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SUBJECT: Illinois gay bloc gains clout

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CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

August 4, 1998

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Gay bloc gains clout

NEWS ANALYSIS BY MICHAEL GILLIS STAFF REPORTER

Should Glenn Poshard care if he alienates the gay vote?

If the Democratic congressman wants to be elected governor of Illinois he should, several local politicians and gay activists said.

"The gay vote is larger than it used to be, and it's a vote that needs to be taken seriously," said gay activist Rick Garcia of the Illinois Federation for Human Rights.

The impact of gay voters on the gubernatorial election won't be measurable until on or after Election Day. But they're already making themselves felt

in the campaign, yet another sign of their growing political clout.

Garcia said the gay voting bloc is highly motivated, organized and sizable.

A survey by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force found that 3.2 percent of the voters in the 1992 presidential election identified themselves as gay.

By that estimate, about 161,000 gay people cast votes in that election in Illinois.

Garcia points out that every gay voter has numerous heterosexual friends and relatives also concerned about gay issues.

But the strength of a gay bloc is difficult ``to get any kind of an empirical handle on," said Peter Nardulli, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

And in the contest between Poshard and Republican opponent George Ryan, it's hard to predict whether gays will turn out to vote. The race doesn't offer a clear choice, Nardulli said. ``If you're looking at it from the gay voter's perspective, you might just sit on your hands.

``It isn't like you've got a Bill Clinton vs. a George Bush or a Trent Lott--you've got two fairly traditional and socially conservative candidates for governor."

The best evidence of gays' growing clout might be the number of politicians

seeking to curry their favor. During the annual gay pride parade on June 28, for instance, about 50 politicians, mostly Democrats, marched or sent representatives.

Poshard, who has a strong base of conservative supporters Downstate, was absent. But a contingent of people who support Ryan marched. One carried a sign that summarized the way many gays view the governor's race: ``Ryan won't hurt us, but Poshard will kill us."

Poshard opposed laws prohibiting discrimination against gays in housing, public accommodations and credit matters and opposed extending benefits to domestic partners of government workers. He also opposes same-sex marriages.

But he supports the ``don't ask, don't tell" policy on gays in the military. He also favors extending the Americans With Disabilities Act to people infected with the AIDS virus and is a co-sponsor of a bill that prohibits firing based on sexual orientation. He prohibits such discrimination in his own office.

Ryan is a conservative Republican, but he is viewed as moderate on gay issues. He also opposes same-sex marriages, but he instituted a policy in the secretary of state's office barring discrimination against gays.

Poshard's campaign further angered gays when his campaign manager last week said Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), an openly gay lawmaker, had offered to help the campaign but was turned down. Frank later denied he made the

offer. Poshard said it was a misunderstanding.

State Rep. Larry McKeon (D-Chicago), the only openly gay state lawmaker, refused to endorse Poshard. And a new political action group, Progressives in Politics, which has gay members, held a press conference Monday to blast Poshard and reiterate its endorsement of Ryan.

“He's misleading the voters and he's misleading the gay and lesbian community,” said Dan Sprehe, a gay member of the group.

The Poshard campaign Monday insisted it had not written off gays and lesbians and that Poshard intends to meet with leaders of that community soon.

“A meeting with leaders in the progressive and gay and lesbian community is in the works,” campaign manager Joshua Silverman said. “They'll get to hear where Congressman Poshard is on the issues, not where other people say he is.” Silverman dodged questions about the importance of the gay vote.

“All constituencies are important,” he said. “There are lots of different blocs of voters. This is a substantial voting group æ and a group we'll continue to try and work with. I'm not ranking them [in terms of importance].”

Ryan spokesman John Torre said Poshard's inability to win over the liberal wing of the Democratic Party largely has to do with his uneasy relationship with gay and lesbian voters. “So far, much of the debate has centered on

the problems he's had with the traditional Democratic base. But much of that problem revolves around [his relationship with] the gay community," Torre said.

Ald. Bernard Hansen (44th), who represents a ward with a large number of gays and lesbians, said it's ``highly unlikely" Poshard can win without the gay vote.

``They're very organized, they talk to each other a lot, and they are very effective in getting out the vote," Hansen said.

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

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SUBJECT: NC7792: Newsweek gay trilogy

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NEWSWEEK, August 17, 1998

251 West 57th Street, New York,NY,10019

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Can Gays Convert?

A controversial series of ads claims that homosexuals aren't born that way,

and can change. A look inside the 'ex-gay' movement, and the elusive science of sexual orientation.

By John Leland and Mark Miller

In a town house in northwest Washington, D.C., Anthony Falzarano calls for a show of hands. "How many of you," he asks, "were raped, molested or sexualized as children?" More than half of the 20 men and three women raise their hands. Falzarano, 42, is neatly dressed, a former architectural restorer who talks with the reassuring cadences of a motivational speaker. For the last hour or so, he has recited Scriptures and talked about his own life--about his rather glamorous turns in the New York gay scene of the 1970s, about his Christian reawakening, about his wife and two children. Now he urges the others to talk.

"My name is Dave," begins one. "It's been a good week. I haven't had any lapses into masturbation for more than a month." Shannon, 27, has not had a good week. He started a new job, and already, he says, "people are buzzing, 'Is the new guy gay?' " Falzarano admonishes, "You're still sending out mixed signals." The secret sharers are mostly in their 20s and 30s, racially mixed, united in purpose: they want desperately, some painfully, not to be gay.

They have come to the Transformation Ministries branch of Exodus International, a nondenominational Christian fellowship dedicated to helping homosexuals change their orientation. Touting strict Scriptural reading and a discredited theory of childhood development, Exodus was until recently one of the better-kept secrets in the American church. Then on July 13, in conjunction with conservative groups like the Christian Coalition, it started taking out full-page ads in major newspapers (including The Washington Post, NEWSWEEK's sister publication). In gentle, loving language, smiling "ex-gays" offered the bold promise: we changed, so can you. Gay advocates fumed. "This is a deliberate campaign... to make homophobia acceptable," argues Anne Fausto-Sterling, a professor of

biology and women's studies at Brown University. The mainstream psychology community bridled: therapy to change sexual orientation, says Gregory Herek, a research psychologist at the University of California, Davis, "doesn't have any scientific basis." For the ad's sponsors, the uproar was golden. "We've done 37 interviews in the last 10 days," exults Falzarano, who describes himself as "one of the top five 'ex-gays'." After years of daytime-TV indignities, ex-gays like John and Anne Paulk of Colorado Springs--a former drag queen and a former lesbian, now married with a son--were working prime time.

The ads come just as factions within the Republican Party are battling over gay rights. Senate leader Trent Lott recently likened homosexuality to alcoholism and kleptomania, and blocked a vote to allow James Hormel, who is gay, to become ambassador to Luxembourg. The Republican-controlled House voted to deny certain federal funds to any city that required contractors to provide health benefits to gay partners. But just last week, defectors within the party helped defeat a GOP bill to rescind President Bill Clinton's anti-discrimination order for gays in the federal government.

At Falzarano's ministry, such political machinations are lost on people like Shannon. He has led a complicated life. At his first meeting, he wore mascara and outrageous dress. "I was flaming," he says, conspiratorially. Raised in a strict Pentecostal home, with a violent, drug-addicted father, he "got into the lifestyle"--Exodus-speak for homosexuality--at the age of 14. By 20, he says, "I wanted a change. I [believed] I was an awful, damaged product in God's eyes." He returned to the church, quickly married and fathered a child, but eventually started seeing men again. Earlier this year, with a second child on the way, he brought himself to an Exodus

meeting. He was dubious--"I thought they were all fakers"--but desperate.

"At first, I came because I didn't want to waste more of my wife's life. I really, really enjoyed the gay lifestyle. But now I want to come out of this for myself. I'm tired of homosexuality being my identity."

For more than a century, therapists, churches and groups like the Aesthetic Realists have tried to change gays by means including drugs, electroshock and even testicular transplant. One Masters and Johnson treatment taught gay men how to make conversation and eye contact with women. But after the American Psychiatric and Psychological associations voted in the 1970s that homosexuality was not a disorder, most therapists got out of the sexual- conversion business. Last year the American Psychological Association officially declared "reparative therapy" scientifically ineffective and possibly harmful. Its guidelines strongly discourage such therapy as unnecessary. The public is less convinced. In a new NEWSWEEK Poll, 56 percent said gays could become straight; 11 percent of gays agreed.

Exodus, founded in 1976, has taken up the call. With 83 chapters in 35 states, the group claims to have "touched" 200,000 lives, though it keeps no figures on how many people have gone through treatment. "I don't know of anybody who can do it on their own," says John Paulk, the national board chairman. Exodus rejects what members call the "homophobia" of censorious conservative churches; rather, the idea is to help gays become healing members of the congregation. The "homosexual lifestyle," the group contends, is a sin, though not of the sinner's choosing--a neat distinction in a culture loath to accept blame for anything.

The group offers a tidy explanation for homosexuality. Boys with absent fathers, girls with absent mothers, get stuck in developmental limbo and

seek masculine or feminine fulfillment through sex with members of their own gender. By recognizing this deficiency, and through prayer, individuals can replace some gay desires with same-sex friendships. Or so the theory goes. Heterosexual desire may or may not follow. Along the way, Exodus workshops encourage gay men to "butch up" through sports, and lesbians to unleash their inner heterosexual through dress and makeup.

"Recovery" might mean anything from a heterosexual marriage to abstinence. Temptation alone, the group counsels, is not a sin. As one ex-gay man puts it, "I still struggle with attraction [to men]. But I don't see attraction as a problem, because people are attractive."

Ministries claim success rates of about 30 percent, but have allowed no long-term studies. The failures, on the other hand, have been most importune. Two of Exodus International's founders, Michael Bussee and Gary Cooper, fell in love and left the organization in 1979. In all, 13 Exodus ministries have had to close because the director returned to homosexuality.

Exodus's claims take up an unresolved scientific debate. In the early '90s, three highly publicized studies seemed to suggest that homosexuality's roots were genetic, traceable to nature rather than nurture. Though the studies were small and the conclusions cautious, many gay groups embraced the news. We're born this way, they announced, don't judge us. More than five years later the data have never been replicated.

Moreover, researchers say, the public has misunderstood "behavioral genetics." Unlike eye color, behavior is not strictly inherited; it needs to be brought into play by a daunting complexity of environmental factors.

"People very much want to find simple answers," says Neil Risch, a professor of genetics at Stanford. "A gene for this, a gene for that..."

Human behavior is much more complicated than that." The existence of a genetic pattern among homosexuals doesn't mean people are born gay, any more than the genes for height, presumably common in NBA players, indicate an inborn ability to play basketball. Isolating environmental factors of homosexuality has proved equally elusive: in blind psychological evaluations, gays are indistinguishable from straight people. Most scientists postulate that homosexuality results from some combination of genes and environmental factors, possibly different in each individual. But, admits biologist Evan Balaban, "I think we're as much in the dark as we ever were."

Matt, 20, thinks he knows the answer. A junior at a Los Angeles university, Matt is articulate, casually chic in a retro surfer shirt. Since 1997, he has been a patient of psychologist Joseph Nicolosi, the leading exponent of the secular approach called reparative therapy. Matt had his first homosexual experience in college--unsatisfying, but not traumatic. His parents urged him to see Nicolosi. "I basically hated Joe at first. I thought he was full of s---." He agreed to continue treatment, he says, "just to talk through the issue. I didn't expect to change."

Nicolosi considers himself a maverick in a profession held captive by the gay political lobby. He is the executive director of NARTH, the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality, a small band that steadfastly maintains that homosexuality is a disorder that can and should be treated. NARTH represents "the fringe of the mental-health establishment," says psychologist Herek. Nicolosi's patients, most controversially, can be as young as 3 years old. Like Exodus, he trumpets his success rates, but has done no long-term follow-up study. "I don't have time," he says.

Still skeptical, Matt read Nicolosi's book "Reparative Therapy of Male Homosexuality." "It could have been written about my family," he says--distant father, very attentive mother, no interest in sports. Matt started to come round. He looked into mainstream "gay affirmative" therapies, which hold that gay tensions derive from "internalized homophobia." Nicolosi had an answer to each. "It was a battle of theories, and Joe's really convinced me more." Matt says his attractions to men have diminished. He still hasn't dated a woman, but feels confident that the move is "imminent. I want to make sure I'm ready."

Despite Matt's experience, both Nicolosi and Exodus stress that the process isn't for everybody. People who are gay and happy won't find it useful. "We have to work with people who are broke and ready," says Anita Worthen, a counselor at New Hope Ministries in San Rafael, Calif. "We can't drag them off the streets." Worthen's own son is gay and not in therapy. At her ministry, she and her husband, Frank, try to warn off the less stalwart. "You don't want to come in and fail at one more thing."

Critics accuse NARTH of preying on the vulnerable. "It intensifies conflict," says psychiatrist Susan Vaughan, the American Psychoanalytical Association's spokesperson on gay issues. "Being celibate, or trying to have sex with the opposite sex, can lead to anxiety and depression." James Campbell, 37, now an ordained Methodist minister, said his therapist tried to exploit his fear of AIDS, and goaded him to "remember" an incident of molestation he now isn't sure happened. Since leaving therapy, he says, "my acceptance of myself as a gay man saved my life and any relationship I had with God."

There is a middle ground between the camps--between the ex-gay claim that anyone can change and the opposing contention that no one can. The

psychologist Patricia Hannigan has argued that individuals can, in the face of strong religious conflict, lay down their own laws. "If the foremost priority in one's life is religious faith, then personal happiness might come from conforming to faith rather than from pursuing sexual orientation." She likens gay Christians in reparative therapy to priests who have taken a vow of celibacy.

At Transformation Ministries, Falzarano asks the men to describe their distant fathers, an assortment that runs from abusive drug addict to benign workaholic. "So you see," he says, nodding, "we didn't all show up in this room by accident." He is building up to something, and raises his voice a notch. "Homosexuality is not a lifestyle we chose. It was inflicted on us as children. Most churches don't realize we were molested. Most churches don't realize we didn't bond with our fathers."

This is the payoff. There is strength in unity, strength in grievance and in rejection. Few identities in America are more marginal than ex-gay. In here there is community. After a pop hymn, the group members hug or shake hands. Then they head off into the night, perhaps less lonely than when they came in.

With Claudia Kalb, Patricia King, Thomas Hayden and Matthew Cooper

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Battling Backlash

After years of remarkably fast progress, gays are facing a new set of barriers. Where are the lines of tolerance being drawn?

By Marc Peyser

The great pool debacle probably won't go down as a major gay-rights setback, but it's shown West Hartford, Conn., how homosexuality can still send people off the deep end. The trouble began in January, when Michael Antisdale, 40, and Mark Melanson, 36, applied for a \$395 family pass to the town-owned indoor pool. The couple, who have lived openly in town together for 10 years, knew that some people didn't consider them to be a traditional family. But since West Hartford offers health benefits to the partners of its gay municipal employees, the men assumed they'd also be entitled to the reduced-rate family pass (saving \$295). They were wrong. In June, the town council voted 6-3 against them. The men had tripped over a battle line they never imagined existed. "When we were two gay men living quietly in the suburbs and keeping our grass cut, we were perfectly well accepted," says Antisdale, a marketing executive. "As soon as we raised our hands and said we want what you get, the response was: 'How dare you even ask.' "

No one would dispute the fact that homosexuals now enjoy unprecedented freedom --to have children, serve in Congress, even star in a sitcom. But the rapid progress of the last few years has also created a kind of backlash. Some of it has been fairly isolated, like when Irmo High School in South Carolina barred the lesbian folk-rock duo Indigo Girls from performing on campus this May or when Ross Perot revoked domesticpartnership benefits at his Dallas computer-services company in

April. Other incidents have national implications, especially Trent Lott and conservative Republicans' attempts to make homosexuality a key issue in the November elections. Few gay-rights leaders think they'll lose their partner benefits or inheritance rights, which have become increasingly commonplace. But the accumulation of setbacks raises the issue of whether straight America has reached some kind of tipping point, a limit to its tolerance for gays. If so, where are the lines being drawn in other West Hartfords across the country? In short, how gay is too gay?

On the national level, the backlash has taken some familiar forms. Perhaps the most glaring is the reported number of anti-gay bias crimes, which rose 7 percent last year while the overall crime rate dropped 4 percent. In the military, gays also face continued resistance. Despite the Clinton administration's "don't ask, don't tell" policy, discharges of gay servicemen and -women increased 67 percent from 1994 to 1997. The hottest issues have been at state level. Before anyone has legalized gay marriage--the Hawaii and Vermont supreme courts are considering it--28 states have rushed to outlaw those unions. And in February, Maine became the first in the nation to reverse a statewide gay-rights law prohibiting housing and employment discrimination.

But it's really on Main Street, U.S.A., where the telltale lines are being drawn. Straight people generally accept what might be called gay civil rights, but they get queasy when they view the issue in terms of morality and taboo sexuality. In a recent NEWSWEEK Poll, the vast majority said gays deserve equal rights in obtaining jobs and housing (83 percent and 75 percent)--52 percent even said gays should be allowed to inherit their partners' Social Security benefits. But 54 percent believe homosexuality is a "sin." That distinction played a major tactical role in

overturning the Maine gay-rights law. The conservative forces--led by a group called the Christian Civic League--largely avoided attacking gays for seeking "special rights" like job protections and focused on morality.

"They talked much more about how gay people were a threat to their children and were going to take over the Boy Scouts," says Karen Geraghty, a gay-rights lobbyist. The conservatives couldn't agree more.

"Technically, it does have to do with special rights," says Michael Heath, president of the Christian Civic League, "but if you scratch the surface, it's a moral concern."

The morality issue may explain why heterosexuals find same-sex marriage to be the most unacceptable item on the gay-rights agenda. The NEWSWEEK Poll found that only 33 percent of people supported legal gay marriage. In part, the fear may flow from straights' belief that marriage is the last arena of public life that sets them apart from gays. "People even think of the actual word--marriage--as a straight institution," says lesbian activist Chastity Bono.

But the often unacknowledged core of the marriage issue is the link with children. Despite studies that show kids of gay parents are no more likely to grow up gay than children of heterosexuals, many people fear that gays will alter a child's sexuality. Joann Flowers, a fortysomething restaurant owner in Myrtle Beach, S.C., counts her gay hairdresser as one of her "favorite people." She was even glad that this year's gay-pride parade moved to her hometown. "To each his own. Plus, it's good for business," she says. Still, she draws the line at gay marriage. "That's taking it too far. They adopt children and then the kids grow up and we've got all this perversion," Flowers says. It's not just marriage that poses a threat. The Boy Scouts recently fought two legal challenges to their ban

on gay scoutmasters. "A homosexual is not a role model for traditional family values," says Scout spokesman Gregg Shields.

Not surprisingly, schools have become ground zero in the battle over which kind of gayness is acceptable. Hundreds of high schools nationwide now have Gay/Straight Alliances designed to provide moral support for gay kids and teachers. That openness has touched off fierce retaliation. Last October, a lesbian teacher in San Leandro, Calif., came out to her high-school science class during Diversity Week. Parents complained. The teacher became the target of a petition drive and a death threat. When Karl Debro, who is straight, allowed his honors English class to discuss the teacher's situation, he was cited for "unprofessional conduct."

"Homosexuality has replaced communism and atheism as the last great threat," says Jerry Underdal, a Gay/Straight Alliance faculty adviser in Fremont, Calif. "People are afraid their sleepy community will turn into San Francisco." (Citing Debro's appeal of the case, San Leandro officials wouldn't comment on specifics.)

But this kind of friction hasn't quelled younger people's tolerance. The NEWSWEEK Poll found that young adults (ages 18 to 29) were significantly more accepting of gay marriage--or even adoption--than people over 30 (and baby boomers were more tolerant than people over 50). That's probably because Gen-X and -Y people also are more likely to have a homosexual friend or acquaintance (65 percent) than 50-plus adults (45 percent). Tony Trueba, 19, of Huntington Beach, Calif., didn't even know what "coming out" meant until his cross-country coach, Eric Anderson, did just that to the entire team. Five years later, Anderson has become the coach at Saddleback College in Mission Viejo and Trueba, who is straight, has followed him there as an athlete and a friend. Tony's father, Richard,

47, says he no longer worries about his son's being alone with his gay coach. But he's not entirely comfortable with the friendship, either.

"Obviously, the coach is not what I'd call an ideal role model for my son, but we've gotten to know him over the years," says Richard. "In most respects, he's an outstanding young man."

It's progress like that, however grudging, that makes gay-rights activists optimistic despite the recent setbacks. "Ellen" may have been pilloried for being too gay, but the past season saw a record 29 openly homosexual characters on network-TV programs. "We've made enough progress so that people feel gays are acceptable, but they'd rather not go behind the bedroom door," says Paul Rudnick, who wrote the screenplay to last summer's hit movie "In & Out." Not surprisingly, NBC's "Will & Grace," the next sitcom with a gay main character, won't show any gay kissing when it premieres in September. "This is the best of times and the worst of times for the gay community," says Kevin Jennings, executive director of the Gay, Lesbian, Straight Education Network, a New York-based advocacy group. "We're experiencing unprecedented visibility and success. But in periods of social change, there's always a backlash. In the African-American civil-rights movement, the most violence [by whites] was in the '60s, when things were changing the most."

In West Hartford, the pool-pass defeat has actually made Antisdale and Melanson appreciate their community even more. They received overwhelming support from their straight neighbors, including 450 residents who sent a petition to the town council, to no avail. Doris Uricchio, an 85-year-old churchgoing woman who lives next door to the men, was so angry with the Republicans who voted against them that she left the GOP. "We can't dictate to other people how they lead their lives," says Uricchio.

"They're wonderful boys. I don't take kindly to disdain for other human beings." These personal gay/straight alliances--a backlash against the backlash--may ultimately change attitudes once and for all.

With Debra Rosenberg in Maine, T. Trent Gegax in Myrtle Beach, Nadine Joseph in San Francisco and Ana Figueroa in Los Angeles

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Leaving the Gay Ghetto

I called for a new post-gay identity, defined by more than sexuality and more open to self-criticism. So I got criticized--a lot.

By James Collard

Six months ago, a dream came true, and I moved from London to New York City to become editor in chief of OUT, the magazine for gay men and lesbians. In many ways it's been a soft landing: America is a friendly country, and New Yorkers--despite the pride they take in being feisty--seem gentle in comparison with Londoners.

Which made what took place on June 24 such a rude awakening. At a symposium held in the leafy, academic setting of New York's New School, I critiqued the ghettoization of the gay community and the orthodoxy of gay politics, suggesting that self-criticism should no longer be considered

treason. I said we should no longer define ourselves solely in terms of our sexuality--even if our opponents do. That gay people were voicing these dissatisfactions, I argued, amounted to a new "post-gay" sensibility.

A barrage of hostile questions--a barracking, we Brits would call it--ensued. "Who does this snotty Brit think he is?" "What does he know?" was the general tone. Later the press jumped on, as well, with Duncan Osborne writing in the newspaper Lesbian & Gay New York that what I'd said was tantamount to "announcing the death of gay politics." And you, the reader, may be wondering: Why, at a time when gay bashing is a continuing reality--both actual violence and saber-rattling by politicians like Trent Lott--would the editor of OUT magazine want to wash the gay community's dirty linen in public?

So I'd like to clarify what I meant by post-gay, a term that was coined by the gay British journalist and activist Paul Burston in 1994. It doesn't refer to someone who's simply switched sexuality, like the wife, mother, ex-lesbian in a recent ad campaign who claims to have filled the God-shaped hole in her life and discovered the joys of heterosexuality. Nor is it anti-gay. Post-gay is simply a critique of gay politics and gay culture--by gay people, for gay people.

For me, the post-gay sensibility began when I realized that I preferred the social variety of "mixed" clubs to the more homogenous gay clubs. First for protection and later with understandable pride, gays have come to colonize whole neighborhoods, like West Hollywood in L.A. and Chelsea in New York City. It seems to me that the new Jerusalem gay people have been striving for all these years won't be found in a gay-only ghetto, but in a world where we are free, equal and safe to live our lives.

Another point of disagreement is the obsession many gays have with the male body beautiful. To me, it's overmarketed, commodified and, like the pressure on women to look a certain way, oppressive. At the extremes, it leads to steroid abuse or liposuction. I have as much of a weakness for a broad, manly chest as the next gay guy, but for me the overmuscled Barbie look fails on its own terms, namely esthetic. (It's also very high maintenance, and I for one am more likely to walk on water than achieve it.)

The anger that I provoked with my remarks that night goes back far beyond anything I said. In our community, anger has been a useful muscle, against homophobia and discrimination, and back in that terrible time when gay men were dying of AIDS in droves and governments stood by and did nothing, or next to nothing. At that time anger really was the only legitimate response, other than grief, and anyone who wasn't feeling precisely the same emotion was, in a real sense, the enemy.

But anger no longer has the power to unite us. Much has been achieved in the short time since the gay-rights movement leapt out of the closet--and onto the streets--in the Stonewall Riots of 1969. The movement survived the conservative backlash of the '80s, organized itself to fight the AIDS epidemic and won numerous battles for equality and acceptance. In the aftermath many gay people--because of their economic position, where they work or where they live--feel they can live their lives freely and openly. Many others cannot, and there is also a new generation of young gay people emerging who have grown up in a different climate, at a different stage of the health crisis. These disparate groups are unlikely to be united by the orthodox tactics of angry veterans from earlier battles.

Post-gay doesn't mean "The struggle's over, so let's shop!" The struggle isn't over, and neither is the health crisis. But there's a pressure to conform within gay-activist politics, one that ultimately weakens its fighting strength by excluding the many gay people who no longer see their lives solely in terms of struggle.

It is hard to dedicate oneself to a mixed, gay-friendly society while some outside our community still hate us. But if that is our goal, we need to try to keep it alive and not respond with a kind of fundamentalism of our own. And it seems to me that if South Africa's ANC, whose members were being imprisoned, exiled, tortured and assassinated, had the heart to debate just what kind of future they were fighting for--including a commitment to gay rights--then gay people here and across the world can do the same.

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
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09 Aug 1998 23:08:05 -0700 (PDT)

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-AUG-1998 16:22:00.00

SUBJECT: N7793: SF gays mad at supe

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, August 10, 1998

901 Mission St., San Francisco,CA,94103

(Fax 415-896-1107) (E-MAIL: chronletters@sfgate.com

<http://www.sfgate.com>)

Gay Groups Tiff Over Remark By Supervisor

Elaine Herscher, Chronicle Staff Writer

Two of San Francisco's biggest gay political clubs are feuding over remarks that Supervisor Mabel Teng made on a Chinese-language radio program in

which she allegedly referred to her colleague Tom Ammiano as "that homosexual supervisor."

Two days after Teng's weekly program was broadcast July 28 on Chinese Radio 1400 AM, the Harvey Milk Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/ Transgender Democratic Club shot off a letter to the supervisor, insisting she apologize to Ammiano and step down from her project to rename a San Francisco alley after lesbian writer Alice B. Toklas. The letter was distributed to the gay press.

Soon afterward, the Alice B. Toklas Lesbian/Gay Democratic Club sent an excoriating missive to the Milk club, saying that it had misinterpreted the translation of Teng's remarks and that she had meant nothing offensive.

The fight appears to be wrapped up in election politics. Ammiano and Teng are considered front-runners for the Board of Supervisors presidency, which goes to the top vote-getter in the November 3 balloting.

The Milk club historically has supported Ammiano and has been suspicious of Teng's commitment to gay rights. Teng offended the club last month when she sought the Toklas group's support for renaming a block of Myrtle Street

after

Alice B. Toklas without consulting the Milk club. The Toklas club is likely to endorse both Teng and Ammiano.

Ammiano said Friday that although the Milk and Toklas clubs are at war, he and Teng have made up.

"We're fine," Ammiano said. "We live in that kind of world, especially in San Francisco, where these things are so delicate, you might step on a toe and not mean it."

Ammiano said he had asked Teng why she chose to identify his sexual orientation in her radio remarks, which concerned their disagreement over the city's recently passed budget. In the same sentence, she reportedly described her other budget foe as "our Chinese community's own Leland Yee."

Experts in Cantonese say such cultural references are common and that native Chinese speakers are more accustomed than English speakers to the labeling of people. They often do so because they have difficulty turning Western names into Chinese.

"It's just the way you do it. The Chinese press calls me 'the Chinese supervisor.' We all have a little qualifier," Teng said. "In English you do the opposite, and, in fact, it's an insult to call me 'the Chinese supervisor.' "

Teng said she chose the most neutral term for "gay" that exists in Cantonese. Literally translated, it means "same-sex love."

"When I referred to him as 'the gay supervisor' it was matter-of-fact," she said. "The more I say it, the more my community accepts it."

Teng said she was blindsided by the Milk club and is still furious.

"I have taken tremendous heat from the religious right in my community.

Fifteen years ago, I talked about gay rights, and people in the Chinese community were not understanding. I just kept doing it because it was the right thing to do."

Teng said she has proved her commitment to the gay community by strongly advocating domestic partner benefits, supporting AIDS funding and leading initiatives to exclude the Boy Scouts as beneficiaries of a yearly city employees fund-raising drive.

But Milk club President Criss Romero said Teng's comments come close to "homophobic campaign tactics."

"We responded because this is a campaign season," Romero said. "We're concerned with the use of the word 'homosexual' in connection with the budget. It did not belong in that discussion.

"What we see is a person from the gay and lesbian community compromised in public," Romero said.

Toklas board member Carole Cullum called the Milk club letter "a rush to judgment."

"They ran with this thing without getting a certified translation and without talking to Teng," Cullum said. "We believe they are making a mountain out of something that is totally irrelevant. Mabel Teng is a friend to the gay community. She did not make any kind of homophobic statement."

As the war of words heated up, another gay group jumped into the fray. The Gay Asian Pacific Alliance also said the Milk club had acted hastily, and

it vowed to release its own findings this week on what Teng really said.

The Milk and Toklas clubs, which have existed for more than 20 years, have acted in unison at times but have also been at odds.

The Toklas club slammed Ammiano last winter when the supervisor opposed honoring retired General Colin Powell for raising \$1.4 million for the city's children, noting that Powell opposed allowing gays in the military. The club sent its own thank-you note to Powell, saying Ammiano does not represent the

entire lesbian and gay community.===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
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CREATOR: Doug.Case (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-AUG-1998 03:04:00.00

SUBJECT: WSJ: Two anti-gay commentaries

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

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Wall Street Journal, August 13, 1998

Gay Rights and Wrongs

By David Gelernter

The battle over homosexuality is heating up again. Christian groups have launched an advertising campaign "standing for the truth that homosexuals can change." Homosexual-rights groups have responded with predictable counterclaims. The world's Anglican bishops resolved last week to condemn homosexual acts as "incompatible with Scripture" and urged that practicing homosexuals not be ordained. Several American Episcopal bishops denounced the resolution. This dispute goes as deep as a cultural dispute can, and gives us a clear glimpse of the philosophical Grand Canyon that will define America in the next century.

The cultural elite decided a generation ago that "homosexual"

designates a

persecuted group to be rescued from bigotry, like "black" or "woman." They assumed that their campaign would succeed just as the previous ones had.

But

asking a traditional Jew or Christian not to "discriminate against" a practicing homosexual is like asking him to venerate idols. Judaism and Christianity hold that homosexual behavior is an abomination. And this is no

obscure doctrinal footnote: The sanctification of sex through marriage and family is basic to the Judeo-Christian mission. Of course, every Jew and Christian must have compassion for sinners and never forget his own sins.

But

compassion for sinners doesn't mean relabeling them "nonsinners."

New Paganism

We also need to be serious about the motives of homosexual-rights groups (which some but not all homosexuals support). What started as a political trend seems today to be part of an emerging, philosophically coherent paganism. The cultural elite has rejected traditional Judaism and Christianity, not out of petulance but because it holds the Bible to be immoral. (By and large it hasn't found the courage to say so, but it will.)

And the new paganism has its own spiritual aspirations, and shares some practices with classical Greece: nature worship, human-body worship, a belief

in sensual pleasure for its own sake, and the celebration of sex. But unlike

its Greek precursor, the new paganism lacks an ennobling sense of tragedy and beauty. It also lacks all moral absolutes, except, of course, for "tolerance."

We are thus faced with a religious dispute so fundamental it recalls the Protestant Reformation. One party denounces the old ways as morally bankrupt and abandons them. The other remains loyal to the faith while attempting to renew and respiritualize it. Between them is a moral and cultural chasm that is deep and will last a long time.

It is easy to forget in today's atmosphere that there is a view that may well be acceptable to both parties: that homosexuality doesn't belong on the public agenda, and should not figure in our laws or communal proclamations.

Why would traditional Jews or Christians accept such a theory? We oppose homosexual behavior, and we live by our beliefs. We do not commit homosexual acts. (For most of us this is admittedly no sweat. But a person who wants to commit homosexual acts and doesn't is a moral hero.) We rear our children in an environment that doesn't recognize homosexuality as an acceptable way of

life. We expect our religious leaders to condemn homosexual behavior when it needs condemning. But many of us have also come to conclude that legal action against homosexuality is demeaning to the nation, and unacceptably cruel to some of her citizens. We don't see why the Army shouldn't accept homosexuals, why schools shouldn't allow them to teach, or why employers in general shouldn't hire them -- so long as they keep their sexual preferences to themselves. (The military's "don't ask, don't tell" policy is a good idea.)

Marriage by definition binds a man and a woman, so "homosexual marriage" is a meaningless term. But if two homosexuals want to live together in love and devotion, who's stopping them? Marriage as an institution recognizes -- it does not create -- love and trust. If the homosexual community takes up this kind of monogamy, new ceremonies will develop, and the state will eventually acknowledge them.

Does this mean we oppose all discrimination against homosexuals? No. We ask that they be discreet about their sexual tastes in ways which heterosexuals are not. Religion aside, society has a stake in promoting marriage but not homosexuality -- as no serious person can deny. But this does not mean a return to the old days of legal repression of homosexuals.

This sort of approach -- call it "classical liberalism" -- seemed to be gaining ground through the mid-1960s. But it soon came under withering fire from the left, which acted as if there were exactly two choices: torment homosexuals or wholeheartedly accept homosexuality. The left has declared war against the deep beliefs of Jews and Christians. Their most disastrous triumph has been in public-school sex education. As Michael and Diane Medved write in "Saving Childhood," "by raising the issue [of homosexuality] over and over, schools cause otherwise unpressured kids to question their sexual identity." The Medveds quote from a ninth-grade textbook that actually recommends homosexuality -- for "early teens" no less!

This is unacceptable and by rights ought to have provoked a furious reaction among religious believers. But their response has been a benign "Change your life!" ad campaign. The ads seem correct as far as they go: No doubt some homosexuals can change and be happier for it. But most people also accept that most homosexuals cannot, at least not without waging a harder struggle than the average human is capable of. In any case, the subject should be off the public agenda. We don't want to see the ads. We don't want to see the counter-ads.

Outlaw Sex Education

When your neighbor is playing his stereo too loud, you can outblast him with your own or you can ask him to turn it off and, if need be, call the cops. Outblasting is the wrong strategy. Instead we should strike directly at the worst part of today's pro-homosexual slant: We should outlaw sex education in the public schools. Sex should never have been on the curriculum in the first place. But what's beyond argument is that, at a sheer minimum, we need to call a halt and start over.

That leaves us with the broader, deeper issue of the culture at large. If classical liberalism stages a comeback, it might succeed in neutralizing today's pro-homosexual slant. Notwithstanding, the schism in American society is here to stay. The most important task for modern conservatism (classical liberalism's true heir) is to come to grips with this schism and, as resurgent Catholic Europe did in the 16th century, develop the cultural resources and sophistication to regain lost ground.

Mr. Gelenter is a professor of computer science at Yale. He is author of, most recently, "Machine Beauty: Elegance and the Heart of Technology" (Basic Books, 1998).

Not a Civil Rights Issue

By Jason L. Riley

In a recent address to black ministers, Surgeon General David Satcher casually likened the civil rights struggles of the '50s and '60s to the present fight against AIDS in the black community. But they're different struggles and shouldn't be compared. The struggle to prevent AIDS is a struggle to change the behavior of those who are at risk of becoming victims.

The victims of segregation suffered not because of their behavior but because of their race, something over which they had no control.

It's an obvious point but one often overlooked by the gay-rights lobby, which constantly seeks to appropriate the prestige of the black civil rights struggle. Of course homosexuals are hardly alone in this endeavor; activists claiming to represent women, Hispanics and other groups too couch their demands in civil rights rhetoric. But it's especially galling to see gays doing it, since what they want protection for is their conduct, not their status per se.

In 1993, when President Clinton decided to relax the military's restrictions on homosexual conduct, supporters compared the move ad nauseum to President Truman's racial integration of the military. Gen. Colin Powell reminded

us of

the difference: "Skin color is a benign, nonbehavioral characteristic,

while

sexual orientation is perhaps the most profound of human behavioral

characteristics."

Gay rights advocates, though, haven't been deterred. Recently

Andrew

Sullivan wrote in the New York Times that "homosexuals have about as much

choice over their sexual orientation as they do over their race or sex."

But

the scientific jury is still out on this question, and it seems likely that

sexual orientation is determined by a combination of various factors and

personal choices. In any case, does anyone recall similar nature-nurture

debates concerning skin color?

AIDS is a disease usually transmitted by behavior that has

traditionally been

viewed as immoral. In contrast, the civil rights movement was a moral

crusade

fueled by unambiguous ideals. The civil rights movement occupies a

central

position in black history and in American history. Whatever one's

opinions on

homosexuality, it's wrong

to appropriate this legacy.

Mr. Riley is the Journal's editorial interactive editor.

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X-Sender: dcase@mail.sdsu.edu

To: (LGBT Political Activists)

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: papers-bounces (papers-bounces@slate.ecourier.net@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:17-AUG-1998 06:50:00.00

SUBJECT: Today's Papers - Slate Briefing - August 17, 1998

TO: Thomas A. Kalil (Thomas A. Kalil@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Today's Papers - Slate Briefing - From Slate Magazine

(<http://www.slate.com>)

Ain't It Grand?

By Scott Shuger

AFTER TODAY'S PAPERS: Pundit Central on D-Day minus one. What will

Bill say? How will Congress, the voters, and Hillary Clinton react?

USAT, the NYT and LAT lead with President Clinton's unprecedented grand jury appearance today. The WP shows it knows its way beyond the Beltway, putting Clinton/grand jury as the off-lead and going instead with the news that a suspect has been detained in the Kenya embassy bombing, a story that makes everybody's front page.

(Although, in its version of the story, USAT curiously leaves the arrest out of the headline, which instead trumpets the State Dept.'s warning against travel to Pakistan.)

The big concern of the Clinton leads is, of course, What will he say?

All the papers cite widespread indications that he is ready to

acknowledge that he engaged in some sort of sexual activity with

Monica Lewinsky. The LAT quotes presidential private lawyer David Kendall as saying that the widely reported prediction that Clinton will cop to an "inappropriate relationship" with Lewinsky--is "groundless speculation." But the LAT quotes one "lawyer familiar with the matter" as saying that this is indeed the phrase he's heard mentioned by "folks at the White House." The WP quotes sources who have spoken to Clinton and his lawyers as saying he plans to admit to "sex play," but (taking the line first adumbrated by last Friday's NYT) not to a "sexual relationship." The Post compares this tack to such previous Clinton hair-splits as his various explanations of his marijuana use, his draft situation, and those White House coffees for political donors .

The papers say that Clinton is expected to deny that he asked Lewinsky or anyone else to cover up the relationship. The LAT quotes that well-connected lawyer as saying that Starr may come armed with a subpoena in his pocket for Clinton--who technically is appearing today voluntarily--in case Clinton tries to duck any of the prosecutors' questions. The NYT gives an excellent feel for the difficulties such questions might pose, ticking off details challenging various previous Clinton statements, garnered from the grand jury appearances of Betty Currie, Vernon Jordan and Secret Service personnel.

The papers quote presidential sources as saying that if Clinton makes any sort of post-testimony public statement, it will come from his private quarters in the White House, not the Oval Office.

The WSJ dedicates a front-page feature to the question of how history will judge Clinton in light of his aspirations, his accomplishments and his scandals. The piece quotes one writer's hesitance to change his rating of Clinton for the paperback version of his book, going to press soon. His explanation for holding off: "The jury is still out...."

The WP lead reports that an Arab man arrested by Pakistan authorities the day of the Kenya bombing, because of his presentation of a questionable passport after he came off a flight from Nairobi, has acknowledged "calmly and proudly" being a member of the seven-man team that pulled off the Nairobi embassy attack. What's more, according to the Post the man says the team was put together and financed by the leading suspect, Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden. (The NYT says merely that the man is suspected of being a bin Laden associate or supporter.) According to the WP, the man is now in U.S. custody. The LAT says he's in Kenyan custody. The Post reports he says the other six bombers slipped by authorities at the Karachi airport. And, the papers note, bin Laden is ensconced in Afghanistan.

The NYT off-lead reports that U.S. intelligence agencies have detected a huge underground complex in North Korea that seems to be designed for the secret resumption of the country's nuclear weapons program, officially frozen by the North Koreans in return for the promise of billions in Western aid.

A NYT op-ed by former Sen. Larry Pressler gives a damning insight into the contemporary political mind. The point of the piece is for the author to rue the state of contemporary politics from the perspective of one suddenly removed from it by an election loss, but what he mostly communicates instead is that while he misses all the employees he used to have, he loves his newfound ability to: take more and better vacations, to be a star panelist (on "losers") at a Renaissance weekend, and to fly first class and buy a Japanese motorcycle and take free trips from corporations without having to explain himself.

Also in today's Slate:

Duck and Parry at a White House Briefing

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Orwell Was Right to Name Names

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For the latest news, check out MSNBC (<http://www.msnbc.com>).

PUNDIT CENTRAL: D-Day Minus One

By Bruce Gottlieb

The entire opinion mafia is transfixed by the questions surrounding President Clinton's upcoming grand jury testimony (it's on Monday). Issue 1 is what he'll tell the grand jury. Issue 2 is how voters, Congress, and Hillary Clinton will react. Issue 3 is the lasting effect of the entire episode.

The opinion mafia is convinced Clinton must tell the grand jury, and then the voting public, the complete truth about his sexual chicanery. He must leave people with the impression that "hey, I've heard all I want to hear on the subject," (Mark Shields, PBS's NewsHour with Jim Lehrer). The pundits agree Clinton can't pretend he didn't deny having oral sex in an earlier deposition. It fails the "Jay Leno test" quips Michael Barone (The McLaughlin Group). It fails the Cokie Roberts, George Stephanopoulos, Bill Kristol (ABC's

This Week), Orrin Hatch (NBC's Meet the Press), and Brit Hume (Fox New Sunday) test as well.

How will Congress react? "'The dog ate my homework' is fine with them," says Jack Germond (Inside Washington). And voters? We live in a "confessional culture" observes a disapproving George Will (This Week), so perhaps an apology will suffice. We will want to "take a shower afterwards" adds Will. "People aren't as sophisticated as they think," says Kristol--perhaps they will become angry when confronted directly with a lying President. Voters won't like having "their noses rubbed in it," agrees Mara Liasson (Fox News Sunday).

There is also the matter of Hillary's reaction, a question of great interest to the commentariat. An article in the Washington Post which details the Clinton-Lewinsky couplings is widely interpreted as leak from Mr. to Mrs. Clinton. Could Hillary really have not suspected the truth? Maybe the pair have a "don't ask don't tell" policy believes David Maraniss (Meet the Press). That seems implausible says Tony Blankley (CNN's Late Edition). Others, like Juan Williams (Fox News Sunday), suggest the Clintons have an open marriage: Maybe Hillary accepts that "He [President Clinton] has a sexual appetite that's greater than hers. He likes to do things."

Michael Bechloss (CBS's Face the Nation) argues that in recent years impeachment has become a too-popular threat when presidents do something wrong, and this recent episode hasn't helped. Paul Gigot (NewsHour) calls the presidency diminished; Al Hunt (Capital Gang)

says it is in "tatters". Robert Novak, Kate O' Beirne (Capital Gang), Bob Herbert, Stuart Taylor (Meet The Press), and Sam Donaldson (This Week) all are disgusted by the feeling that Clinton's testimony is determined by focus group polling rather than a respect for the truth.

BEING A POLITICAL EXPERT MEANS NEVER HAVING TO SAY YOU'RE SORRY:

Michael Barone (The McLaughlin Group) predicts: "Bill Richardson, the Energy Secretary, will be struck from the list of Vice Presidential candidates.... " McLaughlin fires back with: "Will he be made Secretary of Energy?" Barone blinks once: "He IS the Secretary of Energy." McLaughlin--the consummate pro--doesn't even pause: "Will he retain that post?"

REMEMBER TO PHRASE YOUR ANSWER IN THE FORM OF A QUESTION:

Fox News Sunday wins this week's award for most tendentious use of a Q&A session. To wit, Brit Hume asks a Democratic pollster: "is there such a thing as sexual relations in which one engages in sexual contact but it's not sexual relations?"

ARE THE PUNDITS EXCITED ABOUT THIS LEWINSKY THING?

Yes they are. One clue is that, in order to devote more time to scandal coverage, Fox News Sunday actually banished the usual five minute summary of this week's headlines. Another clue is that CNN's Late Edition expanded the show to two hours this week, up from the usual one. A third clue is that no show besides Late Edition (which devoted two minutes) even pretended to care that 28 people were

killed in what is being called the worst outbreak of Irish violence
in recent history.

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 2-SEP-1998 15:58:00.00

SUBJECT: NC7938: Rutgers vs. Don't Ask Don't Tell

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

READ:UNKNOWN

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

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Bergen County Record, September 2, 1998

150 River Street,Hackensack,NJ,07602

By HOWARD GREGORY, Staff Writer

On Tuesday, Rutgers Law School sent a message to the U.S. military:

Don't come here to recruit lawyers as long as "don't ask, don't tell" is
your policy for gay soldiers.

To protest the military's ban against openly gay soldiers, the
school's Lesbian and Gay Caucus and the law school administration
co-sponsored a teach- in at their Newark campus. They did this while
recruiters from the U.S. Air Force's legal division were interviewing
third-year law students on Tuesday.

"We think that any policy of discrimination of sexual orientation is

wrong, including 'don't ask, don't tell,' " said Eric Neisser, acting law school dean, adding that the university has officially taken the position that it is unconstitutional.

During a day billed as "Pink Tuesday" the caucus posted several banners and flags throughout the school that expressed disagreement with the military policy.

The protest was prompted by what school officials say was a violation by the Air Force of a 15-year-old law school policy that denies access to recruiters who discriminate on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, creed, handicap, age, or sexual orientation.

U.S. Air Force spokeswoman Maj. Claudia Ziebis said, "Federal law mandates that military recruiters be treated the same as all other employers at a university."

Although the law school periodically gets requests from armed service recruiters to interview students on campus, the school has been barring them for refusing to sign the school's anti-discriminatory requirements.

However, a 1996 federal law sponsored by Rep. Gerald Solomon, R-N.Y., that withholds federal aid from institutions that deny access to military recruiters, enabled the Air Force to recruit here Tuesday.

The federal law would threaten more than \$700,000 in student scholarship and loan programs at the law school and millions of dollars at the university. Rutgers Law School officials said concern over losing federal funds prompted the university to permit the recruiters.

Several speakers in the campus' Great Hall explained before a crowd of roughly 50 students why the law school opposes the military's policy for gays, and the federal law. The speakers urged protesters to contact university officials and their local congressional representative to voice

their opposition.

"It's not just our policy, it's a matter of state law. The armed forces have bulldozed over New Jersey's law against discrimination which also prohibits employers from discriminating on the basis of sexual orientation," Annmarie Pinarski, a second-year law student who is co-chairwoman for the Lesbian and Gay Caucus.

To get the law school's point across without disturbing other students or the Air Force, the administration allowed a student to stand near the third floor interview area and allowed students to conduct a

limited silent protest after the teach-in. ===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
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