empire State Pride Agenda, New York state's largest gay and lesbian political group, explains that "Gay people are not necessarily one-issue voters and they are persuaded by safety, efficiency of public service, and leadership from a mayor." Riordan's current chief of staff, Robin Kramer, notes that "In general, gays and lesbians are liberal on social issues and conservative on economic issues--just like the mayor. There is an affinity of beliefs."

Yet there seem to be growing pains for New York's gay men and lesbians in life under Giuliani's leadership. Many gay Giuliani voters are less pleased by what some call a crackdown on gay sex and nightlife as well as First Amendment issues raised by the mayor's push to zone X-rated businesses out of residential neighborhoods, which some say amounts to zoning them out of existence.

"I was offended that we [might] ship the XXX shops to the outskirts

of town," grumbles Robert Copeland, once a registered Democrat. While he is now a registered Republican, he rejected Giuliani in favor of [former mayor] Dinkins in the '93 election. But Giuliani succeeded in getting Copeland's vote last year.

"People may not like [the sex theaters and shops], but they give New York its mystique, especially in this time when Disney has taken over Times Square. The old allure of New York is to have a little mystique, a little bohemia." Taking away that, Copeland complains, is "taking away a component that people are undervaluing."

Copeland is the embodiment of a kind of uneasy political schizophrenia the community seems to be suffering from right now. On the one hand, we want to be good, upstanding citizens who desire clean streets, less crime, more jobs, and lower taxes. And we'll vote for a Republican to get that. On the other hand, we view ourselves and are viewed by society as rebellious outsiders. And we don't want anyone tinkering with our cherished civil liberties--from regulating where we meet Mr. Right (Now) to limiting our access to a dirty movie. For many, aggressive hedonism has been a central part of gay identity for decades. Many gay men and lesbians who detest crime and want repeat offenders in jail nonetheless are quite irked when their dealer gets busted and they can't buy recreational drugs for the weekend.

But as gay Democrat activists are learning, a weekend hedonist doth not a liberal ideologue make. There is a sense of anger and betrayal among large segments of the gay political class about so many gay men and

lesbians voting Republican, even for a pro-choice, pro-gay Republican.

"Ruth is bad on some issues, but Rudy is bad on most issues," thunders Andy Humm, the firebrand gay journalist and television host on the Gay Cable Network. Jeanne Bergman, formerly of Housing Works, which provides housing services and advocacy for homeless people with HIV/AIDS, is more blunt: "I don't assume that having the same sexual orientation makes you progressive--it should. Gays and lesbians have been politically stupid in not recognizing how superficial quality-of-life changes could boomerang and hurt us."

Why the gay voting shift should be "politically stupid" to Bergman, or feel like a revolutionary act to me, is amusing. after all, none of us were born a card-carrying member of the Democratic Party. Many in the community equate a vote for a Democrat as proof of gay authenticity, but they can only stick their heads in the sand for so long.

While many of us are willing to vote for Giuliani or Riordan, we're not jumping to register as Republicans. If Gorenstein, the former ACT UPer, is a barometer, Giuliani has a long way to go in convincing him that the Republicans are the party for him. "My vote for Giuliani in no way signifies that I am going to become a Log Cabin member anytime soon," he says, mentioning the tiny band of organized gay Republicans.

If the gay and lesbian community is suffering from a Sybil complex with regard to its self-image, just imagine what the Republican party is going through. The candidates who appeal to us from the Grand Old Party--Giuliani, Riordan, New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman, and

dormer Massachusetts Governor William Weld--are bucking the conservative Christian Right in their open support of gay rights.

Both Riordan and Giuliani are masters of symbolic politics. Riordan was the first L.A. mayor to ride in the Pride parade, and every year he pedals the last 70 miles of the California AIDS Ride. One of his first appointments in '93 was openly gay Mike Keeley as L.A.'s deputy mayor. Riordan "appointed gays to key posts in his administration--more than [former Mayor Tom] Bradley," says David Mixner the venerable Democratic Party power broker and quintessential Friend of Bill. Keeley served from 1993 to 1996 and wielded extraordinary power with responsibility for preparing and defending the mayor's budget and overseeing most of the government's departments. For his part, Giuliani marches in the gay Pride parade albeit only south of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Among his out staffers are commissioner of the Department of Homeless Services, Gordon Campbell; openly gay and HIV-positive Christopher Lynn, who was the Department of Transportation Commissioner and is now on the Tax Appeals Tribunal; and former city councilman Antonio Pagan, now commissioner of the Department of Employment.

In the City of angels there appears to be a love affair going on between Riordan and the community. "I enthusiastically supported him during his second election." says Mixner, from his posh West Hollywood home. "His record on gay and lesbian issues is unparalleled."

"It is a community I feel very comfortable with," Riordan told me

in a phone interview from Washington.

It's hard to fault Riordan politically. Riordan supported domestic-partner benefits for city employees after his first election. He declared a state of emergency so the city could implement a needle-exchange program. He convened a meeting of West Coast mayors to talk about how they can help each other tackle the AIDS crisis through education and prevention efforts in their respective communities. During the "don't ask, don't tell" fiasco, Riordan wrote letters to congressional Republicans urging them to drop the ban gays in the military. Lorri L. Jean, executive director of the L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center, was particularly impressed by that action because Riordan "used his Republican credentials to urge other Republicans to do the right thing."

"To me, it's not politicking. It's common sense," Riordan points out.

Mayor Giuliani did the right thing by gays in Gotham this spring, also. Keeping a promise made in his reelection campaign to the Empire State Pride Agenda, the Giuliani administration introduced into the New York City Council comprehensive domestic-partnership legislation that would make the city's more than 8,700 (and growing) domestic partners the equivalent of spouses in matters as diverse as hospital visitations, funeral arrangements, and lease survivorship. In addition the bill would allow extension of important benefits to the domestic partners of city workers if they were gained through future collective bargaining. Whereas earlier bills had languished, this proposal was given serious backing.

"One thing I'll say about Giuliani is that, for better or worse, when he says he's going to do something, he does it," Foreman says. "I give him a lot of credit. We weren't able to pass this bill under a Democratic mayor."

Seated in an elegant armchair in his stately office in lower Manhattan, Giuliani is ever bit the picture of confidence and ease after more than four years of serving as mayor of New York City. But his public image is one of a man who loves a good game of hard ball--which has led many in the gay community, among others, to view him as cold, disagreeable administrator.

"It's hard for them to get beyond the stereotype," Giuliani chuckles at a common misprision of him. "Republican. Prosecutor. Tough guy. Therefore, I must be antigay. The answer is even if al those things are true, I am about as strong a supporter of all the mainstream issues as you are going to find."

"I think I have helped in getting people in this city to perceive the gay and lesbian community as being the same, the dynamics the same as being the same as everybody else," says Giuliani.

These are sharp points of disagreement. He has gone on record in the press as opposing gay marriage. He marches every year in the St. Patrick's Day parade, which excludes the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization from marching under its own banner. His administration has restructured the

Department of AIDS Services and blocked funding for Housing Works. "It's harder for a person with AIDS to get services because while the services provided by the city remained level, there are more people living with AIDS," protests Darryl Ng, the director of New York City Governmental Relations for GMHC. "Intentionally or unintentionally, Giuliani is leading the perception that a 48 percent drop in AIDS deaths in New York City means a decrease in services needs."

However, the very beliefs that can allow gay and lesbian Democrats to vote Republican may be the undoing of Riordan and Giuliani in the national party. If either man has designs on a higher office will have to get pat the religious conservatives who consistently vote and largely control the Republican primaries--rewarding and punishing candidates with every vote. A case study is Governor Weld, who saw his nomination as ambassador to Mexico go down in flames partly because he tripped over time-honored protocols and partly because his fantastic record on gay rights and needle exchange in the Bay State offended the off-the-charts conservative chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, North Carolina's Jesse Helms.

As for Giuliani, speculation about his national prospects immediately followed his introduction of the domestic-partners bill. "By doing this Giuliani has sealed his fate to remain, at best, a regional political figure," Robert Knight, the Family Research Council's director of cultural studies told The New York Times in May. Local New York politicians surmised that Giuliani was indicating he would limit his ambitions to New York governor or U.S. senator rather than the presidency.

But the Log Cabin Republicans have good advice for Weld, Whitman, Riordan, and Giuliani. "Keep doing what you're doing, it's working," advises Kevin Ivers, public affairs director of Log Cabin. "Stay away from pandering to the far Right. Just make your pitch over the heads of the party leaders and the activists, speak directly to the voters--and deliver."

It will be an uphill fight to transform his party, but Giuliani is hopeful. "If there is somebody who can play the role of opening up the party to more moderate and broad-scale voters, I'm a person who can help do that," Giuliani notes. "The party that wants to be a majority party should try to organize itself around the most legitimate principles that give it the broadest appeal possible without compromising itself."

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Log Cabin Republicans	Kevin Ivers
(202) 347-5306 phone	Director of Public Affairs
(202) 347-5224 fax	

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CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-JUN-1998 03:28:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7339: CA Nat'l Guard to appeal DADT ruling

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

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San Francisco Examiner, June 24, 1998

P. O. Box 7260, San Francisco, CA, 94120

(Fax 415-512-1264)(E-MAIL: sfexaminer@aol.com)(http://www.examiner.com)

California National Guard to appeal ruling on gays

Michael Dougan OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

Judge: "Don't ask, don't tell" illegal

The California National Guard plans to appeal a ruling by a San Francisco Superior Court judge that overturns its "don't ask, don't tell" policy regarding gay service members, a Guard spokesman said.

Judge David Garcia declared last week that the policy - which conforms to federal policies regarding gays in the military - violates the state constitution. He told attorneys for National Guard 1st Lt. Andrew

Holmes - discharged in 1994 after revealing his homosexuality - that they could proceed with a class action lawsuit challenging the policy on other grounds as well.

The ruling stems from a complicated and arcane National Guard structure, in which - Holmes' attorneys have contended - it is possible to serve in state components of the National Guard without serving in the federal component.

Lt. Col. Douglas Hart, public information officer for the state National Guard, said Tuesday that the ruling would be appealed. He said that, despite the ruling, the Guard believes its members must be qualified for federal military service in order to serve in the state organization.

"We have to follow the rules and the laws of Congress and the Uniform Code of Military Justice (the legal code for military members) is basically federal law that can only be changed by Congress," said Hart.

"In order to be a commissioned officer in the National Guard you have to be a recognized commissioned officer in the federal military," he added.

Lawyers for Holmes said that wasn't so.

"There are purely state jobs that are posted every year that are available to people who have been discharged from the federal National Guard," said Anne-Marie Eileraas, one of Holmes' lawyers.

She said gay men and women currently serving in the military, including the California National Guard, "who are afraid to come out of the closet now will know that there is an opportunity for them to hold a military job if they come out . . . a California military job."

Holmes was booted out of the National Guard after writing a memo to his commanding officer that said "as a matter of conscience, honesty and

pride, I am compelled to inform you that I am gay." Less than a year later, he was discharged from the 870th Military Police company in Pittsburg.

The state attorney general's office, which has represented the National Guard in the Holmes' case, will appeal the latest ruling to the

1st District Court of Appeal, said spokeswoman Staci Turner. ===== ATTACHMENT 1

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CREATOR: Doug.Case (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-JUN-1998 13:49:00.00

SUBJECT: Cokie Roberts on GOP bigotry

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

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TEXT:

NY Daily News 6/24/98

You can e-mail the Daily News editors at voicers@edit.nydailynews.com.

Gay-Bashing Divides GOP and the Nation

By COKIE and STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Daily News Columnists

The strategy of some Republican leaders is now clear. They intend to make gay- bashing a central part of their election campaign this fall.

This might energize conservative Christians, a key element of the GOP base. But it has a destructive and divisive impact on our politics and should be disowned by honorable party members. Besides, the strategy could backfire, alienating mainstream voters who believe in fundamental fairness. And it should.

Republicans are facing off-year elections, when turnout is traditionally low. That puts a premium on firing up hard-core supporters, and the best

way to get them excited is to exploit their fear and anger. But that's hard to do when a booming economy has most voters feeling secure and satisfied.

Moreover, the GOP's golden oldies don't work so well anymore. Attacking Democrats as wasteful spenders falls flat in the face of budget surpluses. The embers of anti-communism, always ripe for a good stirring, have grown cold.

That leaves the holy trinity of social issues dear to the religious right: assailing abortion, promoting prayer and harassing homosexuals.

Look what's happened recently. In the Senate, a small band of right-wingers is blocking the nomination of James Hormel as ambassador to Luxembourg. Because Hormel is openly gay and a supporter of gay causes, he's being trashed as an unfit representative of his country.

A few Republicans have been courageous enough to stand up to this hate-mongering. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, who has a large gay constituency in New York, wrote, "I am embarrassed that our Republican Party, the party of Lincoln, is seen to be the force behind this injustice."

But Mississippi Sen. Trent Lott, the Republican leader, continues to pander to the right and block a vote on Hormel. That's not surprising, given the views on homosexuality Lott expressed on a TV talk show last week. Noting that his own father was an alcoholic, Lott compared being gay to sexual addiction or kleptomania.

This was clearly not an isolated outburst. At the Texas GOP convention this month, the Log Cabin Republicans, a group of gay activists, were barred from having an exhibit booth. Robert Black, the state party spokesman, called them a "hate group" and compared them to the Ku Klux Klan.

The religious right is a legitimate force in Republican circles and deserves to be heard, but it threatens to stain the whole party with its brand of self-righteous intolerance. And that has important implications for the congressional elections this fall, and the presidential contest in 2000.

The right already has blackballed any potential national candidate -- such as Gov. Pataki or New Jersey Gov. Christie Whitman -- who supports abortion rights. Now they are trying to make gay-baiting a litmus test as well.

Gary Bauer, a leading voice on the religious right, is already questioning whether Gov. George W. Bush of Texas is "conservative enough" to qualify for the party's nomination. Bauer, who is toying with a candidacy of his own, says Bush is not yet "adamant enough against same-sex marriages and inclusion of homosexuals in the GOP."

The Democrats are not immune from the impulse to pander on gay issues. Bill Clinton got into trouble by pushing for gays in the military. Vice President Gore crassly courted homosexual support by praising the lesbian character in the TV sitcom "Ellen."

But what these Republicans are doing is much worse. Their cynical decision to demonize gays is meanspirited and un-American. They deserve to be repudiated.

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CREATION DATE/TIME:25-JUN-1998 03:30:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7341: You go, Cokie

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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NY Daily News 6/24/98

You can e-mail the Daily News editors at voicers@edit.nydailynews.com.

Gay-Bashing Divides GOP and the Nation

By COKIE and STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Daily News Columnists

The strategy of some Republican leaders is now clear. They intend to make
gay- bashing a central part of their election campaign this fall.

This might energize conservative Christians, a key element of the GOP
base. But it has a destructive and divisive impact on our politics and
should be disowned by honorable party members. Besides, the strategy could

backfire, alienating mainstream voters who believe in fundamental fairness. And it should.

Republicans are facing off-year elections, when turnout is traditionally low. That puts a premium on firing up hard-core supporters, and the best way to get them excited is to exploit their fear and anger. But that's hard to do when a booming economy has most voters feeling secure and satisfied.

Moreover, the GOP's golden oldies don't work so well anymore. Attacking Democrats as wasteful spenders falls flat in the face of budget surpluses. The embers of anti-communism, always ripe for a good stirring, have grown cold.

That leaves the holy trinity of social issues dear to the religious right: assailing abortion, promoting prayer and harassing homosexuals.

Look what's happened recently. In the Senate, a small band of right-wingers is blocking the nomination of James Hormel as ambassador to Luxembourg. Because Hormel is openly gay and a supporter of gay causes, he's being trashed as an unfit representative of his country.

A few Republicans have been courageous enough to stand up to this hate-mongering. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, who has a large gay constituency in New York, wrote, "I am embarrassed that our Republican Party, the party of Lincoln, is seen to be the force behind this injustice."

But Mississippi Sen. Trent Lott, the Republican leader, continues to pander to the right and block a vote on Hormel. That's not surprising, given the views on homosexuality Lott expressed on a TV talk show last week. Noting that his own father was an alcoholic, Lott compared being gay to sexual addiction or kleptomania.

This was clearly not an isolated outburst. At the Texas GOP convention this month, the Log Cabin Republicans, a group of gay activists, were barred from having an exhibit booth. Robert Black, the state party spokesman, called them a "hate group" and compared them to the Ku Klux Klan.

The religious right is a legitimate force in Republican circles and deserves to be heard, but it threatens to stain the whole party with its brand of self-righteous intolerance. And that has important implications for the congressional elections this fall, and the presidential contest in 2000.

The right already has blackballed any potential national candidate * such as Gov. Pataki or New Jersey Gov. Christie Whitman * who supports abortion rights. Now they are trying to make gay-baiting a litmus test as well.

Gary Bauer, a leading voice on the religious right, is already questioning whether Gov. George W. Bush of Texas is "conservative enough" to qualify for the party's nomination. Bauer, who is toying with a candidacy of his own, says Bush is not yet "adamant enough against same-sex marriages and inclusion of homosexuals in the GOP."

The Democrats are not immune from the impulse to pander on gay issues.

Bill Clinton got into trouble by pushing for gays in the military. Vice

President Gore crassly courted homosexual support by praising the lesbian

character in the TV sitcom "Ellen."

But what these Republicans are doing is much worse. Their cynical decision

to demonize gays is meanspirited and un-American. They deserve to be

repudiated. ===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

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TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
PART TWO - UNIFORMS IN THE CLOSET

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, June 27, 1998

Send letters to the editor to: magazine@nytimes.com

... (continued)

After investigating, a commanding officer must decide whether a service member has, in fact, made a statement of homosexuality or engaged in homosexual acts, which current policy defines as any bodily contact that "a reasonable person" would understand to be for purposes of sexual gratification or an expression of homosexuality -- in some cases, as little as a kiss, a hug or handholding. If the C.O. determines that a basis for discharge exists, he or she will initiate "separation" proceedings -- the administrative process

whereby a service member may be prematurely discharged. In the case of D., who had been caught lying on a bed fully clothed with another female trainee, the C.O. read through hundreds of pages of testimony and decided not to seek a discharge. But in Harden's case, the C.O. went ahead with her discharge despite the fact that, by then, her accuser had recanted and had admitted to having forged the incriminating letters.

Service members like Harden who choose to fight their separations must appear before a separation board. Once things have come this far, though, a number of factors weigh heavily against the accused. For one, because a separation hearing is an administrative rather than a criminal proceeding, there are no strict rules of evidence; the Government can present or exclude virtually anything it wants, no matter how it was obtained. (That was why, in Colonel Loomis's case, the videotape could be used against him.) In Harden's case, the Government presented the forged letters -- even though the forger herself testified before the board on Harden's behalf -- and also chose to exclude a polygraph, which Harden had passed.

Another factor weighing against a service member in a separation hearing

is that the members of the typically three-person panel who will determine his or her fate are chosen by -- and sometimes answer to -- the very commanding officer who is presenting the allegations. Moreover, although the accused is entitled to a military defense lawyer, and by all accounts these lawyers defend their clients assiduously, they are notoriously overworked.

Sometimes service members are not provided a lawyer -- or even told what they are being charged with -- until discharge paperwork is already pending, at which point little can be done to stop it. And most enlisted people cannot afford civilian lawyers.

But perhaps the biggest hurdle facing a service member in a homosexual case is the near impossibility of proving that he or she is unlikely to engage in homosexual acts. "You have to prove that you not only don't have sex, but you have no propensity to," says Beatrice Dohrn, legal director of the Lambda

Legal Defense and Education Fund. "How do you prove that?" With great difficulty, it would seem -- even if, like Harden, you are heterosexual.

Three former boyfriends testified on her behalf, and Harden gave a sworn

statement,

but the separation board still ruled against her, and she was discharged
in

August 1996. "Once somebody says you're gay, you can sleep with a hundred
guys, but they're still going to say, 'She's gay,'" Harden says. Harden
filed

a complaint with the Inspector General of the Air Force, whose job is to
investigate alleged command abuses. He ultimately concluded that Harden
had

been treated fairly without ever interviewing her.

On Harden's discharge form, beside her honorable discharge (in the
absence of aggravating circumstances, policy stipulates that the
character of

a homosexual discharge be commensurate with the character of the person's
service) are the words, "Homosexual Acts." She will carry that form with
her

for the rest of her life, and some employers will want to see it. Even on
the

so-called short form, there is a code barring re-enlistment that many
employers recognize. "The humiliation goes on," says Harden, a sad-eyed
woman

who now works as a police officer in Louisiana. She still wears her Air
Force
ring.

On a bright, windy spring Friday, R. and I attend the weekly
graduation
ceremony at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego. R. wears his

dress-

blue trousers, which have a thick red stripe down each side to show that he is

an officer; his white "cover," as hats are known in the military; a long-sleeved khaki shirt, and khaki tie. He has misplaced his officer's tie clip;

appearing at the graduation without one is out of the question, so we stop to

buy another. The marines we pass on our way to the graduation salute R. crisply and say, "Good morning, Sir," as R. returns the salute. He admits to

falling naturally into the designated marine walk, swinging his arms so that

each hand extends six inches beyond his body and then three inches behind it.

The six graduating platoons, all male (female marines are trained on Parris Island, S.C.), stand perfectly still, occupying a tiny fraction of a

runway-size courtyard surrounded by golden California Mission-style buildings.

They have just completed three months of famously punishing training -- longer

than boot camp in the other military services. As the Marine band begins to

play, R. looks at the hundreds of identical-looking soldiers and says:

"There's 500 of them. You figure, probably 50 are gay."

During his early years in the Corps, R. had two homosexual

experiences,

which he viewed as the temptations of Satan. His transformation from rabid homophobe to gay man occurred haltingly over seven confusing years. At times

he felt an urge to bond with his enlisted men that led him once to share a hotel room with some of them during a trip in Asia -- an act of fraternization

and favoritism that he now deplores. "I was in denial," he says. "I told myself I was an officer looking out for my men in a foreign country. Now I see

that I was attracted to my men."

It was in 1992 that R.'s perception of himself began to shift. In an officer's meeting, he says: "Somebody told a gay joke, and everyone laughed.

Then he said, 'You know, faggots are the last group of people that a marine

can joke about without having to worry about offending anyone.' And I said,

'Yeah!' But somewhere in the back of my mind I thought: Good. He can't tell

I've had sex with two men."

Several months later, R. admitted to himself that he was homosexual and

experienced a tremendous relief, even euphoria, along with a heightened awareness of his actions. "Right after I admitted it, we went to some training

in the desert, and they had field showers," he recalls. "It's a room full

of

50 naked men. I purposely waited until the very end, when I was the only

one

there, because I thought, Someday everyone's going to know I was gay, and

I

don't want anyone saying: 'Oh, I remember. He used to leer at me in the

shower.'" To this day, he showers alone whenever possible.

R.'s problems as a gay marine were just beginning. A rumor reached him

that after a group sexual experience he was involved in with female

prostitutes in the Philippines a year earlier, someone had described him

as a

guy who was looking a little too closely at other men's anatomy.

Desperate to

quash the rumor, R. invited a female friend to San Diego to pose as his

girlfriend. While at a bar with R., she became interested in one of the

straight marines she was supposed to be deceiving. R. made it clear that

if

she wanted to flirt with the man, she and R. would first have to stage a

fight, which they proceeded to do. "We were screaming," he says, "and I

went

like I was going to hit her. 'You bitch, you're a slut.'" R. charged out

of

the bar, passed a couple of hours at a gay bar nearby, then returned to

pick

up his "girlfriend." By this time, however, the heterosexual marine was

bruising for a fight over the way R. had treated the woman, and R.

narrowly

escaped a punch-out. His life of paranoid dissembling had begun.

When the graduation ends, we drive to Camp Pendelton for lunch.

Passing

through one of the many military checkpoints in and around San Diego has

the

quality of falling into a parallel universe; today, near the Staff

Noncommissioned Officers' Club, teams of military prisoners in bright

orange

coveralls are manicuring hedges. As we head inside the dining room, R. is

greeted by a leathery man with vivid blue eyes wearing cammies. "How's

life on

the other side?" the man barks.

I feel R. go tense beside me. "What other side, Sir?" he asks.

"The other side you're on," the man says, and laughs.

While eating his Reuben sandwich, R. mulls over the encounter, trying

to

recall where he had previously met the man, what he could have meant by

"the

other side." There are many "sides" in the Marine Corps: officer versus

enlisted, ground versus air wing, active duty versus reserves. Most

likely, R.

muses, the man was alluding to his stint as a general's aide. But the

question

lingers: Does he know?

We have arranged to meet M., a gay female friend of R.'s, at lunch.

Because she is not in uniform, having just come from a farewell party, M.

is

able to join us despite the fact that R. is an officer and she is a staff
N.C.O. Still, M. grows anxious at our table; like most military women, she
functions in an overwhelmingly male environment where she says that she
feels
intensely scrutinized. An attractive woman with a small gold cross around
her
neck, M. has told only one of her heterosexual colleagues, a civilian,
that
she is gay. "It is relaxing, or easing, to feel like she knows me," M.
says.

If male homosexuals feel pressure to invent heterosexual lives, the
pressure on women is exponentially greater -- they represent 14 percent
of the
armed forces, yet have accounted for roughly a quarter of the homosexuals
discharged over the past four years.

Several years ago, M. took a step that is quite common among gay
military
personnel of both sexes: she got married. In addition to the obvious boon
of
creating the appearance of heterosexuality, marriage in the military
brings
myriad financial benefits; the most important is a higher Basic Allowance
for
Quarters when you live off-base -- essential for any homosexual who wants
a
private life, but on an enlisted salary, which begins at \$11,113 per year,
virtually unaffordable. Marriages of convenience, either between gay men

and

women or with foreigners seeking American citizenship, are one solution.

M. married a civilian homosexual so that she could live off-base with her partner while securing medical benefits for her "husband," who was her partner's best friend. But guilt over deceiving the Government soon began to

gnaw at her. Her relationship foundered; when M. told her partner that she was

divorcing the friend, the woman threatened to tell M.'s C.O. that she was gay.

Panic-stricken, M. nevertheless held her ground. "I said, 'Go ahead, there are

going to be three of us in jail,'" she says. M. proceeded with the divorce,

and her partner kept quiet. "I felt haunted by that nightmare for years," she

says.

Yet perhaps the biggest problem for gay military women is a problem they

share with straight women: they are often deeply resented by their male colleagues and subordinates, many of whom still feel that women shouldn't be

serving at all. Being gay is a vulnerability for women that some male colleagues are only too happy to exploit. The C.O. of one of M.'s friends has

threatened to sit outside her house all night to prove that she has female

lovers. Often, gay women are reluctant to report sexual harassment for fear of retaliatory investigations into their sexuality. A., an Army officer who has been deployed to both the Persian Gulf and Bosnia, filed a sexual-harassment complaint against a superior who demanded sexual favors from her. Some months later, an anonymous assertion that she was homosexual appeared in A.'s personnel file, and her security clearance was suspended.

M. has spent more than 10 years in the Corps, but like R., she plans to end her career when her present enlistment is up. "I'm sick of living the lie," she says. "What scares me is that it gets to the point where you don't even notice it. You start to withhold information that you don't have to.

&How

was your night? Oh, good.⁸ I'm practicing saying, &We did this and we did that.⁸ Kind of remembering that this is human interaction, and this is O.K."

The military is adamant that it cannot allow homosexuals to serve openly without greatly compromising the readiness and effectiveness of its troops.

Military personnel live and work under intimate conditions that would shock

most civilians. (On the U.S.S. Constellation, an aircraft carrier I toured, the enlisted men's berthing quarters were crammed with three-tiered bunk beds the size of large dresser drawers.) Unit cohesion is at the heart of a successful fighting force, and Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf and Gen. Colin Powell argued passionately before Congress that openly homosexual men and women would polarize units and destroy that cohesion.

At least some of R.'s gay friends in the military don't dispute this view. "Homophobic people don't want to work with a fag," one officer said. "The group falls apart, we do not fight effectively." And while it is true that many NATO countries allow homosexuals to serve openly in their militaries (as does Israel), anecdotal evidence suggests that most homosexuals in these forces still remain closeted -- and must, if they wish to advance in rank.

There is a hesitation to dispute the military's arguments. I, like most Americans, have no idea how wars are fought, and it is easy to underestimate the deep animus toward homosexuals that exists in the armed forces.

(General Schwarzkopf, for one, says he believes that allowing homosexuals to serve openly would sharply discourage enlistments.)

Still, several factors complicate this picture. For one, homosexuals

have

served in the armed forces since the country was founded (even earlier, actually; one of George Washington's generals is said to have been gay),

and

many have served openly -- their units knew of their sexual orientation -- without apparent problems. Brig. Gen. Pat Foote, who retired in 1989

after 29

years in the Army, says, "I don't know many serving officers or N.C.O.'s

who

have not, in units with which they were affiliated, known that there were

men

and women other than heterosexuals doing magnificent jobs." Maj. Gen.

Vance

Coleman, who was wounded in the Korean War and is now retired from the

Army,

says that he served with homosexuals without incident.

General Coleman, who is black, says that the present-day arguments against allowing homosexuals to serve openly echo prior ones against integrating blacks in the armed forces -- including the claims that white soldiers would not follow orders given by black officers and that whites

and

blacks could not peaceably share a foxhole. When President Truman overrode those arguments in 1948 with an executive order to integrate, military personnel, among others, reacted with horror.

Referring to homosexuals in the military, General Coleman says: "This

is

a civil rights issue and a human rights issue. You're not the same as I

am,

therefore you're inferior."

Perhaps another factor complicating the military's argument against homosexuals serving openly is that discharges of homosexuals, some suspect, fall during wartime; indeed, revelations of homosexuality during wartime are often received skeptically by the military, as possible ruses to avoid combat, and a person must sometimes furnish sworn statements from sexual partners to be discharged. Though the Pentagon disputes this, General Coleman, among others, says he believes that concern about the presence of homosexuals is a peacetime obsession. "When there's a war, nobody has time to deal with that," he says. "It's about fighting and winning."

Tom Carpenter, a former Marine fighter pilot who met his partner of 20 years, a former naval flight officer, while on active duty in the 70's, says he believes that the military's revulsion from homosexuality is linked to the intense male bonding that has traditionally been a part of military life. Like many historically all-male environments, the military has had its share of homoerotic rituals -- most famously the Navy's "Crossing the Line" ceremony

("modified" and "supervised" nowadays, according to the Navy, but said to still occur unmodified on at least some ships). "Crossing the Line" is an initiation for new sailors, or "polliwogs," making their first Equator crossing. Elements of this ritual include the crowning of "King Neptune's queen," played by a young sailor in drag; the whipping and paddling of polliwogs by a gantlet of seasoned sailors, known as "shellbacks," and sometimes simulated fellatio and anal intercourse between shellbacks and polliwogs. At the conclusion, the young initiates strip off their soiled uniforms and pitch them into the sea, then mill about in the nude as proof that they, too, are now shellbacks.

Indeed, by many accounts, what is known as "conditional homosexuality," or homosexual behavior by men who are normally heterosexual, is not uncommon among soldiers during long periods when women are unavailable. Navy phrases like "It ain't queer unless it's tied to the pier" allude to such behaviors.

Some married men, it is said, believe that sex with another man does not constitute adultery. There is even a provision in "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" that excuses homosexual conduct if it is aberrant behavior for an individual. Bridget Wilson, a San Diego lawyer who has defended gay military personnel, calls this the queen-for-a-day exception.

Lois Shawver, a clinical psychologist whose book "And the Flag Was Still

There" studies attitudes toward homosexuality in the military, says, "The sense of the troops' being demoralized is built on the anxiety that gays are

going to stare at them and turn on them sexually." But Shawver's research suggests that this fear is unfounded -- that, in fact, homosexuals regulate

their behavior even more carefully when they are known to be gay. As for exceptions, military policy and, in some cases, the Uniform Code of Military

Justice prohibit displays of physical affection while in uniform, sex in military barracks, sex between people of different ranks and sodomy, which includes oral sex.

"We have within the U.C.M.J. all that we need to deal with people that bring any type of sexual misbehavior to the workplace or the barracks," says

General Foote, who recently served as the vice chairman of the Army's Senior

Review Panel on Sexual Harassment. "We don't need any more laws."

The next time I see R., a few weeks later, the weather is warmer and El

Nino has roused rashes of fluorescent purple flowers along Interstate 5. At

the end of his workday, we drive from Camp Pendelton to Hillcrest and meet the

tank officer I'd first met at the pizza dinner and his male partner, a naval

nurse, in the home they share with a burly chow and a small striped cat.

Over beers, R. recounts a quintessential gay-military snafu that occurred at the Marine officer's brunch he attended a few Sundays back. The officer had invited his straight military friends for brunch on Saturday, his gay friends on Sunday, but one straight Navy pilot got the days confused and arrived with his wife in the midst of the all-male brunch. The host panicked, feigned an emergency and bolted from his own party.

But the heterosexual couple, apparently unfazed, were still there when the shaken host finally returned. According to R., the Marine officer then took his straight friend into a quiet room and said, "There's something I have to tell you" -- at which point the guest seized his arm and answered: "Don't worry. I'm on board with the program."

There are people who feel that as a younger generation rises to power within the military, attitudes like that of the Navy pilot will gradually prevail, and that the laws barring open homosexuality will fall away, just as those barring women and blacks eventually did.

But "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" is now Federal law, and laws are not changed easily. So far, the Supreme Court has refused to hear a case challenging it,

and three Circuit Courts have upheld the policy. However, the Second Circuit

Court, in New York City, recently heard an appeal of a case in which a lower-

court judge ruled that "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" violates the constitutional rights of equal protection and free speech. That case, *Able v. the United States*, may yet reach the Supreme Court, but even then, precedent suggests that the Court may defer to the military.

"If you look at the case in terms of the law and reason, it looks like an overwhelming winner," says Matt Coles, director of the Lesbian and Gay Rights

Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, which filed the case jointly with Lambda. "But if you look at it in terms of the courts and the military, it looks like it doesn't have a chance."

The more likely venue for change is Congress, but that, too, seems a long way off. Republicans are virtually unanimous in their opposition to gay rights; so far, even the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, a basic gay rights

bill, has failed to pass. Representative Barney Frank (Democrat of Massachusetts), who is openly gay and opposes "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," says that should the Democrats win even a small majority in the House and the Senate in November (no small task), the gay rights bill could eventually

pass.

However, he holds out little hope for lifting "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"

anytime

soon.

"The military issue is unfortunately seen as a tougher one," he says.

"So

you'd need a bigger Democratic majority for that."

Whatever happens, R. will be reading about it in the newspapers, like everyone else; in a few months, he will become a civilian for the first

time

in his adult life. It won't be an easy transition for him. "It's a way of life," he says of being a marine. "David and I will be walking down the Oceanside Pier, and somebody will see me, and they'll be like, 'Sir, how are

you doing?' David's like: 'You're not at work! You're not in uniform!

Why are

they calling you Sir?' I'm like: 'That's just the way it is. I can't

explain

it.'"

But R. joined the Marines for the brotherhood, the esprit de corps, and

ultimately, his sense of brotherhood has been eroded by the years of hiding.

"For the longest time, I felt close to the people," he says. "But more and more, when you hear somebody make an anti-gay comment, that becomes a bookmark

in your mind. I can't become close friends with the people I work with.

It's

definitely made me grow apart from the Marine Corps."

His experience raises the question of whether openly gay soldiers are
as

great a threat to unit cohesion as closeted homosexuals, whose enforced
secrecy gradually distances them from their fellow soldiers. A., the
woman who

served in the Persian Gulf and in Bosnia, says that as a homosexual "you
have

this barrier to intimacy with the people you're serving with -- and that

intimacy is what keeps people alive in hostile sit===== ATTACHMENT 1

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SUBJECT: NC7377: NYT: Uniforms in the Closet, Part 1

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, June 27, 1998

Send letters to the editor to: magazine@nytimes.com

UNIFORMS IN THE CLOSET

'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' has created a world of fear and deceit, alienating

R.

and his friends from their fellow servicemen -- and from the civilian gay

world too

By JENNIFER EGAN

Before R., a Marine Corps officer, leaves Camp Pendelton, he changes
out

of the starched camouflage suit that is the everyday uniform of marines

into

"civvies" -- in R.'s case, jeans and a T-shirt. It is normal for a marine

to

change clothes before leaving the base; by shedding his "cammies," R.

leaves

behind the obligation to salute other marines in uniform. But for R., the

change is also symbolic: as a marine who is gay, he looks forward to the

end

of each workday as a reprieve from hiding part of himself from everyone

around

him.

Most days, the marines in R.'s battalion are not in the field but at

their desks in a modest office building, set amid scrubby Southern

California

coastland, where images of wives and crinkly faced infants smile from

picture

frames and computer screens. In R.'s office, the decor is strictly

military:

photographs of his various units over the 12 years he has been a marine, a

picture of the general whom he served as an aide -- a demanding and

highly

prestigious job. (R. has also been a commanding officer, bearing ultimate

responsibility for a unit.) R. wishes he could place on his desk a

photograph

of David, a civilian mechanical engineer and his partner of three years,

but a

man's picture would almost certainly kindle suspicions. Even a personal telephone call from a man might be considered unusual, so David almost never calls R. at his office, where a single phone line serves dozens of marines.

Yet despite these and a multitude of other precautions, he worries that some men in his unit suspect that he is gay -- in part because he is over 30 and unmarried; in part because years of hiding have made him deeply paranoid.

"Sometimes I feel like they can look at me and just tell," says R., who would speak with me, and allow me into his life, on condition that I refer to him only by one of his initials. (Other gay military personnel I interviewed for this article similarly requested anonymity.)

Driving from Camp Pendelton into San Diego, 40 miles south, R. grows visibly more relaxed. He has a California tan, deep-set eyes and the sturdy build characteristic of marines, along with a large Marine Corps tattoo -- eagle, globe and anchor. A vigorous, sociable man, he is full of plans. After work tomorrow, he will make the two-hour drive north to David's house in Los Angeles, as he does each weekend. On Sunday, they will go to brunch at the

home of a gay Marine officer. In a couple of weeks, R. will accompany his battalion to "the desert," Twentynine Palms, a Marine base outside Palm Springs where field training exercises are performed. From there he will head

into Palm Springs for the annual White Party, a large all-night gay dance.

This constant switching between mutually exclusive worlds can have some

odd, hallucinatory effects, R. says: "Several times I've met someone on base

and wondered, Haven't I seen him at a bar? And then I've seen people at bars

and thought I recognized them from the base. When I see someone at the mall, I

can't remember where I know them from."

R. joined the Marines as a teen-ager and is fiercely loyal to the Corps,

particularly to the enlisted men who answer to him -- "my marines," he calls

them, and adds, "I'm a marine first and gay second." His career has been stellar; he is what is known in the Corps as a "mustang," an enlisted marine

who crossed over to become a commissioned officer. "Now that I've been a commanding officer and a general's aide, sky's the limit," he says.

Military

retirement, which can begin after 20 years, would allow him to draw half his

base pay for the rest of his life. But R. plans to leave the Marines at

the

end of his current commission. The reason is simple. "I'm fed up," he

says,

"with having to hide."

It has been more than four years since the policy known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue" went into effect. This policy was a compromise

eked

out among the White House, Congress and the Pentagon after President

Clinton's

announcement of his intention to lift the ban on homosexuals in the

military

-- a ban that prohibited homosexuals from serving under any circumstances

--

set off a firestorm of opposition. Under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell,"

homosexuals

(and bisexuals) may serve as long as they tell no one about their sexual

orientation, refrain from "homosexual acts" and forgo homosexual

marriage. The

policy bars the military from questioning service members about their

sexual

orientation or investigating them without credible information that they

have

engaged in homosexual conduct. The stated goal of the policy is to allow

homosexuals to serve while preserving morale and unit cohesion, which the

military believes would be impaired by the presence of openly gay

soldiers.

But "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" forces a difficult choice upon homosexuals: in

order to serve, they must either do without sex, romance and companionship or live uncelibate lives and lie about it -- breaking the law and forfeiting their careers if they are caught.

Two months ago, the Pentagon issued figures indicating that the number of

homosexuals discharged -- 997 in 1997 -- has risen 67 percent since

"Don't

Ask, Don't Tell" went into effect. Michelle Benecke, co-founder and co-director of Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, a watchdog group that assists military personnel accused under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," says she believes the rise in discharges indicates that commanders are continuing

to seek out homosexuals despite the fact that they are no longer supposed to. "No

one has informed commanders of what the new rules are," says Benecke, whose

organization has documented 1,379 command violations of the policy in the four

years of its existence. "No one has ever told them the intent: to back off."

The Pentagon disagrees, attributing the rise in discharges to an increase

in "statement" cases, in which homosexuals -- many of them in their first year

of service -- openly declare that they are gay. But what the military regards

as a statement is not always so clear-cut: last November, the Navy tried to discharge a senior chief petty officer named Timothy McVeigh, a nuclear submarine expert who had been in the service for 18 years, on the basis of what it called his homosexual admittance. McVeigh's so-called admittance was an Internet posting with America Online in which he stated, anonymously, that his marital status was "gay"; a Federal judge ruled in January that the military's investigation of McVeigh was in violation of policy and ordered that McVeigh, who has declined to discuss his sexual orientation, be retained.

Earlier this month, McVeigh and the Navy reached a settlement under which he will retire this summer with full benefits and receive a payment of \$90,000 to cover his legal fees.

During a recent interview, Kenneth H. Bacon, the Pentagon spokesman, told me: "Obviously, there are many people serving in the armed forces who have gay relationships, but they're discreet. They aren't pursued, and they may not even be known about." This suggests a split between the letter and the spirit of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell": the letter says, Don't do it; the spirit says, It's O.K. to do it as long as you are discreet. But this double message

leaves

homosexuals on queasy middle ground: theoretically, they are allowed to serve,

but their private lives are illegal and will cost them their careers -- if they get caught. But then, no one is supposed to be trying to catch them.

When

I raised this notion of the policy's murkiness with Rudy de Leon, Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, he said, "I think we're at

the heart of some of the conflicts that are built into the policy, which tries

to balance many competing interests."

If, as the Pentagon says, some homosexuals are outing themselves with the

knowledge that they will be discharged, it may be that for them, the pressures

and risks of serving under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" are too intense to bear.

R is part of a sprawling social network of gay marines and sailors, men

and women, based in and around San Diego, where the shoreline bristles with

dull gray ships and the sky is full of lumbering choppers and S-3's, anti-submarine-warfare planes that honk like gigantic geese as they fly. On this

unseasonably cool spring evening, I accompany R. to a 6:30 dinner at the home

of a Navy doctor near Hillcrest, a gay neighborhood north of downtown San Diego. The group tonight includes a tank officer who was one of the first to enter Kuwait during the gulf war, where he earned a bronze star; a Navy helicopter pilot, and several noncommissioned officers, or N.C.O.'s -- enlisted men who have worked their way up through the ranks. The off-duty mingling of officers and enlisted people of different ranks is prohibited because of its potential to break down the chain of command, but the fact that gay personnel are forced underground creates a bond among them that transcends military hierarchy. None of these friends work together; they met socially and communicate mostly by E-mail, using a code that eliminates gender-specific pronouns, since the military can monitor any E-mail exchanges that take place on a base. (Most of R.'s friends say they have never met a gay person on duty; even when they suspect that a fellow sailor or marine might be gay, they rarely approach -- the risk of being wrong is too great.)

Like a number of his friends, R. joined the military believing he was heterosexual. Reared and educated in a strict Southern Christian community, he was profoundly homophobic. "I would say, 'AIDS is God's judgment on homosexuals' -- I really felt that," he says. He was drawn to the Marines by the camaraderie, by the promise of adventure -- and also by the largely

single-sex environment. "I would think, I'm going to be with all these men --

that's kind of exciting," he says. "But I didn't know why I was excited."

Some of R.'s friends, aware of their homosexual inclinations, joined in hopes that the military -- the Marines in particular -- would "cure" them. "Everybody knows that there are no fags in the Marines," says a former infantryman. Over pizza, R.'s friends talk of other motivations for joining the military, including the desire to get away from home and the hope of proving themselves to a disapproving world. "I'm supposed to be that one guy that can't survive in this environment," says one powerfully built man, an operations officer in the Marine air wing. "I'm the guy that's supposed to be filtered out, the weak one who can't carry the pack."

This officer goes on to tell me that his homosexuality is an open secret.

"I know that in my command there are marines who work for me that assume I'm gay," he says. But he is clearly the exception. A logistics officer I'm introduced to at dinner has a dedicated "stunt babe" -- a woman who poses as his girlfriend at military events and whose picture he keeps on his desk. The annual Marine Corps Ball, I learn, is the biggest command performance of this

sort; R. usually brings a date with whom he has collaborated on a complex romantic history while David stays home, watching TV. It isn't enough to say

nothing about your private life; unless you give the appearance of being heterosexual, people will start to wonder -- especially now that "Don't Ask,

Don't Tell" has alerted them to the fact that there may be homosexuals in their midst.

As a result, R. and his friends monitor themselves obsessively, aware that a single blunder can lead to exposure, humiliation and a discharge they

regard as a disgrace -- particularly those, like R., whose families don't know

they are gay. A strange car in front of your house, clicks on the telephone

line, a summons from the commanding officer -- in the life of a gay soldier,

any one of these can prompt a flicker of anxiety, even all-out panic. "Say you're out with four or five of your friends at a restaurant, and there goes

somebody in your department with his wife," says the Navy doctor who is the

host of the pizza party. "You know you're nailed."

Even gay nightclubs can be a hazard, although "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" has

discouraged the trolling of clubs by investigators, a formerly common practice. One officer says of a popular San Diego club: "Last time I was

there

on a gay night, I ran into two of my marines, who were there by mistake.

They

were like, 'Hey, Sir, what're you doing here?'" Another of R.'s friends,

P.,

was an F-18 fighter pilot who dropped bombs on Iraq during the gulf war

before

leaving active duty three years ago. (He is still with the Marine

reserves.)

P. was in a long-term relationship with his civilian "roommate" while in

the

military, but feigned a romance with a lesbian friend for three years to

avoid

having to go on any more blind dates set up by the Officers' Wives Club. A

fair, soft-spoken man who has retained his marine build and haircut, P.

says

his hardest times were the six-month deployments on aircraft carriers,

when he

and his partner were rarely able to speak, and when P. rationed the

letters he

sent home out of fear that too many to the same man would draw attention.

The

letters his partner sent him were unsigned or signed with a female name,

sent

without a return address and chary on endearments. (During R.'s ship

deployment, he asked his partner to have a woman address his letters.)

Each month, P. recalls, a videotape would arrive on his ship,

fashioned

by the Officers' Wives Club, filled with greetings from loved ones.

"Everybody

else in the squadron's wife or girlfriend would be in the video saying,

'Hey,

honey, how're you doing?'" he says. "And you'd be the only one without anything on that tape."

At the end of the deployment, when the ship was within six or seven days

of land, senior pilots with wives or fiancées would get to fly the planes ashore early to be with their loved ones. Though P. was always among the most

senior, he, being single, had to wait until the ship docked. "You get off, you

have this huge welcome-home party and everyone else is there, except yours,"

he says. "He could be, except you'd have to stand there and shake his hand:

&Thanks for coming, buddy." And, of course, being met by a man after six months at sea might well arouse suspicions.

Still, in this crowd it is generally felt that gay enlisted people, not

officers, have it the worst. The enlisted are a tighter pack, which makes keeping secrets much harder, and the homophobic atmosphere tends to be far more virulent. Twelve of the homosexuals discharged in 1997 were officers; the

remaining 985, enlisted people. J., an N.C.O. who says he has witnessed

beatings and harassment of those suspected of being gay, told me he would

fear

for his life if his subordinates were to discover his secret. He

socializes in

Hillcrest, but tells subordinates that he goes to bars they can't afford:

"I'll say: 'Dude, I met this babe last night. We hit it off!' You have to

lie.

They're like a pack of dogs -- if they smell blood, they're going to go

after

it. You're dealing with kids, 18 or 19, who are trying to prove their

manhood." Homosexual jokes and slurs, he adds, are a constant.

So saturated is the Marine Corps with homophobia that some of R.'s

friends agree with the Pentagon that they should not be allowed to serve

openly, that it would hinder their ability to lead. R. used to feel this

way,

but like the majority of gay personnel I spoke with, he has come to

believe

that although President Clinton had good intentions in seeking to change a

draconian policy, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" amounts to a step backward. For

one

thing, it has turned discrimination against homosexuals -- formerly just a

military policy -- into Federal law. And by forcing homosexuals to remain

invisible, R. says, the policy deprives gay military people of the chance

to

prove themselves and begin to dispel the prejudices against them. "The

best

way to change people's attitudes is the personal one-on-one

relationship," he

says, and tells of how a close friend, a heterosexual Marine fighter pilot with whom R. used to trade jokes about homosexuals, has completely revised his

views since learning that R. is gay. But under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," R. could be discharged simply for having told his friend that he is homosexual.

"Clinton thought he was doing us this big favor," R. says, "and all he did was build a brick wall around the closet."

Each time J., the N.C.O., recalls one of his fabrications, he begins,

"I told a lie," as if to keep straight in his mind what is a lie and what is the

truth. Clearly, so much lying troubles him. He shows me the red plastic Core

Values card that every marine must carry. "Honor," begins the text, which also

includes the words "Integrity," "Responsibility" and "Accountability."

"Look at those and tell me if a marine who lives by that code can be gay

in the military and live with himself," J. says. "They encourage integrity,

but they expect us to lie."

Yet none of this seems to have blunted J.'s passion for the military.

"If

I could do it all over again, I would have gone Air Force," he says. (The Air

Force and the air wings of the Navy and the Marines are seen as being less intensely homophobic environments.) "But now that I'm a marine, I'm a marine through and through. It's in my blood."

Still, for gay service members, devotion to the military is fraught with the knowledge that it will turn on them instantly if it learns one of the most basic facts about them. Many are haunted by the story of Lieut. Col. Loren S.

Loomis of the Army, winner of two bronze stars and a purple heart in Vietnam, whose homosexuality was exposed in a way few could have imagined. After his house near Fort Hood, Tex., caught fire in 1996, the Fire Department, suspecting arson, took a video camera and a videotape from Loomis's home as part of its investigation. The video showed Loomis engaging in gay sex. Although the Fire Department had removed the video without a search warrant or a subpoena, the district attorney's office nevertheless turned it over to the Army. Loomis offered to retire early, but was discharged instead, and thus deprived of his active-duty pension and retirement benefits. Most chillingly to gay service members, his ouster came just five days before his 20-year retirement eligibility would have begun.

"In flight school, in every school I was in," says P., the former F-18 pilot, "I finished first. In every squadron I was in, I was always the No. 1

guy. But no matter how many times you're No. 1, if they find out you're a homo, you're out."

After dinner, I head with R. and some of his friends to Flicks, a gay bar

popular with military men and their civilian admirers, known as "chasers,"

some of whom emulate the distinctive Marine "high and tight" haircut -- shaved

almost to the scalp around the sides of the head with a flat wedge of hair along the top. Part of the allure of military men is that they're tested regularly for H.I.V. and thus are perceived as "clean."

Andrew Cunanan, who is believed to have murdered Gianni Versace and others, was a chaser, and Flicks was his bar of choice. His bloody rampage across America has fueled the wariness R.'s crowd already says it feels toward

civilian homosexuals; at Flicks, he and his friends are a somewhat insular presence, clean-cut and light drinking -- most rise at 5:30 A.M. and are in

their offices by 6:30 or 7. They talk among themselves or with the other military men they encounter. The night's entertainment is a performance by a

former marine, now a stripper and porn star, but that's not why they're there.

Military socialization, with its emphasis on patriotism and war,

structure and

rank, is conservative and unique; it creates a gap between soldiers and civilians that doesn't disappear simply because both are gay. R. and his friends tend to be leery of "nellie," or effeminate, men, though it is a prejudice of which they are somewhat ashamed.

"I know very little about gay culture," R. says. On a gay cruise he and

David took recently with some military friends, R. was mystified by a drag spoof of "Whatever Happened to Baby Jane." "The whole place is going wild, and

none of us had seen 'Whatever Happened to Baby Jane,'" he says, and admits to

finding the hedonism in some pockets of gay culture -- the all-night dance parties, for example, which David enjoys -- wearying and empty. As for gay advocates in San Francisco and Washington, many of whom are left-leaning and

anti-military, R. says: "I don't think they speak for us. I don't think they understand us."

Part of what they don't understand, of course, is what it's like to function in a world where even saying that you are gay is illegal. After the

gay cruise, R. says: "When I was going back to work, I actually felt sick,

nauseous with dread. I go to bars and these people are able to live without

fear. It makes me jealous. It puts a barrier between us."

Yet this barrier leaves R. and his friends in something of a no man's land: socialized by the military but divided from it by sexual orientation;

bound to gay culture by definition, yet culturally estranged from it. In a sense, they belong to a group consisting only of one another.

Most of them leave Flicks at 10:30, before the stripper begins performing, and head home to bed.

What R. and his friends hope to ward off through the use of stunt babes, phony photos and other false trappings of heterosexual life are any formal inquiries into their sexuality. Under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," an inquiry cannot begin without credible information that a person has made a statement of homosexual orientation or engaged in homosexual conduct, but what exactly constitutes "credible information" is up to the commanding officer.

(C.O.'s

are advised to check with legal counsel before beginning such inquiries.)

Sonya Harden, a heterosexual black enlisted woman with the Air Force, was investigated for homosexuality after a former civilian roommate who claimed

that Harden owed her money forged letters in Harden's name stating that she

was gay and gave them to her commanding officer. Harden's C.O. initiated an

inquiry. Such inquiries are often as simple as questioning the service member

-- or, in the practice, discouraged but still extant, known as witch

hunting,

pressing the service member for the names of===== ATTACHMENT 1

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES, June 29, 1998

401 N. Wabash Avenue,Chicago,IL,60611

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Gay pride goes mainstream

BY JIM RITTER STAFF REPORTER

When Russell White moved from Columbus, Ohio, to Chicago to take a job at Sears, the company paid his moving expenses.

Sears also paid to move White's gay partner, Stan Pekarsky.

On Sunday, White joined about a dozen other Sears employees who marched in the Gay and Lesbian Pride Parade on the North Side. ``We want to let everyone know that Sears is gay-friendly and part of the '90s in

accepting different lifestyles."

Corporations are becoming increasingly visible in the gay pride parade, now in its 29th year. With the blessings of their bosses, employee groups from Sears, United Airlines, Commonwealth Edison and First Chicago marched.

About 17 of the 256 entries represented mainstream businesses. They included Borders Books & Music, Walgreens Drug Stores, Ace Hardware, Tower Records, Baird and Warner, Budweiser and Bert Weinman Ford.

"Like every other parade in the city, we have corporate involvement," said parade coordinator Richard Pfeiffer. "We are a significant part of society. It's real important that those folks be in the parade."

The parade still attracts flamboyant participants, such as transvestites, men in leather and lesbians on motorcycles. While no one could mistake the event for a St. Patrick's Day parade, it is taking on an increasingly mainstream look.

"Some people grouse there are too many politicians and corporations and the parade doesn't have the fun, celebratory feel it used to have," said Rick Garcia of the Illinois Federation for Human Rights, a gay and lesbian civil rights group.

"But most people really appreciate the participation of mainstream businesses."

The parade also struck a patriotic note. The Chicago chapter of the Gay, Lesbian & Bisexual Veterans of America carried a U.S. flag that was 50 feet long and as wide as the street.

The parade's special guest was Dave Kopay, a retired athlete who in the 1970s became the first openly gay player in the National Football

League.

The first gay pride parade in 1970 attracted only a few hundred marchers who weren't afraid to come out. This year, sponsors said, upwards of 200,000 people marched or watched. Although those estimates could not be independently confirmed, the parade clearly has become one of the city's largest.

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES, June 29, 1998 Pols take advantage of popular march BY
JIM RITTER STAFF REPORTER

President Clinton sent his ``warm greetings" to marchers in Sunday's gay pride parade.

Mayor Daley proclaimed June ``gay and lesbian pride month."

About 50 politicians, mostly Democrats, marched or sent representatives. Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun flew in from Washington, D.C. Cook County Board President John Stroger rode atop a convertible. County Commissioner Maria Pappas twirled a baton.

But two Democrats conspicuously absent were U.S. Rep. Glenn Poshard, who is running for governor, and his running mate, Kane County Coroner Mary Lou Kearns. Poshard was attending Downstate fund-raisers, and Kearns was marching in the Swedish Days parade in Geneva.

Gay activists took Poshard's absence as one more sign he is

``anti-gay."

``He's an extremist masquerading as a Democrat," said Rick Garcia of the Illinois Federation for Human Rights, a gay and lesbian civil rights group.

Many gays will vote for Poshard's Republican opponent, Secretary of State George Ryan, who is considered a moderate on gay issues, Garcia said. Ryan has appointed a liaison to the gay community and banned discrimination against gays in his office.

Like Poshard, Ryan was a no-show. But a contingent of Ryan supporters did march. One carried a sign that read, ``This time we have to cross over and vote for George Ryan." Another said, ``Ryan won't hurt us, but Poshard will kill us." A third sign proclaimed Poshard ``100 percent anti-gay."

Poshard has supported the ``don't-ask-don't-tell" policy on gays in the military. He voted against domestic partner benefits for District of Columbia employees and voted to exempt religious schools in the capital from the district's human rights amendment.

But Poshard supports the proposed Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would prohibit employers from firing workers for being gay. And Poshard prohibits discrimination against gays in his office, said his spokesman, Jim Merriner.

``Glenn Poshard has always been for human rights," Merriner said.

Several Democrats at the parade urged Poshard to reach out to gays.

``I hope in the course of the campaign he will speak out on human rights," said state Rep. Carol Ronen, a North Side leader of party liberals. ``It's a core value that not only Democrats but people everywhere share."

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ST LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 29, 1998

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Politicians, partners and friends meet at Pride Fest

By Dan Mihalopoulos

Of The Post-Dispatch

Pride in their sexual orientation wasn't the only pride shared by thousands of gays and lesbians at Pride Fest, a parade and celebration Sunday at Tower Grove Park.

"I am very proud of officials who are progressive enough to ensure we have a right all people should have," said Brad Kolkhorst, a gay St. Louisan.

Kolkhorst and his partner, Ray Sleeth, intend to formalize their relationship of 15 years by signing St. Louis' new domestic-partner registry.

Mayor Clarence Harmon signed an aldermanic bill making the registry official, on a stage at Pride Fest.

Noting that the festival draws people from across the Midwest, Harmon

said: "We are proud that the city of St. Louis hosts this annual event. .

. . Welcome to a place where you can be proud."

The mayor lauded the gay-and-lesbian community's role in preserving neighborhoods such as the Central West End, Lafayette Square, Soulard and a revitalized section along South Grand Boulevard.

When his remarks ended, Harmon held up the bill to raucous applause.

The crowd also cheered the bill's chief sponsor, Alderman Phyllis Young, D-7th Ward. She donned a bright pink hard hat as she took the stage.

And former Mayor Freeman R. Bosley Jr. told the crowd that his support for gay rights didn't end when Harmon unseated him last year.

Bosley created the registry in February 1997 by executive order.

Young's bill won approval from the Board of Aldermen by a 17-5 vote on June 19.

The five naysayers, including Bosley's father and four south St. Louis aldermen, have no idea how many constituents their votes alienated, Kolkhorst said.

Sleeth and Kolkhorst live in an area of south St. Louis where "we know a gay family on every street in our neighborhood," Kolkhorst said, asking that the neighborhood not be identified.

As happy as they were with the support of elected officials, Sleeth and Kolkhorst said that they most welcomed the registry's practical impact. The legislation gives registered partners visitation rights at city hospitals and jails.

"We know someone whose partner was sick and dying, and the partner's family locked him out of the house and shipped off the belongings that they had bought together," Sleeth said.

The registry doesn't guarantee any legal benefits. Kolkhorst and Sleeth said that they both work for "very good companies" that don't provide spousal benefits to same-sex partners of employees.

While the politicians pulled crowds to the stage, most people at Pride Fest just socialized, enjoyed barbecue and tried to stay in the shade.

A young woman named Blue - who declined to give her last name - said she came to Pride Fest for the fifth straight year because "it's a family thing. It's a huge family get-together with no fights, no arguing. . . ."

Her friend, named Tiger, said that Pride Fest is the only opportunity she has to feel comfortable publicly. At bars frequented by lesbians, Tiger said, "I feel we're hidden, like we're just put in a building."

A middle-age couple sharing a blanket with Blue and Tiger said that they planned to register their relationship at City Hall. ===== ATTACHMENT 1
=====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

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id <01IYTNJ22PS000NBFT@PMDF.EOP.GOV>; Mon, 29 Jun 1998 21:34:49 EDT

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29 Jun 1998 18:33:39 -0700 (PDT)

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Doug.Case (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-JUN-1998 01:20:00.00

SUBJECT: 50 politicians march in Chicago parade, Poshard absent

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard.Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart.D.Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

CHICAGO SUN TIMES, June 29, 1998

Pols take advantage of popular march

BY JIM RITTER STAFF REPORTER

President Clinton sent his ``warm greetings" to marchers in Sunday's gay pride parade.

Mayor Daley proclaimed June ``gay and lesbian pride month."

About 50 politicians, mostly Democrats, marched or sent representatives. Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun flew in from Washington, D.C. Cook County Board President John Stroger rode atop a convertible. County Commissioner Maria Pappas twirled a baton.

But two Democrats conspicuously absent were U.S. Rep. Glenn Poshard, who is running for governor, and his running mate, Kane County Coroner Mary Lou Kearns. Poshard was attending Downstate fund-raisers, and Kearns was marching in the Swedish Days parade in Geneva.

Gay activists took Poshard's absence as one more sign he is ``anti-gay."

“He's an extremist masquerading as a Democrat,” said Rick Garcia of the Illinois Federation for Human Rights, a gay and lesbian civil rights group.

Many gays will vote for Poshard's Republican opponent, Secretary of State George Ryan, who is considered a moderate on gay issues, Garcia said. Ryan has appointed a liaison to the gay community and banned discrimination against gays in his office.

Like Poshard, Ryan was a no-show. But a contingent of Ryan supporters did march. One carried a sign that read, “This time we have to cross over and vote for George Ryan.” Another said, “Ryan won't hurt us, but Poshard will kill us.” A third sign proclaimed Poshard “100 percent anti-gay.”

Poshard has supported the “don't-ask-don't-tell” policy on gays in the military. He voted against domestic partner benefits for District of Columbia employees and voted to exempt religious schools in the capital from the district's human rights amendment.

But Poshard supports the proposed Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would prohibit employers from firing workers for being gay. And Poshard prohibits discrimination against gays in his office, said his spokesman, Jim Merriner.

“Glenn Poshard has always been for human rights,” Merriner said.

Several Democrats at the parade urged Poshard to reach out to gays.

“I hope in the course of the campaign he will speak out on human rights,” said state Rep. Carol Ronen, a North Side leader of party liberals. “It's a core value that not only Democrats but people everywhere share.”

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30 Jun 1998 00:21:55 -0400 (EDT)

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29 Jun 1998 21:20:29 -0700 (PDT)

X-Sender: dcase@mail.sdsu.edu

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-JUL-1998 00:11:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7407: Calif Natl Guard ordered to admit gays

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

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REUTERS, June 30, 1998

Calif. National Guard ordered to admit gays

SAN FRANCISCO - A California judge has ruled against the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy for gays in the military and ordered the California National Guard to open its ranks to homosexual members.

San Francisco Superior Court Judge David Garcia, in a ruling made late Monday but publicized Tuesday, said California's national guard was violating the state constitutional rights of gays, lesbians and bisexuals by banning them from service under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

"This is a total victory for the gay, lesbian and bisexual community," said Lt. Andrew Holmes, the gay National Guard officer who brought the suit after he was discharged in 1995 for declaring his homosexuality.

"I'm thrilled that the court has upheld the rights of gay men and

lesbians. The guard must now open state active duty jobs to everyone, regardless of sexual orientation." Garcia's order said the Equal Protection Clause of California's constitution prohibited the state National Guard from barring members who had been discharged from federal military service under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

Specifically, he ordered the state military organization to stop treating such federal discharges as "for cause" terminations -- a policy which equates dismissals for sexual orientation with those for criminal behavior.

California National Guard spokesman Lt. Col. Doug Hart said the organization planned to appeal the judge's decision, which he said ignored the legal obligation of the National Guard to follow the Pentagon's lead.

"We will definitely appeal," Hart said. "I am unclear as to what he wants us to do. We are obligated by federal law to follow the federal guidelines for the National Guard."

But gay rights supporters were upbeat, saying Garcia's decision was an important strike against the controversial "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue" federal policy on gays in the military.

That policy allows homosexuals to serve in the military, but continues the long-time ban on homosexual acts and requires gay and lesbian service members to keep their sexual orientation private.

"This is a landmark ruling. It's a wake up call to the Pentagon," said Michelle Benecke, co-director of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, a Washington, D.C.-based advocacy group for gays in the military.

Elizabeth Scott, one of the lawyers who worked on Holmes' case, said the ruling was an important step forward, although she noted that the complicated overlap between state and federal National Guard agencies

could make enforcement difficult.

State National Guard members can be "federalized" when needed for
national emergencies -- a move which could bring the "Don't Ask, Don't

Tell" policy back into force, she noted. ===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

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30 Jun 1998 21:11:37 -0700 (PDT)

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Doug.Case (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-JUL-1998 02:35:00.00

SUBJECT: CA National Guard ordered to admit gays

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard.Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart.D.Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

REUTERS, June 30, 1998

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Elizabeth Scott, one of the lawyers who worked on Holmes' case, said the ruling was an important step forward, although she noted that the complicated overlap between state and federal National Guard agencies could make enforcement difficult.

State National Guard members can be "federalized" when needed for national emergencies -- a move which could bring the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy back into force, she noted.

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by mail.sdsu.edu (8.8.7/8.8.7) with ESMTP id WAA14974; Tue,

30 Jun 1998 22:35:07 -0700 (PDT)

X-Sender: dcase@mail.sdsu.edu

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-JUL-1998 00:19:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7415: GLAADLines June 29, 1998

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
GLAADLINES

contact: Don Romesburg

(415) 861-2244

romesburg@glaad.org

<http://www.glaad.org>

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: June 29, 1998

News and Breaking Stories about the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
Community

LLEGO OUTRAGED BY PUERTO RICO DAY PARADE TREATMENT: Following a number of incidents with the organizers of this year's Puerto Rico Day Parade Committee in Chicago, LLEGO, the national Latino/a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender organization, is demanding a written apology, a lead position in the next parade, and sensitivity trainings for members of the parade committee and staff. LLEGO Executive Director Martin Ornelas-Quintero said, "Several of our encounters with the parade committee and staff were hostile, unsettling and homophobic," and noted that LLEGO was grilled about whether nude or transgender individuals would appear on

the float. In addition, parade staff told LLEGO that the event was "a Puerto Rican and not a gay rally," and staff tried to prevent LLEGO from using gay pride flags and symbols. While originally placed 44th in the parade line-up, after these interactions, parade organizers moved LLEGO to the very back. Ornelas-Quintero continued to say that: "We enjoyed the warm, encouraging cheers and welcome of the public during the parade, yet some members of the parade staff dealt homophobic insults and slurs at us. One staff person said that lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender Latinas/os were the reason for the ills of the community." For more information contact Martin Ornelas-Quintero (LLEGO) at (202) 466-8240.

INTERNET DEBATE EXPANDS: The debate about Internet filtering software--which can block youths' access to information about the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community--continues to expand in several states. In New Mexico, U.S. District Judge C. LeRoy Hansen blocked a law, to have taken effect Wednesday, to criminalize Internet expressions of "nudity" or "sexual conduct." In Utah, the State Records Committee ordered the educational computer network to give an Internet activist its censorship logs, which log online sites Utah students have tried to access. Anti-censorship advocates worry that while filtering softwares sporadically block pornography and hate sites, they also can keep lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth from critical information and resources. Says Jeff Walsh, editor of Oasis, the online webzine for gay youth: "There are many online sites that a parent might find inappropriate for their child. But the answer is not blocking all sites with sexual content without regard for context." The ACLU has sued to block the new law

in New Mexico. For more information contact Ann Beeson (ACLU attorney) at (212) 944-9800.

HEADS-UP FOR LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS: For the first time, the U.S. Department of Education has explicitly extended to lesbians and gays Title IX protections against sexual harassment. Prompting the move: Openly gay student Willi Wagner and his parents, who charged that the Fayetteville, Ark., school system did nothing after other students had beaten him. The district agreed to overhaul its policies, train staff and inform them that lesbian and gay students are covered under Title IX, which bars sexual harassment. Schools must comply with Title IX to obtain federal funding. At issue, said Kate Frankfurt of the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), are student safety and, potentially, a lot of local school district tax money. Courts have awarded significant damages to students targeted for being gay, she said, including Jamie Nabozny's ground-breaking case, which won the Wisconsin high school alum almost \$900,000. Frankfurt said, "The majority of school districts do not have policies in place that specifically mention sexual orientation, like race and gender." For more information contact Kate Frankfurt (GLSEN) at (212) 727-0135.

GAY FEDERAL EMPLOYEES CAUGHT IN CROSSFIRE: Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender federal employees may be inclined to look for more "welcoming" private sector employment if GOP members of Congress continue to use them as political pawns, warns Len Hirsh of GLOBE, the lesbian and gay federal employee group. Republican lawmakers have moved to try to overturn President Clinton's May 28 executive order banning workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation. The Democratic National Committee has

characterized the Republican Party's recent efforts as "gay bashing." But, Hirsh said, "this could make really good employees of the government look for relief by working for companies that protect their employees by giving them equal rights." For more information contact Bob Sadler (GLOBE president) at (202) 482-8040.

NATIONAL GUARD TO APPEAL PRO-GAY RULING: The California National Guard plans to appeal a San Francisco Superior Court ruling that jettisoned its prohibition against openly lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender service members. Unknown is how many guard members, in California and elsewhere, have been booted from the service because of their sexual orientation since the controversial "don't ask, don't tell" policy was instituted early on in Clinton's first term. A study of active duty forces found that discharges based on sexual orientation actually had increased since the compromise policy took effect. For more information contact Julia Adams (Servicemembers Legal Defense Network) at (202) 328-3244.

The Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) is the nation's lesbian & gay multimedia advocacy organization. GLAAD promotes fair, accurate, and inclusive representation as a means of challenging discrimination based on sexual orientation or identity. To subscribe contact Don Romesburg at (415) 861-2244 or at romesburg@glaad.org.

"GLAAD" and "Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation" are registered trademarks of the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, Inc.===== ATTACHMENT 1

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ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

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30 Jun 1998 21:19:39 -0700 (PDT)

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-JUL-1998 00:16:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7412: Judge rules for gay Guardsman

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

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.c The Associated Press

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) - Ruling that the military's ``don't ask, don't tell" policy violates the California Constitution, a Superior Court judge found in favor of a man who claimed he was improperly discharged from the National Guard because he's gay.

Former 1st Lt. Andrew Holmes, a decorated officer, brought a class-action suit against the California National Guard over his discharge in 1995. He told a superior officer about his sexual orientation in a memo.

Judge David A. Garcia issued a final ruling on the matter Monday, saying the policy regarding gays in the military violates the state

constitution because it discriminates on the basis of sexual orientation. The ruling means that Holmes' class-action suit may go forward.

Holmes' attorney, Elizabeth Scott, said the ruling ends the California military's practice of treating ``don't ask, don't tell" discharges as ``for cause" discharges.

That means that such discharges are now purely administrative, or benign, and a person who has been discharged from the California National Guard on the basis of sexual orientation can reapply for the Guard in a state capacity - but cannot be activated to federal duty, Scott said.

Those who choose to return to the guard in a capacity with the state are protected on California law from discrimination, Scott said.

``This victory is especially important for the many men and women who serve in fear that `don't ask, don't tell' will end their military careers," Scott said. ``Those people can now apply for state military jobs without hiding their sexual orientation."

The plaintiff's argument was based on the fact that the California National Guard is both a federal and state organization.

Attorneys for the state could not immediately be reached for comment after business hours Tuesday.

When the judge's preliminary ruling was issued, state National Guard spokesman Lt. Col. Douglas Hart said the ruling would be appealed.

``We have to follow the rules and the laws of Congress, and the Uniform Code of Military Justice (the legal code for military members) is basically federal law that can only be changed by Congress," Hart said.

``This is a total victory for the gay, lesbian and bisexual community," Holmes said in a statement. ``I'm thrilled that the court has upheld the rights of gay men and lesbians. The Guard must now open state active duty jobs to everyone."

AP-NY-06-30-98 2332EDT===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

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30 Jun 1998 21:16:39 -0700 (PDT)

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-JUL-1998 13:16:00.00

SUBJECT: WOCKNER/QUOTE UNQUOTE #123/1 July 1998

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Please do not forward to anyone for 2 weeks. My work needs to have a chance
to run in the newspapers that buy it before it runs amok in cyberspace.

Thanks, Rex

TO NEWS EDITOR

=====

= QUOTE UNQUOTE #123 - Jul 01, 1998 =

= by Rex Wockner =

=====

<<<|>>>

"The last year I was in Illinois, I started going out with this
guy. When I went to his house, he had a little poodle and all
these pictures of Judy Garland on his wall, and I just couldn't
relate to that at all. But that is a certain stereotype of what
it means to be gay. There's nothing wrong with it, but it just
seems that it's predominant in a way that is oppressive -- or at

least it was in that place at that time. I just couldn't be gay
[in that way]. That's why I ended up starting this band -- to try
to reconcile the two main threads of my life, which were my
sexuality and my music."

--Jon Ginoli, lead singer of the pop-punk band Pansy Division, to
the San Jose Mercury News, June 12.

◇◇<2>◇◇

"I didn't want to come out and do preachy songs. I wanted to do
songs that were celebratory of gay sexuality, but not to the
point where it sounds like propaganda. I think that's one of the
reasons we've been successful. We don't propagandize. We just
tell stories. We tell stories of people that we know. We tell our
own stories -- and make up some stories along the way that are
interesting."

--Jon Ginoli, lead singer of the pop-punk band Pansy Division, to
the San Jose Mercury News, June 12.

◇◇<3>◇◇ {Wockner photo available}

"I would argue that monogamy is part of a pleasure-hating package
being sold by aging gay leaders, now in their 50s and 60s, people
who through some ghastly process of natural selection managed to
survive the plague precisely because they were so dysfunctional

that they never could get laid. Whereas normal red-blooded gays in the late 70s were breaking down roles and indulging themselves, these tight-asses were too unredeemably macho to experiment or too drunk to stay awake for the coupling or too homely or self-loathing to attract partners. The virus selected against men who were affectionate, progressive, and fun-loving and left us with these boring old prudes."

--Famed gay writer Edmund White in the June 23 Advocate.

◇◇<4>◇◇

"We're like an old pair of slippers, kind of worn-down and raggedy. There are certainly better-looking shoes out there, but none quite so comfortable. Nobody would laugh at my stupid jokes the way Aleta does. I can't imagine being with anybody else, and I don't want to imagine it."

--Jean Mayberry of Omaha, Neb., in the June 23 Advocate, which was devoted to the topic of gay monogamy.

◇◇<5>◇◇ {Wockner photo available}

"Although gay journalists need to be journalists first and foremost, I sometimes feel that they employ a divide and conquer strategy for no other purpose than to sell magazines. I just wish that the gay press would see that the true enemy is the far

right, not us."

--Elizabeth Birch, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign, to the Advocate, June 23.

◇◇◇6◇◇◇ {Wockner photo available}

"My gay men friends think [Viagra] will make straight men happier, which is good for gay men who are often the target of straight sexual resentment. Maybe with something to do at home other than spin cats by the tail, Jesse Helms, Strom Thurmond, even Dan Burton will retire."

--Lesbian comedian Kate Clinton writing in the June 23 Advocate.

◇◇◇7◇◇◇ {Wockner photo available}

"I actually think gay people are getting more straight and straight people are getting more gay. I think straight people are very homogenized, very homo, very similar, might not be same sex, but same logo. Everything is merging, banks are merging, you know. And gay people want to get married, they want to get in the military, they're having tons of children. And culturally, as interminable as the discussions were about gays in the military and the 'Ellen' show, all kinds of people had opinions and that's part of the national conversation, and that's good."

--Lesbian comedian Kate Clinton to the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette,
June 19.

◇◇<8>◇◇

"I'm the longest married woman in my family. I guess it was serious when we put them rings on. I put one in her left nipple and she put one in my pussy and ever since then we felt like we owned a piece of each other."

--Author Dorothy Allison, (Bastard Out of Carolina, Cavedweller)
to the national lesbian magazine Curve, July issue.

◇◇<9>◇◇

"Important note: please go before you come as all conveniences will be locked to protect the host."

--Note on the invitation sent to 300 people for George Michael's
35th birthday party at a London restaurant June 27.

◇◇<10>◇◇

"Our sense of history is very disturbing to me. The whole Ellen thing was almost Orwellian. It was like as if she'd come out of nowhere, and no one had come before her. Don't be Canadian, and don't be a male. And don't be on cable."

--Openly gay actor Scott Thompson who played gay characters on national television (Kids In The Hall) years before Ellen DeGeneres and Ellen Morgan came out, to the Texas Triangle, June 11.

◇◇<11>◇◇

"Leaving aside the question of whether or not witnessing sexual activity is more traumatic than watching automobile accidents or Miami City Commission meetings, the fact remains that an unsuspecting youth or man is more likely to be hit by a bolt of lightning (or win the lottery) than run into sexual activity in a public john (unless he's looking for it). As any vice cop could tell you, catching men having sex in restrooms is difficult, which is why they have to resort to entrapment or other extralegal subterfuges. The fact that reporters had to use hidden cameras to catch their men just proves my point."

--Columnist Jesse Monteagudo in Miami's gay The Weekly News, June 17.

◇◇<12>◇◇

"If it's serious crime you're trying to prevent, then having lots of people around is very effective. And one of the cool things about public sex is that it gets people into the parks at night."

--Toronto city planner Carolyn Whitzman to Now, Toronto's biggest weekly newspaper, June 25.

◇◇<13>◇◇

"I wanted to end it all, I wanted it to be over. I didn't have a bright future, and drugs and alcohol didn't help my situation, it depressed me even more. Everything seemed to be going wrong."

--Gay porn star Ryan Idol on his fall from a fourth-floor Manhattan window March 20, to Los Angeles' In magazine, June 29.

◇◇<14>◇◇

"Gays should quit bitching about Southern Baptists exercising their constitutional right to free speech about homosexuality, which is indeed condemned by the Bible, despite the tortuous casuistry of so many self-interested parties, including clerics. I have been warning and warning for years that the insulting disrespect shown by gay activists to religion -- which has been going on for 20 years virtually unchecked on TV talk shows, with their biased liberal hosts -- would produce a backlash over time."

--Author and academic Camille Paglia in her June 23 Salon Magazine column.

◇◇<15>◇◇

"[There] was a depressing face-off about Trent Lott's [anti-gay] statement[s] on CNN's 'The Larry King Show' between Gary Bauer, head of the conservative Family Research Council, and openly gay Rep. Barney Frank of Massachusetts. It would be difficult to say which of the two guests was more physically repellent as a specimen of alleged manhood: the creepy, desiccated, squirrely Bauer or the nasty, whiny Frank, with his puny infant's mouth still squalling for mama's bottle. How bizarre it was to watch homosexuality being acrimoniously debated by two asexual blobs who are still licking their wounds from getting squashed and scorned by all the guys and dolls in the schoolyard."

--Author and academic Camille Paglia in her June 23 Salon Magazine column.

◇◇<16>◇◇

"I have been struck, in my brief encounters over the years with a half-dozen prominent gay male activists, by the frightening coldness and deadness of their eyes. Behind their smooth, bland faces I saw the seething hatreds of Dostoevskian anarchists. Gay crusading, I concluded, was their way of handling their own bitter misanthropy, which came from other sources. I found these men more spiritually twisted than anyone I have encountered in my

life. The gay movement should not be left in their hands."

--Author and academic Camille Paglia in her June 23 Salon Magazine column.

◇◇<17>◇◇

"For some reason, when I was younger, I dressed up like a girl, I looked feminine, and so straight boys wanted to fuck me. And now I don't really look like that anymore, I'm not a little girl. I'm not skinny, frail, petite. I'm a big guy, although I still wear makeup. So I'm in this weird no-man's-land, and it's fucking strange. I'm learning as I get older that sexuality is a very gray area. I don't actually believe in gay and straight anymore. The older I get, the more I think it's kind of a mind-set. When I was 16, I did not find women attractive. As I've gotten older, I can now look at women's bodies and think, Yeah, they're nice. And I can watch porn videos with straight men and women and actually get turned on."

--Singer Boy George to the Advocate, June 23.

◇◇<18>◇◇

"I think he thinks he's better than other people. And in particular, he thinks he's better than other gay people. And that's why he's never been able to say he's gay, because if he

says he's gay, he has to align himself with people like me and Jimmy Somerville and the drag queens. And he thinks he's a different type of homosexual. George actually thinks he's too good for the gay community."

--Singer Boy George on Singer George Michael, to the Advocate, June 23.

◇◇<19>◇◇

"We're going to return to a subject we talked about last week, which is the Christian right and homosexuality. And people sometimes say to me, 'You know, you talk about that a lot on your show.' I don't intend to. It's just in the news a lot because the Christian right talks about homosexuality more then they do down at The Ramrod."

--Host Bill Maher on TV's Politically Incorrect, June 22.

◇◇<20>◇◇

"I was the youngest of four children. And when I found my mother's love was to be divided equally between the four of us, I flew into an ungovernable rage from which I've never really recovered."

--Gay writer-actor Quentin Crisp to the Seattle Gay News, June

12.

◇◇<21>◇◇

"I just think we got a little too much on the soapbox at times.

Every week, I scanned the script to see where we were going to go

with this. I think Ellen wanted to get away from the gay story

lines, but as soon as you open up, you have to commit to this. We

certainly lost some audience. People were not ready for the

visual."

--Post-mortem from "Ellen" cast member Joely Fisher (Page), to

the Detroit Free Press, June 15.

-end-

-- Rex Wockner's "Quote Unquote" is archived from mid-1994 onward

at <http://www.qrd.org/qrd/www/world/wockner.html>

-- Italics is shown like this.

-- 1,830 words.===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
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CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-JUL-1998 01:32:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7466: GLAADAlert July 2, 1998

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

GLAADALERT-July 2, 1998

The GLAADAlert is the weekly activation tool of the Gay & Lesbian Alliance

Against Defamation

EDITOR'S NOTE: GLAAD has been monitoring and analyzing an immense amount of
Pride coverage from across the country, and the July 9 GLAADAlert will
include a special Media Round-up on the nation's coverage...Watch for it
next week!

GLAADAlert Index:

- 1) "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Is Hell
- 2) GLAAD Media Round-up: GOP in the Crosshairs
- 3) Getting Air Play If You're Gay
- 4) Anchorage Daily News Shows its Readers a Special Family Album
- 5) Hate Rhetoric, Hate Violence: Spotlighting the Link
- 6) Deconstructing Homophobia
- 7) Just Saying No To Youth Who Hate

1) "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Is Hell

The New York Times Magazine's June 18 cover featured a dramatic shot of a U.S. Marine in formal dress, his rigid salute hiding his face-with good reason: The accompanying story by Jennifer Egan was entitled "The Shadow Life of a Gay Marine." Egan focuses primarily on the experiences of a longtime officer, whom she calls "R." for the sake of anonymity, although it does include comments from a number of other military personnel. R., who plans to leave the Marines at the conclusion of his present enlistment, tells of the extreme burden which is imposed by being gay in the military-problems which have in fact been perpetuated by the government's so-called "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy. "[B]y forcing homosexuals to remain invisible, R. says, the policy deprives gay military people of the chance to prove themselves and begin to dispel the prejudices against them," writes Egan. "'The best way to change people's attitudes is the personal one-on-one relationship,' he says...But under 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,' R. could be discharged simply for having told his friend that he is homosexual." Egan notes that the isolation and invisibility of gays in the military also "leaves R. and his friends in something of a no man's land: socialized by the military but divided from it by sexual orientation; bound to gay culture by definition, yet culturally estranged from it." And she further writes of the personal impact which the military closet can have upon servicemembers as well, noting the example of P., another officer she met through R.: "Each month, P. recalls, a videotape would arrive on his ship, fashioned by the Officers' Wives Club, filled with greetings from loved ones," writes Egan. P. responds by saying that "Everybody else in the squadron's wife or girlfriend would be in the video saying, 'Hey, honey, how're you doing?'...And you'd be the only one without anything on that

tape." Egan's conclusion includes one of the article's most poignant comments, explaining R.'s decision to retire: "R. joined the Marines for the brotherhood, the esprit de corps, and ultimately, his sense of brotherhood has been eroded by the years of hiding."

Throughout this nine-page article, Egan treats her subjects with refreshing compassion and honesty. She brings to light significant deficiencies in the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, and makes all too real for her readers the hardships that lesbian and gay servicemembers face. In an unusual and perceptive mention, Egan notes in the beginning of the piece that bisexuals are affected by the policy as well. Egan sensitively addresses the personal pain felt by so many servicemembers, the unique isolation they feel, and quotes retired Army Gen. Vance Coleman, himself an African-American, who points out that arguments against allowing lesbians, gay men and bisexuals in the military are almost identical to those formerly used against allowing blacks to serve alongside whites. Throughout, Egan uses solid reporting, on-point quotes and an empathic awareness of the plight of lesbian and gay servicemembers to produce a particularly thoughtful and thought-provoking piece.

Please thank The New York Times Magazine for its compelling portrait that puts a human face on a controversial government policy.

Contact: Adam Moss, Editor, and Jennifer Egan, Reporter, New York Times Magazine, 229 West 43rd St., NY, NY 10036-3959

2) GLAAD Media Round-up: GOP in the Crosshairs

One of this week's hot-button political stories centered on efforts by a

number of GOP conservatives to rescind President Clinton's executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in federal jobs. That, combined with Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's recent comments equating homosexuality with kleptomania and conservative efforts to block gay philanthropist James Hormel's confirmation as ambassador to Luxembourg, enticed political analysts to examine the GOP "trend." Even some journalists who usually speak with conservative voices lambasted the tactic as divisive and ill-advised. Here are some examples:

(The New York Times ran a June 30 front-page analysis of the flurry of anti-gay comments by conservative leaders and noting that those remarks have left other Republicans trying to distance themselves from a feared backlash.

(One June 24, conservative columnist Arianna Huffington wrote of Lott, "Our nation's Senate Majority Leader went on Armstrong Williams' show and compared homosexuality to alcoholism, sex addiction and kleptomania. I think a more apt metaphor is Trent Lott's Senate leadership record and chronic fatigue syndrome."

(Cokie and Steven V. Roberts, in a syndicated column published in newspapers including the New York Daily News (June 24) and the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune (June 27), wrote, "The religious right is a legitimate force in Republican politics and deserves to be heard but they threaten to stain the whole party with their brand of self-righteous intolerance."

(Columnist Rob Morse wrote in his June 28 San Francisco Examiner piece, "Yes, politicians lectured the American people on sexuality and sin while killing major tobacco legislation and who knows how many teenagers."

(The lead editorial in the June 27 edition of New York's Daily News, which

was entitled "Some Straight Talk About the GOP", read: "[O]ne doesn't have to be a Republican to be embarrassed, for this is more than a GOP frat-boy fight. The demonization of gays is un-American."

Contact:

(Bill Keller, Managing Editor, New York Times, 229 West 43rd St., NY, NY 10036-3959, fax: 212.556.3690, e-mail: letters@nytimes.com (include phone number when sending e-mails)

(Arianna Huffington, c/o Creators Syndicate, 577 West Century Blvd. #700, LA, CA 90045-5677

(Michael Parks, Managing Editor, Los Angeles Times, Times Mirror Square, LA, CA 90053, fax: 213.237.7679, e-mail: letters@latimes.com

(Christopher Hull, Managing Editor, United Feature Syndicate, 200 Madison Ave., 4th Floor, NY, NY 10016-3903

(Sharon Rosenhouse, Managing Editor, and Rob Morse, Columnist, San Francisco Examiner, PO Box 7260, San Francisco, CA 94120-7260

(Michael Goodwin, Editorial Page Editor, Daily News, 450 West 33rd St., NY, NY 10001-2681, fax: 212.643.7832, e-mail: letters@dailynews.com

3) Getting Air Play If You're Gay

Being an openly lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender recording artist is still one tough job-but at least it is no longer impossible, says an article in the June 27 Billboard Magazine. The article quotes Raleigh, North Carolina, record store manager Naomi Collier as saying, "'I'd be lying if I didn't admit to being somewhat conservative when it comes to stocking music by gay artists who aren't at the superstar level like Elton John or Melissa Etheridge. I know it's not fair, but when you're dealing

with the extraordinarily high volume of releases that retailers do, it's hard to justify stepping out on a limb for a specialty group." Being out is worth it anyway, say some recording artists quoted in the article. Says Alan Wiley, who recently made his debut on Short round records with "Soundtrack," "I'm out in my lyrics and that makes a certain segment of the population uncomfortable. I like that. I'm not making my music for them. What's important to me is that I could possibly make somebody else feel a little better about where they are in life."

This well-balanced article does a solid job of presenting several interesting aspects of seeking success as an openly lesbian or gay recording artist in a culture that is still predominantly heterosexual.

Please thank Billboard for its matter-of-fact presentation of sexual orientation as a factor that can have an impact upon an artist's recording career.

Contact: Susan Nunziata, Managing Editor, Billboard, 1515 Broadway, 14th Floor, NY, NY 10036-8901, fax: 212.536.5345, e-mail: snunziata@billboard.com

4) Anchorage Daily News Shows its Readers a Special Family Album

A prominent photo in Alaska's June 18 Anchorage Daily News shows an African-American family-two adults, two kids-all smiling for the camera. Other photos show other families. The captions reveal the accompanying article's intent by noting "that these are not traditional families. The extra guy in the photo is Daddy's lover. The two women aren't sisters but life partners. The man gently coddling a baby actually is a transgender

woman. These are not ordinary families. And yet they are ordinary."

Thus begins the newspaper's coverage of the traveling photo exhibit "Love Makes a Family: Living in Lesbian and Gay Families," which was on exhibit in Anchorage. These photos and text work together to create a positive and affirming look at an important but under-covered segment of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender life.

Please thank the Anchorage Daily News for its sensitive treatment of this important topic.

Contact: Pat Dougherty, Managing Editor, Anchorage Daily News, PO Box 149001, Anchorage, AK 99514-9001, fax: 907.258.2157, e-mail: pdougherty@adn.com

5) Hate Rhetoric, Hate Violence: Spotlighting the Link

Asks lesbian columnist Debbie Woodell in the June 26 Philadelphia Daily News: "What is more frightening-Pat Robertson's prophecy of doom for Orlando, Fla., or someone helping it come true?" Woodell said the TV minister's widely-quoted statements were "funny, in a sick sort of way, for about a minute, until you realized someone might actually take him seriously. Oh, someone already has? That would be the 19-year-old from Orlando who is accused of ripping down dozens of those rainbow flags because he worried that God's wrath would rain down on the city...Okay, so it was only property destroyed in Orlando...But I have a prediction too. I did not turn to the Bible, but relied instead on my own God-given common sense: Someone will get killed or seriously hurt because of what Pat Robertson said. My crystal ball is not clear enough to show whether it will

be a teenage boy fatally beaten in an alley or community center ripped apart by a blast. Maybe both. But someone will try to get in God's-and Robertson's-good graces."

Woodell's point is precisely on target. For at least three years now, annual hate crime reports issued by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs have shown a direct link between anti-gay rhetoric and anti-gay violence. Most recently, the Coalition's report on 1997 incidents demonstrated that the most attacks against lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people occurred in May and June-the two months which preceded the ABC sitcom *Ellen's* coming-out episodes and which included vocal criticism from conservative opponents of the show. Aside from New York Times columnist Frank Rich, Woodell has been essentially alone among mainstream media writers in bringing to light this alarming linkage of homophobic rhetoric and homophobic violence.

Please commend Woodell for her perceptive exposure of a little-examined but very real consequence of public figures' expressions of homophobia.

Contact: Ellen Foley, Managing Editor, and Debbie Woodell, Philadelphia Daily News, 400 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA 19130-4015, fax: 215.854.5910, e-mail: dailynews.opinion@phillynews.com

6) Deconstructing Homophobia

Columnist William Wineke, in the June 27 Wisconsin State Journal, asks: "Can someone define for me what a 'homosexual lifestyle' is? The phrase seems used generally as the second part of a statement about gay and lesbian people. The first part goes something like, 'we don't hate the

homosexual...' and ends criticizing the 'homosexual lifestyle.' That all sounds somewhat reasonable, but I don't really know what these people are talking about...The term 'homosexual lifestyle' conjures up images of lurid orgies and San Francisco bath houses and, I guess, such exist. This is a big, diverse country, and there are many, many weird people in it. Some of them, I'm sure, are gay and lesbian. But not the men and women I know."

Wineke uses a light touch and a heavy dose of common sense to deconstruct one of the most common homophobic buzz phrases in a way that spotlights its ultimate lack of meaning.

Please thank the Wisconsin State Journal for this perceptive column.

Contact: Clifford C. Behnke, Managing Editor, Wisconsin State Journal, PO Box 8505, Madison, WI 53708, fax: 608.252.6119, e-mail: wsjopine@madison.com

7) Just Saying No To Youth Who Hate

"Something is terribly wrong at San Ramon Valley High School," begins a June 17 editorial in California's San Ramon Valley Times. "This is a campus where...students spit on a Gay Pride Week display and someone skulks back after dark to scrawl 'God hates fags' and 'Fags must die' on the school's walls. This is a campus in trouble. It is in trouble because the young people who have committed these acts don't know that their actions are wrong...this is a school district whose parents worked day and night on Measure D, a bond measure, to make sure that their children will go to schools that are in decent physical condition...It would be nice to see them spend as much energy making sure their children understand the great

social and moral lessons of the 19th and 20th centuries-what slavery and fascism mean, and the consequences of intolerance...That is what the children in their care need now. They need it desperately."

This forceful editorial focuses on real effects of several incidents of intolerance at the San Ramon Valley High School, including attacks against already at-risk lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth. The editorial also directs suggestions for corrective action toward the city's schools and churches, and especially toward parents who tolerate hate.

Please write to thank the San Ramon Valley Times for its recognition of the gravity of the problems at its local high school and its direct approach toward a solution.

Contact: Karen Magnuson, Managing Editor, San Ramon Valley Times, P.O. Box 68, Danville, CA 94526, fax: 925.837.4334, e-mail: SRVTimes@aol.com

The GLAADAlert is the weekly activation tool of the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation.

GLAAD promotes fair, accurate and inclusive representation in the media as a means of challenging homophobia and all forms of discrimination based on sexual orientation or identity.

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1-800-GAY-MEDIA (1-800-429-6334)

Visit GLAAD Online at <http://www.glaad.org>

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CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-JUL-1998 19:29:00.00

SUBJECT: Gephardt Speaks At World's Largest Gay Church

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
BUSINESS WIRE, July 2, 1998

Gephardt Speaks At World's Largest Gay Church

DALLAS--(BUSINESS WIRE FEATURES)

House minority whip denounces 'shameful' comments made by Trent Lott and
Dick

Armey, expresses frustration with Republican-controlled Congress

U.S. House of Representatives minority leader Richard Gephardt met
with
gays and lesbians today in an impromptu town hall meeting at the Cathedral
of
Hope, the world's largest predominately gay and lesbian church. Mr.
Gephardt
opened the one-hour meeting by denouncing derogatory remarks recently made
by
U.S. Senator Majority Leader Trent Lott and House Majority Leader Dick
Armey.

"Mr. Lott's and Mr. Armey's comments are a shame and are certainly not my
views or the views of the majority of the house of representatives,"
Gephardt

said.

Mr. Lott and Mr. Armey were recently quoted saying that homosexuality was a 6 sin and compared gays and lesbians to kleptomaniacs and sex addicts that needed treatment The Cathedral of Hope recently invited Mr. Lott and Mr. Armey to visit the church and to meet gay and lesbian Christians, although neither two politicians have responded. Mr. Gephardt, who was in Dallas on a voter awareness campaign drive, decided to visit the church and noted that the house and senate leadership should represent all Americans, not just the far right.

During his one-hour meeting Representative Gephardt addressed several issues important to gays and lesbians including gays in the military, AIDS funding and proposed federal anti-discrimination laws. Mr. Gephardt emphasized that, as long Republicans controlled the House of Representatives, issues important to gays and lesbians would have difficulty surfacing through the bureaucracy.

One of the largest and fastest growing churches in America, the 2,000-member Cathedral of Hope (www.cathedralofhope.com) is dedicated to sending a message of hope to lesbian, gay and other excluded people around the world and strives to reclaim Christianity for all people with a message of God's inclusive love. With an active constituency of over 15,000 people

and a
television ministry reaching 2.5 million households nationwide, the church
is
currently raising funds to build the first cathedral of the 21st century, a
new \$20 million sanctuary designed by world-renowned architect Phillip
Johnson.

CONTACT:

Cathedral of Hope, Dallas

Lisa Carver, 214/351-1901

kthedral@aol.com

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X-Sender: dcase@mail.sdsu.edu

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CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-JUL-1998 01:31:00.00

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TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
BUSINESS WIRE, July 2, 1998

Gephardt Speaks At World's Largest Gay Church

DALLAS--(BUSINESS WIRE FEATURES)

House minority whip denounces 'shameful' comments made by Trent Lott and
Dick Armey, expresses frustration with Republican-controlled Congress

U.S. House of Representatives minority leader Richard Gephardt met
with gays and lesbians today in an impromptu town hall meeting at the
Cathedral of Hope, the world's largest predominately gay and lesbian
church. Mr. Gephardt opened the one-hour meeting by denouncing derogatory
remarks recently made by U.S. Senator Majority Leader Trent Lott and House
Majority Leader Dick Armey. "Mr. Lott's and Mr. Armey's comments are a
shame and are certainly not my views or the views of the majority of the
house of representatives," Gephardt said.

Mr. Lott and Mr. Armey were recently quoted saying that homosexuality
was a 6 sin and compared gays and lesbians to kleptomaniacs and sex
addicts that needed treatment The Cathedral of Hope recently invited Mr.

Lott and Mr. Armey to visit the church and to meet gay and lesbian Christians, although neither two politicians have responded. Mr. Gephardt, who was in Dallas on a voter awareness campaign drive, decided to visit the church and noted that the house and senate leadership should represent all Americans, not just the far right.

During his one-hour meeting Representative Gephardt addressed several issues important to gays and lesbians including gays in the military, AIDS funding and proposed federal anti-discrimination laws. Mr. Gephardt emphasized that, as long Republicans controlled the House of Representatives, issues important to gays and lesbians would have difficulty surfacing through the bureaucracy.

One of the largest and fastest growing churches in America, the 2,000-member Cathedral of Hope (www.cathedralofhope.com) is dedicated to sending a message of hope to lesbian, gay and other excluded people around the world and strives to reclaim Christianity for all people with a message of God's inclusive love. With an active constituency of over 15,000 people and a television ministry reaching 2.5 million households nationwide, the church is currently raising funds to build the first cathedral of the 21st century, a new \$20 million sanctuary designed by world-renowned architect Phillip Johnson. CONTACT: Cathedral of Hope,

Dallas Lisa Carver, 214/351-1901===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Doug.Case (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 4-JUL-1998 01:02:00.00

SUBJECT: Nebraska Senator confesses to being a homophobic bigot

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard.Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart.D.Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
Omaha World-Herald, July 3, 1998

Openly Gay Nominee Won't Get Hagel Vote [top article, front page]

by Jake Thompson, World-Herald Bureau

Washington -- One day last month, Bob Kerrey asked his Senate colleague and fellow Nebraskan, Chuck Hagel, a favor: Could Kerrey stop by with a controversial ambassadorial nominee who wanted to make a personal pitch to Hagel?

Sure, Hagel said, bring him over.

The meeting didn't turn out as Kerrey wished.

As a courtesy to Kerrey, Hagel said, he would listen to the man --

James

C. Hormel, 64, a Democratic donor, lawyer and philanthropist -- whose nomination to become ambassador to Luxembourg has been blocked in the Senate, his backers say, simply because he is gay.

Perhaps Kerrey had hoped Hormel's Nebraska tie might help. The

nominee's

grandfather, George A. Hormel, founded the giant Hormel Foods, which opened a meatpacking plant in Fremont in 1947.

Perhaps Kerrey had hoped Hormel's philanthropic record would impress. The National Society of Fundraising Executives named him its outstanding philanthropist for 1996.

"We would love to have somebody like James Hormel as part of the Omaha community," Kerrey said recently. "He's actively involved, he gives generously to very important civic efforts."

Hormel, trying to move his nomination forward, had contacted Kerrey, who turned to Hagel. On June 3 Kerrey escorted Hormel and a State Department official to a meeting in Hagel's office. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, which is overseeing the nomination, Hagel could play a helpful role.

"We had a good conversation," Hagel, a Republican, recalled last week. "He's a nice fellow."

Kerrey, a Democrat, called Hormel "as well-qualified a nominee as I've seen" and said the meeting led him to think Hagel would support Hormel for the job.

Not so.

Ambassadorial posts are sensitive, Hagel explained.

"They are representing America," he said. "They are representing our

lifestyle, our values, our standards. And I think it is an inhibiting factor to be gay -- openly aggressively gay like Mr. Hormel -- to do an effective job."

Hagel noted a documentary, filmed with money Hormel donated, that showed teachers how they could teach children about homosexuality. He said he had seen another video clip that showed Hormel at what Hagel called an anti-Catholic event in San Francisco, featuring the "Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence," a group of male drag queens.

"It is very clear on this tape that he's laughing and enjoying the antics of an anti-Catholic gay group in this gay parade," Hagel said. "I think it's wise for the president not to go forward with this nomination."

Luxembourg, he noted, is about 95 percent Roman Catholic.

Hagel thus became the latest of a group of Senate conservatives to come out against Hormel's nomination. Critics say the group is discriminating against a qualified nominee.

Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., has defended Hormel, saying he opposes all forms of discrimination.

Over the years Hormel, a former dean of the Chicago Law School, has given money to civil-rights groups, colleges, symphonies, and to groups fighting autism, breast cancer and AIDS. Hormel listed the contributions in a

letter

to a supporter, Sen. Gordon Smith, R-Ore. In the letter, Hormel said he provided "minor" support for the teacher documentary and had no control over its content.

The Log Cabin Republicans, a gay group, says the videotape from the San Francisco event resulted when men dressed as nuns walked past a broadcast booth where Hormel, a well-known civic leader in the city, was giving an interview to a local reporter.

Hormel's homosexuality is not the problem, say Hagel and other opponents of the nomination. It's his openness about being gay and his advocacy of some causes, they say.

The Senate's majority leader, Trent Lott, R-Miss., heated the issue recently when he said homosexuality was a problem that should be treated "just like alcohol or sex addiction or kleptomania."

Fellow Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato of New York took him to task: "On a personal level, I am embarrassed that our Republican Party, the party of Lincoln, is seen to be the force behind this injustice," D'Amato wrote to Lott, calling for the nomination to be brought to a vote.

Then Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., weighed in against D'Amato, accusing the New Yorker of using the issue to boost his re-election bid.

Helms, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has vowed to continue blocking a vote on Hormel. The committee on a voice vote last October recommended Hormel's nomination to the full Senate. It has been held up since.

Hormel's supporters say they have the 60 votes needed to break the hold on the nomination -- if Lott will allow it to come to the floor.

Hagel, meanwhile, said a homosexual should not necessarily be disqualified from all ambassadorships.

His approach to nominees, he said, has been to examine the person's qualifications first. The United States has had gay ambassadors in the past and gays in the military, who have done well by quietly adopting the Pentagon's current "don't ask, don't tell" attitude.

Hormel, however, has gone beyond that, Hagel said.

He "very aggressively told the world of his gayness and the funding and all the things he's been involved in. I think you do go beyond common sense there, and reason and a certain amount of decorum," Hagel said.

"If you send an ambassador abroad with a cloud of controversy hanging over him, then I think it's unfair to our country, it's unfair to the host country and it's unfair to the ambassador because the effectiveness of that individual is going to be seriously curtailed. That's just a fact of life. And I believe Hormel's situation is one of those."

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-JUL-1998 15:31:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7482: Gephardt courts gays (Wash Post)

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])
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Washington Post, July 5, 1998

1150 15th Street NW, Washington, DC, 20071

Gephardt Courts Gay, Lesbian Community

Democrat Pursues Backing and Bankrolling for House, Presidential
Campaigns

By Ceci Connolly, Washington Post Staff Writer

House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.), with one eye on the 1998 congressional elections and the other on the Democratic presidential primaries of 2000, is courting the gay and lesbian community, cultivating prominent activists, raising money for homosexual causes and chastising the Clinton administration when it falls short of expectations.

Although Gephardt has long been a reliable vote on civil rights issues, gay activists and people close to Gephardt say it is only recently that he has been willing to take a more prominent role in promoting homosexual leaders and their agenda.

"Mr. Gephardt has been playing a little bit of catch-up," said Michael Armentrout, a financial consultant in Raleigh, N.C., and a member of the board of governors of the Human Rights Campaign. "I have taken note that in the last six to 12 months he has been much more clear and forthright on gay and lesbian issues."

Beginning with the election of Bill Clinton in 1992, Democrats have been tapping into a burgeoning gay political network, seeking not only votes, but also money and foot soldiers. And with prominent Republicans engaging in a wave of harshly anti-gay rhetoric, Democrats say the electoral opportunities have never seemed better.

"Moderate gay voters are looking for somewhere to go," said G. Sterling Zinsmeyer, president of the New York-based Stonewall Democrats. "They're very turned off by the Republican agenda; there's a real opportunity here."

That is why Gephardt, Vice President Gore and several other Democrats considering a presidential bid in 2000 are jockeying for the support of the gay community, in much the same way they have sought the backing of such influential constituencies as labor and African Americans.

"The 2000 campaign is going to be the first presidential election in which gay and lesbian voters will play a role similar to significant other groups in the Democratic Party," said Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), one of two openly gay House members. "It is a sign of both the diminution of prejudice in society as a whole and increased political activity in the

gay and lesbian community."

In 1996, according to estimates by gay organizations, gay donors gave more than \$3.2 million to the Clinton campaign and exit polls showed homosexuals were responsible for at least 7 percent of the president's total vote. This year, four lesbian Democrats are running for the House and the leading gay organizations expect to contribute about \$2 million to those women and other candidates they like. Democrats need 11 seats to win back the House and in close races with a likely low turnout, Gephardt suggests the gay vote could tip the balance.

"Republicans have been hostile to their interests," he said. "This is a group of voters we can get to vote for our candidates for the House."

From the time Clinton took office, Gore has assiduously worked the gay network, hosting parties for gay and lesbian political appointees, swearing in Fred Hochberg, the openly gay deputy administrator of the Small Business Administration, and praising the sitcom "Ellen" for promoting a more open attitude toward homosexuals. He has also tried to mend fences over the administration's refusal to fund a needle-exchange program and the controversy over a sailor the Navy attempted to discharge for homosexuality based on confidential information it prodded from an online service.

But in recent months, it has been the minority leader who has stepped up the pace, wooing gay leaders from Atlanta to Los Angeles. Some critics suggest Gephardt's actions are purely political, part of his strategy to corner the most liberal wing of the party. But many in the gay community say his efforts seem a sincere reflection of a man who has become more sophisticated in his thinking.

Since the beginning of 1998, Gephardt has battled the White House

over needle exchange, prodded the Pentagon to investigate alleged violations of its "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy and complained to the State Department when a gay cruise ship was denied docking permission in the Cayman Islands.

Last February, he was the keynote speaker at the Human Rights Campaign's annual dinner in Denver and in April he received the "Partner for Life" award from a local AIDS clinic. Later this month, he will help raise money for the newly formed National Stonewall Democratic Fund.

The community, in turn, has been raising money to help Gephardt win the speaker's chair and has pledged to put activists in the field during the fall campaign.

But the community has also increased demands on Gephardt, Gore and others seeking its support.

"The community is much more mature and maybe a little more cynical," said Brian Bond of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund. "Just because a politician says something, I don't think the community is going to jump." ===== ATTACHMENT
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