

# FOIA MARKER

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**Collection/Record Group:** Clinton Presidential Records  
**Subgroup/Office of Origin:** National AIDS Policy Office  
**Series/Staff Member:** Kristine Gebbie  
**Subseries:**

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**OA/ID Number:** 3771  
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**Folder Title:**  
Meeting with Luke Adams 8/17/93

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                               | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. form                | re: Application for Federal Employment - SF 171 (8 pages)   | 08/17/1993 | b(6)        |
| 002. letter              | To: Ms. Harley or Staff; re: Moved from California (1 page) | 06/29/1993 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National AIDS Policy Office  
Kristine Gebbie  
OA/Box Number: 3771

### FOLDER TITLE:

Meeting with Luke Adams - 8/17/93

2018-0756-F

ip4828

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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TEL:

Aug 23 '93 16:13 No.010 P.01



# Co-op America Business Network

Companies that care about consumers, communities, workers, and the earth.

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671

# of pages 1

|       |                       |       |              |
|-------|-----------------------|-------|--------------|
| To    | Kristine Gebbie       | From  | S.C.         |
| Co.   | Nat. AIDS Pol. Office | Co.   | Co-op Am.    |
| Dept. | of W. Buckingham      | Phone | 202.872.5307 |
| Fax   | 202.690.7054          | Fax   | 202.831.8166 |

23 August 1993

Kristine Gebbie  
National AIDS Policy Coordinator

By Telefacsimile

Dear Ms. Gebbie:

I am writing to urge you to appoint Luke Adams to a staff position in your National AIDS Policy Office.

I worked with Luke in grassroots organizing of a people with AIDS action coalition in New Hampshire in 1988. I was impressed by his ability to synthesize a common agenda and strategic process from a host of apparently conflicting needs and approaches. I also learned a great deal. Luke's abilities in popular education, strategic thinking, organizational competence, and translation of theory into policy are formidable.

His skills in the policy and management arena have been proven again and again, which is why Co-op America was so pleased to have his services, for however short a time.

I will be away for the rest of this month and September, but my colleague, Dale Riffe, would be glad to talk to you about Luke if you wish. Luke has been an asset to every team on which I have worked with him.

Luke is a passionate and pragmatic, effective and articulate activist who would serve well.

Sincerely,

Sun Choe  
Communication and Marketing



# CO-OP AMERICA

*another from  
Luke Adams.*

Kristine Gebbie  
Director of AIDS Policy  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

27 July 1993

Dear Ms. Gebbie:

Since Bill Clinton first decided to enter the race for President, I have held out hope that America, the richest superpower the world has ever known with the greatest array of talent and expertise at its disposal, would develop the will to coordinate policy to prevent and cure the greatest pandemic to face the globe, and to adequately treat and care for those who have been stricken. In an historical perspective, that is the opportunity that your appointment may hold.

In the day to day world of realpolitik, the key may be in simply creating the climate that empowers you to convince the President that AIDS is a major priority, so that this Administration will conclude with a far better record than its predecessors. I believe you can do that, given tenacity, networking, the support of those on the front lines as well as lobbyists on the state and national level, and an excellent staff.

Please give me the opportunity to work for you in achieving that goal. I, too, hope for the day when a report of seropositive status can be treated as simply as a report of gonorrhea; or when a report of fewer than 200/mm<sup>3</sup> total t4-cells is simply a data collection device (and a not terribly meaningful one) rather than a trigger of punitive social reaction. Simply, we are a long way away from that day.

I can help you create the climate on the front lines that would make your job of coordinating across the government smoother. I have known, worked with, and plotted with those brave people who give the care, study the treatments, and live with this disease for years. I have also experienced the ups and downs of the current AIDS model, the petty inter-agency bickerings, and the misguided, monopolized research first-hand. I have been HIV+ for seven years.

You will be receiving several letters of recommendation, and

my CV is enclosed. Many of the major voices in the AIDS community, both those on the frontlines and those in the suites, gay activists, activists for women and people of color, and progressives, would like to see me help you succeed.

Obviously, you will need savvy people to help you on the Hill, and experienced people to help you with the bureaucracy. But you also need connection and credibility with the people in the trenches. Working with your team in a support staff position, I can help connect you on the ground to the day-to-day needs and bureaucratic frustrations, rumblings and potential pitfalls, in ways that even the best lobbyists at the AIDS Action Council cannot.

May we meet to discuss a role for me on your staff? Or, alternatively, would you arrange a meeting with Buck Buckingham for me to discuss it? I very much want the chance to spend what may be the last years of my life serving nationally to better manage and find an end to AIDS.

Best Wishes,



Luke Adams

2130 B 13<sup>th</sup> St., NW  
D.C. 20009

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

# USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN THE USA...6.3 MILLION READERS EVERY DAY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1990

## Training new activists

The AIDS epidemic has taken a heavy toll on gay community leaders. The New Pacific Academy hopes to train the next generation.

The academy, founded by Cleve Jones, creator of the Names Project quilt, begins this week to train 100 gay and lesbian activists to carry on the fight. Courses include health issues, community experiences, organizing skills.

"If we have 2,000 trained activists by the year 2000, I'd be a happy puppy," says Luke Adams, the academy's executive director. The

monthlong academy will be held at San Francisco State.

"Our problem is our history is silenced," Adams says. "The average high school student doesn't know a thing about the gay/lesbian community. They grow up with the prejudice of those who argue we're not a culture.

"We'll be giving them background. It's not by mistake we're calling this basic training," he says. "Soldiers aren't born either. What we're trying to present to these people is an intensive training program."

Adams is coming off an 18-month study that he calls a "horrible experience." Virtually none of the high school students he talked with knew who Harvey Milk was. (Milk was the gay San Francisco supervisor who was assassinated, along with Mayor George Moscone, by former supervisor Dan White in 1978.)

"It was like being kicked in the stomach. So we want to reclaim our history," Adams says. "We're using veterans of the movement, as well as creating our own vision."

— Craig Wilson



**LUKE ADAMS:** Academy director hopes to train 2,000 activists by the year 2000

**LUKE ADAMS**  
514 Margaret Drive  
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910  
Residence: 301.565.5056 Office: 202.872.5307

**FIELD:**

Organizational theory, development, management, and communication.  
Public policy emphasis in AIDS, at-risk youth, and higher education.

**QUALIFIED BY:**

Fifteen years of experience including:

- \*The creation and administration of several innovative community projects
- \*Major fiscal and fundraising responsibilities
- \*Applied research
- \*Public policy analysis and fundraising for the Institute for Policy Studies
  
- \*Policy development for the University of California
- \*College teaching training
- \*Grass-roots organizing and educating
- \*Nonprofit administration and consulting
- \*Small women- and minority-owned business consulting
- \*Corporate public relations and incentive planning consulting
  
- \*Computer use literacy
- \*Public speaking and writing
- \*Communication, speechwriting, and campaign consulting

**EDUCATION:**

APPRENTICE TEACHING LETTERS, 1988  
BACHELOR OF ARTS, 1987  
Adlai E. Stevenson College, University of California, Santa Cruz  
Major Concentration: Political Communication  
Graduated Valedictorian  
Awarded College Service Honor

Currently studying for a Doctorate in Public Policy, LaSalle University

**ACHIEVEMENTS:**

- \*Provided the **first student testimony on proposed reformed sex education** curricula to the Fairfax County, Virginia, Board of Education in 1978. Founded the first chartered student organization at James Madison University (Harrisonburg, Virginia) to advocate and provide a social forum for lesbian, gay, and bisexual students and staff in 1984.

## LUKE ADAMS

\*Co-founded the national **Student Divestiture and Anti-Apartheid Coalition** and was voted into the **Outstanding Young Men of America** in 1986.

\*Chaired Students for a Progressive City, a political action committee that **delivered 9:1 student precinct votes** for progressive slates of candidates in Santa Cruz, where progressives won the elections with 55-70% of the general vote. Co-authored **A Paradigm of Renewal: Liberal Education for the 21st Century**, a report on the higher education experiments at UC Santa Cruz, in 1987.

\*Co-created the **first peer education and sexual risk reduction supply program to combat AIDS in the country**, and modeled the program to campuses nationwide through the Student AIDS Mobilization in 1987. The program still operates under the name "The Condom Resource Center." Co-created the **first model of youth leadership development for the Lesbian and Gay movement** in 1989. Served on the founding Board of Bay Area HIV Support and Education Services, targeted to low income people and people of color in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1990. Coordinated **trainings for small businesses** to prepare transition plans for institutions to **meet the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act** in 1991.

\*I have organized and led direct actions and given speeches and presentations nationwide, am a frequent contributor to editors and of columns to community-based and local media, and have been interviewed on radio and television.

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1990-present:           CONSULTANT in a communication strategist and organizational practice with Sabin Speiser, Austin McNerny, and Beowulf Thorne. Recently completed visibility work with the Jim Haas for BART Board and Cleve Jones for Supervisor campaigns in San Francisco, and am currently working on coordination of the Youth Empowerment Speakout for the 1993 Lesbian and Gay March on Washington.

1989-90:               EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, Critical Literacy Institute, the fiscal sponsor of the New Pacific Academy lesbian and gay youth leadership development model.

1988-89:               SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE/DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATE, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC.

1986-88:               ASSISTANT STUDENT AFFAIRS OFFICER (Activities Dean), Adlai E. Stevenson College, UC Santa Cruz.

### FURTHER INFORMATION:

Letters of recommendation, references, grant and other writing samples, and news clips about my work are available at your request.

*The following packet*

*contains various letters of recommendation and articles about some of my more prominent work, along with other relevant letters, and some samples of my scholarship, journalism, public and community relations, fundraising and grant writing.*

*The individuals listed below have agreed to serve as my references:*

1. Torie Osborn. (202) 332-6483  
Executive Director, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
2. Urvashi Vaid. (202) 389-0909  
Immediate Past Executive Director, NGLTF
3. Gina Glantz. (415) 331-1970  
Partner, Martin & Glantz  
Colleague of the late Paul Tully
4. Cleve Jones. (415) 403-3797  
Founder, The Quilt, An International AIDS Memorial,  
The NAMES Project Foundation
5. Douglas Foster. (510) 528-6324  
Immediate Past Editor, Mother Jones Magazine,  
Foundation for National Progress
6. Kathryn Archer. (800) 927-6272  
Vice President, United Capital Corporation  
Former Director of Development, Institute for Policy Studies
7. Haley V. Mack. (202) 296-8510  
Associate, American Arbitration Association  
Co-founder, Journal of Conflict Intervention, George Mason University
8. Gail Heit. (408) 459-2793  
Chief Administrative Officer, Adlai E. Stevenson College,  
University of California, Santa Cruz  
Former Student Affairs Officer

I have also worked closely with Joyce Hunter, President of the National Lesbian and Gay Health Foundation, youth service providers nationally and members of ACT-UP nationally, including ACT-UP's founder, Larry Kramer. I have contacts in community based AIDS organizations around the country. I have also had the opportunity to work with several members of Congress.

April 28, 1993

Luke Adams  
514 Margaret Drive  
Silver Spring, MD 20910

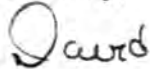
Dear Luke,

Thank you so much for your letter and your extremely kind words. I truly enjoyed meeting you and hope that we have the opportunity to get together again when I am in Washington.

In regards to your desire to serve on the staff of the AIDS Czar, I will not be directly involved with the process but I will certainly pass along my strongest recommendations to John Emerson.

Luke, I wish you the best of luck with your endeavors and look forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David".

David B. Mixner

**DBM**

DBM ASSOCIATES

356 HUNTLEY DRIVE, WEST HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90048-1919

TELEPHONE 310-289-1181 FACSIMILE 310-289-0504



Shamus D. Thornton  
Financial Systems Analyst  
Wells Fargo Bank  
1 Montgomery Street  
San Francisco, CA 94104

Bob Hattoy  
Associate Director of Presidential Personnel  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington DC

Dear Mr. Hattoy,

5-4-93

I am pleased to have this opportunity to recommend Luke Adams for the position of Assistant to the Special Assistant to the President for Aids. I have known Luke both personally and professionally over the past six years. In that time I have developed a very high regard for him both as a colleague and as a resource for information on AIDS.

Luke's work at Wells Fargo Bank for the Savings and Investment Group involved streamlining procedures and increasing the department's effectiveness. His work as a consultant was highly valued, he was asked to come back time and again, and we feel that he has made a noteworthy contribution to our organization.

Luke is a highly effective communicator and organizer. He is forward thinking and strongly motivated. He has the ability to focus the attention of others on the real issue at hand, which gets things accomplished. Luke would be a valuable asset to any organization.

The AIDS crisis is a topic that I follow closely. I have come to rely on Luke as my source for the best information on AIDS. He attends various conferences to keep himself informed and is at the cutting edge of this field. This wealth of specialized knowledge combined with Luke's professionalism and his can-do approach make him an excellent candidate for this position.

Sincerely,

# LOG CABIN California

*concerned republicans for individual rights*

*chair*

**RONALD G. KERSHAW**  
3533 21st Street  
San Francisco, CA 94114  
(415) 641-0791

March 21, 1991

Mr. Tim McFeeley  
Executive Director  
Human Rights Campaign Fund  
1012 14th Street, N.W. Suite 607  
Washington, DC 20005

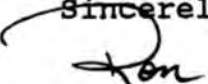
Dear Tim:

I am happy to endorse Luke Adams for the post of Development Director for HRCF. I believe Luke is ideally suited for this important role.

Although Luke and I have very different political ideologies, I have enjoyed every contact and discussion with him. He understands and values the diversity within the gay community. He also clearly understands the necessity of building relationships with individuals. These would serve you well in a Development Director.

Luke has the energy and creativity to challenge old ways, and the intelligence to know when to work within the existing framework. I would look forward to working with him to benefit HRCF.

Sincerely,

  
Ronald G. Kershaw  
Chairman

*vice chair*

**JOHN RUBLE**  
3106 Sierra Madre Blvd.  
Pasadena, CA 91107  
(818) 449-2353

*treasurer*

**ALEX WENTZEL**  
932 Rembrandt Drive  
Laguna Beach, CA 92651  
(714) 494-6271

*secretary*

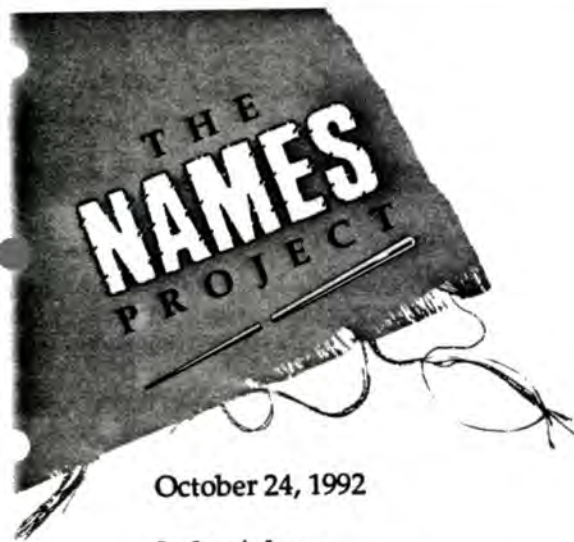
**ROBERT FRAAS**  
2046 Camino Loma Verde  
Vista, CA 92084  
(619) 758-8311

*former chair*

**MARTIN KELLER**  
50 Glendale, #106  
San Francisco, CA 94114  
(415) 826-3122

*affiliated with*  
**LOG CABIN FEDERATION**  
**LOG CABIN PAC**

The Quilt  
An International  
AIDS Memorial



October 24, 1992

Luke Adams  
633 Battery St, Suite 550  
San Francisco, CA 94111

Dear Luke:

On behalf of the staff at the Names Project, the thousands of volunteers who helped make the Quilt display a success, and the hundreds of thousands of people who came to view the Quilt in Washington D.C. this October, thank you for being a part of our ceremonial reading of names.

After all that rain on Friday, we were thankful that the sun finally came out. It was a truly glorious day, and we're so glad that you could be a part of the day when over a quarter of a million people came to the Washington Monument to see the entire Quilt.

On Sunday, we had an open microphone, where everyone was invited to come to the stage, read one of our lists of names, and add the names of people they had lost. Shortly after 3:00, the skies were so threatening that the Quilt was folded and put away. Within minutes, heavy rain began, showing no signs of letting up. But people still wanted to read names, so we continued. First we lost our public address system, so we used a megaphone. Then we lost the stage, so we stood on a folding table. Then the batteries on the megaphone wore out, so people gathered in closer to hear. But at 6:02, as what was left of the sunlight came through the clouds, the last of the 26,000 names was read.

Sections of the Quilt are constantly travelling around the country and throughout the world. We do not know if it will ever be displayed in its entirety again. Thank you for your help with this amazing and unforgettable display in Washington D.C.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Paul Hill". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Paul" being more prominent.

Paul Hill  
Reader Co-ordinator

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Joan Juster". The signature is very fluid and cursive, with the first name "Joan" being more prominent.

Joan Juster  
Reader Co-ordinator

# The "Dr. Whoopee" Doonesbury comics.





## New Gay/Lesbian Youth Leadership Projects Founded

[Washington, D.C.] In December, 1988, a new leadership project for Gay and Lesbian youth was founded. It is called the Gay and Lesbian Equity in Academia Network (GLEAN) and was launched by an anonymous seed grant of \$25,000, arranged by the Adams-Morgan nightclub, "Dakota", in Washington.

One of the project's Board of Advisors is Congressman Barney Frank (D-MA). Frank stated that "The abuse which young Gay and Lesbian people receive... is a terrible social problem."

The project will create a continuous national clearinghouse for the equity and access work being done by educators and other professionals as a way to foster the sharing of information and policy and service delivery regarding high school and college age youth who are or are perceived to be Gay, bi or Lesbian.

According to GLEAN Coordinator Luke Adams, "The early phases of the project will consist of creating a participatory

research curriculum for the youth that will facilitate a critical literacy about their own lives, where they're going, what they want."

Adams intends to carry out this curriculum in key areas throughout the country, spawning new trainers who will do likewise. Adams sees the project as a way to strengthen inter-generational stewardship of new leaders which "believes the Gay/Lesbian movement is lacking."

Adams said that the rates of attempted suicide, drug and alcohol addiction, dropout rates and economic instability among Gay/Lesbian youth could be traced to the existence of impediments to educational access, equity and leadership development.

For further information, contact: Luke Adams, National Student Educational Fund, 1012 14th St. N.W., Suite 207, Washington, D.C. 20005.

## GLEANing Hope for Young Gays

by Susan Lumenello

Making high school and college a liveable experience for gay and lesbian youth is the purpose behind a new leadership project for gay and lesbian youth. Launched with an anonymous seed grant of \$25,000, Gay and Lesbian Equity in Academia Network (GLEAN) is the brainchild of 25-year-old Luke Adams of Virginia. GLEAN will provide a clearinghouse of information for educators, mental health professionals, and gay youth, both students and those not in school.

GLEAN is "focusing on establishing communications between students and

homophobia educators. Intergenerational stewardship," said Adams.

At first, college groups, educators, and administrators will be the principle focus of GLEAN. "We're looking at it as a sort of spider web," Adams said. "Start with student unions. Training college students, they outreach to high schools and unenrolled youth. You can build a long-term decentralized structure. The hope is to have a national lesbian and gay student union."

A social activist since age sixteen, Adams said the idea for GLEAN evolved "from ten years of working in the movement. The acute need is more apparent ev-

ery day for some kind of intensive leadership training.... Kids are losing out all over the place."

Adams' own high school and college experiences were typical of many gay teenagers. "My coming out was a process," Adams recalled. "I experienced all

**"[Gay] kids are losing out all over the place"**

**—Luke Adams  
GLEAN organizer**

*continued on page twelve*



Bay Windows • March 9, 1989 • 3

(continued from page three)

Adams went to high school in a Washington, DC, suburb — an area he terms "a pocket of liberalism."

When a school football star was revealed to be gay, a scandal erupted. Adams remembered, "His house was T.P.'d (toilet paper wrapped around the house). Eggs thrown. [People] left notes for his parents. I felt an amazing sense of outrage."

"From there" took Adams to James

Adams did form a group — albeit under duress. “Madison was no picnic. Imagine, in the heart of the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, trying to do this.” Adams transferred to Madison’s political flip side, the University of California at Santa Cruz.

While gay and lesbian youth do have some academic options that are pro-gay — the Harvey Milk High School in New York and Project 10 in Los Angeles — those serve a minute portion of the young gay population.

To those who inquire about his credentials for taking on such a project, Adams replies with the confidence of youth, "I think the time that our movement wasted putting experts in front of the bigots was just that — wasted time. I don't have a lot of faith in what the experts say. They're the ones who told us that homosexuality is caused by excessive masturbation."

Among social workers, psychologists, gay and lesbian campus organizers, high school rap groups he has conferred with, Adams says he has "unfailing support."

Adams has received support from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Institute for Policy Studies, the latter  
*continued on page thirteen*

*continued on page thirteen*

(continued from page twelve)

Uribe, a 55-year-old teacher and counselor at Fairfax High School in Los Angeles is the creator of the innovative Project 10, a resource center for the school's lesbian and gay students.

"They're underserved in large part because they're invisible. They have to be identified."

The changes Uribe, Adams, and many others are suggesting are, as Uribe says, "revolutionary." To accept homosexuality

And the revolution, says Uribe, has to start with the people within those institutions — teachers and administrators, gay or straight.

Hunter says that rate has been relatively constant over the years and across the country. Suicide attempts for gays and lesbians "level off after their teens [because] they access the community," said Hunter.

Before teens access the community, however, there is much work to be done. ▼

# Adams discusses gay activism

By Brian Villmoare  
University Journal Staff Writer

Luke Adams, national gay rights activist, spoke for the need for political and economic pressure in bringing about equal rights for homosexuals in a speech in front of the Lesbian and Gay Student Union last night.

Adams said gay rights activists need to bring pressure upon authorities "by any means necessary."

He noted that only by applying strong pressure originating from public outrage did civil rights activists bring about changes during the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Adams stressed the importance for homosexuals to use anger to effect changes because, without changes in laws and attitudes, for many homosexuals "life will become a series of walls."

He called for homosexuals to openly admit their sexual orientation because, he said, the gay rights

movement needs a large public voice to bring to bear any political pressure.

According to Adams, there is a need to apply pressure upon corporations because many will react only to the type of economic pressure brought on by the boycotts and protests of the 1960s.

"Civil disobedience is not good for business," he said.

Adams noted that corporations will respond to pressure "that affects the profit margins and corporate ledgers."

He added that he feels that working within the corporate and bureaucratic structure to advance gay rights has failed.

"We've really tried wearing the uniform and... talking reason," he said, adding "the rules just don't work."

According to Adams, governmental efforts were not initiated for the treatment and cure of AIDS until

the disease had started to effect the non-homosexual population, five years after the breakout had occurred in a large scale in the homosexual population.

Adams said the United States was the last industrialized nation to initiate national programs for the prevention and cure of AIDS. He noted that the U.S. is also the only industrialized nation except South Africa without a national health care system.

"One person dies of AIDS every five minutes," he said, adding that the U.S. government's failure to act because the disease only affected the homosexual population, "must at least be called criminal negligence."

Adams is currently the executive director of the New Pacific Center for Lesbian/ Gay Community Services and Activism, located in California. His speech last night was at the Wesley Foundation.



Journal photo by Brian Villmoare

Gay activist Luke Adams

# HARVEY'S CHILDREN



Cofounder Cleve Jones

*In search of  
a new wave  
of young,  
gifted, and  
gay leaders.*

SEVERAL DAYS A WEEK, YOU CAN FIND Alex Martinez handing out condoms and bleach, and free advice in English and Spanish about AIDS, at corners and bar-rooms in San Francisco's Mission district. An eleven-year veteran of Pacific Bell, which he left last year after winning a class-action lawsuit over antigay discrimination, Martinez has returned to college to earn a degree in psychology and social work.

"I've always been 'out' as a gay man," says the twenty-nine-year-old San Francisco native. "I never went through the coming-out period that many people describe. My friends and I were the most unpolitical people in the world; we saw people who were into gay politics as *radicals*. They certainly weren't—us."

"But when AIDS started hitting my friends, it broadened my vision on issues like gay rights, human rights, choice—the epidemic politicized me. Here was a major disaster being ignored because it was seen as a gay problem. I started realizing how important gay politics is, and I wanted to learn more."

Now, Martinez hopes to be one of the first two hundred people, from age eighteen to thirty, recruited into New Pacific Academy, a ground-breaking effort to train the next generation of gay and lesbian leaders. Organized by NAMES Project quilt

creator Cleve Jones and Student AIDS Mobilization cofounder Luke Adams, NPA is holding an intensive one-month "Basic Training" this summer. The curriculum is designed as a crash course not only in the nuts and bolts of activism, but in learning healthy respect for gay history and diversity. The "guest faculty" will be drawn from all races, creeds, and persuasions—political, business, and religious leaders, drag queens and leather-S/M aficionados, Radical Faeries and gay Republicans.

"Gay and lesbian youth are the most acutely underserved population in the U.S.," says Adams, twenty-seven. He points to a rising incidence of AIDS among teens, a suicide rate up to three times higher among gay youth than among their straight peers, and the homophobia of many high school teachers and counselors. "This is an intense crisis of leadership. Young activists have very little access to resources, they're constantly forced into reinventing the wheel, and they tend to get the cold shoulder from the older generation." Many older leaders, meanwhile, are being lost to AIDS.

New Pacific Academy is the first undertaking of the San Francisco-based Critical Literacy Institute. Adams started the institute last year as "a way to merge inquiry and action, and to sponsor young activist scholars, especially from marginalized groups—which are, after all, shortly going to be the majority of Americans." With a first-year budget of \$633,000, raised from corporations, foundations, and individual donors, NPA is planning to subsidize all but the students' travel expenses and, after the training, will help place the students in volunteer or paid internships throughout the country. Adams pledges that this summer's class will have equal numbers of men and women, and at least half will be people of color: "The next generation of leaders has to look like the community it's serving."

But Adams bristles at recent media portrayals of young gay men as "party boys" who think that staying with their own age group will keep AIDS away. "I work with young people all over the country," Adams says, "and it's not my experience that there's any huge amount of denial going on. . . . I think what young people are doing is developing a new sex-positive attitude—celebrating their sexuality while taking steps to protect themselves. And I think that young members of groups like ACT UP have had a lot to do with rehabilitating sex."

This analysis is one example of what Adams means by "critical literacy," a notion drawn from educational theorists such as Paulo Freire. "It essentially means having a working crap detector," Adams says—"an ability to question the assumptions of any kind of cultural information." New Pacific Academy is designed to encourage the young to draw from experienced activists and teachers, but also to critique their elders and form a vision of their own. Alex Martinez likes the emphasis on empowering young people to share what they've already lived and learned—in his case, Latino roots, intensive AIDS work, and years of marketing and sales for a large corporation.

Cleve Jones still draws inspiration from the powerful effect that gay San Francisco supervisor Harvey Milk had on gay youth two decades ago: he liked to step up to the microphone in front of college audiences and announce with a mischievous grin, "My name is Harvey Milk, and I'm here to recruit you!" Alex Martinez sees this summer's training program as "a manifestation of what's happening to a lot of gay people. We're being moved to action, and I want to be part of it."

For more information about New Pacific Academy, call (415) 252-1690.

—Dan Bellm



"It's a thank you letter from President Clinton. He calls our idea for a Performance Art Service Corps 'thoughtful and interesting.'"

## Youth Empowerment Speakout

### FRIDAY, APRIL 23

Youth issues briefing at 9:00 am (after the 8:00 am NGLTF Constituent Lobbying 101 session), The Bellevue Hotel, 15 'E' Street, N.W. Constituent lobbying will continue all day. Youth are encouraged to lobby their members of congress (standard business attire required). Coalition meeting for youth advocates meets at 10:00 am (call Hetrick-Martin Institute, 212/633-8920, for more information).

Join us for a reception from 5:00-7:00 pm with award-winning body-builders Bob and Rod Jackson-Paris at The French Quarter Cafe/808 King Street in Old Town Alexandria (6 blocks from King Street Metro). \$100.00 donation goes to YES and Bob & Rod's new Be True To Yourself Foundation for youth. Hors d'oeuvres and cash bar.

### SATURDAY, APRIL 24

Youth Empowerment networking and brainstorming session at Hine Junior High School, 8th St. & Pennsylvania Ave., S.E. (across from Eastern Market Metro). Begin arriving at 3:30 pm (film, video and photo media will be restricted to designated areas and will leave at 4:20 pm).

Dance for youth (24 and under) at the Hine Jr. High School Multipurpose Room. Drug and alcohol free. Admission, \$3.00 or more (sliding scale), 10 pm - 1 am.

### SUNDAY, APRIL 25

Rally begins at 9:00 am, March begins at noon. The youth contingent is 8th in marching order. Aikiko Carver and Troix Bettencourt will be speaking on youth issues.

For more information, contact Luke Adams at (202) 546-5940.

Many thanks to the sponsors who have made YES possible:

Federation of Parents & Friends of Lesbians & Gays  
The National Association of Social Workers  
The United Church Coalition for Lesbian, Gay & Bisexual Concerns, Youth and Young Adult Outreach Program  
Affirmation's Lesbian and Gay Community Center Youth Program  
Mother Jones Magazine and the Foundation for National Progress, in conjunction with James C. Hormel, The Columbia Foundation, Charles a'Court-Tucker, Torie Osborn, Donald E. Sloan, Peter Tyler and Overlooked Opinions, Inc.  
Bob & Rod Jackson-Paris, Jim Toews and the Be True To Yourself Foundation  
The Wingspan Ministry (St. Paul, Reformation Lutheran Church)  
Harvard Graduate School of Education, Gay and Lesbian High School Curriculum and Staff Development Project  
Unitarian Universalists for Lesbian and Gay Concerns  
Lavender Youth & Family Empowerment, Lyon-Martin  
Women's Health Services  
Washington Area Consortium on HIV Infection in Youth

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# YES!

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender adolescents face tremendous challenges growing up physically and mentally healthy in a culture that is almost uniformly homophobic. Often these youths face an increased risk of medical, psychological and/or economic problems, caused not by their sexual orientation or gender identity, but by society's extremely negative reaction to it. Sexual minority youth face rejection, isolation, verbal harassment and physical violence at home, in school and in religious institutions. In the Lesbian & Gay Movement, they are often not taken seriously as resources in need of empowerment and are treated as a bundle of problems to be solved by adults, or as a politically dangerous issue.

Responding to these pressures, some sexual minority youth overachieve. Many engage in an array of risky behaviors. Most are tired of being dismissed by their adult Movement comrades.

Today, suicide is the leading cause of death among adolescents in the United States, and a third of those are by sexual minority youth. Attention and resources for this issue, however, are at a minimum. The national organizations representing lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender communities must work with young organizers and with youth service providers and advocates to put child, youth and family issues in the front line of national policy advocacy.

On April 24, from 3:30 to 7:30 pm, one day before the March, sexual minority youth from around the country will gather to begin creating their own national agenda.

Take part, or listen for a change.

reduced: our full-pager

# UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

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ADLAI E. STEVENSON COLLEGE

SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA 95064

September, 1991

To Whom it May Concern:

RE: The Stevenson College Mentor Program

In 1987 Luke Adams, serving as the Assistant to the Student Affairs Officer, had an idea for improving communication between new and continuing students. As a result, under his direction, Stevenson College began a Mentor program in an effort to establish close relationships between first-year residents of the college, and students who are juniors or seniors and have an understanding of what makes the college a unique living/learning environment. Such a program is beneficial both to the new student and to the seasoned student, dedicated to the Santa Cruz vision, particularly, the upper-division student who resides outside of the college.

The program is a collegial collective of approximately 35 select upper-division students who serve as guides and carriers of the college's traditions and history for incoming classmates. The Mentors serve much the same function as prefects at Oxford and Cambridge, yet bear the clear mark of Stevenson College and of Santa Cruz. Complementing the work of the residential, orientation, office and academic staff, the Mentors serve as an important link in the transition to life at the college and the University.

Today the Stevenson College Mentor Program continues to be highly successful. Comments from faculty who appreciate having a "knowledgeable and helpful student Mentor" present during advising week activities are among the strongest supporters of the program. Incoming students who are contacted by their Mentor over the summer attest to the positive aspects of having someone available to whom they may address questions about everything from "what is the town like" to "who is the best Writing 10 professor". And our Mentors find the program "rewarding", in that it provides a vehicle for involved students to pass on their knowledge of Santa Cruz and Stevenson College in particular.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gail J. Heit".

Gail J. Heit  
College Administrative Officer

**Institute for Policy Studies**  
1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
202 234 9382

**Transnational Institute**  
Paulus Potterstraat 20  
1071 DA Amsterdam  
The Netherlands  
020 62 66 08

My name is Isabel Morel Letelier and I am on the Board of National Advisors of the Critical Literacy Institute and came to know Luke Adams while he was in residence here at the Institute for Policy Studies. I fully support the launching of the New Pacific Academy and its goal to provide a much needed source of support and training for new and dynamic young leaders. As a long time participant in human rights activities I know how much a center like this could mean, not only to this community but, through their efforts, to all citizens. Please extend to the New Pacific Academy your every possible support.

Sincerely,



Isabel Morel Letelier  
Senior Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies

Washington, D.C.  
February 28, 1990



*"Organizing and Advocating for Students Across the Country"*

United States Student Association / 1012 14th St., N.W. Suite 207 / Washington, D.C. 20005 / (202) 347-USSA

To whom it may concern:

During my time as Vice President, and now as President, of the United States Student Association (USSA) I have become familiar with the work of Luke Adams. Luke's endless energy and innovative ideas are badly needed assets in the effort to reach homosexual youth who have been marginalized by our society.

The point, of course, is not only to reach them, but also to empower them so they may create a new, more equitable future for themselves and this nation. Luke's skills, along with the training which he has conceived, are tools to this end; tools from which both the progressive community at large and the youth and student movement in particular can benefit.

This training program will prove, I believe, to be a solid cornerstone for future work with gay youth. In this endeavor Luke deserves your unwavering commitment and active support.

Sincerely,

Julianne Marley  
President

**THE GAY & LESBIAN COMMUNITY SERVICES CENTER**

A Non-Profit Human Services Organization

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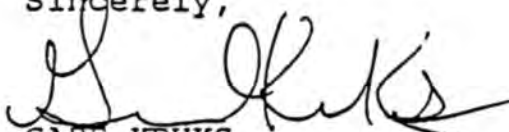
March 19, 1990

I am writing as a member of the National Advisory Board of New Pacific Academy. I came to know Luke Adams and his work through the National Lesbian and Gay Health Foundation. I firmly support the launching of New Pacific as a means to provide a corps of new role models for lesbian/gay/bisexual young people and to build a next generation of dynamic Community leadership.

As a long time activist and social service provider to lesbian/gay/bisexual youth, I know this project will help young people to take their own lives from the margins to the table.

I urge you to give New Pacific your every possible support.

Sincerely,



GABE KRUKS

Director, Youth Services

L.A. Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center

July 12, 1990

Luke Adams  
New Pacific Academy  
2338 Market Street  
San Francisco, CA 94114

Dear Luke;

Thanks so much for your participation in our Pride Week  
issue. It was certainly a different direction for us, but the  
response has been fabulous and your input added immeasurably.  
I look forward to our working together again and hope to hear  
from you soon.



Rick Karlin  
Entertainment & Lifestyles Editor

RK/moi

## **YOUTH EMPOWERMENT SPEAKOUT**

### **Proposal for Funding**

#### **SUMMARY**

In organizing leading up to and following the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Equal Rights and Liberation (the third such march, 15 years after the first), this project will coalesce the youth component. The Youth Empowerment Speakout (YES) is being sponsored by a coalition of youth-serving and youth-run organizations, freelance organizers, and youth participants nationwide. The mission is to empower sexual minority youth (SMY) to discern and act on their emerging vision, and to give impetus to creating an informational infrastructure for participants for future building.

#### **GOALS/PURPOSE**

The purpose of this project is to empower SMY to actively explore, share, and create their own vision of a sexual minority youth agenda. The preliminary method of action will be the hosting of a grassroots organizing/lobby training seminar and a lobby day at Congress, a day of networking and brainstorming, and a youth social event, all in the days leading up to the March on Washington, April 25, 1993.

#### **OBJECTIVES**

We will gather 300-600 SMY to take part in a 4-6 hour colloquium for networking and brainstorming, for which SMY who are organizers have been setting the agenda and planning the activities through a series of conference calls arranged by the Bridges Project of the American Friends Service Committee. We will disseminate networking materials, being compiled through the coalition by the Hetrick-Martin Institute. We will train 30-60 SMY to lobby members of Congress in a day following the colloquium, and will debrief them after their visits to Capitol Hill. We will provide for the creation of a VIP database of participants and key organizers and opinion-leaders.

#### **UNIQUENESS**

This is a coalition effort. No one else has undertaken this organizing work. The salience of the needs of SMY is only now surfacing after years of groundwork by a small group of colleagues nationally. It is the conviction of the coalition members that this kind of self-empowerment work is critical in the process of addressing the underlying causes of homophobia and biphobia and the marginalization and attendant social problems of SMY.

## EVALUATION

The entire process of empowering youth is evaluative throughout, seeking revision and invention. The members of the coalition make decisions on a consensus basis. It is, on principle, a decision-making exercise about what measures the success of change. However, more directly, during the days of the Speakout, participants will be provided opportunity for written summary evaluations of the effort and of the opportunities provided for them (example enclosed). The dialogue during the networking/brainstorming session will also be self-evaluative. Success will be measured in terms of meeting the goals and achieving stated objectives.

## BUDGET & FUNDRAISING

The ad-hoc budget for YES is provided, along with the tax-exempt letter of the fiscal administrator for the coalition's efforts. Line items were determined based on rate quotes, examination of comparable bills and receipts, and prevailing service charge rates. Several hundred participants are anticipated over several days. Since the budget is relatively modest, especially given the scale, we hope to raise the funds from discretionary grants, technical assistance grants, and small contributions. Some coalition partners will also be able to make small donations. Because of the lead-time needed to approve this effort, time is of the essence in receiving funds.

## ACTIVITIES

The hope of YES is to take advantage of the March on Washington this April, when many young lesbians, bisexuals, gay men, and transgender persons will be descending on Washington, DC, many of whom will be having the first experience of such empowering togetherness of their lives. Financially it is also a rare opportunity to reach a large cluster of youth who in many cases will be subsidized to be in one place at one time. The overriding concern was that there be a safe space for young people to come together during the march week.

The March on Washington provides a tangible demonstration point in which this formative youth coalition can cohere and in which bright young people from all over the country can be brought together to network, work, and learn through YES.

YES will provide a constructive, non-threatening environment for youth 24 and under (an age level agreed as appropriate by youth service providers) to actively explore, share, and create their visions of a SMY agenda. YES will directly precede the day of the march.

The ideas and work behind YES specifically first developed at

the 1992 National Gay and Lesbian Health Foundation Conference. There, a number of youth service providers and organizers came together to discuss youth events and resources at the 1993 March on Washington. After much discussion, the group agreed to look into putting YES together and hosting a youth social event on one of the nights.

The leading priority for the group was ensuring that youth be involved in the planning process, as described earlier. Other priorities included making the events drug and alcohol free and open only to youth 24 and under and their guests. It was also important that no other similar events were being planned; that YES be a national, focused event for and by youth; and that resources and information from around the country be available for youth.

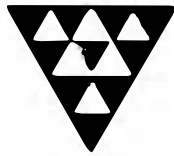
From that initial meeting, a relatively large body of work has already taken place, and several organizations and organizers have joined the coalition, working through a series of logistical planning conference calls organized by the Bridges Project. In expectation of thousands of youth, there are plans to organize a youth contingent to march together, plans for a lobby/organizing training seminar and lobby day on Capitol Hill, coordination of youth planners and facilitators for the brainstorming and networking session, and plans for a social.

Volunteers have begun facilitating housing and travel arrangements and information, as well. Although YES organizers will not be responsible for housing and transportation per se, they are working to assist in these areas.

The coalition not only welcomes, but strongly encourages involvement of other SMY and youth-serving organizations from around the country, especially youth of color.

The site-based coalition member is the Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League (SMYAL) in Washington, DC.

**SMYAL**



▼ Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League

### **A Note From Brian Webb**

Each of you receiving this note will have been asked in more ways than can be counted to support our community's work financially. It is difficult, yet we have so much more to do. Please consider helping out again in an area that receives far too little attention, and which is too often at the losing end of the Lesbian and Gay movement's penchant for self-directed anger.

Most of you reading this have met Luke Adams, or at least have read about him. Luke has been my friend for about three years. In that time, I have come to respect his commitment and the work he has done to raise the issues of sexual minority youth to the larger Lesbian and Gay movement, and to the country's leaders. Though his ideology is obviously more radical than mine, he has demonstrated his pragmatic approach to getting things done again and again. The late Ron Kershaw, who was a Log Cabin Club leader, said that Luke was one of the activists with whom he most enjoyed working.

This is where the Radical Right hits us hardest. Putting the concerns of our community's children, youth and families in the forefront is like putting together a jigsaw puzzle of a road map that has been broken up at all the major intersections. Luke is in Washington, DC, now, putting one of those critical pieces into place.

Please read his letter carefully, and give generously. Thank you for your time and attention.

Best Wishes,

*Brian Webb*



March 5, 1993

Dear FOB (Friend of Brian),

As you read this, the Report of the Health and Human Services Secretary's Task Force on Youth Suicide, prepared at the end of the Reagan Administration, is being taken off of the shelf for its very first official review, four years after its completion. You and I know why it took so long, and some of you have helped me raise these issues anew.

- "Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Youth are two to three times more likely to attempt suicide than their Heterosexual peers," the report documented. And worse: "Up to 30 percent of completed suicides each year are by sexual minority youth." Only the surface was reported about the disproportionately higher risks for depression, homelessness, HIV infection, alcoholism and drug abuse.

This is a three page letter, so bear with me. I didn't want to bowl you over with data, but I didn't want to tell you too little about what is going on for you to feel comfortable about helping out. I need you to read this carefully. With my close ally, Torie Osborn, about to take over at the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, this effort's timing is even more critical.

The HHS report recommended a series of steps to **increase the self-esteem and sense of responsibility** of sexual minority youth, and to **combat discrimination and prejudices** against them. A handful of colleagues and I have been working for over a decade to establish anchor youth serving organizations, and to build national attention. We have been thwarted, often by our own comrades in the Lesbian and Gay movement.

Despite its priority for the White House, **the Committee on Children, Families, and Youth was the first casualty** in the "new Democrats'" frenzy to show off Congressional budget cuts. These issues, frankly, have had a lot of our own Lesbian and Gay leaders running scared, because of attacks anticipated by the fringe Right. "They'll call us child molesters," I heard again and again.

- **The result is that the only national image consistently portrayed as our community's organized response to youth has been NAMBLA.** When I began organizing the New Pacific Academy four years ago, as a way to have a model program of

youth leadership development, some of the biggest problems came from Lesbian and Gay movement leaders.

There is also the odd paradox that many of us overachieved as young people, because we had to, to overcome the problems we faced. We succeeded in spite of the toll. **But we were lucky, and too few of us remember.** It wasn't always smooth sailing for me, and I never could use the closet as a buffer. Seven years ago, I got through my days with cocaine, and in one of those nights became another 23-year-old infected with HIV.

Some people have told me, in 15 years of organizing, that I was being "ageist," and that our community was too obsessed with youth. I think it should be mind-numbingly obvious that **whatever obsession we have is one of treating youth as a commodity.** Survival sex is one of our biggest youth industries.

In the three years since New Pacific Academy, the Lesbian and Gay movement has had some stunning victories, and some stinging defeats. After each defeat, strategizing at the table with other leaders, some local organizer would say, **"We have all these young people on the edge, with so much anger and energy: why don't we have a leadership development program for them?"** And some of the national leaders would blush and look at me, sheepishly.

- When the planning was begun for the March on Washington, there was no provision whatsoever for our youth. No speakers, no contingent, no lobbying training, no time set aside for networking, no safe-space for socializing that would be drug and alcohol free and less predatory. **Again.** So, the handful of colleagues, which is now growing, got together again and began to plan a Youth Empowerment Speakout (YES) to do all of those things surrounding the March. After the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's Creating Change Conference in November, the plans for the project went full speed ahead, and I signed on to facilitate logistics for it.

**I am now working closely with a coalition of nearly 15 organizations across the country to set up YES.** Young active people themselves are setting the agenda for our brainstorming and networking sessions. The Hettrich-Martin Institute has been holding a series of colloquia to discuss the creation of a national confederation of sexual minority youth organizations, and the American Friends Service Committee has funded a two year Bridges Project to build a communication and policy network for such a confederation.

Out of YES, we hope to have the beginning of a clear, youth-directed agenda to pursue the future of dealing with sexual minority children, youth, and family issues. **But now I need your help.**

We are planning a lobbying training day with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Human Rights Campaign Fund. We hope to bring 100 sexual minority youth

to Congress to lobby, and to debrief them afterward. We will gather from 500-1000 or more youth together for a brainstorming and networking session, and give them a national directory of youth service providers, and begin the process of creating a VIP database of young activists and opinion-leaders. We will also be giving them national network-building materials and introducing them to contact people in other organizations.

The night before the March, there will be a dance for youth 24 and under at Hine Junior High School on Capitol Hill. It will be a drug and alcohol free event with a low admission price, munchies, and adult safety monitors. In the March itself, there will be a youth contingent, and two youth speakers.

This program is not free. We want to make it accessible for the hundreds, perhaps thousands of youth who will descend on Washington for the March. Our total event budget, not counting the in-kind budget contributions of coalition members, is \$5000. I need your check for \$25, \$50, \$100 or more to help defer the costs. As the site-based organization in the coalition, the Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League will accept your tax-deductible contribution made payable to SMYAL/YES.

Call me either at the SMYAL office (ext. 5) or at home, (301) 565-5056, if you have any questions. Please do whatever you can, and do it now. The March is less than two months away. I hope to see you there.

Best Wishes,



Luke Adams

---

YES! I will say YES, too, Luke!

Here is my gift toward the Youth Empowerment Speakout preceding the March on Washington this April.

I can give:

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EXAMPLE:  
MAJOR DONOR APPEAL  
WRITTEN BY ME FOR  
CLEVE'S SIGNATURE

DRAFT

6 June 1990

Mr. David Geffen  
9130 Sunset Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California  
90069

Dear Mr. Geffen:

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to write more about the New Pacific Academy. I hope that this letter and what I have sent along with it will give you the information you need to share my sense of excitement about the project, and a desire to work with us to make it a sound venture. With the help of concerned and generous individuals such as you, the despair of a generation of young people can begin to be transformed. Here are some facts:

- Statistically, lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth are the most acutely underserved segment of the United States population. They cross every dividing line of race and ethnicity, gender and sex, religious background and practice, political affiliation, geographic area, class and income level, and physical ability, yet the average high school student still knows little to nothing about everyday Gay lives.
- School is an intensely homophobic, often violent place. These young people live with increased chances of substance abuse and addiction, dramatically higher rates of suicide and suicide attempts, significantly increased levels of behavioral and psychological instability, truncated or deferred economic or financial stability, and vastly more debilitating and potentially terminal health risks, including AIDS. Most, if not all, of these problems were detailed in the four volume report of the Secretary of Health and Human Services' Task Force on Youth Suicide (January, 1989), which has yet to be officially released.

The first string of modern movement leadership in the community is either burned-out, dying or dead. The next string is suffering burnout as well, and the toll of having had to reinvent the wheel, bear the burdens of a pandemic, and rely on faded, increasingly divisive ideology is heavy. The movement has a plethora of tactics, but no unifying strategy. Who will be the role models for a new generation? Who will staff the community organizations and make the case for the underserved and under-represented?

In the face of my work on the Quilt, these questions increasingly haunted me. I often recalled the dream Harvey Milk--my mentor, of sorts--had to train new generations of individuals for community service. Then Luke Adams and I began to compare notes last summer during the National Student Congress.

The foundation Luke and some of his fellow organizers had begun provided the perfect springboard for a program of leadership development and peer support for youth. We put together community-based history and culture, hands-on practical skills, leadership tools, exposure to diversity of heritage, lifestyle, tactics, and ideology, and a place to network in a project for bright, promising candidates who could serve as role models for their peers and have an exponential positive effect.

- We put together a staff including Joseph van Es-Ballesteros, a young but veteran activist and early organizer of youth groups in New York, and Karyn Andrade, an activist who had first begun work on the concept with Luke in 1984. We drew together a board including some of the most prominent activists and social workers in the country. And we set out to raise our dream seed-budget of \$633,000.
- To date, over \$100,000 of that has been raised from individuals, foundations, and corporations. The component of the Academy training itself has already eaten up all of that money. The staff are working largely as volunteers, taking money only to pay their most pressing bills. This summer, however, a historic event is happening.

- 100 young people from across the country-- representing almost every state in the union, will come to San Francisco for this intensive leadership training. Well over 100 faculty-- veteran activists, theorists, artists, businesspeople, craftspeople, and helping professionals have donated their time, and often even paid for their way here, to pass on what they know.

The first class of the Academy was chosen based on their commitment to serving as role models, to building coalitions, to advancing the movement, to changing the course of young lives from despair to leadership. Half of them are women and half of them are men. 50% are from ethnic minorities. The explicit diversity and open potential of this grouping and this effort is unprecedented in the history of modern U.S. social movements.

So that these young people, drawn from schools and community-based organizations nationwide, could attend regardless of income level, room, board and course materials were provided free of charge. We also have hired five temporary full-time teaching assistants to make the program more personalized. To be able to carry off this program, plus pay for our office set-up and staff on what we have raised so far is nothing short of miraculous. It is a testament to the dedication of these young organizers, and the keen desire and need for the program.

Despite the wide range of problems that face them, these young people are an untapped resource, waiting eagerly to be strategically deployed. A piece in The Washington Post underscores the point:

Many said they coped with the social pressures brought on by their homosexuality through hard work and achievement....That these and many other students like them do so well in school and later life astounds experts....Many homosexual students I talked to felt that their stress was exacerbated by the lack of positive role models.

We have the chance with this program to start rebuilding the social fabric from the bottom up. Those of us who do this kind of work feel that in a very real sense we do it on behalf of people like you, who have the resources and inclination but not the time to work full-time for change. This is the kind of program that not only has good

intentions, but is designed to have an exponential effect--to fundamentally alter the equation of young lives at risk.

This is an ambitious undertaking. If you could feel the pride and hope that I feel when I meet with these young people as they filter into San Francisco for the training, you would be sure that it was worth any financial expense.

I want to make a personal appeal to you to give their voices the chance to be heard. The project remains in the red. I am asking you to use the power of the pen to take the lead on \$25,000 of that deficit.

I have enclosed a packet of information on the project, along with both our federal and state tax-exempt letters. A check may be made payable to the Critical Literacy Institute, and we will respect any restrictions or requests you may have about donor disclosure.

Please don't hesitate to call me at home: (415) ♦♦♦-  
♦♦♦♦ with any questions, and I will try to follow up with you about this by phone within the week. Obviously, the sooner we receive contributions, the easier each step of the process is for the program.

Thank you for your consideration of this investment in the future, and for your time and help.

Very Truly Yours,

Cleve E. Jones  
Provost

## GUEST PIECE: Luke Adams

It is over 60 years into the modern homophile movement, 21 years after the Stonewall Rebellion, and a decade into the AIDS pandemic, and the average high school student in America still knows little to nothing about real lesbian, gay, and bisexual lives.

We belong to a movement that has argued for our place in society, that has fought for a seat at the table, that has tried to warn even those who hate us of the crisis that awaits them if they don't follow our lead. But, more fundamentally, we are *a people* that cuts across the lines of sex, race, class, religious practice, political affiliation, and geographic region. This combination of circumstances presents us with a considerable challenge.

We can and must look to our culture to know where we can go, and our non-gay counterparts must be exposed to it as well. The only way we can accomplish that is for more and more of us to be more and more visible.

It is through visibility that now we can look to back issues of *One* and *The Ladder*, and show it to those who don't know. They will be able to say: "This is their history." Look at the names that make up the list of veterans of our movement: "This is how they've grown." Look at Stonewall, at Harvey Milk, at ACT-UP: "This is how they fight."

Look at so many artists, authors, poets, actors, artisans, craftspeople: "This is how they look at and beautify their world." Look at so many community-based businesses: "This is how they work." Look at the faeries, or at the affirming people in faith communities: "This is how they worship." Look at so many longtime companions: "This is how they love."

Look at our clubs and our parties: "This is how they play." Look at some magazines, some theatres, some social events, some interpersonal rituals: "This is the wide range of their sexual passions." Look at our social services: "This is how they care for their own." Look at our response to the pandemic: "This is how they are socially responsible." Look at the AIDS Memorial Quilt: "This is how they honor their dead."

Standing at the edge of the richest, industrially over-developed societies of the world--ourselves a fundamental opposition to their assumptions--we have a contribution to make to human survival. To do that, *we* must survive to become visible. The two most critical concerns facing us in the 1990s are a health crisis, and the protection and nurturing of our youth. In addressing both concerns, we need to learn to think strategically, and to act in a multi-lateral, disciplined way.

We can no longer afford to set an agenda that only addresses the short-term comfort of white, upscale gay men and, occasionally, white, upscale lesbians. We can't afford to waste any more time. We *have* wasted too much time by often being our own worst enemies--by being far better at "friendly fire" than we are at winning the war..

With the community's support, New Pacific Academy looks forward to a decade in which we secure a first line of defense to save lives and provide safe schools for lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth; in which our culture becomes part of the fabric of the emerging trend in multicultural education; in which our movement coordinates its strategy and wins the start of a critical mass of real seats at the table; in which taking care of our health becomes an institutional part of what the community is.

We need a *national partnership* to recognize our community's investment in our youth--not as objects, but as the standard-bearers of our advancement. It should include our businesses, our political advocates, our helping professionals, and our family and other allies. It should have a clear goal of fostering lesbian, bisexual, and gay youth, who face an often hostile environment. It should draw them away from the waste of suicide, AIDS, addiction, and despair, and forge a new generation of leaders to fill the ranks decimated by burnout, faded ideology, and the ravages of the AIDS pandemic.

New Pacific Academy is the matrix for our next line of strategic advance--an historic landmark effort to draw on the most accomplished veterans of the movement and thoughtfully equip a next line of active service to the community. It is a tool to provide promising young people with essential community-based history, exposure to diversity, and hands-on practical skills. New Pacific Academy has a vision of a future Lesbian and Gay Community leadership that reflects our full diversity and acts with decisive efficiency. It will take money, effort, and cooperation to look to the future, but if we do, we clearly alter the equation, and the future *is* ours.

*Luke Adams studies educational theory and has been a youth organizer for over a decade. With Cleve Jones, he co-founded New Pacific Academy in 1989, and now serves as Executive Director of the project's sponsoring foundation, the Critical Literacy Institute.*

## Put queer youth in their place—united with all gays and lesbians

OVER A YEAR AND A HALF AGO, I COFOUNDED a lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth group. The people that I define as youth are young adults and teenagers under 21. As a 16-year-old, I want our lesbian and gay community to find ways of creating bonds between adults and youth to mutually benefit and promote the advancement of our entire community.

Generally ignored by the adult community, queer youth have had to provide for ourselves, with resources limited due to the constraints of our age group. This has primarily meant creating our own youth groups and support networks. Because the adult community is almost exclusively centered around the bars, which you must be 21 to enter, lesbian and gay youth have no social connections to the community at large. The message we have been given is that in order to become accepted as legitimate queers, we must be over 21. Until we reach that age, the adult community is unwilling, maybe even afraid, to accept any responsibility for us.

It appears to me that the main problem in our community is the apathetic attitude that exists regarding queer youth. Many adults have considerable concern about the implications of helping queer youth in any way. The reasons range from a homophobia-based fear of charges of pedophilia to a simple attitude of "let them fend for themselves, as we did." Until the larger community becomes involved in making provisions for and helping queer youth, we won't have the type of support we need to grow and contribute to that community.

Every member of the gay and lesbian community has had to come out. Many will admit they knew they were gay or lesbian while they were in their teens. In this sense, most lesbian and gay adults have been queer youth. Yet we still have no one to go through the painful coming-out process with and must hunt each other down to network. Rather than require each and every gay or lesbian youth to deal with coming out alone, we could be much more productive by investing our energy into the community at a younger age, combining our experiences, and helping each other.

One project that I would love for the adult and youth communities to work together on is to make some type of lesbian and gay big brother/big sister pro-

gram available to queer youth. For lack of a better term, this project could be called a mentor program and would create a situation where gay youth could meet gay adults. I see this program's setup as having an adult who sponsors a queer youth: They meet once a week and go out, etc. Not only would this program provide a way to introduce the two communities, but also it would provide much needed mentors and role models for queer youth, begin to establish a bond between our

spend time and energy on the kids, not only will the adults be providing a valuable service to youth but also we will finally have mentors and role models to look to and learn from who are real-life members of our community.

All members of the community share the responsibility for developing better ways for queer youth to enter the lesbian and gay community. There are many projects that, with help from the adult community, we could accomplish. If the process began with various organizations having liaisons to the youth community, think of the increased involvement and support that both groups would receive.

There is an increasing need for community centers, providing a place where gays and lesbians of all ages can meet and socialize without the presence of alcohol (due to legal-age limits). As it is, many activities, even when alcohol-free, are barred to youth for two reasons: either they are not easily accessible from a public transportation system or the cost is too steep.

As with the need for community centers, there is also a demand for providing visible adult lesbian and gay role models to help combat the lack of positive gay and lesbian images. There is a great need to begin an AIDS mobilization campaign that is specifically directed toward AIDS prevention among lesbian and gay youth.

With little education coming through the school systems, we must attempt to save our own. The possibilities and suggestions are endless—many of the ways that adults can help are as simple as helping establish local youth groups, finding free or affordable spaces to meet, setting up a telephone line, advertising (free or discounted), or giving donations for any of these purposes.

It is important for our community to begin to function in ways that are beneficial to all members. One way of doing that is providing means for the queer youth and adult communities to join forces. We can begin to eliminate the isolation felt by queers across the board if we succeed in creating a space for queer youth within the greater community. Envision how much more advanced our community and its members would be if you had united with other gays and lesbians earlier in life and not been alone as a queer youth. ●



**Chance Claar is a cofounder of Atlanta's OutYouth, a lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth group, and is a student at the Benjamin Franklin Academy.**

communities generally, and definitely create a bond between the individuals participating.

In California there are already programs that are designed for queer youth, such as Gay and Lesbian Adolescent Social Services (GLASS), and there are a number of other lesbian and gay youth groups around the country. To supplement and participate in programs like GLASS and youth groups, I believe that we are in need of a program like the one I am writing about. If we have a program where gay adults can find gay youth and

# No Apologies, No Regrets Committee

P.O. Box 14301  
San Francisco, California 94114-0301  
Hotline: (415) 292-3285

Press Spokespersons for the Committee: Randi Gerson (647-7313), Lito Sandoval (647-3104), Vern Nuanez (558-8671)

Each June the Lesbian and Gay Community celebrates the anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion with parades and celebrations across the country. On that hot summer night in 1969, when Puerto Rican drag queens in Greenwich Village decided that they had endured one police raid too many, they rioted. Eventually, they trapped police officers inside the Stonewall Inn for hours—held at the edge of liberated gay fury. It was militant and direct. It wasn't nice or peaceful. Stonewall marked a turning point in our community's struggle for freedom.

On September 30, 1991, in San Francisco, 10,000 lesbians and gay men marched from the Castro to the Governor's Office at the Old State Building. We marched to give voice to our justified outrage at Governor Pete Wilson's vicious attack on us—his veto of a basic bill that would have put into law our simple right to be free of discrimination in employment. Nearly 1,000 people were present at the Old State Building when it was damaged.

For all of our lives we have lived with a structure that told us we were inferior, evil, and had no right to equality in the opportunity to control our own lives. That structure allowed Dan White to be convicted of voluntary manslaughter and released in five years after assassinating Harvey Milk and George Moscone; it has allowed the government to neglect us as we die by the thousands from AIDS; it watches as countless other atrocities continue against "the USes" every day. That is the structure Governor Wilson reinforced with his cowardly veto of AB 101.

In political retaliation for the community's expression of outrage on September 30, the San Francisco Police Department has so far issued eleven warrants. Ten have been served. All but three were felony charges. Two men in San Francisco were released on \$10,000 bail, while the remaining seven defendants in San Francisco were released on their own recognizance. The police are still attempting to identify fourteen people, so more arrests may occur. The arrests were used as a mayoral campaign issue. Visibly active members of the community were singled out for arrest and prosecution. Members of the community were asked to turn in other members. Though the actions of the crowds were based on all of our rage, the police, district attorney, and media have portrayed them as organized acts of civil disobedience by some "radical fringe." They have tried to deflect attention away from the real issue of the state's violence against us toward personal differences within our community.

The No Apologies/No Regrets Committee is a broad-based coalition made up of concerned individuals with diverse backgrounds. They hold memberships in un-affiliated organizations ranging from the Human Rights Campaign Fund to Queer Nation. We are working to organize support in the community and among our allies to show that these defendants do not stand alone. We need and welcome your support, your voice, and your work. As one way to show support for these defendants, we are mounting a petition drive, which we hope to have concluded in early December. We respectfully ask that you support it, and that you help us gain signatures and endorsements now. You can call us for more information at the hotline: (415) 292-3285, or sign at A Different Light bookstore. We welcome new members who are committed to supporting the defendants to our meetings. If you would like to buy t-shirts commemorating the riot, they are available at A Different Light. Donations may be sent to the committee at P.O. Box 14301, San Francisco, California 94114-0301.

The veto of AB 101 was an assault against members of the Lesbian and Gay Community throughout California. The religious supremacists have won a battle. Let's begin to make sure they don't win the war. We are not the Californians who are breaking down the barricades; transgender, bisexual, lesbian, and gay Californians *are* the barricades against an increasingly powerful, extremist movement with an agenda of public control.

With the arrests of these defendants, the state is continuing its assault on our community's fight for freedom by trying to divide and conquer, and to intimidate all of us with threats of incarceration. It is critically important, particularly now, that we support the community's outrage; the veto of AB 101 being only the latest act of repression—one that sent us over the edge. Solidarity works: we have to stand together as a family when members of the family are targeted by the powerful in order to push us down.

*Edited by Luke Adams for the Committee*



OP-ED

## Whose Traditional Values?

by Luke Adams

A few years ago, with the financial capacity of the Moral Majority waning, Rev. Lou Sheldon decided to start a grassroots nationwide campaign to bring what he believes to be moral character to the nation's institutions. Borrowing some tried and true organizing tactics of the left and adding the television and direct mail savvy of the right, he launched the Traditional Values Coalition, based out of corporate offices in Anaheim, California.

The Traditional Values Coalition recognizes that the first line of attack against the values they hold dear comes from the lesbian and gay community. That line of attack is nowhere more prepared to push the envelope than in California. So the TVC has launched a campaign to place an initiative on the California ballot to constitutionally bar state and local governments from extending civil rights guarantees to women and men who are homosexual or bisexual. It would mark the first time in United States history that a state constitution officially banned civil rights for any category of individuals.

The media have not taken this campaign or the TVC seriously. Apparently, neither has the government. Despite several registered complaints about misuse of tax-exempt status, and considerable inquiry from the office of Rep. Nancy Pelosi, the Anaheim office of the IRS has failed to pursue any investigation of the TVC.

To be sure, Sheldon's adherents are dedicated and vehement. They are disciplined and fiercely loyal. They recognize clear enemies and speak a common language. They are a force to be reckoned with. But pronouncements like calling Laurie McBride, the director of the California Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality, "a witch," and heavy-handed tactics in connection with *Operation Rescue's* blockades of family planning clinics make the TVC easy to dismiss.

Meanwhile, the TVC, through its own corporation and a series of allies, operates on a multi-million dollar budget. Ministers throughout California and across the country make regular appeals from pulpit, mailbox, and television for more funds for the

movement. Some heavy-hitting fund-raisers have been brought in, such as Barbara Alby, who raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Nicaraguan *contras*, even after the Iran-Contra scandal broke.

The Coalition has influence. Legislators make guest appearances on the shows of TVC-affiliated televangelists. Sheldon refers to himself as "God's lobbyist." The *Report on Youth Suicide*, completed by the Health and Human Services Department at the end of the Reagan administration, was never released because the TVC was opposed to committee recommendations and was able to exert influence on the Bush administration.

In his anti-gay offensive, Sheldon's mainstay is the argument that the law should not sanction civil rights on the basis of personal behaviors to which people take exception. Many moderate folks do not find that too unreasonable. But look closer.

Sheldon has historically been an opponent of federal civil rights legislation, yet lately he has been cozying up to black, fundamentalist Christian clergy and to the Nation of Islam. "Very clearly," he claims, "the black community realizes that the homosexual agenda is a parasite within the true civil rights movement."

Among his congregations and with his allies, Sheldon has harshly attacked "personal behaviors" of Catholics from infant baptism to papal allegiance. Yet he has joined with Catholic groups that oppose reproductive choice to disrupt service provision at family planning clinics.

The official position of Sheldon's evangelical-fundamentalism on the "personal behavior" of Jews is that the Jewish people were offered salvation and refused to accept it. Yet politically conservative Jews have appeared on the shows of TVC-affiliated televangelists.

This classic "divide and conquer" approach is even more disturbing when we recall that *religion* and *national origin* are two of the categories protected under the landmark federal Civil Rights Act of 1964. It was not too long ago that being a Catholic or a Jew was legally considered "a personal behavior to which people take exception."

Would Sheldon like to return to the days when a Catholic couldn't win the presidency or join a country club? Or when Jews were restricted from housing, employment, and public accommodation? Or when water fountains were labeled "white only" and "colored"? His TVC associates supply the answer. "We are the only people standing on the foundation of truth," said Rev. Kenneth Hagin in a July 13 broadcast, "We are the only people fit to govern."

America went to war in 1941 to fight against a powerfully evil combination of racism and fascism. It was a philosophy that claimed to seek restoration of moral order. Many had not taken it seriously, and many others found it not too unreasonable, until it was too late. Until Jews wore yellow stars and gays wore pink triangles in the concentration camps.

Americans united from all over the spectrum to fight for freedom, from rock-ribbed Republicans to strident socialists. Jew or gentile, Buddhist or agnostic, white or of color, the stock of Sioux or Scots or Poles or Mandarins or Congolese — it didn't matter whence they came; Americans heeded the call. Women helped form the backbone of the war effort.

A man with a physical disability led the country as President. And, though frequently unknown to their leaders, many of the war's heroes were lesbian and gay Americans. We fought together as a nation, American soldiers lost blood on the battlefields, American pacifists laid their lives on the line. All for the traditional values that have forged and are forging America.

What values? America's elders struggled so we could all have an equal opportunity to achieve the American dream. —For the freedom to be judged on our individual merits, on our hard work, creativity and productivity. —Not on how we worship, whence we come, what our disabilities, the color of our skin, how advanced in years, or whom we love.

Native Americans, who have endured so much, have insisted on the power to keep their revered ways of life alive. The people forced to come here as slaves fought for emancipation and continue to work to "be judged on the content of their character." Every group of immigrants who came to the United States to find a better life sought freedom from persecution for "personal behavior" to which some power-that-be took exception.

For such traditional values, Americans sacrificed even lives in World War II. Lesbian and gay Americans struggle for these same responsibilities and rights. It is as American as apple pie.

Yet the advance of the Traditional Values Coalition continues. The TVC is serious. And whose traditional values do Lou Sheldon and his coalition represent? It is a movement whose symbol is a cross, not of a savior, but of iron.

---

*Longtime youth activist Luke Adams wrote this essay for the LIFE lobby.*  
© 1991, the author

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Bay Area Reporter  
September, 1991.

Used as background piece  
in LIFE lobby mailings  
through end of 1991.

*Endorsement  
Piece for  
a local campaign,  
I authored.*

**JIM HAAS**  
A COMMITTED TRANSIT ADVOCATE FOR  
**BART BOARD**

ROBERTA ACHTENBERG  
CAROLE MIGDEN  
TOM NOLAN

Dear Colleague:

As a Democratic Club member you will soon be deciding whom to endorse in the race for BART Board.

We think the choice is clear in District 9 - Jim Haas, an openly gay man, who has been a long-time civic and public transit leader.

Jim has proven his commitment to fighting traffic gridlock and air pollution. He chaired the committee that prepared the City Transportation Master Plan approved by San Francisco voters in 1989. He knows how critical transit in the Bay Area is and will be to our economic survival and vitality.

We have worked side-by-side with Jim for an ecologically-sustainable, affordable, convenient and efficient regional transit system. Jim was there to hear complaints of Mission residents about the cleanliness, upkeep and security of BART stations. As a result, he's got the endorsement of the leadership of the Mission Economic Development Association. Jim knows how to look out for San Francisco.

We need openly gay people at every level of government. That was one of the points Harvey Milk hammered home again and again. It isn't enough to count on our "liberal friends" because we know too often they become hard to find when we need them most. We need our own people carrying our movement's progressive vision into the details of the day-to-day operations of civic life. That's why we have endorsed Jim, as have Tom Ammiano and Tim Wolfred. We are joined by The Alliance, and the National Lesbian and Gay Victory Fund.

Jim makes things happen, while others are scheming to make themselves look good in the press. Jim was a leader in the successful efforts to demolish the Embarcadero Freeway, and to build a new Main Library and include in it the Lesbian and Gay Center, our national archives.

It took four years, and an election year in which the incumbent has to face an openly gay progressive candidate, for a Domestic Partner Benefits Policy to pass the BART Board. The incumbent was playing politics with the issue even down to the August 6 vote.

The next time the Traditional Values Coalition goes to BART to bash us, they should have to face an openly gay BART director, as should the directors from the suburbs. They should have to deal with an advocate for our communities who has also done his transit homework.

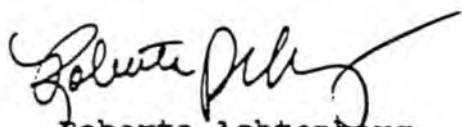
Jim has been working for social justice and quality of life issues for years. In the '60s, Jim was the assistant director of the national Head Start program. He worked for George McGovern's 1972 Presidential bid. He helped Jimmy Carter put together his first Presidential cabinet, and in 1978 Carter appointed Jim to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. He has worked closely with grassroots activists from members of the San Francisco Tomorrow to members of ACT-UP.

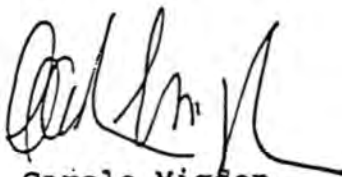
We need a BART representative who will implement a serious multicultural plan. Jim will work to break the glass ceiling that has allowed so few women and people of color into management. Jim plans to work out a day care plan--the current plans for new BART office layouts have no space requests for child care facilities.

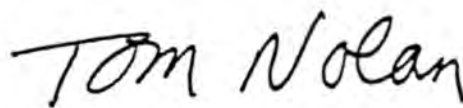
Jim thinks it makes sense to listen to what everyday riders, people who use connecting transit and bicycles, and the drivers and attendants have to say. Jim commutes on BART daily, so he can monitor the quality of service every day, unlike the incumbent.

Jim Haas has earned your Club's recommendation. Join us in supporting Jim by giving him your endorsement for BART Board.

Sincerely,

  
Roberta Achtenberg  
Supervisor

  
Carole Migden  
Supervisor

  
Tom Nolan  
Supervisor (San Mateo)

# The Case for Inclusion

## *A Response to the Case Against and a Reiteration of First Principles*

by  
Luke Adams

*This essay is written noting the particulars raised in the essay "Don't Buy the Bi Agenda: Reasons Why the Word 'Bisexual' (or 'Transsexual' or 'Transgender') Should Not Be Added to Lesbian and Gay Events and Organizations," by David Robinson and Maxine Wolfe, at the San Francisco International Lesbian and Gay Freedom Day Parade and Celebration Committee. As such, its references to specifics are somewhat narrow, but its themes apply to the whole movement for our emancipation and freedom.*

### Whose Agenda Is It, Anyway?

At a recent meeting, attendees were presented with an essay on why the name of the parade and celebration and its committee should not be updated to include transgender and bisexual people, and why such persons should only be invited to work together with the committee under the banner "Lesbian and Gay." Happily, the response was not favorable. Given, however, the persistence of the phillipic's San Francisco author and the potential of silent assent to his position, I was compelled to enter this marketplace of ideas to offer a competing view of what we should mean by ourselves and what we are doing.

Two points are critical to my position:

- a) the assertions raised in the anti-inclusion essay have their basis in a set of ideas that I argue are profoundly misguided, and
- b) we celebrate each year the anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion, which was a radical resistance of the power and ideology of the dominant social order by sexual outcasts.<sup>1</sup>

The Wolfe-Robinson essay sets up nine straw-man debates and knocks them down in dramatic fervor and dilitante-activist flourish with arguments eerily like those of white supremacists arguing for the Aryan nation. Though the comparison is a stark and troubling one, the formal basis of the ideas is the same. Though the essay's calls for distinctions seem hardly as vile, they begin from the same point on the slope.

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<sup>1</sup> introduction, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities by John D'Emilio, University of Chicago Press, 1983, and pp. 93-94, Homosexual Liberation by John Murphy, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971

## Is This The Road We Came In On?

The arguments against inclusion are a-historical. They fail to recognize that the Stonewall Rebellion was led by young, working class, African-American and Puerto Rican drag queens. The powerful uprising that precipitated the formation of the Gay Liberation Front, the transformations of the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, and the evolution of the movement organizations we have today, was produced by people who had been marginalized by their own queer family because they were poor, non-white, flamboyant and, in a number of cases, trans-sexual.

The tone of the Wolfe-Robinson essay is accusatory. In nine occasions of artificially rhetorically constructed questions and answers, the essay responds with moral indignation to some preposterous argument advanced by some never-cited, nebulous "Them." "Their tactics are manipulative," they write of bisexuals "demanding" name changes in "all" lesbian and gay organizations. It is as if they envision some grand conspiracy on the part of *not-quite-queer-enough* people to negate the experience of exclusively homosexual persons. "Our march is not about sexual liberation. Our march is about Lesbian and Gay Liberation. The two are not identical," proclaims the Wolfe-Robinson manifesto, somewhat opaquely.

Wolfe and Robinson do not go on to explain why fundamentally changing (*not* eradicating) the dialectic of gender— one of the goals of lesbian and gay liberation —should not be directly related to sexual liberation. The essay simply proclaims that they are unrelated as truth, and then goes on to say this twisted conception is true because there is a lesbian and gay cultural identity. Those seeking inclusion have never questioned such cultural identity; in fact, it is the basis of the drive for inclusion.

"This simple addition fundamentally changes the nature of Lesbian and Gay identity," the essay declares, " and changes it for the worse." This argument is the worst-case extension of *essentialism*, a strain of Queer Theory that argues a universal, historical continuity to an inborn gay community as we have understood it. It has as little connection to reality in this form as does the rabid deconstruction practiced by extremists from the *social-constructionism* strain of Queer Theory. Social constructionism views everything as the subjective reflection of the location of the person, community, situation, *et alii*. Both positions are mired in a need to justify ourselves in the dominant social order's sight.

## The Born v. Bred Trap

The nature versus nurture argument is reductionist; as a “nation,” the posing of the question as one of either arriving here by social construction, or because we are universally essential, misses the point. It presupposes that there is something wrong with queerness. Some scientists currently are arguing that there is evidence of genetic causes for one’s sexual orientation, just to have the radical Right argue for renewed eugenics to weed out the gay genes, while other scientists argue that differences in brain structure can be caused by individual behavior and thought patterns over time, just to have the radical Right call for more “reparative therapy.”<sup>2</sup> Most of us have an experience that is more *discursivist*—we can see ourselves in a conversation between the dictates of our biology (nature) and our call to respond to it with a cultural creation, existing or potential.

“Homosexuality” in polar opposition to “heterosexuality” is a concept that has only circulated for roughly the last 100 years.<sup>3</sup> The identities we know as urban-based, late-industrial, gay and lesbian communities are an invention of the times. They have been evolving, and continue to evolve. Sappho would no more recognize and feel part of what constitutes contemporary lesbian lifestyles in Cambridge, Massachusetts, than the average contemporary Castroid would recognize and feel comfortable living with the lifestyles of ancient Athenian freemen.

The essential reality of a group of people who, whether by birth or by environment, find themselves drawn to “make family” with members of their own sex has found as many different cultural expressions as there have been cultural locations, *and it continues to do so*. It is true that “we” have stood profoundly universal throughout history and that there are common cultural threads having to do with our place in making transitions. “We,” however, have not always stood separated from or in opposition to the cultural context, nor have “we” always practiced exclusive homosexuality.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> cf. The Advocate, LP Publications, Inc., Los Angeles, October through November issues, 1991

<sup>3</sup> For discussions of the emergence of the homosexual/heterosexual dyad, and its representations in various medical-scientific discourses, see Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain From the Nineteenth Century to the Present by Jeffrey Weeks, Quartet Books, London, 1977, and his Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800, Longman, London, 1981. See also “The Invention of the Homosexual” by Jonathan Katz, pp. 137-174 in his Gay/Lesbian Almanac, Harper & Row, New York, 1983 (thanks to Lisa Duggan)

<sup>4</sup> cf. The Construction of Homosexuality by David Greenberg, University of Chicago Press, 1988

“...*Them* the liberals, *them* the gays, *them, them, them!*”

“*Our* day, *our* march,” the Wolfe-Robinson essay intones (as if with moral authority and after a lengthy litany of the perils of being queer) would be debased “to fit *them*” (emphasis mine). Robinson’s and Wolfe’s repeated position is based on an idea of lesbian and gay identity that is grounded in national “purity”—a concept that has led to their nascent call for ethnic cleansing.

The essay laments: “Lesbian and Gay Queer Nationals have let non-Lesbians and -Gays co-opt the Queer movement” (sic). The essay fails to account for the observed malleability of sexual desire and its socio-cultural expression. It fails to consider how numerous other factors—race, class, etc.—work as part of a person’s overall identity. “They have no doubts about definitions or boundaries, and do not hesitate to override the welfare and autonomy of individuals ‘in the national interest.’ ...Like other nationalisms its political implications are complex, and often actually reactionary,” Lisa Duggan wrote in “Making it Perfectly Queer,” her recent *Socialist Review* article, “These new nationalists define the nation and its interests as unitary; they suppress internal difference and political conflict. Self-appointed ayatollahs explain it all.”<sup>5</sup>

Remember that when the Stonewall Rebellion set off a new flurry of activity for “gay liberation,” organizers envisioned a utopia in which everyone was polymorphously sexual with everyone else.<sup>6</sup> Among the points in an early Gay Liberation Front manifesto was the call that “homosexual and multisexual households of two or more individuals should be recognized and given all the tax benefits, insurance provisions, social services, and community resources that traditional families receive and use.”<sup>7</sup> The liberationists’ first principles were that all the queers would fight back.

Yet, Wolfe-Robinson attempts to bog down the debate in another diversionary tactic, raising the issue of “compulsory heterosexuality” in the arena of how one identifies socio-culturally. The essay falsely accuses bisexuals of attempting to define *all* those who have had sex with both the same and the opposite sex as bisexual. Among the primary

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<sup>5</sup> pp. 16-17, “Making it Perfectly Queer” by Lisa Duggan, *Socialist Review*, 92/1

<sup>6</sup> p. 20, Duggan, SR, and *Homosexual Oppression and Liberation*, by Dennis Altman, Avon Books, New York, 1971, especially Chapter 3, “Liberation: Toward the Polymorphous Whole.”

<sup>7</sup> p. 180, Murphy

motivations of the nascent bisexual movement, which Wolfe and Robinson falsely assert does not exist, is the critical importance of self-determination.

In a round-table discussion held several months ago, some of our comrades made some interesting points about what it means to share our queer identity:

**Alexander Chee:** The operant dream is of a community united in diversity, queerly ourselves...(The facilitators) took great care to explain that everyone was welcome under the word *queer*.

**Laura Thomas:** I don't see the queer movement as being organized to do anything beyond issues of anti-assimilation and being who we want to be.

**Gerard Koskovitch:** I think *queer* has been adopted here in San Francisco by people who are using their experience of marginalization to produce an aggressive critique of the prevailing social system. ...I think we're seeing in its early stages a reorganization of some of those forces into a new community of people where the range of defining factors is rather fluid. People's limits have shifted significantly from the traditional urban gay community of the 1970s.<sup>8</sup>

Poet Audre Lorde perhaps described it best: "It was a while before we came to realize that our place was the very house of difference rather than the security of any one particular difference."<sup>9</sup>

### Will the *Real* Queers Please Stand Up

There have been bisexuals and transpersons working in the "Homophile," then "Gay," then "Lesbian and Gay" movement since it began. Unlike parents and friends, heterosexuals who have worked by our side, and other allies who are simply allies, these bisexuals and transpersons share a cultural identity of sexual and gender distinction, a "crossing over" that goes against the grain of the dominant culture. Yet, Wolfe-Robinson attempts to mitigate this shared culture, trying to group us all into tightly defined roles for "gay" and "lesbian." "This isn't about freewheeling add-ons," the essay opines, invalidating the experience of transgender and bisexual people, and undermining the historical reasons why the addition of "lesbian" to organizational titles was such a struggle.

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<sup>8</sup> pp. 14-23, "Birth of a Queer Nation," *Out/Look: National Lesbian and Gay Quarterly*, no. 11 (Winter 1991)

<sup>9</sup> p. 226, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* by Audre Lorde, Persephone Press, Watertown, MA, 1982

Individuals have also evolved their identities over time. Just as “lesbians” fought to have their particular identity validated by being included in the naming of community projects, bisexuals and transpersons carry on that evolutionary process now. It all does not simply boil down to Wolfe’s and Robinson’s contention that homosexuality is a “better” oppression than others.

The essay goes so far as to say that biphobia is not valid because bisexuals are only oppressed on the basis of their homosexual activity. Yet earlier the essay contends: “This march is about our public life. This march is not about ‘behavior’.” Then, in one of the more blatantly cynical points of argument, the essay invokes Hitler’s purge of homosexuals. Bisexuals get bashed for being queer, not simply when they are in same-sex pairings, as Wolfe and Robinson disingenuously contend. Hitler didn’t care if one was exclusively homosexual or a “gypsy” when he sent thousands of our people off to the death camps. *Any deviation from his concept of the traditional family was suspect.*<sup>10</sup>

Wolfe-Robinson even attempts directly to rationalize and support exclusion and discrimination against bisexuals and transpersons in at least three points. It calls lesbian and gay opposition to bisexuals and transpersons “justifiable” when they “try to make us change our organizations and identities to include bisexuality.” It excuses attacks by “those of us who hate seeing opposite sex sexuality (whether the participants identify as het, Bi, or Homo).” Then it rejoins: “Go have a wholly Bisexual march.”

### Identities in Search of a Strategy: The Signpost Up Ahead

Identification, *unlike* where one may come to find oneself originally on the spectrum of sexual orientation, is a choice, and the crux of the problem with the essay’s contentions is its fear of the accusation that we choose what we are.

Our “choices” are a reflection of the degree to which we have a colonized status. As the material bases of social ostracization may change, so can how we claim an identity *about* with whom we are drawn— at a level *before* choice —to make family. To the extent that we become liberated, our choices open up as to how we *define* our “otherness” from the dominant social order.

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<sup>10</sup> notations on Nazi laws, *Bent*, by Martin Sherman, Samuel French, New York, 1977

Many of us who, as we first became more free, identified as gay or lesbian, now find that “bi” or “transgender” fits better. There is a growing list of prominent “lesbians” and “gay men” who are coming out as such, from Sandra Bernhart to Holly Near to David Geffen to me.

*Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender*, to borrow the concept of Donna Haraway, are identities that mark out a self-consciously constructed space that cannot affirm the capacity to act on the basis of natural identification alone, but must draw on the basis of conscious coalition, of affinity, of power-based kinship. Who we are and what we are about ought to be constituted not merely by a narrow understanding of the degree of exclusivity of our orientations, but by our *common approach* that differs from the pervasive and controlling structured relations and meanings of sexuality and gender. Our historical forms and positions have been and should remain open, subject to negotiation and renegotiation. It is part of our liberation.<sup>11</sup>

I propose that we change the name of the committee and event to a name that more fits the current state of our evolution as a movement, and is historically accurate. I propose: “The San Francisco International Stonewall Anniversary Parade and Celebration.” In the proclamation that the mayor is given to sign to set the day aside each year, and in our literature, I propose that we call for “Gender and Sexual Identity Freedom Day in San Francisco, *celebrating the experience of international lesbian, gay, bi, and transgender communities.*”

The point, it seems, of emancipating ourselves is to be about bringing more freedom to everyone when we have our seat at the table. To have equality of rights regardless of sexual orientation in this society is to be able to show by example the kind of community that self-determination allows, with all of its diversity of identification.

Queers of all stripes are often asked what we want. It seems to me that we want to be left alone to do things better for ourselves. We want to have our better things acknowledged for their beneficial contribution. We want our contribution to bring us our share of society’s benefits. And, in Bill Clinton’s words, we haven’t got a person to waste.

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<sup>11</sup> p. 23, Duggan, SR

"A society, or an institution within a large complex society, whose members want the sexes to be kept polarized and unable to identify with each other, to share jobs, knowledge, economic and political power, child care or other functions equally," wrote Judy Grahn, "will be suppressive of Gay culture so there can be no crossing over and therefore no exchange of important cross-gender information."<sup>12</sup> Including the identifications of bisexual and transgender in the overall queer identity will not somehow dilute or lessen what it means to identify as part of what has been known so far as Gay culture. In fact, this inclusion strengthens the underpinnings of that culture by expanding it and reinforcing it. It brings in more of the idea of "crossing over," and re-emphasizes multiculturalism, which has been central to our cultural identity.

### Conclusion: The Next Beginning

We find ourselves at a crossroads in our movement, looking out on our future path. We can choose the cultural cleansing, suggested by Wolfe and Robinson, that would give us a "pure" nation of arbitrarily determined "gays" and "lesbians." The alternative is to pursue the principles that each successive wave of revolution from our ranks has put forth. Let us choose this latter road of growth, inclusion, and liberation for all of us.

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*Luke Adams, co-founder of the Student AIDS Mobilization and of the New Pacific Academy, has been an activist and youth organizer working in queer and progressive movements for 15 years.*

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<sup>12</sup> p. 48, Another Mother Tongue, by Judy Grahn, Beacon Press, Boston, 1984

## TRUSTING BILL CLINTON

By Luke Adams

Since the beginning of the presidential election season America has watched banks and cities go bankrupt and constant reminders that our vast resources have been grossly misallocated. In a recent week in California, two major cities, Oakland and San Francisco, had to consider steep cuts in the human services most people want--just to pay for added police to try vainly to halt crime, while the governor continued his attack on recipients of public assistance.

Meanwhile, the media circus, focusing on non-issues and bleating trumped-up "character questions" about Jerry Brown, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot, has made many of us question whether "the press" deserves the First Amendment.

For over a decade, the national Republican administration has carried out a thinly-veiled effort to decimate the role of government in creating a level playing field. **Gutting the "welfare state"** was Reagan's clearly stated goal in both of his campaigns (he needed only to build on Carter's later austerity programs). George Bush, as his State of the Union Show illustrated, has continued to shoot-up on the same supply-side drugs.

The human and industrial infrastructure of the nation has been purposely removed from the purview of the state so

that commerce could be unfettered. We are living with the results. There have not merely been no incentives for private enterprise to invest in infrastructure, there have been disincentives--encouragement of speculation and short-term profit-taking, dissuading savings with taxation, promotion of union-busting.

The economy was de-industrialized, deregulated, and hocked into the next century. Over twenty percent of American families live in poverty, and even using the new Reagan-Bush calculation, over eight percent of the workforce is unemployed. Violent crime is exponentially on the rise. The Republicans have appealed to the country's divisions of race, sex, and affectional orientation. They made the wounds deeper than ever, while conducting an all-out attack on civil liberties under the guise of a "Drug War" (even while they traded arms--purchased with cocaine profits--for hostages).

It is no surprise that cities and states are facing dwindling resources while the Feds have thrown cash at the largest peacetime military buildup in history, the protection of countries no longer threatened, and the bailout of the greediest speculators.

Now forced to choose between schools or prisons, health care or police protection, state and local governments must pay for what they can with regressive taxes. That is a result

of restrictions on progressive taxation, like the ill-advised Proposition 13, pushed by the same "reformers" who sold us Reagan and Bush. The Republicans, while borrowing and spending to support weapons contractors, have constantly accused Democrats of fiscal irresponsibility for telling people they had to pay to play.

Nor have "business as usual" Democrats been much help. The party seems to be best at shooting itself in the foot. Witness Jerry Brown. Brown (this week) is trumpeting the critical causes, and Clinton would do well to listen closely. But instead of running a crusade of ideas, Brown has been acting like a political pit bull, handing the text of sleazy attack ads to the Republicans for the Fall campaign. No less anti-strategic have been some of my AIDS-activist comrades in the ACT-UP Presidential Project, whose recurrent use of personal attack tactics is an inability to see the forest for the trees, and is coming to typify their elitist moralism.

**Bill Clinton** has never been a "business as usual" Democrat. It is true that there are people in the Clinton inner circle whose politics I despise, and that his record as governor is mixed. But the same was true of Franklin Roosevelt, and he wound up opening his cabinet meetings with the quip, "Good morning fellow socialists."

And not since JFK has a Democrat sought the presidency with so many vocal, clearly progressive advisors in his inner circle, side-by-side with the corporate types. In fact, former Jesse Jackson advisor Robert Borosage (from the progressive Institute for Policy Studies, whose founders, Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnett, were part of John F. Kennedy's brain trust) is part of Clinton's brain trust.

Other notables on Clinton's left flank are Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, a co-founder of the Democratic Socialists of America; Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock, a longtime Citizen Action member; San Francisco Supervisor Roberta Achtenberg, a pioneer lesbian activist and member of the National Lawyers Guild; Gay activist David Mixner, who organized for civil rights and against the Vietnam War with the huge, radical Students for Democratic Society; and even members of radical activist groups like Prariefire. And don't forget Hilary Clinton.

In a Clinton administration, these voices will be at the table for the debate, which is unfathomable in another Bush term. AIDS activists will have input on AIDS policy. The nation's largest students' union will be able to take its case on education directly to the White House. Advocates for children will have an ear. Labor will not be summarily dismissed. Women's rights will not be routinely trampled. The Civil Rights Commission will mean something. Most of

all, some positive attention will be paid to the nation's human and environmental resources again, and the appeal will be to what unifies and is best in us, not to our baser instincts.

To the pundits: Why do you prate on about whether a politician resisted the Vietnam War (I applaud it), smoked marijuana (33 million other Americans have), has a spouse with an independent mind and a career of her own choice (and says more than just "no"), or wasn't monogamous (how many of our Presidents have been)? In the mess we're in, Americans have to care whether she or he can lead this country in rebuilding, healing, and bringing opportunity to all of us.

Presidents are neither Popes nor Monarchs; I look to them for political will, not for examples of Victorian moral rectitude. I have to trust Bill Clinton, not because he's the only alternative left, but because in putting together his campaign to wrest the reins of power from the Republicans after more than a decade of their damage to America, he is a genuine left alternative.

AIDS activist Luke Adams has been a youth organizer and lesbian and gay advocate for over a decade.

— Heley Mach  
Known since 85  
@ Santa Cruz

Good at getting people to be  
clear about what they want

Eloquent; dispassionate

MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY— ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ► ☒ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)

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And Action

## Chair's Meeting

check on conference

AMSP

SMYAL  
Brian Webb  
546-5940

Kristine Erd  
Director of Training and ED  
Acting ED

- Fundraising development
- Networking
- Long Hx activism HIV/gay-bi-lesbian issues
- Passion
- Articulate/persuasive/good "salesperson"
- Impatient

←————→

Don Schneider —

Caveat → too many "musts"  
and "shall's"

Shamus D. Thornton

Both →

• Known since university days  
and as Wells Fargo consultant

- Org'l skills
- Self-motivation
- Good at "getting to the point" -- forging consensus
- Hard worker; puts in extra hours
- Takes his part of the job and runs with it
- Comes w/ unqualified recommendations

AUG 10 1993

put with  
Luke's CV -

NOTE TO KRISTINE/ART

Subject: Your question "Does anyone know what WACHIVIY is?"

The Washington Area Consortium on HIV Infection in Youth (WACHIVIY) serves as an advocate for Washington area teens and youth service providers, and coordinates education and prevention efforts to reduce the rate of AIDS and HIV infection in teenagers. There are currently about 120 consortium members. WACHIVIY is a non-profit organization that is funded solely through grants private donations and gifts.

Kevin Neil, the Director of WACHIVIY, sent a fax of information on the organization (attached). At that time, he also requested a **confidential** message: "I want to stress limited experience with Luke Adams. The Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League (SMYAL) would be a good place to check on his experience."

*Alice*  
Alice M. Litwinowicz  
FDA/AHCPR Desk Officer

Back -  
could you do some  
checking?

Thanks



## WASHINGTON AREA CONSORTIUM ON HIV INFECTION IN YOUTH

WACHIVIY serves as an advocate for Washington area teens and youth service providers, and coordinates education and prevention efforts to reduce the rate of AIDS and HIV infection in teenagers. There are currently about 120 Consortium Members. WACHIVIY is a non-profit organization that is funded solely through grants, private donations and gifts.

### WACHIVIY GOALS

1. To provide a singular comprehensive source for information about the threat of HIV/AIDS among youth and about programs and services, either in existence or needed, that address the needs of area teens and youth service providers.
2. To provide training and professional development for service providers and youth working in the battle against TeenAIDS.
3. To sponsor activities that enhance the financial resources of WACHIVIY and its member organizations.

### SELECTED ON-GOING ACTIVITIES

1. WACHIVIY NEWS QUARTERLY, a newsletter providing comprehensive updates on issues related to TeenAIDS.
2. RYAN WHITE YOUTH SERVICE AWARDS, an event that focuses media and public attention on TeenAIDS by recognizing those who have made a significant contribution in this field.
3. METRO CONDOM AVAILABILITY COALITION. WACHIVIY provides leadership and carries on the administrative tasks of this group of organizations. The coalition fought for the implementation of the Mayor's plan to make condoms available in the public schools as part of a comprehensive program to fight HIV/AIDS in the District of Columbia.
4. ABSTINENCE EDUCATION COALITION, a group striving to assure the inclusion of Abstinence in Sex/AIDS education curricula.
5. STREET WISE COALITION, which provides skills-based HIV prevention training to youth in high risk situations and works to improve access to treatment services for youth with HIV infection.
6. MEDIA ALERT, a program through which news stories and documentaries related to TeenAIDS are furnished to local media.
7. WHEEL-A-THON, a metropolitan-wide HIV/AIDS awareness week, culminating with a run/ride/wheel for education and life. Spring, 1994.

**WACHIVIY**

1804 T STREET, NW

WASHINGTON, DC 20009

(202) 986-4310

(over)

**Metro Condom Availability Coalition** responded by taking the lead on the planning and implementation of the training program. Later in the year, when some nurses were unable or unwilling to do the condom demonstration, MCAC produced a condom demo film for their use. When willingness to address the Mayor's program persisted at two schools and throughout the prison system, MCAC sponsored demonstrations that called attention to the insubordination and those responsible.

During recent months, WACHIVY has been working with a group of teens who are frustrated with the censorship they have experienced when planning their annual S.A.F.E. (Stop AIDS For Everyone) conference. Their event was attended by over 300 students last year. WACHIVY is providing them with administrative and technical support and an office where they can plan their own AIDS Youth Summit for 1994. This will allow the S.A.F.E. group an open forum and access to WACHIVY's developing outreach resources. Calling themselves the **TeenAIDS Coalition**, they hope that their event will lead to broader participation by young people from all backgrounds in school-based AIDS prevention and advocacy efforts.

#### **RAISING PUBLIC AWARENESS**

WACHIVY also serves as sponsor of the **Ryan White Youth Service Awards** recognizing those who have made substantial contributions to the fight against teenAIDS. Our consortium also sponsors the **TeenAIDS Wheel-a-Thon** that will serve as the culminating event of a Metro area teenAIDS education week in 1994. Additionally, WACHIVY is the publisher of **WACHIVY News**, a quarterly newsletter that seeks to personalize the issue of teenAIDS and keep service providers and the public informed about upcoming AIDS programs and other events and education opportunities.

#### **WACHIVY'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

WACHIVY is proud of its accomplishments to-date and especially proud of what we have accomplished in the past year. We have expanded our programs, increased the number of coalitions from 1 to four, and since all of this costs money, we have expanded our budget in 18 months from \$20,000 annually to over \$100,000 this year. This enormous growth has required that we make other changes as well. Presently, our staff and Board of Directors are working on a 5-part plan to enhance WACHIVY's financial stability in the short and long terms to support the programs they have played an active role in developing.

#### **COMMUNITY AND VOLUNTEER SUPPORT**

An essential dimension of our success to-date has been the direct involvement in WACHIVY by private citizens, young and old, across the Metro area. This past year, individual donors tripled to over 300 and represent a significant portion of our income. Nearly 80 people, including many teens, have volunteered their time for WACHIVY projects. Two projects, the TeenAIDS Coalition and WACHIVY News, are now co-directed by volunteers. The Ryan White Youth Service Awards and the Wheel-a-Thon are co-directed by members of our Board of Directors.

## B.1. ORGANIZATION INFORMATION

### WACHIVY HISTORY

The Washington Area Consortium on HIV Infection in Youth was founded in 1989 by a group of physicians at Children's Hospital who were alarmed at the rising rate of HIV infection among area adolescents. Recognizing that essential HIV/AIDS education and treatment services directed toward adolescents were tragically lacking in number and weak in content, they sought to form a broad coalition of HIV/AIDS organizations, youth agencies, civic groups, and concerned citizens who would work together to provide lifesaving education and services, and advocate for the needs of young people through public education and awareness programs in the Washington Metro Area.

### A UNIQUE APPROACH TO DEFEATING TeenAIDS: Cooperation and Shared Resources

Unlike any other organization in the country, WACHIVY's 100+ members have formed working coalitions focusing on the development and implementation of specific prevention/education options for different segments of the area's teen population. Undaunted by increasing rates of HIV infection among teens and heartened by reports from the National Commission on AIDS, among others, that our unique cooperative approach to stop teenAIDS through education is the only hope, WACHIVY'S working coalitions made up of service providers representing agencies from across the Metro area and other volunteers have compiled impressive portfolios of successful programs. Their success is a result of each member's dedication to cooperation. Their education and advocacy efforts have begun to move teenAIDS issues into the forefront of the public mind.

### THE WORKING COALITIONS OF WACHIVY

The WACHIVY Coalition members, the staff and our Board of Directors deal with the results of denial in our community daily. At the D.C. Health Department's neighborhood health clinics, a teen tests positive on an average of once a week. There are currently no adequate counseling or referral services available for youth. Recognizing this gap, the Street Wise Coalition has responded with the first comprehensive TeenAIDS Resource Directory.

After repeated talks with teens who are frustrated that there is no program that makes it easier to say no to sex and after meetings with parents and clergy who say that they lack the resources to help their kids say no, the **Abstinence Education Coalition** responded with an Abstinence Education Resource Guide. Out this fall, it will include a series of exercises from existing HIV/AIDS and adolescent development curricula along with a referral component for additional resources that are non-judgmental and that will help young people, who are traditionally risk-takers, thoughtfully consider the range of options available to them with the skills building exercises necessary to incorporate these choices into their lives.

This past year, as the D.C. Commission of Public Health readied for the school-based condom availability program, they needed a training program to implement Mayor Kelly's mandate. The

# WACHIVIY NEWS

TeenAIDS Information Network • Volume 4 • Number 1 • Spring 1993

## HIV Up Close

### inside

|                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Ryan White Awards .....          | 2 |
| Calendar .....                   | 4 |
| WACHIVIY Coalition Updates ..... | 7 |

**O**.K., I can understand the first time. But how does a young woman who found out she is HIV-positive during her first pregnancy allow herself to get pregnant again? Doesn't she understand that she is putting

another child at risk? What was this girl thinking? How could someone be so heartless and cruel?

Before meeting Ann, this was my view. I assumed that there were a number of things terribly wrong in her life. Her problems probably resulted from having parents who did not care. She must have dropped out of school and probably had no positive role models. It seemed that she had grown up to be a young woman



"Ann", Phil Donahue, and WACHIVIY staff member, Lynne McCombs following "Ann's" appearance on "Donahue".

with a callous disregard for life — her own and the lives of those around her. I assumed that there must be some formula for destruction that fit Ann's life. With all these preconceived notions about Ann's situation, I agreed, reluctantly, to meet Ann for lunch to hear her story. When she failed to show up for

our scheduled meeting, I was not surprised. After all, anyone who was irresponsible enough to get pregnant knowing she was HIV positive was probably not the type to go out of her way to meet someone she did not know for lunch. It never occurred to me that she would be unable to get a cab from her

*continued on page 6*



Washington  
Area  
Consortium  
on HIV  
Infection  
in Youth

**The Center For Population Options' CONDOM AVAILABILITY IN THE SCHOOLS: A GUIDE FOR PROGRAMS** is now available. Contact CPO's Publication Department at (202) 347-5700 for more information or for technical assistance ask for the Public Affairs Department at the same number.



# *QuickFax*

This fax is sent from PSI PowerModem

**To:** Director Christine Gebbie, - Office of AIDS Policy

**From:** Kevin Neil, WACHIDIV

**Fax Number:** (202) 986-0109

**Date:** Wed, Aug 4, 1993 • 9:53 AM

Transmitting (2) pages, including cover sheet.

If there is difficulty with this transmission, please call: (202) 986-4310

**Note:**

Ms. Gebbie, Please find the following letter that was mailed to your office but, I understand, not received. Best of luck to you in your efforts on behalf of thousands. We are behind you!

Warmest Regards,

Kevin Neil

July 20, 1993

Ms. Christine Gebbie  
Director, Office of AIDS Policy  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Does anyone  
know what  
WATCHIVITY  
is?

Dear Ms. Gebbie,

Luke Adams has asked that I contact you regarding his interest in a staff position at the Office of AIDS Policy. Though I have known Luke for a relatively short time, I have had the pleasure of seeing his dedication to the fight against HIV/AIDS benefit both our organization and the Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League. His experience as an activist here and across the country combined with his range of contacts in community-based organizations has provided an essential element to our strategic fundraising and program planning process. If it was financially possible, we would be pursuing Luke's employment here although he has continually stated his keen interest in AIDS policy and the federal government's role in halting the epidemic.

Luke Adams' experience and his enthusiasm are reasons it is a pleasure for me to recommend him to you for an employment interview. I encourage you to include him in your staff selection process.

Best of luck to you in your new position. So many of us are counting on you!

Warmest Regards,

Kevin Neil  
Director

**City and County of San Francisco**

**Department of Public Health**

Lesbian/Gay Health Services  
Room 204  
(415) 554-2743



August 4, 1993

Kristine Gebbie  
Director of AIDS Policy  
The White House

Dear Ms. Gebbie:

I write to express my support for Luke Adams. I strongly recommend you consider him for a staff position in your office.

Luke has a long and broad history of activism on gay rights and progressive issues. His work on behalf of lesbian/gay youth and HIV+ young people has been particularly impressive for its innovation and demonstrated commitment to coalition work and an anti-racist perspective. Luke served on the founding board of Bay Area HIV Support and Education Services and (together with Cleve Jones who founded the AIDS memorial QUILT) created the first youth leadership development project for the lesbian and gay movement. The Pacific Academy seminar, piloted here in San Francisco, drew a highly diverse group of 100 youth participants from around the country. From all accounts, it was a powerful and enriching experience for the young people who attended!

Luke's national and local electoral work on behalf of Democratic Party candidates (the Hart Campaign in '84, the Jackson Campaign in '88 and the Clinton Campaign in '92) has given us an articulate and progressive voice in the creation of National policy on HIV/AIDS issues and the broader health concerns of lesbians and gay men.

Luke is an innovator, an articulate advocate and an effective grass-roots organizer. Front-line service providers and AIDS activists are still closely monitoring the development of this office and how useful it will be to them. His presence on your staff will lend credibility and considerable talent to your office.

Please give Luke your strongest consideration. I am happy to speak with you personally should you have any questions.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Carmen Vazquez".

Carmen Vazquez  
Coordinator

SMYouthAssistanceLeague TEL NO.2025441306

Apr 27.93 15:57 P.03

**LUKE ADAMS**  
**514 Margaret Drive**  
**Silver Spring, Maryland 20910**  
**Residence: 301.565.5056 Office: 202.546.5940**

**FIELD:**

Organizational theory, development, management, and communication.  
Public policy emphasis in AIDS, at-risk youth, and higher education.

**QUALIFIED BY:**

Fifteen years of experience including:

- \*The creation and administration of several innovative community projects
- \*Major fiscal and fundraising responsibilities
- \*Applied research
- \*Public policy analysis and fundraising for the Institute for Policy Studies
- \*Policy development for the University of California
- \*College teaching training
- \*Grass-roots organizing and educating
- \*Nonprofit administration and consulting
- \*Small women- and minority-owned business consulting
- \*Corporate public relations and incentive planning consulting
- \*Computer use literacy
- \*Public speaking and writing
- \*Communication, speechwriting, and campaign consulting

**EDUCATION:**

APPRENTICE TEACHING LETTERS, 1988

BACHELOR OF ARTS, 1987

Adlai E. Stevenson College, University of California, Santa Cruz

Major Concentration: Political Communication

Graduated Valedictorian

Awarded College Service Honor

Currently studying for a Doctorate in Public Policy, LaSalle University

**ACHIEVEMENTS:**

\*Provided the first student testimony on proposed reformed sex education curriculum to the Fairfax County, Virginia, Board of Education in 1978. Founded the first chartered student organization at James Madison University (Harrisonburg, Virginia) to advocate and provide a social forum for lesbian, gay, and bisexual students and staff in 1984.

**LUKE ADAMS**

\*Co-founded the national Student Divestiture and Anti-Apartheid Coalition and was voted into the Outstanding Young Men of America in 1986.

\*Chaired Students for a Progressive City, a political action committee that delivered 9:1 student precinct votes for progressive states or candidates in Santa Cruz, where progressives won the elections with 55-70% of the general vote. Co-authored A Paradigm of Renewal: Liberal Education for the 21st Century, a report on the higher education experiments at UC Santa Cruz, in 1987.

\*Co-created the first peer education and sexual risk reduction supply program to combat AIDS in the country, and modeled the program to campuses nationwide through the Student AIDS Mobilization in 1987. The program still operates under the name "The Condom Resource Center." Co-created the first model of youth leadership development for the Lesbian and Gay movement in 1989. Served on the founding Board of Bay Area HIV Support and Education Services, targeted to low income people and people of color in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1990. Coordinated trainings for small businesses to prepare transition plans for institutions to meet the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1991.

\*I have organized and led direct actions and given speeches and presentations nationwide, am a frequent contributor to editors and of columns to community-based and local media, and have been interviewed on radio and television.

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:**

1990-present:       CONSULTANT in a communication strategist and organizational practice with Sabin Speiser, Austin McNerny, and Beowulf Thorne. Recently completed visibility work with the Jim Haas for BART Board and Cleve Jones for Supervisor campaigns in San Francisco, and am currently working on coordination of the Youth Empowerment Speakout for the 1993 Lesbian and Gay March on Washington.

1989-90:           EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, Critical Literacy Institute, the fiscal sponsor of the New Pacific Academy lesbian and gay youth leadership development model.

1988-89:           SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE/DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATE, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC.

1986-88:           ASSISTANT STUDENT AFFAIRS OFFICER (Activities Dean), Adlai E. Stevenson College, UC Santa Cruz.

**FURTHER INFORMATION:**

Letters of recommendation, references, grant and other writing samples, and news clips about my work are available at your request.

**DBM ASSOCIATES  
356 HUNTLEY DRIVE  
WEST HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90048-1919  
310-289-1181  
310-289-0504 (FAX)**

**TELECOPIER COVER LETTER**

**To: John Emerson  
Company: Assistant To The President  
Phone: 202-456-6676  
Fax: 202-456-2259**

**From: David B. Mixner  
Company: DBM Associates  
Phone: 310-289-1181  
Fax: 310-289-0504**

**Date: 4/29/93**

**Pages including  
this cover page: 1**

**IF PAGES ARE NOT RECEIVED OR THERE ARE ANY TRANSMISSION  
PROBLEMS, PLEASE CALL 310-289-1181.**

## MEMORANDUM

TO: John Emerson

FROM: David Mixner — 310 289-1181

RE: Luke Adams

DATE: April 29, 1993

(K)  
J. CAGI RASCO

John, Luke Adams is seeking a position as one of the 20 staff people who will report to the AIDS Czar and his/her staff people. I believe that Luke is amply qualified for this position and would appreciate any assistance you can provide.

Thank you for your help. I hope to see you again, soon!

Call John Emerson,  
tell him we'll put this  
in a file to await AIDS  
czar. But, we need to  
make clear czar will  
not be a... and new  
hires. Also, do we  
need to contact Mixner?

No need to  
call Mixner

DBM

DBM ASSOCIATES

356 HUNTLEY DRIVE, WEST HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90064-1919  
TELEPHONE 310-289-1181 FACSIMILE 310-289-0504

GAY MEN OF COLOR



# NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON AIDS PREVENTION

631 O'Farrell Street • San Francisco • California • 94109  
415/749-6700 • FAX 415/749-6706

## FAX COVER SHEET

To: Kristine Gebbie, Director of AIDS Policy

FAX Number: 202.456.2878 Date: 7/27/93

From: Rogee Williams

Re: \_\_\_\_\_

Total Pages Transmitted  
Excluding Cover Sheet  
1 Pages

If Problems Occur,  
Please Call:  
415/749-6700

GAY MEN OF COLOR



# NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON AIDS PREVENTION

631 O'Farrell Street • San Francisco • California • 94109  
415/749-6700 • FAX 415/749-6706

July 27, 1993

Ms. Kristine Gebbie  
Director of AIDS Policy  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Ms. Gebbie:

I am writing you in support of the appointment of Mr. Luke Adams to a staff position within the AIDS Policy Office. I have personally known Luke for over five years. My professional and personal experience with him over those years has been one of dedicated commitment and coalition work around issues facing the country today, especially HIV/AIDS. He has a strong record of working with youth, women and people of color communities.

Luke's grassroots efforts are an inspiration for us all to get involved within and for our community. He has assisted in developing a national Student Divestiture and Anti-Apartheid Coalition. He was a founding Board Member of BAHSES (Bay Area HIV Support & Education Services) in San Francisco. And he contributed in developing the model for and insisting on women and people of color participation in the New Pacific Academy, a leadership development model for lesbian and gay youth. His leadership has been proven over and over in different regions of the country, especially in San Francisco and Washington, DC. His activism over the past fifteen years has provided him the experience which the AIDS Policy Office needs at this juncture of the epidemic.

I am supporting Luke also because he is living with HIV. As a Black gay man living with HIV disease myself, I can safely say that all too often PWLAs are left out of the solutions for our communities. Our participation is critical to developing effective and comprehensive policies which will see an end to this epidemic. Luke has networked with and provided policy advice to PWLA coalitions nationally and locally. He has also been involved in local and national direct action organizing.

For all these reasons, I am very confident of Luke's ability to contribute to policy development and implementation. His experience with grassroot and frontline service providers, activists and community based organizations around the country will facilitate positively to the processes developed by the AIDS Policy Office.

Should you need to contact me further, please do not hesitate to call me at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Reggie Williams'.

Reggie Williams  
Executive Director

# FAX



## San Francisco AIDS Foundation

TO: Kristine Gebbie

SENT TO FAX #: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: Pat Christen

SENDER's PHONE# (415) 864-5855 ext. 3050

DATE: 7-27-93

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover): 2

NOTES:

San Francisco AIDS Foundation  
P.O. Box 426182  
San Francisco, CA 94142-6182  
(415) 864-5855

Return FAX: (415) 487-3097



SAN FRANCISCO AIDS FOUNDATION P.O. BOX 426182, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94142-6182

27 July 1993

Kristine Gebbie  
Director of AIDS Policy  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Gebbie:

I am writing to commend Luke Adams for your consideration for a staff position with your office. A 30-year-old who has been HIV+ for seven years and is still healthy, Luke has been involved in gay rights and progressive activism for 15 years. He has a history of commitment to coalition work with women and people of color. In addition to his work on many local campaigns, the Clinton campaign in '92, Jackson campaign in '88, and Hart campaign in '84, Luke has undertaken extensive grassroots organizing and education, including work with the UFW and MALDEF.

He was acknowledged in 1986 for his work in forming a national Student Divestiture and Anti-Apartheid Coalition and in 1987 for helping to form the first student and youth peer education and risk reduction program to fight AIDS. After being involved in policy and organizing work at the University of California, the Institute for Policy Studies, and Citizen Action, Luke -- along with Cleve Jones (founder of the AIDS Memorial Quilt) -- created the first model of youth leadership development for the Lesbian and Gay movement. Additionally, Luke was a founding board member of Bay Area HIV Support and Education Services.

Luke would bring to the national Office of AIDS Policy credibility with front-line service providers and with AIDS activists. I trust he will receive your favorable consideration.

Sincerely,

Pat Christen  
Executive Director

25 VAN NESS AVENUE, SUITE 660 / 1170 MARKET STREET, 5TH FLOOR  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94102  
(415) 864-5855

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

# USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN THE USA...6.3 MILLION READERS EVERY DAY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1990

## Training new activists

The AIDS epidemic has taken a heavy toll on gay community leaders. The New Pacific Academy hopes to train the next generation.

The academy, founded by Cleve Jones, creator of the Names Project quilt, begins this week to train 100 gay and lesbian activists to carry on the fight. Courses include health issues, community experiences, organizing skills.

"If we have 2,000 trained activists by the year 2000, I'd be a happy puppy," says Luke Adams, the academy's executive director. The

monthlong academy will be held at San Francisco State.

"Our problem is our history is silenced," Adams says. "The average high school student doesn't know a thing about the gay/lesbian community. They grow up with the prejudice of those who argue we're not a culture.

"We'll be giving them background. It's not by mistake we're calling this basic training," he says. "Soldiers aren't born either. What we're trying to present to these people is an intensive training program."

Adams is coming off an 18-month study that he calls a "horrible experience." Virtually none of the high school students he talked with knew who Harvey Milk was. (Milk was the gay San Francisco supervisor who was assassinated, along with Mayor George Moscone, by former supervisor Dan White in 1978.)

"It was like being kicked in the stomach. So we want to reclaim our history," Adams says. "We're using veterans of the movement, as well as creating our own vision."

— Craig Wilson



**LUKE ADAMS:** Academy director hopes to train 2,000 activists by the year 2000

**LUKE ADAMS**  
514 Margaret Drive  
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910  
Residence: 301.565.5056 Office: 202.872.5307

**FIELD:**

Organizational theory, development, management, and communication.  
Public policy emphasis in AIDS, at-risk youth, and higher education.

**QUALIFIED BY:**

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- \*Policy development for the University of California
- \*College teaching training
- \*Grass-roots organizing and educating
- \*Nonprofit administration and consulting
- \*Small women- and minority-owned business consulting
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BACHELOR OF ARTS, 1987  
Adlai E. Stevenson College, University of California, Santa Cruz  
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Graduated Valedictorian  
Awarded College Service Honor

Currently studying for a Doctorate in Public Policy, LaSalle University

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\*Provided the **first student testimony on proposed reformed sex education** curricula to the Fairfax County, Virginia, Board of Education in 1978. Founded the first chartered student organization at James Madison University (Harrisonburg, Virginia) to advocate and provide a social forum for lesbian, gay, and bisexual students and staff in 1984.

## **LUKE ADAMS**

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\*Chaired Students for a Progressive City, a political action committee that **delivered 9:1 student precinct votes** for progressive slates of candidates in Santa Cruz, where progressives won the elections with 55-70% of the general vote. Co-authored **A Paradigm of Renewal: Liberal Education for the 21st Century**, a report on the higher education experiments at UC Santa Cruz, in 1987.

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1986-88:               ASSISTANT STUDENT AFFAIRS OFFICER (Activities Dean), Adlai E. Stevenson College, UC Santa Cruz.

### **FURTHER INFORMATION:**

Letters of recommendation, references, grant and other writing samples, and news clips about my work are available at your request.

*The following packet*

*contains various letters of recommendation and articles about some of my more prominent work, along with other relevant letters, and some samples of my scholarship, journalism, public and community relations, fundraising and grant writing.*

*The individuals listed below have agreed to serve as my references:*

1. Torie Osborn. (202) 332-6483  
Executive Director, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
2. Urvashi Vaid. (202) 389-0909  
Immediate Past Executive Director, NGLTF
3. Gina Glantz. (415) 331-1970  
Partner, Martin & Glantz  
Colleague of the late Paul Tully
4. Cleve Jones. (415) 403-3797  
Founder, The Quilt, An International AIDS Memorial,  
The NAMES Project Foundation
5. Douglas Foster. (510) 528-6324  
Immediate Past Editor, Mother Jones Magazine,  
Foundation for National Progress
6. Kathryn Archer. (800) 927-6272  
Vice President, United Capital Corporation  
Former Director of Development, Institute for Policy Studies
7. Haley V. Mack. (202) 296-8510  
Associate, American Arbitration Association  
Co-founder, Journal of Conflict Intervention, George Mason University
8. Gail Heit. (408) 459-2793  
Chief Administrative Officer, Adlai E. Stevenson College,  
University of California, Santa Cruz  
Former Student Affairs Officer

I have also worked closely with Joyce Hunter, President of the National Lesbian and Gay Health Foundation, youth service providers nationally and members of ACT-UP nationally, including ACT-UP's founder, Larry Kramer. I have contacts in community based AIDS organizations around the country. I have also had the opportunity to work with several members of Congress.

April 28, 1993

Luke Adams  
514 Margaret Drive  
Silver Spring, MD 20910

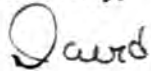
Dear Luke,

Thank you so much for your letter and your extremely kind words. I truly enjoyed meeting you and hope that we have the opportunity to get together again when I am in Washington.

In regards to your desire to serve on the staff of the AIDS Czar, I will not be directly involved with the process but I will certainly pass along my strongest recommendations to John Emerson.

Luke, I wish you the best of luck with your endeavors and look forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,



David B. Mixner

**DBM**

DBM ASSOCIATES

356 HUNTLEY DRIVE, WEST HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90048-1919

TELEPHONE 310-289-1181 FACSIMILE 310-289-0504



Shamus D. Thornton  
Financial Systems Analyst  
Wells Fargo Bank  
1 Montgomery Street  
San Francisco, CA 94104

Bob Hattoy  
Associate Director of Presidential Personnel  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington DC

Dear Mr. Hattoy,

5-4-93

I am pleased to have this opportunity to recommend Luke Adams for the position of Assistant to the Special Assistant to the President for Aids. I have known Luke both personally and professionally over the past six years. In that time I have developed a very high regard for him both as a colleague and as a resource for information on AIDS.

Luke's work at Wells Fargo Bank for the Savings and Investment Group involved streamlining procedures and increasing the department's effectiveness. His work as a consultant was highly valued, he was asked to come back time and again, and we feel that he has made a noteworthy contribution to our organization.

Luke is a highly effective communicator and organizer. He is forward thinking and strongly motivated. He has the ability to focus the attention of others on the real issue at hand, which gets things accomplished. Luke would be a valuable asset to any organization.

The AIDS crisis is a topic that I follow closely. I have come to rely on Luke as my source for the best information on AIDS. He attends various conferences to keep himself informed and is at the cutting edge of this field. This wealth of specialized knowledge combined with Luke's professionalism and his can-do approach make him an excellent candidate for this position.

Sincerely,

# LOG CABIN California

*concerned republicans for individual rights*

*chair*

**RONALD G. KERSHAW**  
3533 21st Street  
San Francisco, CA 94114  
(415) 641-0791

March 21, 1991

Mr. Tim McFeeley  
Executive Director  
Human Rights Campaign Fund  
1012 14th Street, N.W. Suite 607  
Washington, DC 20005

*vice chair*

**JOHN RUBLE**  
3106 Sierra Madre Blvd.  
Pasadena, CA 91107  
(818) 449-2353

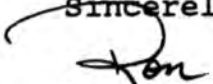
Dear Tim:

I am happy to endorse Luke Adams for the post of Development Director for HRCF. I believe Luke is ideally suited for this important role.

Although Luke and I have very different political ideologies, I have enjoyed every contact and discussion with him. He understands and values the diversity within the gay community. He also clearly understands the necessity of building relationships with individuals. These would serve you well in a Development Director.

Luke has the energy and creativity to challenge old ways, and the intelligence to know when to work within the existing framework. I would look forward to working with him to benefit HRCF.

Sincerely,

  
Ronald G. Kershaw  
Chairman

*treasurer*

**ALEX WENTZEL**  
932 Rembrandt Drive  
Laguna Beach, CA 92651  
(714) 494-6271

*secretary*

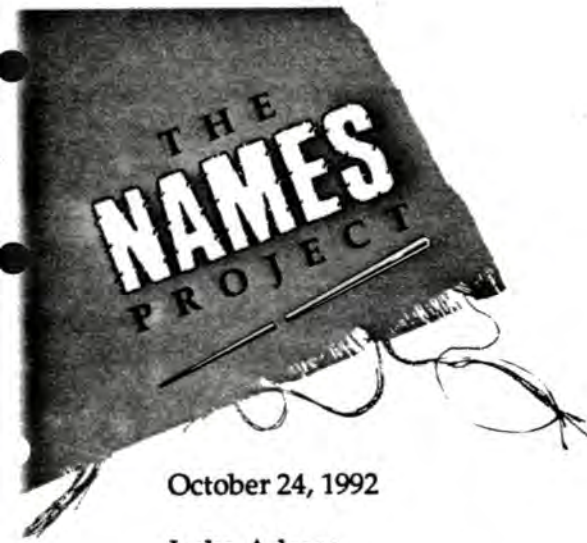
**ROBERT FRAAS**  
2046 Camino Loma Verde  
Vista, CA 92084  
(619) 758-8311

*former chair*

**MARTIN KELLER**  
50 Glendale, #106  
San Francisco, CA 94114  
(415) 826-3122

*affiliated with*  
**LOG CABIN FEDERATION**  
**LOG CABIN PAC**

The Quilt  
An International  
AIDS Memorial



October 24, 1992

Luke Adams  
633 Battery St, Suite 550  
San Francisco, CA 94111

Dear Luke:

On behalf of the staff at the Names Project, the thousands of volunteers who helped make the Quilt display a success, and the hundreds of thousands of people who came to view the Quilt in Washington D.C. this October, thank you for being a part of our ceremonial reading of names.

After all that rain on Friday, we were thankful that the sun finally came out. It was a truly glorious day, and we're so glad that you could be a part of the day when over a quarter of a million people came to the Washington Monument to see the entire Quilt.

On Sunday, we had an open microphone, where everyone was invited to come to the stage, read one of our lists of names, and add the names of people they had lost. Shortly after 3:00, the skies were so threatening that the Quilt was folded and put away. Within minutes, heavy rain began, showing no signs of letting up. But people still wanted to read names, so we continued. First we lost our public address system, so we used a megaphone. Then we lost the stage, so we stood on a folding table. Then the batteries on the megaphone wore out, so people gathered in closer to hear. But at 6:02, as what was left of the sunlight came through the clouds, the last of the 26,000 names was read.

Sections of the Quilt are constantly travelling around the country and throughout the world. We do not know if it will ever be displayed in its entirety again. Thank you for your help with this amazing and unforgettable display in Washington D.C.

Sincerely,

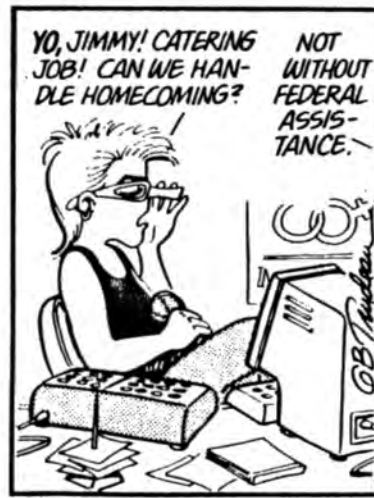
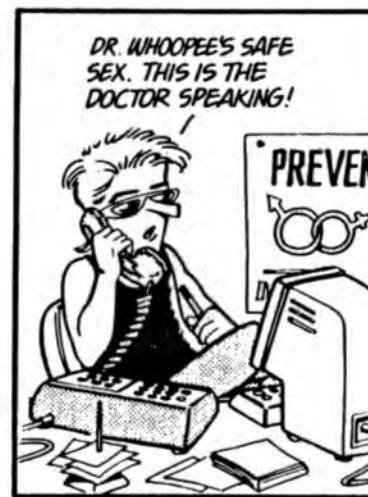
A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Paul Hill'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name 'Paul' being more prominent.

Paul Hill  
Reader Co-ordinator

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Joan Juster'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with the last name 'Juster' being more prominent.

Joan Juster  
Reader Co-ordinator

# The "Dr. Whoopee" Doonesbury comics.





## New Gay/Lesbian Youth Leadership Projects Founded

[Washington, D.C.]- In December, 1988, a new leadership project for Gay and Lesbian youth was founded. It is called the Gay and Lesbian Equity in Academia Network (GLEAN) and was launched by an anonymous seed grant of \$25,000, arranged by the Adams-Morgan nightclub, "Dakota", in Washington.

One of the project's Board of Advisors is Congressman Barney Frank (D-MA). Frank stated that "The abuse which young Gay and Lesbian people receive... is a terrible social problem."

The project will create a continuous national clearinghouse for the equity and access work being done by educators and other professionals as a way to foster the sharing of information and policy and service delivery regarding high school and college age youth who are or are perceived to be Gay, bi or Lesbian.

According to GLEAN Coordinator Luke Adams, "The early phases of the project will consist of creating a participatory

research curriculum for the youth that will facilitate a critical literacy about their own lives, where they're going, what they want."

Adams intends to carry out this curriculum in key areas throughout the country, spawning new trainers who will do likewise. Adams sees the project as a way to strengthen inter-generational stewardship of new leaders which believes the Gay/Lesbian movement is lacking.

Adams said that the rates of attempted suicide, drug and alcohol addiction, dropout rates and economic instability among Gay/Lesbian youth could be traced to the existence of impediments to educational access, equity and leadership development.

For further information, contact: Luke Adams, National Student Educational Fund, 1012 14th St. N.W., Suite 207, Washington, D.C. 20005.

## GLEANing Hope for Young Gays

by Susan Lumenello

Making high school and college a liveable experience for gay and lesbian youth is the purpose behind a new leadership project for gay and lesbian youth. Launched with an anonymous seed grant of \$25,000, Gay and Lesbian Equity in Academia Network (GLEAN) is the brainchild of 25-year-old Luke Adams of Virginia. GLEAN will provide a clearinghouse of information for educators, mental health professionals, and gay youth, both students and those not in school.

GLEAN is "focusing on establishing communications between students and

homophobia educators. Intergenerational stewardship," said Adams.

At first, college groups, educators, and administrators will be the principle focus of GLEAN. "We're looking at it as a sort of spider web," Adams said. "Start with student unions. Training college students, they outreach to high schools and unenrolled youth. You can build a long-term decentralized structure. The hope is to have a national, lesbian and gay student union."

A social activist since age sixteen, Adams said the idea for GLEAN evolved "from ten years of working in the movement. The acute need is more apparent ev-

ery day for some kind of intensive leadership training. ... Kids are losing out all over the place."

Adams' own high school and college experiences were typical of many gay teenagers. "My coming out was a process," Adams recalled. "I experienced all

**"[Gay] kids are losing out all over the place"**

**—Luke Adams  
GLEAN organizer**

*continued on page twelve*



Bay Windows • March 9, 1989 • 3

Madison University in Virginia. Adams attempted to organize the campus' first lesbian and gay group. His initial efforts were squelched when an administrator told him "there [are] no gays on campus."

Adams did form a group — albeit under duress. "Madison was no picnic. Imagine, in the heart of the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, trying to do this." Adams transferred to Madison's political flip side, the University of California at Santa Cruz.

While Santa Cruz was a good "incubator" for Adams' organizing skills, he encountered a more subtle homophobia. "Professors want to be seen as progressive. [But] you get things like women being told not to take women's studies classes 'cause people'll think they're dykes."

While gay and lesbian youth do have some academic options that are pro-gay — the Harvey Milk High School in New York and Project 10 in Los Angeles — those serve a minute portion of the young gay population.

"In high school, teachers make fag jokes in the classroom. Kids ... look up at you and say 'who's Harvey Milk?' ... You run into kids who want to be active, but are afraid to do anything," Adams said.

To those who inquire about his credentials for taking on such a project, Adams replies with the confidence of youth, "I think the time that our movement wasted putting experts in front of the bigots was just that — wasted time. I don't have a lot of faith in what the experts say. They're the ones who told us that homosexuality is caused by excessive masturbation."

"My experience is in grassroots youth organizing. Credentials?" Adams said. "I don't really have any. I'm an organizer and that's it."

Among social workers, psychologists, gay and lesbian campus organizers, high school rap groups he has conferred with, Adams says he has "unfailing support."

But the confident youth has received some criticism from some national leaders. "I wouldn't call it resistance," Adams said. "Youth is a real big issue. We're the ones who are always accused of being the child molesters," he adds.

Adams has received support from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Institute for Policy Studies; the latter

*continued on page thirteen*

## GLEAN

*(continued from page three)*

the same things in grade school and junior high and high school that every other gay and lesbian kid does. The fag jokes, getting beat up, and all that sort of stuff."

Adams went to high school in a Washington, DC, suburb — an area he terms "a pocket of liberalism."

"In the arts department ... there were a lot of openly-gay kids," Adams said. "No one really was very concerned about it. Art people are supposed to be queers."

When a school football star was revealed to be gay, a scandal erupted. Adams remembered, "His house was T.P.'d (toilet paper wrapped around the house). Eggs thrown. [People] left notes for his parents. I felt an amazing sense of outrage."

Rather than shoving his anger inside, Adams did something about it. The local school board was proposing a "family life" educational curriculum to promote traditional values within the public school system. Adams and friends drafted a "sex-positive return" and testified before the board. Adams was sixteen. "Now it was Adams' turn to take the heat. At the time of the school board controversy, he recalled, "I was coordinator of altar boys at St. Michael's Church (in Virginia). They kicked me out [and] banned me from serving mass. ... It went on from there."

"From there" took Adams to James

## GLEAN

*(continued from page twelve)*

something of a liberal think tank. Members of GLEAN's advisory board include Congressman Barney Frank and Virginia Uribe.

Uribe, a 55-year-old teacher and counselor at Fairfax High School in Los Angeles is the creator of the innovative Project 10, a resource center for the school's lesbian and gay students.

Gay kids, Uribe asserted, are "completely underserved by educational systems and other systems — churches and family support groups. Anything that can be done for [them] is vitally necessary."

"They're underserved in large part because they're invisible. They have to be identified."

The changes Uribe, Adams, and many others are suggesting are, as Uribe says, "revolutionary." To accept homosexuality

as a norm and turn prejudice into acceptance would indeed constitute a societal revolution.

And the revolution, says Uribe, has to start with the people within those institutions — teachers and administrators, gay or straight.

In 1987, of the gay and lesbian youth who came to the New York City's Hetrick-Martin Institute, an counseling agency for gay and lesbian youth, there was a 29% suicide attempt rate, according to Joyce Hunter, director of social work services.

Hunter says that rate has been relatively constant over the years and across the country. Suicide attempts for gays and lesbians "level off after their teens [because] they access the community," said Hunter.

Before teens access the community, however, there is much work to be done. ▼

# Adams discusses gay activism

By Brian Villmoare  
University Journal Staff Writer

Luke Adams, national gay rights activist, spoke for the need for political and economic pressure in bringing about equal rights for homosexuals in a speech in front of the Lesbian and Gay Student Union last night.

Adams said gay rights activists need to bring pressure upon authorities "by any means necessary."

He noted that only by applying strong pressure originating from public outrage did civil rights activists bring about changes during the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Adams stressed the importance for homosexuals to use anger to effect changes because, without changes in laws and attitudes, for many homosexuals "life will become a series of walls."

He called for homosexuals to openly admit their sexual orientation because, he said, the gay rights

movement needs a large public voice to bring to bear any political pressure.

According to Adams, there is a need to apply pressure upon corporations because many will react only to the type of economic pressure brought on by the boycotts and protests of the 1960s.

"Civil disobedience is not good for business," he said.

Adams noted that corporations will respond to pressure "that affects the profit margins and corporate ledgers."

He added that he feels that working within the corporate and bureaucratic structure to advance gay rights has failed.

"We've really tried wearing the uniform and . . . talking reason," he said, adding "the rules just don't work."

According to Adams, governmental efforts were not initiated for the treatment and cure of AIDS until

the disease had started to effect the non-homosexual population, five years after the breakout had occurred in a large scale in the homosexual population.

Adams said the United States was the last industrialized nation to initiate national programs for the prevention and cure of AIDS. He noted that the U.S. is also the only industrialized nation except South Africa without a national health care system.

"One person dies of AIDS every five minutes," he said, adding that the U.S. government's failure to act because the disease only affected the homosexual population, "must at least be called criminal negligence."

Adams is currently the executive director of the New Pacific Center for Lesbian/ Gay Community Services and Activism, located in California. His speech last night was at the Weesley Foundation.



Journal photo by Brian Villmoare

Gay activist Luke Adams

# HARVEY'S CHILDREN



Cofounder Cleve Jones

*In search of  
a new wave  
of young,  
gifted, and  
gay leaders.*

SEVERAL DAYS A WEEK, YOU CAN FIND Alex Martinez handing out condoms and bleach, and free advice in English and Spanish about AIDS, at corners and barrooms in San Francisco's Mission district. An eleven-year veteran of Pacific Bell, which he left last year after winning a class-action lawsuit over antigay discrimination, Martinez has returned to college to earn a degree in psychology and social work.

"I've always been 'out' as a gay man," says the twenty-nine-year-old San Francisco native. "I never went through the coming-out period that many people describe. My friends and I were the most unpolitical people in the world; we saw people who were into gay politics as *radicals*. They certainly weren't—us.

"But when AIDS started hitting my friends, it broadened my vision on issues like gay rights, human rights, choice—the epidemic politicized me. Here was a major disaster being ignored *because* it was seen as a gay problem. I started realizing how important gay politics is, and I wanted to learn more."

Now, Martinez hopes to be one of the first two hundred people, from age eighteen to thirty, recruited into New Pacific Academy, a ground-breaking effort to train the next generation of gay and lesbian leaders. Organized by NAMES Project quilt

creator Cleve Jones and Student AIDS Mobilization cofounder Luke Adams, NPA is holding an intensive one-month "Basic Training" this summer. The curriculum is designed as a crash course not only in the nuts and bolts of activism, but in learning healthy respect for gay history and diversity. The "guest faculty" will be drawn from all races, creeds, and persuasions—political, business, and religious leaders, drag queens and leather-S/M aficionados, Radical Faeries and gay Republicans.

"Gay and lesbian youth are the most acutely underserved population in the U.S.," says Adams, twenty-seven. He points to a rising incidence of AIDS among teens, a suicide rate up to three times higher among gay youth than among their straight peers, and the homophobia of many high school teachers and counselors. "This is an intense crisis of leadership. Young activists have very little access to resources, they're constantly forced into reinventing the wheel, and they tend to get the cold shoulder from the older generation." Many older leaders, meanwhile, are being lost to AIDS.

New Pacific Academy is the first undertaking of the San Francisco-based Critical Literacy Institute. Adams started the institute last year as "a way to merge inquiry and action, and to sponsor young activist scholars, especially from marginalized groups—which are, after all, shortly going to be the majority of Americans." With a first-year budget of \$633,000, raised from corporations, foundations, and individual donors, NPA is planning to subsidize all but the students' travel expenses and, after the training, will help place the students in volunteer or paid internships throughout the country. Adams pledges that this summer's class will have equal numbers of men and women, and at least half will be people of color: "The next generation of leaders has to look like the community it's serving."

But Adams bristles at recent media portrayals of young gay men as "party boys" who think that staying with their own age group will keep AIDS away. "I work with young people all over the country," Adams says, "and it's not my experience that there's any huge amount of denial going on. . . . I think what young people are doing is developing a new sex-positive attitude—celebrating their sexuality while taking steps to protect themselves. And I think that young members of groups like ACT UP have had a lot to do with rehabilitating sex."

This analysis is one example of what Adams means by "critical literacy," a notion drawn from educational theorists such as Paulo Freire. "It essentially means having a working crap detector," Adams says—"an ability to question the assumptions of any kind of cultural information." New Pacific Academy is designed to encourage the young to draw from experienced activists and teachers, but also to critique their elders and form a vision of their own. Alex Martinez likes the emphasis on empowering young people to share what they've already lived and learned—in his case, Latino roots, intensive AIDS work, and years of marketing and sales for a large corporation.

Cleve Jones still draws inspiration from the powerful effect that gay San Francisco supervisor Harvey Milk had on gay youth two decades ago: he liked to step up to the microphone in front of college audiences and announce with a mischievous grin, "My name is Harvey Milk, and I'm here to recruit you!" Alex Martinez sees this summer's training program as "a manifestation of what's happening to a lot of gay people. We're being moved to action, and I want to be part of it."

For more information about New Pacific Academy, call (415) 252-1690.

—Dan Bellm



"It's a thank you letter from President Clinton. He calls our 'idea for a Performance Art Service Corps' 'thoughtful and interesting.'"

## Youth Empowerment Speakout

### FRIDAY, APRIL 23

Youth issues briefing at 9:00 am (after the 8:00 am NGLTF Constituent Lobbying 101 session), The Bellevue Hotel, 15 'E' Street, N.W. Constituent lobbying will continue all day. Youth are encouraged to lobby their members of congress (standard business attire required). Coalition meeting for youth advocates meets at 10:00 am (call Hetrick-Martin Institute, 212/633-8920, for more information).

Join us for a reception from 5:00-7:00 pm with award-winning body-builders Bob and Rod Jackson-Paris at The French Quarter Cafe/808 King Street in Old Town Alexandria (6 blocks from King Street Metro). \$100.00 donation goes to YES and Bob & Rod's new Be True To Yourself Foundation for youth. Hors d'oeuvres and cash bar.

### SATURDAY, APRIL 24

Youth Empowerment Speakout networking and brainstorming session at Hine Junior High School, 8th St. & Pennsylvania Ave., S.E. (across from Eastern Market Metro). Begin arriving at 3:30 pm (film, video and photo media will be restricted to designated areas and will leave at 4:20 pm).

Dance for youth (24 and under) at the Hine Jr. High School Multipurpose Room. Drug and alcohol free. Admission, \$3.00 or more (sliding scale), 10 pm - 1 am.

### SUNDAY, APRIL 25

Rally begins at 9:00 am, March begins at noon. The youth contingent is 8th in marching order. Aikiko Carver and Troix Bettencourt will be speaking on youth issues.

For more information, contact Luke Adams at (202) 546-5940.

Many thanks to the sponsors who have made YES possible:

Federation of Parents & Friends of Lesbians & Gays  
The National Association of Social Workers  
The United Church Coalition for Lesbian, Gay & Bisexual Concerns, Youth and Young Adult Outreach Program  
Affirmation's Lesbian and Gay Community Center Youth Program  
Mother Jones Magazine and the Foundation for National Progress, in conjunction with James C. Hormel, The Columbia Foundation, Charles A. Court-Tucker, Torie Osborn, Donald E. Sloan, Peter Tyler and Overlooked Opinions, Inc.  
Bob & Rod Jackson-Paris, Jim Toews and the Be True To Yourself Foundation  
The Wingspan Ministry (St. Paul, Reformation Lutheran Church)  
Harvard Graduate School of Education, Gay and Lesbian High School Curriculum and Staff Development Project  
Unitarian Universalists for Lesbian and Gay Concerns  
Lavender Youth & Family Empowerment, Lyon-Martin  
Women's Health Services  
Washington Area Consortium on HIV Infection in Youth

Passages  
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The Hetrick-Martin Institute  
Los Angeles Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center  
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# YES!

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender adolescents face tremendous challenges growing up physically and mentally healthy in a culture that is almost uniformly homophobic. Often these youths face an increased risk of medical, psychological and/or economic problems, caused not by their sexual orientation or gender identity, but by society's extremely negative reaction to it. Sexual minority youth face rejection, isolation, verbal harassment and physical violence at home, in school and in religious institutions. In the Lesbian & Gay Movement, they are often not taken seriously as resources in need of empowerment and are treated as a bundle of problems to be solved by adults, or as a politically dangerous issue.

Responding to these pressures, some sexual minority youth overachieve. Many engage in an array of risky behaviors. Most are tired of being dismissed by their adult Movement comrades.

Today, suicide is the leading cause of death among adolescents in the United States, and a third of those are by sexual minority youth. Attention and resources for this issue, however, are at a minimum. The national organizations representing lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender communities must work with young organizers and with youth service providers and advocates to put child, youth and family issues in the front line of national policy advocacy.

On April 24, from 3:30 to 7:30 pm, one day before the March, sexual minority youth from around the country will gather to begin creating their own national agenda.

Take part, or listen for a change.

reduced: our full-pager

# UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

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ADLAI E. STEVENSON COLLEGE

SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA 95064

September, 1991

To Whom it May Concern:

RE: The Stevenson College Mentor Program

In 1987 Luke Adams, serving as the Assistant to the Student Affairs Officer, had an idea for improving communication between new and continuing students. As a result, under his direction, Stevenson College began a Mentor program in an effort to establish close relationships between first-year residents of the college, and students who are juniors or seniors and have an understanding of what makes the college a unique living/learning environment. Such a program is beneficial both to the new student and to the seasoned student, dedicated to the Santa Cruz vision, particularly, the upper-division student who resides outside of the college.

The program is a collegial collective of approximately 35 select upper-division students who serve as guides and carriers of the college's traditions and history for incoming classmates. The Mentors serve much the same function as prefects at Oxford and Cambridge, yet bear the clear mark of Stevenson College and of Santa Cruz. Complementing the work of the residential, orientation, office and academic staff, the Mentors serve as an important link in the transition to life at the college and the University.

Today the Stevenson College Mentor Program continues to be highly successful. Comments from faculty who appreciate having a "knowledgeable and helpful student Mentor" present during advising week activities are among the strongest supporters of the program. Incoming students who are contacted by their Mentor over the summer attest to the positive aspects of having someone available to whom they may address questions about everything from "what is the town like" to "who is the best Writing 10 professor". And our Mentors find the program "rewarding", in that it provides a vehicle for involved students to pass on their knowledge of Santa Cruz and Stevenson College in particular.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Gail J. Heit", is written over a horizontal line.

Gail J. Heit  
College Administrative Officer

**Institute for Policy Studies**  
1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
202 234 9382

**Transnational Institute**  
Paulus Potterstraat 20  
1071 DA Amsterdam  
The Netherlands  
020 62 66 08

My name is Isabel Morel Letelier and I am on the Board of National Advisors of the Critical Literacy Institute and came to know Luke Adams while he was in residence here at the Institute for Policy Studies. I fully support the launching of the New Pacific Academy and its goal to provide a much needed source of support and training for new and dynamic young leaders. As a long time participant in human rights activities I know how much a center like this could mean, not only to this community but, through their efforts, to all citizens. Please extend to the New Pacific Academy your every possible support.

Sincerely,



Isabel Morel Letelier  
Senior Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies

Washington, D.C.  
February 28, 1990



*"Organizing and Advocating for Students Across the Country"*

United States Student Association / 1012 14th St., N.W. Suite 207 / Washington, D.C. 20005 / (202) 347-USSA

To whom it may concern:

During my time as Vice President, and now as President, of the United States Student Association (USSA) I have become familiar with the work of Luke Adams. Luke's endless energy and innovative ideas are badly needed assets in the effort to reach homosexual youth who have been marginalized by our society.

The point, of course, is not only to reach them, but also to empower them so they may create a new, more equitable future for themselves and this nation. Luke's skills, along with the training which he has conceived, are tools to this end; tools from which both the progressive community at large and the youth and student movement in particular can benefit.

This training program will prove, I believe, to be a solid cornerstone for future work with gay youth. In this endeavor Luke deserves your unwavering commitment and active support.

Sincerely,

Julianne Marley  
President

**THE UNITED**  
**THE GAY & LESBIAN COMMUNITY SERVICES CENTER**

A Non-Profit Human Services Organization

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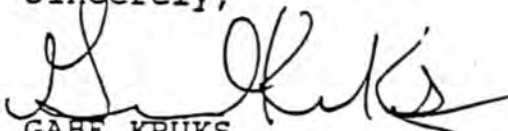
March 19, 1990

I am writing as a member of the National Advisory Board of New Pacific Academy. I came to know Luke Adams and his work through the National Lesbian and Gay Health Foundation. I firmly support the launching of New Pacific as a means to provide a corps of new role models for lesbian/gay/bisexual young people and to build a next generation of dynamic Community leadership.

As a long time activist and social service provider to lesbian/gay/bisexual youth, I know this project will help young people to take their own lives from the margins to the table.

I urge you to give New Pacific your every possible support.

Sincerely,



GABE KRUKS

Director, Youth Services

L.A. Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center

# Gay Chicago

MAGAZINE

Published by Ultra Ink, Inc. • 3121 North Broadway • Chicago, Illinois 60657 • (312) 327-7271 • FAX (312) 327-0112

July 12, 1990

Luke Adams  
New Pacific Academy  
2338 Market Street  
San Francisco, CA 94114

Dear Luke;

Thanks so much for your participation in our Pride Week  
issue. It was certainly a different direction for us, but the  
response has been fabulous and your input added immeasurably.  
I look forward to our working together again and hope to hear  
from you soon.



Rick Karlin  
Entertainment & Lifestyles Editor

RK/moi



★ Gay Chicago Magazine — Dedicated to Chicago's gay & lesbian community since 1976.

## **YOUTH EMPOWERMENT SPEAKOUT**

### **Proposal for Funding**

#### **SUMMARY**

In organizing leading up to and following the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Equal Rights and Liberation (the third such march, 15 years after the first), this project will coalesce the youth component. The Youth Empowerment Speakout (YES) is being sponsored by a coalition of youth-serving and youth-run organizations, freelance organizers, and youth participants nationwide. The mission is to empower sexual minority youth (SMY) to discern and act on their emerging vision, and to give impetus to creating an informational infrastructure for participants for future building.

#### **GOALS/PURPOSE**

The purpose of this project is to empower SMY to actively explore, share, and create their own vision of a sexual minority youth agenda. The preliminary method of action will be the hosting of a grassroots organizing/lobby training seminar and a lobby day at Congress, a day of networking and brainstorming, and a youth social event, all in the days leading up to the March on Washington, April 25, 1993.

#### **OBJECTIVES**

We will gather 300-600 SMY to take part in a 4-6 hour colloquium for networking and brainstorming, for which SMY who are organizers have been setting the agenda and planning the activities through a series of conference calls arranged by the Bridges Project of the American Friends Service Committee. We will disseminate networking materials, being compiled through the coalition by the Hetrick-Martin Institute. We will train 30-60 SMY to lobby members of Congress in a day following the colloquium, and will debrief them after their visits to Capitol Hill. We will provide for the creation of a VIP database of participants and key organizers and opinion-leaders.

#### **UNIQUENESS**

This is a coalition effort. No one else has undertaken this organizing work. The salience of the needs of SMY is only now surfacing after years of groundwork by a small group of colleagues nationally. It is the conviction of the coalition members that this kind of self-empowerment work is critical in the process of addressing the underlying causes of homophobia and biphobia and the marginalization and attendant social problems of SMY.

## EVALUATION

The entire process of empowering youth is evaluative throughout, seeking revision and invention. The members of the coalition make decisions on a consensus basis. It is, on principle, a decision-making exercise about what measures the success of change. However, more directly, during the days of the Speakout, participants will be provided opportunity for written summary evaluations of the effort and of the opportunities provided for them (example enclosed). The dialogue during the networking/brainstorming session will also be self-evaluative. Success will be measured in terms of meeting the goals and achieving stated objectives.

## BUDGET & FUNDRAISING

The ad-hoc budget for YES is provided, along with the tax-exempt letter of the fiscal administrator for the coalition's efforts. Line items were determined based on rate quotes, examination of comparable bills and receipts, and prevailing service charge rates. Several hundred participants are anticipated over several days. Since the budget is relatively modest, especially given the scale, we hope to raise the funds from discretionary grants, technical assistance grants, and small contributions. Some coalition partners will also be able to make small donations. Because of the lead-time needed to approve this effort, time is of the essence in receiving funds.

## ACTIVITIES

The hope of YES is to take advantage of the March on Washington this April, when many young lesbians, bisexuals, gay men, and transgender persons will be descending on Washington, DC, many of whom will be having the first experience of such empowering togetherness of their lives. Financially it is also a rare opportunity to reach a large cluster of youth who in many cases will be subsidized to be in one place at one time. The overriding concern was that there be a safe space for young people to come together during the march week.

The March on Washington provides a tangible demonstration point in which this formative youth coalition can cohere and in which bright young people from all over the country can be brought together to network, work, and learn through YES.

YES will provide a constructive, non-threatening environment for youth 24 and under (an age level agreed as appropriate by youth service providers) to actively explore, share, and create their visions of a SMY agenda. YES will directly precede the day of the march.

The ideas and work behind YES specifically first developed at

the 1992 National Gay and Lesbian Health Foundation Conference. There, a number of youth service providers and organizers came together to discuss youth events and resources at the 1993 March on Washington. After much discussion, the group agreed to look into putting YES together and hosting a youth social event on one of the nights.

The leading priority for the group was ensuring that youth be involved in the planning process, as described earlier. Other priorities included making the events drug and alcohol free and open only to youth 24 and under and their guests. It was also important that no other similar events were being planned; that YES be a national, focused event for and by youth; and that resources and information from around the country be available for youth.

From that initial meeting, a relatively large body of work has already taken place, and several organizations and organizers have joined the coalition, working through a series of logistical planning conference calls organized by the Bridges Project. In expectation of thousands of youth, there are plans to organize a youth contingent to march together, plans for a lobby/organizing training seminar and lobby day on Capitol Hill, coordination of youth planners and facilitators for the brainstorming and networking session, and plans for a social.

Volunteers have begun facilitating housing and travel arrangements and information, as well. Although YES organizers will not be responsible for housing and transportation per se, they are working to assist in these areas.

The coalition not only welcomes, but strongly encourages involvement of other SMY and youth-serving organizations from around the country, especially youth of color.

The site-based coalition member is the Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League (SMYAL) in Washington, DC.



Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League

### A Note From Brian Webb

Each of you receiving this note will have been asked in more ways than can be counted to support our community's work financially. It is difficult, yet we have so much more to do. Please consider helping out again in an area that receives far too little attention, and which is too often at the losing end of the Lesbian and Gay movement's penchant for self-directed anger.

Most of you reading this have met Luke Adams, or at least have read about him. Luke has been my friend for about three years. In that time, I have come to respect his commitment and the work he has done to raise the issues of sexual minority youth to the larger Lesbian and Gay movement, and to the country's leaders. Though his ideology is obviously more radical than mine, he has demonstrated his pragmatic approach to getting things done again and again. The late Ron Kershaw, who was a Log Cabin Club leader, said that Luke was one of the activists with whom he most enjoyed working.

This is where the Radical Right hits us hardest. Putting the concerns of our community's children, youth and families in the forefront is like putting together a jigsaw puzzle of a road map that has been broken up at all the major intersections. Luke is in Washington, DC, now, putting one of those critical pieces into place.

Please read his letter carefully, and give generously. Thank you for your time and attention.

Best Wishes,

*Brian Webb*



March 5, 1993

Dear FOB (Friend of Brian),

As you read this, the Report of the Health and Human Services Secretary's Task Force on Youth Suicide, prepared at the end of the Reagan Administration, is being taken off of the shelf for its very first official review, four years after its completion. You and I know why it took so long, and some of you have helped me raise these issues anew.

- "Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Youth are two to three times more likely to attempt suicide than their Heterosexual peers," the report documented. And worse: "Up to 30 percent of completed suicides each year are by sexual minority youth." Only the surface was reported about the disproportionately higher risks for depression, homelessness, HIV infection, alcoholism and drug abuse.

**This is a three page letter, so bear with me. I didn't want to bowl you over with data, but I didn't want to tell you too little about what is going on for you to feel comfortable about helping out. I need you to read this carefully. With my close ally, Torie Osborn, about to take over at the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, this effort's timing is even more critical.**

The HHS report recommended a series of steps to **increase the self-esteem and sense of responsibility** of sexual minority youth, and to **combat discrimination and prejudices** against them. A handful of colleagues and I have been working for over a decade to establish anchor youth serving organizations, and to build national attention. We have been thwarted, often by our own comrades in the Lesbian and Gay movement.

Despite its priority for the White House, **the Committee on Children, Families, and Youth was the first casualty** in the "new Democrats'" frenzy to show off Congressional budget cuts. These issues, frankly, have had a lot of our own Lesbian and Gay leaders running scared, because of attacks anticipated by the fringe Right. "They'll call us child molesters," I heard again and again.

- **The result is that the only national image consistently portrayed as our community's organized response to youth has been NAMBLA.** When I began organizing the New Pacific Academy four years ago, as a way to have a model program of

youth leadership development, some of the biggest problems came from Lesbian and Gay movement leaders.

There is also the odd paradox that many of us overachieved as young people, because we had to, to overcome the problems we faced. We succeeded in spite of the toll. **But we were lucky, and too few of us remember.** It wasn't always smooth sailing for me, and I never could use the closet as a buffer. Seven years ago, I got through my days with cocaine, and in one of those nights became another 23-year-old infected with HIV.

Some people have told me, in 15 years of organizing, that I was being "ageist," and that our community was too obsessed with youth. I think it should be mind-numbingly obvious that **whatever obsession we have is one of treating youth as a commodity.** Survival sex is one of our biggest youth industries.

In the three years since New Pacific Academy, the Lesbian and Gay movement has had some stunning victories, and some stinging defeats. After each defeat, strategizing at the table with other leaders, some local organizer would say, **"We have all these young people on the edge, with so much anger and energy: why don't we have a leadership development program for them?"** And some of the national leaders would blush and look at me, sheepishly.

- When the planning was begun for the March on Washington, there was no provision whatsoever for our youth. No speakers, no contingent, no lobbying training, no time set aside for networking, no safe-space for socializing that would be drug and alcohol free and less predatory. **Again.** So, the handful of colleagues, which is now growing, got together again and began to plan a Youth Empowerment Speakout (YES) to do all of those things surrounding the March. After the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's Creating Change Conference in November, the plans for the project went full speed ahead, and I signed on to facilitate logistics for it.

**I am now working closely with a coalition of nearly 15 organizations across the country to set up YES.** Young active people themselves are setting the agenda for our brainstorming and networking sessions. The Hettrich-Martin Institute has been holding a series of colloquia to discuss the creation of a national confederation of sexual minority youth organizations, and the American Friends Service Committee has funded a two year Bridges Project to build a communication and policy network for such a confederation.

Out of YES, we hope to have the beginning of a clear, youth-directed agenda to pursue the future of dealing with sexual minority children, youth, and family issues. **But now I need your help.**

We are planning a lobbying training day with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Human Rights Campaign Fund. We hope to bring 100 sexual minority youth

to Congress to lobby, and to debrief them afterward. We will gather from 500-1000 or more youth together for a brainstorming and networking session, and give them a national directory of youth service providers, and begin the process of creating a VIP database of young activists and opinion-leaders. We will also be giving them national network-building materials and introducing them to contact people in other organizations.

The night before the March, there will be a dance for youth 24 and under at Hine Junior High School on Capitol Hill. It will be a drug and alcohol free event with a low admission price, munchies, and adult safety monitors. In the March itself, there will be a youth contingent, and two youth speakers.

This program is not free. We want to make it accessible for the hundreds, perhaps thousands of youth who will descend on Washington for the March. Our total event budget, not counting the in-kind budget contributions of coalition members, is \$5000. I need your check for \$25, \$50, \$100 or more to help defer the costs. As the site-based organization in the coalition, the Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League will accept your tax-deductible contribution made payable to SMYAL/YES.

Call me either at the SMYAL office (ext. 5) or at home, (301) 565-5056, if you have any questions. Please do whatever you can, and do it now. The March is less than two months away. I hope to see you there.

Best Wishes,

  
Luke Adams

---

YES! I will say YES, too, Luke!

Here is my gift toward the Youth Empowerment Speakout preceding the March on Washington this April.

I can give:

\_\_\_\_\_ \$25    \_\_\_\_\_ \$50    \_\_\_\_\_ \$75    \_\_\_\_\_ \$100  
\_\_\_\_\_ \$150    \_\_\_\_\_ \$250    \_\_\_\_\_ \$500    \_\_\_\_\_ (other)

Make checks payable to SMYAL/YES, and send to:  
SMYAL, 333 1/2 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington, DC, 20003.

All donations are tax deductible and will receive a written receipt with SMYAL's tax-exempt number under Section 501(c)(3) of the IRS Code. If you do not wish your name to appear publicly in YES announcements and Thank-you notices, please indicate so by marking an "x" in this line: \_\_\_\_\_.

EXAMPLE:  
MAJOR DONOR APPEAL  
WRITTEN BY ME FOR  
CLEVE'S SIGNATURE

DRAFT

6 June 1990

Mr. David Geffen  
9130 Sunset Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California  
90069

Dear Mr. Geffen:

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to write more about the New Pacific Academy. I hope that this letter and what I have sent along with it will give you the information you need to share my sense of excitement about the project, and a desire to work with us to make it a sound venture. With the help of concerned and generous individuals such as you, the despair of a generation of young people can begin to be transformed. Here are some facts:

- Statistically, lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth are the most acutely underserved segment of the United States population. They cross every dividing line of race and ethnicity, gender and sex, religious background and practice, political affiliation, geographic area, class and income level, and physical ability, yet the average high school student still knows little to nothing about everyday Gay lives.
- School is an intensely homophobic, often violent place. These young people live with increased chances of substance abuse and addiction, dramatically higher rates of suicide and suicide attempts, significantly increased levels of behavioral and psychological instability, truncated or deferred economic or financial stability, and vastly more debilitating and potentially terminal health risks, including AIDS. Most, if not all, of these problems were detailed in the four volume report of the Secretary of Health and Human Services' Task Force on Youth Suicide (January, 1989), which has yet to be officially released.

The first string of modern movement leadership in the community is either burned-out, dying or dead. The next string is suffering burnout as well, and the toll of having had to reinvent the wheel, bear the burdens of a pandemic, and rely on faded, increasingly divisive ideology is heavy. The movement has a plethora of tactics, but no unifying strategy. Who will be the role models for a new generation? Who will staff the community organizations and make the case for the underserved and under-represented?

In the face of my work on the Quilt, these questions increasingly haunted me. I often recalled the dream Harvey Milk--my mentor, of sorts--had to train new generations of individuals for community service. Then Luke Adams and I began to compare notes last summer during the National Student Congress.

The foundation Luke and some of his fellow organizers had begun provided the perfect springboard for a program of leadership development and peer support for youth. We put together community-based history and culture, hands-on practical skills, leadership tools, exposure to diversity of heritage, lifestyle, tactics, and ideology, and a place to network in a project for bright, promising candidates who could serve as role models for their peers and have an exponential positive effect.

- We put together a staff including Joseph van Es-Ballesteros, a young but veteran activist and early organizer of youth groups in New York, and Karyn Andrade, an activist who had first begun work on the concept with Luke in 1984. We drew together a board including some of the most prominent activists and social workers in the country. And we set out to raise our dream seed-budget of \$633,000.
- To date, over \$100,000 of that has been raised from individuals, foundations, and corporations. The component of the Academy training itself has already eaten up all of that money. The staff are working largely as volunteers, taking money only to pay their most pressing bills. This summer, however, a historic event is happening.

- 100 young people from across the country-- representing almost every state in the union, will come to San Francisco for this intensive leadership training. Well over 100 faculty-- veteran activists, theorists, artists, businesspeople, craftspeople, and helping professionals have donated their time, and often even paid for their way here, to pass on what they know.

The first class of the Academy was chosen based on their commitment to serving as role models, to building coalitions, to advancing the movement, to changing the course of young lives from despair to leadership. Half of them are women and half of them are men. 50% are from ethnic minorities. The explicit diversity and open potential of this grouping and this effort is unprecedented in the history of modern U.S. social movements.

So that these young people, drawn from schools and community-based organizations nationwide, could attend regardless of income level, room, board and course materials were provided free of charge. We also have hired five temporary full-time teaching assistants to make the program more personalized. To be able to carry off this program, plus pay for our office set-up and staff on what we have raised so far is nothing short of miraculous. It is a testament to the dedication of these young organizers, and the keen desire and need for the program.

Despite the wide range of problems that face them, these young people are an untapped resource, waiting eagerly to be strategically deployed. A piece in The Washington Post underscores the point:

Many said they coped with the social pressures brought on by their homosexuality through hard work and achievement....That these and many other students like them do so well in school and later life astounds experts....Many homosexual students I talked to felt that their stress was exacerbated by the lack of positive role models.

We have the chance with this program to start rebuilding the social fabric from the bottom up. Those of us who do this kind of work feel that in a very real sense we do it on behalf of people like you, who have the resources and inclination but not the time to work full-time for change. This is the kind of program that not only has good

intentions, but is designed to have an exponential effect--to fundamentally alter the equation of young lives at risk.

This is an ambitious undertaking. If you could feel the pride and hope that I feel when I meet with these young people as they filter into San Francisco for the training, you would be sure that it was worth any financial expense.

I want to make a personal appeal to you to give their voices the chance to be heard. The project remains in the red. I am asking you to use the power of the pen to take the lead on \$25,000 of that deficit.

I have enclosed a packet of information on the project, along with both our federal and state tax-exempt letters. A check may be made payable to the Critical Literacy Institute, and we will respect any restrictions or requests you may have about donor disclosure.

Please don't hesitate to call me at home: (415) ♦♦♦-  
♦♦♦♦ with any questions, and I will try to follow up with you about this by phone within the week. Obviously, the sooner we receive contributions, the easier each step of the process is for the program.

Thank you for your consideration of this investment in the future, and for your time and help.

Very Truly Yours,

Cleve E. Jones  
Provost

**GUEST PIECE: Luke Adams**

It is over 60 years into the modern homophile movement, 21 years after the Stonewall Rebellion, and a decade into the AIDS pandemic, and the average high school student in America still knows little to nothing about real lesbian, gay, and bisexual lives.

We belong to a movement that has argued for our place in society, that has fought for a seat at the table, that has tried to warn even those who hate us of the crisis that awaits them if they don't follow our lead. But, more fundamentally, we are *a people* that cuts across the lines of sex, race, class, religious practice, political affiliation, and geographic region. This combination of circumstances presents us with a considerable challenge.

We can and must look to our culture to know where we can go, and our non-gay counterparts must be exposed to it as well. The only way we can accomplish that is for more and more of us to be more and more visible.

It is through visibility that now we can look to back issues of *One* and *The Ladder*, and show it to those who don't know. They will be able to say: "This is their history." Look at the names that make up the list of veterans of our movement: "This is how they've grown." Look at Stonewall, at Harvey Milk, at ACT-UP: "This is how they fight."

Look at so many artists, authors, poets, actors, artisans, craftspeople: "This is how they look at and beautify their world." Look at so many community-based businesses: "This is how they work." Look at the faeries, or at the affirming people in faith communities: "This is how they worship." Look at so many longtime companions: "This is how they love."

Look at our clubs and our parties: "This is how they play." Look at some magazines, some theatres, some social events, some interpersonal rituals: "This is the wide range of their sexual passions." Look at our social services: "This is how they care for their own." Look at our response to the pandemic: "This is how they are socially responsible." Look at the AIDS Memorial Quilt: "This is how they honor their dead."

Standing at the edge of the richest, industrially over-developed societies of the world--ourselves a fundamental opposition to their assumptions--we have a contribution to make to human survival. To do that, *we* must survive to become visible. The two most critical concerns facing us in the 1990s are a health crisis, and the protection and nurturing of our youth. In addressing both concerns, we need to learn to think strategically, and to act in a multi-lateral, disciplined way.

We can no longer afford to set an agenda that only addresses the short-term comfort of white, upscale gay men and, occasionally, white, upscale lesbians. We can't afford to waste any more time. We *have* wasted too much time by often being our own worst enemies--by being far better at "friendly fire" than we are at winning the war..

With the community's support, New Pacific Academy looks forward to a decade in which we secure a first line of defense to save lives and provide safe schools for lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth; in which our culture becomes part of the fabric of the emerging trend in multicultural education; in which our movement coordinates its strategy and wins the start of a critical mass of real seats at the table; in which taking care of our health becomes an institutional part of what the community is.

We need a *national partnership* to recognize our community's investment in our youth--not as objects, but as the standard-bearers of our advancement. It should include our businesses, our political advocates, our helping professionals, and our family and other allies. It should have a clear goal of fostering lesbian, bisexual, and gay youth, who face an often hostile environment. It should draw them away from the waste of suicide, AIDS, addiction, and despair, and forge a new generation of leaders to fill the ranks decimated by burnout, faded ideology, and the ravages of the AIDS pandemic.

New Pacific Academy is the matrix for our next line of strategic advance--an historic landmark effort to draw on the most accomplished veterans of the movement and thoughtfully equip a next line of active service to the community. It is a tool to provide promising young people with essential community-based history, exposure to diversity, and hands-on practical skills. New Pacific Academy has a vision of a future Lesbian and Gay Community leadership that reflects our full diversity and acts with decisive efficiency. It will take money, effort, and cooperation to look to the future, but if we do, we clearly alter the equation, and the future *is* ours.

*Luke Adams studies educational theory and has been a youth organizer for over a decade. With Cleve Jones, he co-founded New Pacific Academy in 1989, and now serves as Executive Director of the project's sponsoring foundation, the Critical Literacy Institute.*

## Put queer youth in their place—united with all gays and lesbians

OVER A YEAR AND A HALF AGO, I COFOUNDED a lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth group. The people that I define as youth are young adults and teenagers under 21. As a 16-year-old, I want our lesbian and gay community to find ways of creating bonds between adults and youth to mutually benefit and promote the advancement of our entire community.

Generally ignored by the adult community, queer youth have had to provide for ourselves, with resources limited due to the constraints of our age group. This has primarily meant creating our own youth groups and support networks. Because the adult community is almost exclusively centered around the bars, which you must be 21 to enter, lesbian and gay youth have no social connections to the community at large. The message we have been given is that in order to become accepted as legitimate queers, we must be over 21. Until we reach that age, the adult community is unwilling, maybe even afraid, to accept any responsibility for us.

It appears to me that the main problem in our community is the apathetic attitude that exists regarding queer youth. Many adults have considerable concern about the implications of helping queer youth in any way. The reasons range from a homophobia-based fear of charges of pedophilia to a simple attitude of "let them fend for themselves, as we did." Until the larger community becomes involved in making provisions for and helping queer youth, we won't have the type of support we need to grow and contribute to that community.

Every member of the gay and lesbian community has had to come out. Many will admit they knew they were gay or lesbian while they were in their teens. In this sense, most lesbian and gay adults have been queer youth. Yet we still have no one to go through the painful coming-out process with and must hunt each other down to network. Rather than require each and every gay or lesbian youth to deal with coming out alone, we could be much more productive by investing our energy into the community at a younger age, combining our experiences, and helping each other.

One project that I would love for the adult and youth communities to work together on is to make some type of lesbian and gay big brother/big sister pro-

gram available to queer youth. For lack of a better term, this project could be called a mentor program and would create a situation where gay youth could meet gay adults. I see this program's setup as having an adult who sponsors a queer youth: They meet once a week and go out, etc. Not only would this program provide a way to introduce the two communities, but also it would provide much needed mentors and role models for queer youth, begin to establish a bond between our

spend time and energy on the kids, not only will the adults be providing a valuable service to youth but also we will finally have mentors and role models to look to and learn from who are real-life members of our community.

All members of the community share the responsibility for developing better ways for queer youth to enter the lesbian and gay community. There are many projects that, with help from the adult community, we could accomplish. If the process began with various organizations having liaisons to the youth community, think of the increased involvement and support that both groups would receive.

There is an increasing need for community centers, providing a place where gays and lesbians of all ages can meet and socialize without the presence of alcohol (due to legal-age limits). As it is, many activities, even when alcohol-free, are barred to youth for two reasons: either they are not easily accessible from a public transportation system or the cost is too steep.

As with the need for community centers, there is also a demand for providing visible adult lesbian and gay role models to help combat the lack of positive gay and lesbian images. There is a great need to begin an AIDS mobilization campaign that is specifically directed toward AIDS prevention among lesbian and gay youth.

With little education coming through the school systems, we must attempt to save our own. The possibilities and suggestions are endless—many of the ways that adults can help are as simple as helping establish local youth groups, finding free or affordable spaces to meet, setting up a telephone line, advertising (free or discounted), or giving donations for any of these purposes.

It is important for our community to begin to function in ways that are beneficial to all members. One way of doing that is providing means for the queer youth and adult communities to join forces. We can begin to eliminate the isolation felt by queers across the board if we succeed in creating a space for queer youth within the greater community. Envision how much more advanced our community and its members would be if you had united with other gays and lesbians earlier in life and not been alone as a queer youth. ●



**Chance Claar is a cofounder of Atlanta's OutYouth, a lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth group, and is a student at the Benjamin Franklin Academy.**

communities generally, and definitely create a bond between the individuals participating.

In California there are already programs that are designed for queer youth, such as Gay and Lesbian Adolescent Social Services (GLASS), and there are a number of other lesbian and gay youth groups around the country. To supplement and participate in programs like GLASS and youth groups, I believe that we are in need of a program like the one I am writing about. If we have a program where gay adults can find gay youth and

# No Apologies, No Regrets Committee

P.O. Box 14301  
San Francisco, California 94114-0301  
Hotline: (415) 292-3285

Press Spokespersons for the Committee: Randi Gerson (647-7313), Lito Sandoval (647-3104), Vern Nuanez (558-8671)

Each June the Lesbian and Gay Community celebrates the anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion with parades and celebrations across the country. On that hot summer night in 1969, when Puerto Rican drag queens in Greenwich Village decided that they had endured one police raid too many, they rioted. Eventually, they trapped police officers inside the Stonewall Inn for hours—held at the edge of liberated gay fury. It was militant and direct. It wasn't nice or peaceful. Stonewall marked a turning point in our community's struggle for freedom.

On September 30, 1991, in San Francisco, 10,000 lesbians and gay men marched from the Castro to the Governor's Office at the Old State Building. We marched to give voice to our justified outrage at Governor Pete Wilson's vicious attack on us—his veto of a basic bill that would have put into law our simple right to be free of discrimination in employment. Nearly 1,000 people were present at the Old State Building when it was damaged.

For all of our lives we have lived with a structure that told us we were inferior, evil, and had no right to equality in the opportunity to control our own lives. That structure allowed Dan White to be convicted of voluntary manslaughter and released in five years after assassinating Harvey Milk and George Moscone; it has allowed the government to neglect us as we die by the thousands from AIDS; it watches as countless other atrocities continue against "the USEs" every day. That is the structure Governor Wilson reinforced with his cowardly veto of AB 101.

In political retaliation for the community's expression of outrage on September 30, the San Francisco Police Department has so far issued eleven warrants. Ten have been served. All but three were felony charges. Two men in San Francisco were released on \$10,000 bail, while the remaining seven defendants in San Francisco were released on their own recognizance. The police are still attempting to identify fourteen people, so more arrests may occur. The arrests were used as a mayoral campaign issue. Visibly active members of the community were singled out for arrest and prosecution. Members of the community were asked to turn in other members. Though the actions of the crowds were based on all of our rage, the police, district attorney, and media have portrayed them as organized acts of civil disobedience by some "radical fringe." They have tried to deflect attention away from the real issue of the state's violence against us toward personal differences within our community.

The No Apologies/No Regrets Committee is a broad-based coalition made up of concerned individuals with diverse backgrounds. They hold memberships in un-affiliated organizations ranging from the Human Rights Campaign Fund to Queer Nation. We are working to organize support in the community and among our allies to show that these defendants do not stand alone. We need and welcome your support, your voice, and your work. As one way to show support for these defendants, we are mounting a petition drive, which we hope to have concluded in early December. We respectfully ask that you support it, and that you help us gain signatures and endorsements now. You can call us for more information at the hotline: (415) 292-3285, or sign at A Different Light bookstore. We welcome new members who are committed to supporting the defendants to our meetings. If you would like to buy t-shirts commemorating the riot, they are available at A Different Light. Donations may be sent to the committee at P.O. Box 14301, San Francisco, California 94114-0301.

The veto of AB 101 was an assault against members of the Lesbian and Gay Community throughout California. The religious supremacists have won a battle. Let's begin to make sure they don't win the war. We are not the Californians who are breaking down the barricades; transgender, bisexual, lesbian, and gay Californians *are* the barricades against an increasingly powerful, extremist movement with an agenda of public control.

With the arrests of these defendants, the state is continuing its assault on our community's fight for freedom by trying to divide and conquer, and to intimidate all of us with threats of incarceration. It is critically important, particularly now, that we support the community's outrage; the veto of AB 101 being only the latest act of repression—one that sent us over the edge. Solidarity works: we have to stand together as a family when members of the family are targeted by the powerful in order to push us down.

*Edited by Luke Adams for the Committee*



OP-ED

## Whose Traditional Values?

by Luke Adams

A few years ago, with the financial capacity of the Moral Majority waning, Rev. Lou Sheldon decided to start a grassroots nationwide campaign to bring what he believes to be moral character to the nation's institutions. Borrowing some tried and true organizing tactics of the left and adding the television and direct mail savvy of the right, he launched the Traditional Values Coalition, based out of corporate offices in Anaheim, California.

The Traditional Values Coalition recognizes that the first line of attack against the values they hold dear comes from the lesbian and gay community. That line of attack is nowhere more prepared to push the envelope than in California. So the TVC has launched a campaign to place an initiative on the California ballot to constitutionally bar state and local governments from extending civil rights guarantees to women and men who are homosexual or bisexual. It would mark the first time in United States history that a state constitution officially banned civil rights for any category of individuals.

The media have not taken this campaign or the TVC seriously. Apparently, neither has the government. Despite several registered complaints about misuse of tax-exempt status, and considerable inquiry from the office of Rep. Nancy Pelosi, the Anaheim office of the IRS has failed to pursue any investigation of the TVC.

To be sure, Sheldon's adherents are dedicated and vehement. They are disciplined and fiercely loyal. They recognize clear enemies and speak a common language. They are a force to be reckoned with. But pronouncements like calling Laurie McBride, the director of the California Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality, "a witch," and heavy-handed tactics in connection with *Operation Rescue's* blockades of family planning clinics make the TVC easy to dismiss.

Meanwhile, the TVC, through its own corporation and a series of allies, operates on a multi-million dollar budget. Ministers throughout California and across the country make regular appeals from pulpit, mailbox, and television for more funds for the

movement. Some heavy-hitting fund-raisers have been brought in, such as Barbara Alby, who raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Nicaraguan *contras*, even after the Iran-Contra scandal broke.

The Coalition has influence. Legislators make guest appearances on the shows of TVC-affiliated televangelists. Sheldon refers to himself as "God's lobbyist." The *Report on Youth Suicide*, completed by the Health and Human Services Department at the end of the Reagan administration, was never released because the TVC was opposed to committee recommendations and was able to exert influence on the Bush administration.

In his anti-gay offensive, Sheldon's mainstay is the argument that the law should not sanction civil rights on the basis of personal behaviors to which people take exception. Many moderate folks do not find that too unreasonable. But look closer.

Sheldon has historically been an opponent of federal civil rights legislation, yet lately he has been cozying up to black, fundamentalist Christian clergy and to the Nation of Islam. "Very clearly," he claims, "the black community realizes that the homosexual agenda is a parasite within the true civil rights movement."

Among his congregations and with his allies, Sheldon has harshly attacked "personal behaviors" of Catholics from infant baptism to papal allegiance. Yet he has joined with Catholic groups that oppose reproductive choice to disrupt service provision at family planning clinics.

The official position of Sheldon's evangelical-fundamentalism on the "personal behavior" of Jews is that the Jewish people were offered salvation and refused to accept it. Yet politically conservative Jews have appeared on the shows of TVC-affiliated televangelists.

This classic "divide and conquer" approach is even more disturbing when we recall that *religion* and *national origin* are two of the categories protected under the landmark federal Civil Rights Act of 1964. It was not too long ago that being a Catholic or a Jew was legally considered "a personal behavior to which people take exception."

Would Sheldon like to return to the days when a Catholic couldn't win the presidency or join a country club? Or when Jews were restricted from housing, employment, and public accommodation? Or when water fountains were labeled "white only" and "colored"? His TVC associates supply the answer. "We are the only people standing on the foundation of truth," said Rev. Kenneth Hagin in a July 13 broadcast, "We are the only people fit to govern."

America went to war in 1941 to fight against a powerfully evil combination of racism and fascism. It was a philosophy that claimed to seek restoration of moral order. Many had not taken it seriously, and many others found it not too unreasonable, until it was too late. Until Jews wore yellow stars and gays wore pink triangles in the concentration camps.

Americans united from all over the spectrum to fight for freedom, from rock-ribbed Republicans to strident socialists. Jew or gentile, Buddhist or agnostic, white or of color, the stock of Sioux or Scots or Poles or Mandarins or Congolese — it didn't matter whence they came; Americans heeded the call. Women helped form the backbone of the war effort.

A man with a physical disability led the country as President. And, though frequently unknown to their leaders, many of the war's heroes were lesbian and gay Americans. We fought together as a nation, American soldiers lost blood on the battlefields, American pacifists laid their lives on the line. All for the traditional values that have forged and are forging America.

What values? America's elders struggled so we could all have an equal opportunity to achieve the American dream. —For the freedom to be judged on our individual merits, on our hard work, creativity and productivity. —Not on how we worship, whence we come, what our disabilities, the color of our skin, how advanced in years, or whom we love.

Native Americans, who have endured so much, have insisted on the power to keep their revered ways of life alive. The people forced to come here as slaves fought for emancipation and continue to work to "be judged on the content of their character." Every group of immigrants who came to the United States to find a better life sought freedom from persecution for "personal behavior" to which some power-that-be took exception.

For such traditional values, Americans sacrificed even lives in World War II. Lesbian and gay Americans struggle for these same responsibilities and rights. It is as American as apple pie.

Yet the advance of the Traditional Values Coalition continues. The TVC is serious. And whose traditional values do Lou Sheldon and his coalition represent? It is a movement whose symbol is a cross, not of a savior, but of iron.

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*Longtime youth activist Luke Adams wrote this essay for the LIFE lobby.  
© 1991, the author*

*Published in the  
Bay Area Reporter  
September, 1991.  
Used as background piece  
in LIFE lobby mailings  
through end of 1991.*

*endorsement  
piece for  
a local campaign,  
I authored.*

# **JIM HAAS**

A COMMITTED TRANSIT ADVOCATE FOR

## **BART BOARD**

ROBERTA ACHTENBERG  
CAROLE MIGDEN  
TOM NOLAN

Dear Colleague:

As a Democratic Club member you will soon be deciding whom to endorse in the race for BART Board.

We think the choice is clear in District 9 - Jim Haas, an openly gay man, who has been a long-time civic and public transit leader.

Jim has proven his commitment to fighting traffic gridlock and air pollution. He chaired the committee that prepared the City Transportation Master Plan approved by San Francisco voters in 1989. He knows how critical transit in the Bay Area is and will be to our economic survival and vitality.

We have worked side-by-side with Jim for an ecologically-sustainable, affordable, convenient and efficient regional transit system. Jim was there to hear complaints of Mission residents about the cleanliness, upkeep and security of BART stations. As a result, he's got the endorsement of the leadership of the Mission Economic Development Association. Jim knows how to look out for San Francisco.

We need openly gay people at every level of government. That was one of the points Harvey Milk hammered home again and again. It isn't enough to count on our "liberal friends" because we know too often they become hard to find when we need them most. We need our own people carrying our movement's progressive vision into the details of the day-to-day operations of civic life. That's why we have endorsed Jim, as have Tom Ammiano and Tim Wolfred. We are joined by The Alliance, and the National Lesbian and Gay Victory Fund.

Jim makes things happen, while others are scheming to make themselves look good in the press. Jim was a leader in the successful efforts to demolish the Embarcadero Freeway, and to build a new Main Library and include in it the Lesbian and Gay Center, our national archives.

It took four years, and an election year in which the incumbent has to face an openly gay progressive candidate, for a Domestic Partner Benefits Policy to pass the BART Board. The incumbent was playing politics with the issue even down to the August 6 vote.

The next time the Traditional Values Coalition goes to BART to bash us, they should have to face an openly gay BART director, as should the directors from the suburbs. They should have to deal with an advocate for our communities who has also done his transit homework.

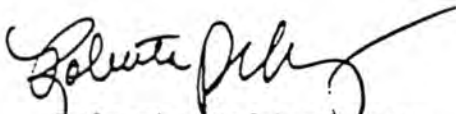
Jim has been working for social justice and quality of life issues for years. In the '60s, Jim was the assistant director of the national Head Start program. He worked for George McGovern's 1972 Presidential bid. He helped Jimmy Carter put together his first Presidential cabinet, and in 1978 Carter appointed Jim to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. He has worked closely with grassroots activists from members of the San Francisco Tomorrow to members of ACT-UP.

We need a BART representative who will implement a serious multicultural plan. Jim will work to break the glass ceiling that has allowed so few women and people of color into management. Jim plans to work out a day care plan--the current plans for new BART office layouts have no space requests for child care facilities.

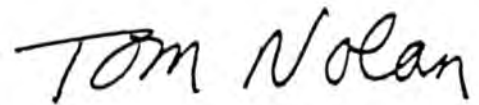
Jim thinks it makes sense to listen to what everyday riders, people who use connecting transit and bicycles, and the drivers and attendants have to say. Jim commutes on BART daily, so he can monitor the quality of service every day, unlike the incumbent.

Jim Haas has earned your Club's recommendation. Join us in supporting Jim by giving him your endorsement for BART Board.

Sincerely,

  
Roberta Achtenberg  
Supervisor

  
Carole Migden  
Supervisor

  
Tom Nolan  
Supervisor (San Mateo)

# The Case for Inclusion

## *A Response to the Case Against and a Reiteration of First Principles*

by  
Luke Adams

*This essay is written noting the particulars raised in the essay "Don't Buy the Bi Agenda: Reasons Why the Word 'Bisexual' (or 'Transsexual' or 'Transgender') Should Not Be Added to Lesbian and Gay Events and Organizations," by David Robinson and Maxine Wolfe, at the San Francisco International Lesbian and Gay Freedom Day Parade and Celebration Committee. As such, its references to specifics are somewhat narrow, but its themes apply to the whole movement for our emancipation and freedom.*

### Whose Agenda Is It, Anyway?

At a recent meeting, attendees were presented with an essay on why the name of the parade and celebration and its committee should not be updated to include transgender and bisexual people, and why such persons should only be invited to work together with the committee under the banner "Lesbian and Gay." Happily, the response was not favorable. Given, however, the persistence of the phillipic's San Francisco author and the potential of silent assent to his position, I was compelled to enter this marketplace of ideas to offer a competing view of what we should mean by ourselves and what we are doing.

Two points are critical to my position:

- a) the assertions raised in the anti-inclusion essay have their basis in a set of ideas that I argue are profoundly misguided, and
- b) we celebrate each year the anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion, which was a radical resistance of the power and ideology of the dominant social order by sexual outcasts.<sup>1</sup>

The Wolfe-Robinson essay sets up nine straw-man debates and knocks them down in dramatic fervor and dilitante-activist flourish with arguments eerily like those of white supremacists arguing for the Aryan nation. Though the comparison is a stark and troubling one, the formal basis of the ideas is the same. Though the essay's calls for distinctions seem hardly as vile, they begin from the same point on the slope.

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<sup>1</sup> introduction, Sexual Politics. Sexual Communities by John D'Emilio, University of Chicago Press, 1983, and pp. 93-94, Homosexual Liberation by John Murphy, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971

## Is This The Road We Came In On?

The arguments against inclusion are a-historical. They fail to recognize that the Stonewall Rebellion was led by young, working class, African-American and Puerto Rican drag queens. The powerful uprising that precipitated the formation of the Gay Liberation Front, the transformations of the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, and the evolution of the movement organizations we have today, was produced by people who had been marginalized by their own queer family because they were poor, non-white, flamboyant and, in a number of cases, trans-sexual.

The tone of the Wolfe-Robinson essay is accusatory. In nine occasions of artificially rhetorically constructed questions and answers, the essay responds with moral indignation to some preposterous argument advanced by some never-cited, nebulous "Them." "Their tactics are manipulative," they write of bisexuals "demanding" name changes in "all" lesbian and gay organizations. It is as if they envision some grand conspiracy on the part of *not-quite-queer-enough* people to negate the experience of exclusively homosexual persons. "Our march is not about sexual liberation. Our march is about Lesbian and Gay Liberation. The two are not identical," proclaims the Wolfe-Robinson manifesto, somewhat opaquely.

Wolfe and Robinson do not go on to explain why fundamentally changing (*not* eradicating) the dialectic of gender— one of the goals of lesbian and gay liberation —should not be directly related to sexual liberation. The essay simply proclaims that they are unrelated as truth, and then goes on to say this twisted conception is true because there is a lesbian and gay cultural identity. Those seeking inclusion have never questioned such cultural identity; in fact, it is the basis of the drive for inclusion.

"This simple addition fundamentally changes the nature of Lesbian and Gay identity," the essay declares, "and changes it for the worse." This argument is the worst-case extension of *essentialism*, a strain of Queer Theory that argues a universal, historical continuity to an inborn gay community as we have understood it. It has as little connection to reality in this form as does the rabid deconstruction practiced by extremists from the *social-constructionism* strain of Queer Theory. Social constructionism views everything as the subjective reflection of the location of the person, community, situation, *et alii*. Both positions are mired in a need to justify ourselves in the dominant social order's sight.

## The Born v. Bred Trap

The nature versus nurture argument is reductionist; as a “nation,” the posing of the question as one of either arriving here by social construction, or because we are universally essential, misses the point. It presupposes that there is something wrong with queerness. Some scientists currently are arguing that there is evidence of genetic causes for one’s sexual orientation, just to have the radical Right argue for renewed eugenics to weed out the gay genes, while other scientists argue that differences in brain structure can be caused by individual behavior and thought patterns over time, just to have the radical Right call for more “reparative therapy.”<sup>2</sup> Most of us have an experience that is more *discursivist*—we can see ourselves in a conversation between the dictates of our biology (nature) and our call to respond to it with a cultural creation, existing or potential.

“Homosexuality” in polar opposition to “heterosexuality” is a concept that has only circulated for roughly the last 100 years.<sup>3</sup> The identities we know as urban-based, late-industrial, gay and lesbian communities are an invention of the times. They have been evolving, and continue to evolve. Sappho would no more recognize and feel part of what constitutes contemporary lesbian lifestyles in Cambridge, Massachusetts, than the average contemporary Castroid would recognize and feel comfortable living with the lifestyles of ancient Athenian freemen.

The essential reality of a group of people who, whether by birth or by environment, find themselves drawn to “make family” with members of their own sex has found as many different cultural expressions as there have been cultural locations, *and it continues to do so*. It is true that “we” have stood profoundly universal throughout history and that there are common cultural threads having to do with our place in making transitions. “We,” however, have not always stood separated from or in opposition to the cultural context, nor have “we” always practiced exclusive homosexuality.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> cf. *The Advocate*, LP Publications, Inc., Los Angeles, October through November issues, 1991

<sup>3</sup> For discussions of the emergence of the homosexual/heterosexual dyad, and its representations in various medical-scientific discourses, see *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain From the Nineteenth Century to the Present* by Jeffrey Weeks, Quartet Books, London, 1977, and his *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, Longman, London, 1981. See also “The Invention of the Homosexual” by Jonathan Katz, pp. 137-174 in his *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, Harper & Row, New York, 1983 (thanks to Lisa Duggan)

<sup>4</sup> cf. *The Construction of Homosexuality* by David Greenberg, University of Chicago Press, 1988

“...*Them* the liberals, *them* the gays, *them, them, them, them!*”

“*Our* day, *our* march,” the Wolfe-Robinson essay intones (as if with moral authority and after a lengthy litany of the perils of being queer) would be debased “to fit *them*” (emphasis mine). Robinson’s and Wolfe’s repeated position is based on an idea of lesbian and gay identity that is grounded in national “purity”—a concept that has led to their nascent call for ethnic cleansing.

The essay laments: “Lesbian and Gay Queer Nationals have let non-Lesbians and -Gays co-opt the Queer movement” (sic). The essay fails to account for the observed malleability of sexual desire and its socio-cultural expression. It fails to consider how numerous other factors—race, class, etc.—work as part of a person’s overall identity. “They have no doubts about definitions or boundaries, and do not hesitate to override the welfare and autonomy of individuals ‘in the national interest.’ ...Like other nationalisms its political implications are complex, and often actually reactionary,” Lisa Duggan wrote in “Making it Perfectly Queer,” her recent *Socialist Review* article, “These new nationalists define the nation and its interests as unitary; they suppress internal difference and political conflict. Self-appointed ayatollahs explain it all.”<sup>5</sup>

Remember that when the Stonewall Rebellion set off a new flurry of activity for “gay liberation,” organizers envisioned a utopia in which everyone was polymorphously sexual with everyone else.<sup>6</sup> Among the points in an early Gay Liberation Front manifesto was the call that “homosexual and multisexual households of two or more individuals should be recognized and given all the tax benefits, insurance provisions, social services, and community resources that traditional families receive and use.”<sup>7</sup> The liberationists’ first principles were that all the queers would fight back.

Yet, Wolfe-Robinson attempts to bog down the debate in another diversionary tactic, raising the issue of “compulsory heterosexuality” in the arena of how one identifies socio-culturally. The essay falsely accuses bisexuals of attempting to define *all* those who have had sex with both the same and the opposite sex as bisexual. Among the primary

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<sup>5</sup> pp. 16-17, “Making it Perfectly Queer” by Lisa Duggan, *Socialist Review*, 92/1

<sup>6</sup> p. 20, Duggan, SR, and *Homosexual Oppression and Liberation*, by Dennis Altman, Avon Books, New York, 1971, especially Chapter 3, “Liberation: Toward the Polymorphous Whole.”

<sup>7</sup> p. 180, Murphy

motivations of the nascent bisexual movement, which Wolfe and Robinson falsely assert does not exist, is the critical importance of self-determination.

In a round-table discussion held several months ago, some of our comrades made some interesting points about what it means to share our queer identity:

**Alexander Chee:** The operant dream is of a community united in diversity, queerly ourselves...(The facilitators) took great care to explain that everyone was welcome under the word *queer*.

**Laura Thomas:** I don't see the queer movement as being organized to do anything beyond issues of anti-assimilation and being who we want to be.

**Gerard Koskovitch:** I think *queer* has been adopted here in San Francisco by people who are using their experience of marginalization to produce an aggressive critique of the prevailing social system. ...I think we're seeing in its early stages a reorganization of some of those forces into a new community of people where the range of defining factors is rather fluid. People's limits have shifted significantly from the traditional urban gay community of the 1970s.<sup>8</sup>

Poet Audre Lorde perhaps described it best: "It was a while before we came to realize that our place was the very house of difference rather than the security of any one particular difference."<sup>9</sup>

### Will the *Real* Queers Please Stand Up

There have been bisexuals and transpersons working in the "Homophile," then "Gay," then "Lesbian and Gay" movement since it began. Unlike parents and friends, heterosexuals who have worked by our side, and other allies who are simply allies, these bisexuals and transpersons share a cultural identity of sexual and gender distinction, a "crossing over" that goes against the grain of the dominant culture. Yet, Wolfe-Robinson attempts to mitigate this shared culture, trying to group us all into tightly defined roles for "gay" and "lesbian." "This isn't about freewheeling add-ons," the essay opines, invalidating the experience of transgender and bisexual people, and undermining the historical reasons why the addition of "lesbian" to organizational titles was such a struggle.

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<sup>8</sup> pp. 14-23, "Birth of a Queer Nation," *Out/Look: National Lesbian and Gay Quarterly*, no. 11 (Winter 1991)

<sup>9</sup> p. 226, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* by Audre Lorde, Persephone Press, Watertown, MA, 1982

Individuals have also evolved their identities over time. Just as “lesbians” fought to have their particular identity validated by being included in the naming of community projects, bisexuals and transpersons carry on that evolutionary process now. It all does not simply boil down to Wolfe’s and Robinson’s contention that homosexuality is a “better” oppression than others.

The essay goes so far as to say that biphobia is not valid because bisexuals are only oppressed on the basis of their homosexual activity. Yet earlier the essay contends: “This march is about our public life. This march is not about ‘behavior’.” Then, in one of the more blatantly cynical points of argument, the essay invokes Hitler’s purge of homosexuals. Bisexuals get bashed for being queer, not simply when they are in same-sex pairings, as Wolfe and Robinson disingenuously contend. Hitler didn’t care if one was exclusively homosexual or a “gypsy” when he sent thousands of our people off to the death camps. *Any deviation from his concept of the traditional family was suspect.*<sup>10</sup>

Wolfe-Robinson even attempts directly to rationalize and support exclusion and discrimination against bisexuals and transpersons in at least three points. It calls lesbian and gay opposition to bisexuals and transpersons “justifiable” when they “try to make us change our organizations and identities to include bisexuality.” It excuses attacks by “those of us who hate seeing opposite sex sexuality (whether the participants identify as het, Bi, or Homo).” Then it rejoins: “Go have a wholly Bisexual march.”

### **Identities in Search of a Strategy: The Signpost Up Ahead**

Identification, *unlike* where one may come to find oneself originally on the spectrum of sexual orientation, is a choice, and the crux of the problem with the essay’s contentions is its fear of the accusation that we choose what we are.

Our “choices” are a reflection of the degree to which we have a colonized status. As the material bases of social ostracization may change, so can how we claim an identity *about* with whom we are drawn— at a level *before* choice —to make family. To the extent that we become liberated, our choices open up as to how we *define* our “otherness” from the dominant social order.

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<sup>10</sup> notations on Nazi laws, *Bent*, by Martin Sherman, Samuel French, New York, 1977

Many of us who, as we first became more free, identified as gay or lesbian, now find that "bi" or "transgender" fits better. There is a growing list of prominent "lesbians" and "gay men" who are coming out as such, from Sandra Bernhart to Holly Near to David Geffen to me.

*Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender*, to borrow the concept of Donna Haraway, are identities that mark out a self-consciously constructed space that cannot affirm the capacity to act on the basis of natural identification alone, but must draw on the basis of conscious coalition, of affinity, of power-based kinship. Who we are and what we are about ought to be constituted not merely by a narrow understanding of the degree of exclusivity of our orientations, but by our *common approach* that differs from the pervasive and controlling structured relations and meanings of sexuality and gender. Our historical forms and positions have been and should remain open, subject to negotiation and renegotiation. It is part of our liberation.<sup>11</sup>

I propose that we change the name of the committee and event to a name that more fits the current state of our evolution as a movement, and is historically accurate. I propose: **"The San Francisco International Stonewall Anniversary Parade and Celebration."** In the proclamation that the mayor is given to sign to set the day aside each year, and in our literature, I propose that we call for "Gender and Sexual Identity Freedom Day in San Francisco, *celebrating the experience of international lesbian, gay, bi, and transgender communities.*"

The point, it seems, of emancipating ourselves is to be about bringing more freedom to everyone when we have our seat at the table. To have equality of rights regardless of sexual orientation in this society is to be able to show by example the kind of community that self-determination allows, with all of its diversity of identification.

Queers of all stripes are often asked what we want. It seems to me that we want to be left alone to do things better for ourselves. We want to have our better things acknowledged for their beneficial contribution. We want our contribution to bring us our share of society's benefits. And, in Bill Clinton's words, we haven't got a person to waste.

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<sup>11</sup> p. 23, Duggan, SR

"A society, or an institution within a large complex society, whose members want the sexes to be kept polarized and unable to identify with each other, to share jobs, knowledge, economic and political power, child care or other functions equally," wrote Judy Grahn, "will be suppressive of Gay culture so there can be no crossing over and therefore no exchange of important cross-gender information."<sup>12</sup> Including the identifications of bisexual and transgender in the overall queer identity will not somehow dilute or lessen what it means to identify as part of what has been known so far as Gay culture. In fact, this inclusion strengthens the underpinnings of that culture by expanding it and reinforcing it. It brings in more of the idea of "crossing over," and re-emphasizes multiculturalism, which has been central to our cultural identity.

### Conclusion: The Next Beginning

We find ourselves at a crossroads in our movement, looking out on our future path. We can choose the cultural cleansing, suggested by Wolfe and Robinson, that would give us a "pure" nation of arbitrarily determined "gays" and "lesbians." The alternative is to pursue the principles that each successive wave of revolution from our ranks has put forth. Let us choose this latter road of growth, inclusion, and liberation for all of us.

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*Luke Adams, co-founder of the Student AIDS Mobilization and of the New Pacific Academy, has been an activist and youth organizer working in queer and progressive movements for 15 years.*

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<sup>12</sup> p. 48, *Another Mother Tongue*, by Judy Grahn, Beacon Press, Boston, 1984

## TRUSTING BILL CLINTON

By Luke Adams

Since the beginning of the presidential election season America has watched banks and cities go bankrupt and constant reminders that our vast resources have been grossly misallocated. In a recent week in California, two major cities, Oakland and San Francisco, had to consider steep cuts in the human services most people want--just to pay for added police to try vainly to halt crime, while the governor continued his attack on recipients of public assistance.

Meanwhile, the media circus, focusing on non-issues and bleating trumped-up "character questions" about Jerry Brown, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot, has made many of us question whether "the press" deserves the First Amendment.

For over a decade, the national Republican administration has carried out a thinly-veiled effort to decimate the role of government in creating a level playing field. **Gutting the "welfare state"** was Reagan's clearly stated goal in both of his campaigns (he needed only to build on Carter's later austerity programs). George Bush, as his State of the Union Show illustrated, has continued to shoot-up on the same supply-side drugs.

The human and industrial infrastructure of the nation has been purposely removed from the purview of the state so

that commerce could be unfettered. We are living with the results. There have not merely been no incentives for private enterprise to invest in infrastructure, there have been disincentives--encouragement of speculation and short-term profit-taking, dissuading savings with taxation, promotion of union-busting.

The economy was de-industrialized, deregulated, and hocked into the next century. Over twenty percent of American families live in poverty, and even using the new Reagan-Bush calculation, over eight percent of the workforce is unemployed. Violent crime is exponentially on the rise. The Republicans have appealed to the country's divisions of race, sex, and affectional orientation. They made the wounds deeper than ever, while conducting an all-out attack on civil liberties under the guise of a "Drug War" (even while they traded arms--purchased with cocaine profits--for hostages).

It is no surprise that cities and states are facing dwindling resources while the Feds have thrown cash at the largest peacetime military buildup in history, the protection of countries no longer threatened, and the bailout of the greediest speculators.

Now forced to choose between schools or prisons, health care or police protection, state and local governments must pay for what they can with regressive taxes. That is a result

of restrictions on progressive taxation, like the ill-advised Proposition 13, pushed by the same "reformers" who sold us Reagan and Bush. The Republicans, while borrowing and spending to support weapons contractors, have constantly accused Democrats of fiscal irresponsibility for telling people they had to pay to play.

Nor have "business as usual" Democrats been much help. The party seems to be best at shooting itself in the foot. Witness Jerry Brown. Brown (this week) is trumpeting the critical causes, and Clinton would do well to listen closely. But instead of running a crusade of ideas, Brown has been acting like a political pit bull, handing the text of sleazy attack ads to the Republicans for the Fall campaign. No less anti-strategic have been some of my AIDS-activist comrades in the ACT-UP Presidential Project, whose recurrent use of personal attack tactics is an inability to see the forest for the trees, and is coming to typify their elitist moralism.

Bill Clinton has never been a "business as usual" Democrat. It is true that there are people in the Clinton inner circle whose politics I despise, and that his record as governor is mixed. But the same was true of Franklin Roosevelt, and he wound up opening his cabinet meetings with the quip, "Good morning fellow socialists."

And not since JFK has a Democrat sought the presidency with so many vocal, clearly progressive advisors in his inner circle, side-by-side with the corporate types. In fact, former Jesse Jackson advisor Robert Borosage (from the progressive Institute for Policy Studies, whose founders, Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnett, were part of John F. Kennedy's brain trust) is part of Clinton's brain trust.

Other notables on Clinton's left flank are Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, a co-founder of the Democratic Socialists of America; Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock, a longtime Citizen Action member; San Francisco Supervisor Roberta Achtenberg, a pioneer lesbian activist and member of the National Lawyers Guild; Gay activist David Mixner, who organized for civil rights and against the Vietnam War with the huge, radical Students for Democratic Society; and even members of radical activist groups like Prariefire. And don't forget Hilary Clinton.

In a Clinton administration, these voices will be at the table for the debate, which is unfathomable in another Bush term. AIDS activists will have input on AIDS policy. The nation's largest students' union will be able to take its case on education directly to the White House. Advocates for children will have an ear. Labor will not be summarily dismissed. Women's rights will not be routinely trampled. The Civil Rights Commission will mean something. Most of

all, some positive attention will be paid to the nation's human and environmental resources again, and the appeal will be to what unifies and is best in us, not to our baser instincts.

To the pundits: Why do you prate on about whether a politician resisted the Vietnam War (I applaud it), smoked marijuana (33 million other Americans have), has a spouse with an independent mind and a career of her own choice (and says more than just "no"), or wasn't monogamous (how many of our Presidents have been)? In the mess we're in, Americans have to care whether she or he can lead this country in rebuilding, healing, and bringing opportunity to all of us.

Presidents are neither Popes nor Monarchs; I look to them for political will, not for examples of Victorian moral rectitude. I have to trust Bill Clinton, not because he's the only alternative left, but because in putting together his campaign to wrest the reins of power from the Republicans after more than a decade of their damage to America, he is a genuine left alternative.

AIDS activist Luke Adams has been a youth organizer and lesbian and gay advocate for over a decade.