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OPENLY LESBIAN AND GAY APPOINTEES TO CLINTON ADMINISTRATION NAMED

WASHINGTON, DC -- November 2, 1993 -- Out-of-the-closet high-ranking and mid-level appointees of the Clinton administration were introduced to the national press corps in Washington today. The ceremony also marked the first anniversary of Bill Clinton's election as president. William Waybourn, executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund and national co-chair of the gay and lesbian appointments project (COALITION '93), said no other administration in history has been so committed to naming open lesbians and gay men to such public positions.

President Clinton sent his "special regards" to the appointed officials, saying, "I strongly believe that every individual in our nation has a valuable contribution to make to America. I have remained committed to the goal that the appointees of my Administration will reflect the great diversity of our country. Today, many openly gay and lesbian Americans serve proudly in the federal government, upholding the finest traditions of patriotism and public service." Clinton also said in his statement that he stood with the appointees "in the fight for equality for all Americans" and encouraged the appointees to "continue to stand up for what you believe."

Appointees meeting the press included: Roberta Achtenberg, Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity (HUD); Keith Boykin, Special Assistant to the President for News Analysis (White House); David Cruise, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs (Commerce); Romulo Diaz, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Affairs (Energy); Helen Dunlap, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Multi-Family Housing (HUD); Bob Hattoy, Assistant Deputy Secretary and White House Liaison (Interior); Nan Hunter, Deputy General Counsel (HHS); Bruce Lehman, Assistant Secretary and Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks (Commerce); David Martin, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs (Commerce); Ben Merrill, Special Assistant (White House Office of AIDS Policy); Gregory Mertz, Special Assistant, Office of Solid Waste and Emergency Response (EPA); Zoon Nguyen, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity

(HUD); Patrick Nolen, Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of the International Trade Administration (Commerce); David Peterson, Confidential Assistant to the General Counsel (Commerce); Julian Potter, Special Assistant (Interagency Council on the Homeless at HUD); R. Paul Richard, Deputy Staff Secretary to the President (White House); Richard Socarides, White House Liaison (Labor); Cynthia Spires, Special Assistant - Office of the Secretary (HUD); David Tseng, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor (Pension and Welfare Benefits Administration); Carlos Velez, Director of the AIDS Prevention Cluster (White House Office of AIDS Policy); Brian Wheeler, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs (Commerce); and Victor Zonana, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (HHS).

Many openly lesbian and gay individuals received appointments to the Clinton Administration through the assistance of an unprecedented coalition formed by national organizations immediately following Clinton's election last year. Coordinated by the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, COALITION '93 participating organizations included: ANGLE; AIDS Project, Los Angeles; Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund; Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Veterans of America; Gay Men's Health Crisis; GLAAD NY; Human Rights Campaign Fund; Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund; National Association of People with AIDS; National Center for Lesbian Rights; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; National Minority AIDS Council; Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays; Stonewall Community Foundation; United for AIDS Action.

For more information contact: Charles Cox
(202) 842-8679

Time and Location: November 2, 1993
8:00 to 9:30 a.m.
National Press Club
Main Lounge, 13th Floor
529 14th Street NW
Washington, DC



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 28, 1993

Warmest greetings to everyone gathered in Washington, D.C., for the Press Breakfast of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund. I am pleased to send special regards to your honored guests.

I strongly believe that every individual in our nation has a valuable contribution to make to America. I have remained committed to the goal that the appointees of my Administration will reflect the great diversity of our country. Today, many openly gay and lesbian Americans serve proudly in the federal government, upholding the finest traditions of patriotism and public service.

I stand with you in the fight for equality for all Americans. We must put aside our differences and focus on what we share in common. In this great country, founded on the principle that we all are created equal, I encourage you to continue to stand up for what you believe.

I am pleased that the members of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund are continuing their tireless efforts to help people throughout the United States. You are making a real difference in our struggle to create a world in which everyone is free to leave his or her own legacy to society. I applaud you all for promoting and exemplifying the compassion that is such an integral part of the American character.

Best wishes for an enjoyable event.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Out of the Closet, Into Power

In This Administration, Gays' Time Has Arrived

BY T.R. GOLDMAN

When some 20 members of the Clinton administration sit down to a breakfast reception at the National Press Club on Nov. 2, they will come from a range of departments—from Energy, to Labor, to Commerce, to Interior. There will be assistant secretaries, special assistants, and senior advisers; men and women; whites, blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and Asians. In fact, they will have little in common, except for one thing: They are all openly gay.

The breakfast will be more than just a first-of-its-kind assemblage; it will be a concrete symbol that gays have finally arrived, openly, on the federal level.

Among the 2,200 political appointees in the federal government, at least 22 are openly gay men and women—a signal, say gay-rights advocates and political analysts, that the still-nascent movement has overcome one of its most important political hurdles.

"The fact that they have appointed openly gay people is a major advance," says William Schneider, a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and political analyst for Cable News Network. "It has legitimized the gay movement as a force in American politics."

It has also been a source of comfort for some gay activists who have been outraged over President Bill Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" compromise approach to the thorny issue of allowing gays to serve in the military.

Openly gay elected officials—on the local, state, and federal level—have been



Gay activist William Waybourn is confident that his group's political gains will not soon be reversed.

cautiously surfacing, in very limited numbers, for several years. But since the 1990s began, their numbers have exploded, says William Waybourn, executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, which raises and distributes

money to openly gay candidates and is sponsoring the Nov. 2 breakfast.

And the fund has helped pave the way. In May 1991, when the fund was started, there were 55 openly gay elected officials nationwide. Now, there are 128, with many more appearing on local and state ballots this Election Day.

Waybourn, whose group has raised more than half a million dollars since its inception, is confident that the gains will not be reversed.

"Once you open the closet door," he says, "you will never shut it again."

Just nine months ago, there were no openly gay political appointees in the executive branch. Now, they are sprinkled throughout government, including two assistant secretaries, whose jobs require Senate confirmation.

And they didn't have to spend years in ghettoized government jobs, the way blacks and women traditionally entered the system. Most of the openly gay members of the administration are making policy on issues—everything from trademarks to the environment—that have nothing whatsoever to do with their sexual orientation.

"I'm not a gay liaison," says L. Paul Richard, one of two deputy staff secretaries to the White House.

"I'm basically here as a gay man who happened to be hired to work with other people in making sure the president's

SEE GAY LOBBY, PAGE 25



Patents chief Bruce Lehman is an openly gay Clinton appointee.

Gay Groups' Lobbying Yields Appointments

GAY LOBBY FROM PAGE 2

papers are in order," adds Richard, a former associate with San Francisco's Brobeck, Phleger & Harrison.

To help bolster gays seeking jobs in the Clinton administration, the Victory Fund set up working groups around the country shortly after the election. Its goal was to identify "the best and brightest" in the gay community—much as was done by women's, African-American, and Hispanic groups before it—to present as possible candidates for administration jobs, says Waybourn.

The challenge, he explains, was to ensure that all openly gay candidates were recognized as such by the Clinton personnel team.

"What we looked for was to include gays as members of a minority group, and not as white males," says Waybourn, who hired Ogilvy Adams & Rinehart, the D.C. office of the New York-based public-relations firm, to help run the effort.

"I'd get a phone call asking, 'Do you have any candidates?' and I'd be trotting résumés around the corner to the transition clusters," adds Waybourn, whose office on 14th Street, N.W., was next door to the Clinton transition team on Vermont Avenue.

Each candidate was backed by a coalition of 19 national gay and lesbian groups. "Whenever you go for an appointment to the administration, you have to show you have political strength," Waybourn says.

Although Waybourn's group did not have a hand in the selection of every openly gay appointee, he says that the fund far exceeded its goal of helping choose five high-ranking nominees.

In one respect, the appointment of openly gay officials is nothing more than pure political payback. Clinton has long backed gay rights, and the gay community, in turn, was one of candidate Clinton's strongest backers, raising millions of dollars for his presidential campaign. According to exit-poll data, gay voters gave Clinton about 70 percent of their vote, a figure only slightly less than the percentage of Clinton supporters in such Democratic strongholds as the black and Jewish communities.

Given that level of support, notes Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), gays were entitled to expect some political reward.

"If there weren't any gay appointees in office, it would be a sign of blatant discrimination," he says. Frank and Rep. Gerry Studds (D-Mass.) are the only openly gay members of Congress.

High-Visibility Tensions

Nonetheless, anti-gay bias still runs high even on Capitol Hill, and the issue of gays in the military has only served to heighten anti-gay feeling in many quarters.

"The gay community has arrived, in the sense of political appointments to the White House," says Keith Boykin, a recent Harvard Law graduate and special assistant to the president in charge of the news-analysis office. "But in the sense of overall policy, in the sense of Congress, it hasn't."

Openly gay candidates who are not militant gay advocates, like Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks Bruce Lehman, can sail smoothly through the Senate confirmation process unscathed. But try getting an outspoken gay activist like Roberta Achtenberg, who was confirmed May 24 as assistant secretary for fair housing and equal opportunity in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Senate's ultra-conservative wing, led by Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), can turn nasty.

Lehman, formerly a partner at D.C.'s Swidler & Berlin with a lengthy track record in intellectual property law, says that



Keith Boykin, a special assistant to the president, believes that anti-gay prejudices on Capitol Hill remain a significant problem.

his easy confirmation Aug. 5 is a clear sign of change.

"What it illustrates is that we have made enough progress so that the right wing has to choose its targets carefully," says Lehman. "It would have been pretty hard to choose me for a target without being a plain old bigot. Roberta was different because she was a very prominent [gay] figure."

A staffer for Sen. Helms agrees with that assessment.

"An important distinction between the two nominations was that Lehman had technical competence for the job he was doing," says the staffer, who declines to be identified. "Roberta Achtenberg's whole career has been as a militant advocate for her lifestyle."

For all the complaints over the acrimony of the Achtenberg hearing, most gay activists are still cheering the Clinton appointees.

"It's incredibly significant," says David Smith, a spokesman for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, adding that just 12 months ago, publicly announcing one's homosexuality was the quickest way to nix a political appointment.

"Using the Bush administration as a measuring stick, there were clearly gays or lesbians who felt that making that information public would hurt their careers," says Smith, whose 20-year-old grass-roots organization boasts 80,000 members and is one of the country's largest and oldest gay advocacy groups. "Now, they clearly feel that sexual orientation is not going to impair that."

There are probably about the same number of gays in the Clinton administration as there were in the previous administration. But in the Bush White House, says David Cruise, the Commerce Department's director of intergovernmental affairs, they were all in the closet.

"The administration folks knew they were gay, but it was a wink and a nod," says Cruise, a former Rhode Island state senator and chief of staff to the governor, who six months ago told his family and friends that he is gay.

One former Bush official who is gay remembers a loose-knit network of closeted gays during the Bush administration who called themselves the "Pink Mafia."

"I attended a dinner party in the winter of 1987," says the official, who requests

"People will not openly admit they hate blacks," says Schneider, the American Enterprise Institute fellow. "But with gays, it's openly possible, and regularly done."

In fact, argues John D'Emilio, a professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, the gay movement is still a long way from political maturity. Right now, says D'Emilio, it's about at "the level of strength and influence and visibility that the black movement had on the eve of World War II."

There are thousands of smaller gay and lesbian groups around the country. But gay-rights advocates still lack a deep-rooted, organizational structure on the national level, much as the black community did right up until the beginning of the 1940s, according to D'Emilio.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1909; 30 years after its inception, the group boasted only 50,000 members, despite a black population of 13 million. But during the war years, job opportunities mushroomed, discrimination in the federal workplace and in government contracts was banned, and membership in the NAACP increased tenfold, to 500,000.

"The 1940s and '50s laid the groundwork for the 1960s, when there was real victory," says D'Emilio, who specializes in modern American history and is writing a book about black leader Bayard Rustin, who was gay.

The parallel with the black civil-rights movement is sobering, adds D'Emilio. "Change occurs much slower than any of us are happy with."

Even Waybourn, whose Victory Fund has helped usher in a new era in gay politics, is reluctant to push the significance of the Clinton appointees too far.

Openly gay members of a presidential administration, he says, are just one piece of a long struggle, one that seems to lurch backward every time it inches forward.

"Gays in the military was a disappointment," he says. "But you take your victories where you can get them." □

OWN POWER



Tammy Baldwin won election to the Wisconsin State Assembly with \$14,000 in contributions from the Victory Fund network. Across the country, 12 openly gay and lesbian candidates ran with over \$250,000 in Victory Fund support — and six won. Today, there are more than 100 federal, state and local officials who are out, proud and working for us. Tomorrow, there can be even more. Find out how you can be part of the Victory Fund. Because the only way to wield real power is to own it.

☐ I want to join the Victory Fund network today with a contribution of \$100 or more. Send me detailed profiles of openly gay and lesbian candidates from across the country who need my support to win in 1993.

I enclose ☐ \$100 ☐ Other (____)

☐ I want to support the Victory Fund and its programs to elect openly gay and lesbian candidates to office next year.

I enclose ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$75 ☐ Other (____)

Make checks payable to the Victory Fund and mail with this coupon to:

Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund
1012 14th Street N.W., Suite 707
Washington D.C. 20005
202-VICTORY (842-8679)
202-289-3863 (FAX)

Because your contribution will impact political campaigns, it is not tax-deductible.



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Financial clout for candidates we can count on!

Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund

1012 14th Street, NW
7th floor
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 842-8679

The Victory Fund is one of the new kids on the block; it was founded in May 1991 to raise money for openly Gay candidates for public office and help train them to run strong campaigns. In that short time, it has raised an annual budget of \$611,215 — the fourth largest of the national Gay political groups, mostly through individual contributions.



William Waybourn

The Victory Fund does not take on the cause of any Gay candidate. Its criteria requires that the candidate be openly Gay, that he or she endorses the federal Gay civil rights bill, that he or she has "aggressive positions on AIDS funding and anti-discrimination issues," is pro-choice, and is "viable."

Its first candidate was a success: Sherry Harris beat an incumbent for a Seattle Council seat, and became the first openly Lesbian African American to win public office.

The latest report from the Federal Elections Commission lists the Victory Fund as the 43rd largest money raiser among the 1,377 similar "non-connected PACS" (independent PACs, not affiliated with larger organizations).

The Victory Fund's staff is still relatively small — five full-time and one part-time — as is its mailing list: 4,500 people.

Cochairs: Joy Tomchin of New York City and R. Scott Hitt of Los Angeles.

Top priorities for 1993: "Increase the number of qualified lesbian and gay elected and appointed officials at all levels of government," and "Build a

Continued from page 21

national network of donors and members to accomplish the above goal."

Projects/departments: "Recruitment/training of qualified openly lesbian and gay candidates. As well as the recruitment of qualified campaign managers, willing to work with gay and lesbian candidates through the Victory Fund Training Institute."

Most common request: "There are two common requests ... the first comes from individuals who are not members and want information about our organization. The second request comes from our members asking for additional information on the candidates, and in some cases how they can contact the campaign and offer their services to the campaign as a volunteer or host for a reception."

Most common complaint: "That we don't have frequent enough mailings to keep members informed."

Next board meeting: Nov. 6-7 in Miami.

Top 15 national Gay groups

Political organizations

Annual budget

1. Human Rights Campaign Fund	\$5,500,000
2. National G/L Task Force	\$3,337,392
3. Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund	\$1,795,000
4. Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays	\$900,000
5. G/L Victory Fund	\$611,215
6. National Center for Lesbian Rights	\$425,000
7. National Black G/L Leadership Forum	\$275,554
8. Log Cabin Federation	\$200,000
9. Latino/a L/G Organization (LLEGO)	\$120,000

Non-political organizations

Annual budget

1. Metropolitan Community Church	\$1,312,149
2. International Gay Travel Association	\$173,000
3. Dignity	\$158,000
4. National L/G Health Foundation	\$150,000
5. New Ways Ministry	\$150,000
6. National L/G Journalists Association	\$120,000

Beyond Military, Gays Seek Acceptance in Government Workplace

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Staff Writer

While the controversy over gays in the military rages, homosexuals elsewhere in the federal work force are continuing a quieter battle against discrimination once perceived to be as daunting as that in the armed services.

The battle has gained momentum since President Clinton's election.

Openly homosexual officials are being appointed to high-profile federal jobs, various government agencies are developing policies to combat discrimination against homosexual employees and the White House is giving gay rights advocates the kind of access extended long ago to other civil rights activists.

The changes, in turn, have brought a new mood of openness to homosexuals in federal offices throughout the bureaucracy, according to gay rights employee groups.

"We feel that, finally, we have the freedom to be ourselves and that if we do encounter discrimination, we don't just have to swallow it," said Leonard Hirsch, a homosexual who is an administrator at the Smithsonian Institution's International Center.

Setting the Atmosphere

"I think that the new administration has inspired gays and lesbians throughout the federal government to feel that way," said Hirsch, a founder of Federal Gays, Lesbians and Bisexual Employees, or Federal GLOBE, which celebrates its first anniversary this month.

Homosexuals in the federal government, for whom the president is also the boss, also can test how substantive the change really is.

For some, the world has turned around. Since Clinton's election, Linda Sanches, a planning analyst for the Health and Human Services Department, has informed her supervisor and several co-workers that she is a lesbian.

"If the election results had been otherwise," she said, "I'm not sure that I would have felt comfortable doing that or even doing this interview."

"The person at the top establishes an atmosphere," she added. "The atmosphere Clinton is setting is making a big difference in how people react to us as gays and lesbians and how we feel about ourselves."

Although Clinton has issued no new policy guidelines on homosexuals in the federal workplace, he has signaled that his administration will help homosexuals overcome discrimination and bias.

One of the biggest signals has been in the appointment of openly homosexual officials. The new appointees include Roberta Actenberg, a lesbian member of San Francisco's Board of Supervisors, as assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and Bob Hattoy as associate director of White House personnel. Now overseeing appointments in a wide range of areas, including Agriculture, Energy, the Environmental Protection Agency and Interior, Hattoy, 41, eventually hopes to move into a senior policymaking job. An HIV-positive campaign aide who addressed the Democratic National Convention, Hattoy is now de facto administration policy adviser on homosexual issues.

Clinton has welcomed homosexuals into the White House, too, including a lesbian who approached him at a post-inaugural reception and implored him to do something about the discrimination American homosexuals suffer.

He has also dispatched aides to homosexual fund-raisers and rallies. Last month, Clinton aides summoned national gay rights advocates to assure them of the administration's commitment to their agenda. It was the third official meeting between gay rights activists and White House staff members.

The effect on homosexuals in the federal work force has been positive, Hirsch said. Since Federal GLOBE was formed last April, attendance at its meetings have mushroomed from a dozen to several hundred people.

"I know at least five gay or lesbian federal employees who came into their offices for the first time on Jan. 21, a day after the inauguration of Clinton, and put up a picture of their partners," Hirsch said.

Anti-Bias Policies

A week after Clinton's election, the General Services Administration issued a statement prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, among other categories. Gay rights employee groups at other federal offices are working



Linda Sanches recently told her HHS co-workers that she is a lesbian. If Clinton had not won, she said, she probably would not have "felt comfortable doing that."

with agency administrators to develop similar policies.

Since Clinton took office, more homosexual federal workers have felt free to acknowledge their sexual orientation at work. Hattoy began to notice changes in January when he was invited to speak before a Federal GLOBE meeting. He expected a few dozen attendees, but 300 showed up. "Quite a number came up afterwards saying they had been closeted in cubbyholes in their departments for years," Hattoy said. "They were grateful for the chance to come out."

The case of State Department official David Buss illustrates that change. In 1988, in a routine background check, State Department investigators started inquiring about the sexual orientation of Buss, a Foreign Service officer.

In the past, State Department employees faced with similar circumstances have resigned rather than avoid difficult clearance investigations that might label them security risks. But 41-year-old Buss, who had served in several U.S. embassies abroad, acknowledged his homosexuality and fought to keep his job and security clearance.

Several weeks after Clinton's election, Buss, for the past four years an administrator in the Office

of Foreign Missions, received a posting to Estonia, formerly part of the Soviet Union.

Unlike the military, which has a written ban on homosexuals, the State Department has no written policy prohibiting homosexual employees, according to Buss, now president of Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies, a small organization composed largely of State Department employees. In the past, homosexuals often were viewed as security risks for diplomatic assignments, particularly in Eastern Europe.

"Clearly, that is changing," Buss said. When he takes up his new assignment, he hopes to be accompanied by his companion.

For many homosexual federal employees, the changes wrought by the new administration have not come in new assignments or basic edicts but more subtly. One openly lesbian employee in the Labor Department said that when the ban on homosexuals in the military or other homosexual issues come up, colleagues go out of their way to ask her views. A homosexual Small Business Administration staff member said that when he posted notices announcing meetings for gay employees in the past, they were often ripped down. But now, he said, they usually remain in place.



Leonard Hirsch, a founder of Federal Gays, Lesbians and Bisexual Employees, sees a new "freedom."

When Don Kraft, another SBA employee, submitted a proposal to hold an open house for homosexual business executives attending the gay rights march here on April 25, he was unsure how his superiors would react.

"But they signed off right away," said Kraft, director of the SBA's substance abuse prevention program. "I was surprised at how quickly. I guess that shows that we are gradually gaining acceptance."

Doubts About Clinton

For other homosexual federal employees, Clinton's election has brought no concrete change. And some are unconvinced that Clinton is wholly committed to their cause, especially since Clinton has postponed making a decision on the issue of homosexuals in the military until mid-summer.

"As long as there are no government-wide rules protecting us from discrimination, I would feel uncomfortable being open about my lifestyle," said a homosexual General Accounting Office staff member who asked not to be identified.

"The federal bureaucracy is a very mainstream place," Sanches said. "And a lot of bigots hide in the mainstream. . . . Many people are still afraid of the reactions they

might get or consequences they might face if they came out."

More important to Sanches and other homosexuals in the federal work force is the administration's stated goal of seeking diversity. The White House personnel office appears to be trying to bring homosexuals into the administration.

High-Level Appointments

Besides Actenberg and Hattoy, other gay appointees include Romulo Diaz, deputy chief of staff to Energy Secretary Haze! R. O'Leary, and Keith Boykin, special assistant in the White House communications office. Actenberg declined to be interviewed before her confirmation hearings.

About a half-dozen other homosexuals are being interviewed for high-level positions in the departments of Commerce, Justice, Education and State, among other agencies, Hattoy said. "We are not looking for gays to fill any specific jobs," he explained. "We're looking for competent professionals. If they also happen to be gay, though, we consider it a plus. Bringing in more gays and lesbians is one way to make government more diverse."

In part, the job placements reflect the increasing clout homosexuals have in mainstream politics. Coalition '93, a group of 19 national gay and lesbian organizations created to help homosexuals gain jobs in the new administration, has recommended 50 individuals for various posts, according to the group's director, Andrew Barrer. The organization grew out of the network of homosexuals who assisted Clinton's campaign and contributed more than \$3.5 million.

Altogether, more than 2,000 homosexuals responded to a solicitation by Coalition '93 for administration jobs, Barrer said. With the assistance of a public relations firm, 50 qualified candidates were selected and passed on to the White House, he said.

At a recent White House meeting, Barrer told administration aides that "appointing more gays would help engender more goodwill with gays."

"I think they got the message," he added.

"When this is all over, I think we'll have about 15 openly gay people appointed to federal jobs. We'd be delighted with that."

A historic moment for gays

The march for gay and lesbian rights held in Washington Sunday was important not only for attracting large numbers of people, but for dramatizing the historic gains made by homosexuals in America. No one watching the demonstration could doubt that the movement is here to stay.

That observation may sound quaintly obvious—if you ignore history. The first national rally in the capital was held in 1979, when hostility to homosexual rights—and homosexuals, period—was broad, deep and largely unchallenged. The second, in 1987, was mainly an occasion for mourning those killed by AIDS and demanding more attention to the disease.

Homophobia and AIDS have hardly vanished, but gays as a group have gained ground in spite of them. This march comes in the wake of the election of a president who is committed to homosexual rights and to devoting more funds to the fight against AIDS, a president who unapologetically sought the support of gays and owes his victory partly to them.

Homosexuals may be a small share of the electorate, but they have acquired an influence that exceeds their numbers—because they have gotten organized, because they give lots of money to candidates and causes and because they have a clear agenda.

That doesn't mean they'll always get what they want. The rally featured ample criticism of Bill Clinton, who has frustrated gays by his hesitancy to lift the military's ban on homosexuals, his tardiness in appointing an AIDS czar and his failure to address the marchers. The effort to get laws barring discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation has yielded few successes.

But gays are likely to prevail eventually on the military ban, and AIDS will get more money from Clinton than from George Bush. Clinton is vulnerable to the charge of betrayal only because he made commitments on gay rights that no other president has.

Whatever the political scorecard, it is heartening to note that while gays and lesbians face considerable antagonism, it is easier to be openly homosexual today than ever before. Over the last couple of decades, Americans have realized—and have been compelled to acknowledge—that, as a speaker at the 1979 rally declared, "We are everywhere." Even those who denounce gays on moral grounds no longer expect the government to enforce their view of morality.

It is a testament to the persistence and bravery of gays, and to the American tradition of tolerance, that homosexuals have won a large measure of the acceptance they demand.

Mixner: Consummate political strategist pushes gay rights

by Dell Richards

The political wind shifted so quickly since Bill Clinton's election that song lines like Bob Dylan's "the times they are a changin'" haven't had as much meaning in three decades.

In the first month of Clinton's presidency, gay rights took center stage, thrust to the fore by Clinton's decision to end the ban on gays in the military. Suddenly, mainstream newspapers that had never mentioned the word "homosexual," much less "gay," were debating human rights. *[This story was filed before Clinton's recent willingness to discuss separation of gay troops; see related story this page, and Mixner's more detailed comments on page 4.]*

Suddenly, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force honchos like Robert Bray were casually buttonholing White House politicians in the weight room of a Washington, D.C. gym.

The change has not only been sudden and swift but all pervasive. Even trade magazines such as GIFTS AND DECORATIVE ACCESSORIES suddenly are interested in gay greeting cards.

"I can't believe the change in the past month," said Joan Greenfield, owner of the lesbian line First Blush Cards. "Suddenly, everyone is interested. A few months ago, gay greeting cards were too hot to handle."

If there is one person that can be credited with the turnaround—at least on the presidential level—that person is David Mixner,



David Mixner

46, a consummate political strategist and longtime gay friend of Bill and Hillary.

"David has immense political know-how," said Dr. Scott Hitt, a doctor and board co-chair of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, a direct-action PAC that raised \$250,000 in the past

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two years for gay and lesbian candidates. "He knows how to play the political game, what to say and when to say it. He's got a great political intuition, which is why he is so successful."

Though he seemed to come out of nowhere to some, Mixner has a long history of political successes and failures, including the Great Peace March fiasco, as well as a 25-year friendship with the President, which he has used to help the gay cause.

During Anita Bryant's 1976 anti-gay campaign, decade-long friend Bill Clinton was one of the first people Mixner came out to. During the presidential primary, "Mixner the fixer" brought Clinton to a gay fundraiser in Hollywood, the first ever for a presidential candidate. Going against campaign advisors, Clinton made an emotional speech about human rights that the *WASHINGTON POST* called "historic." His impassioned plea that night that "all of us belong" started the visionary connection with people that eventually got him into the White House.

A corporate strategist today for such heavies as Chevron and Aetna who calls himself a senior advisor outside the White House "like James Carville," Mixner has been in the political arena since the anti-war days of Vietnam. His anti-war activities got him thrown out of Arizona State University where his college buddy Bill Clinton graduated with honors. Though Mixner continued to believe in the rewards of activism (and made it to Oxford University on a Martin Luther King Fellowship), he says Vietnam robbed a generation of young activists of their idealism.

"We were also casualties of Vietnam," said Mixner. "Those of us who protested the war were forgotten, just as veterans were forgotten. Those of us who fought day and night to end the war were also forgotten."

Mixner continued to organize through the drugs, alcohol and money-grubbing Yuppyism that marked the past three decades. He says Clinton has again given the country permission to be idealistic. And after three decades of working both grassroots politics and corporate boardrooms, Mixner is ready for more.

"David is the best strategist that the gay and lesbian community has," said Diane Abbott, attorney and co-founder with Mixner and the late Randy Close of ANGLE, Access Now for Gay and Lesbian Equality, which raised \$3.4 million for Clinton. Mixner put up \$30,000 as start-up money.

"This cause is really David's life. He says 'We are fighting for our lives,' but for him it is especially true. He is fighting for his life and his work is outstanding as a result of it."

Like most, Mixner has lost many to AIDS, 189 friends by his latest count as well as his business partner, Peter Scott.

When it comes to detail, Mixner can be very down-to-earth. At ANGLE, Mixner looked around to see what political organizations were effective—and why—and came up with the idea of sending out a ballot slate with ANGLE's candidates on it.

"He doesn't believe in reinventing the wheel," said Abbott, who helped found MECLA, the first gay PAC, with Mixner in 1977. "He believes in making it better."

But when Mixner speaks about gay rights, his words become almost spiritual.

"We all are called upon to make specific sacrifices," said Mixner, who has lost clients for years over his outspoken stance on gay rights. "Some of us heed that call, others don't." Mixner says losing clients is a small price to pay when young gay enlisted men like Allen Schindler are losing their lives in the military.

A follower of Mahatma Gandhi, his belief in nonviolence doesn't stop Mixner from being militant. Since the 1960s, he's been arrested more than 10 times. He says that civil disobedience planned at the Pentagon following the March on Washington is a good strategy.

"The Pentagon is the root of the problem," said Mixner of the action there. "An action there points up a great injustice and it makes sense to get arrested there because that is the site of the injustice. It educates the public and shows people we're willing to go to jail over the issue of gays in the military."

In his own way, Mixner perhaps epitomizes the gay community of the '90s—a check-writing, street-fighting activist as at home in boardrooms as the barricades.

★ BY FRANCIS WILKINSON ★

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About Facing Chairman Nunn: Inside the Gay Lobby

The Campaign for Military Service Wages War Against the Ban

On January 29th gay and liberal activists met for breakfast at the Georgetown home of a Democratic political consultant. The meeting had been hastily convened by Bob Burkett, a longtime Democratic operative and political adviser to entertainment mogul David Geffen. He was joined by former Fox executive Barry Diller, EMILY's List president Ellen Malcolm and a half-dozen others. Most were veterans of liberal battles, ranging from the antiwar movement to abortion rights to the political assassination of Judge Robert Bork, which Burkett had helped mastermind.

On inauguration night, little more than a week before, they had celebrated a long-awaited victory. Now, over bagels and coffee, they were desperately trying to stave off disaster.

Intentionally or not — it's hard to tell — Defense Secretary Les Aspin had tripped a wire the Sunday before. Appearing on *Face the Nation*, Aspin suggested that President Clinton's plan to rescind the military ban on homosexuals might be overwhelmed by opposition in Congress and the Pentagon. The Christian right, which had been organizing against the

move for months, recognized Aspin's equivocation as a call to arms. In the ensuing week of tele-democracy, in which the press equated a campaign of angry phone calls with the nation's popular will, Clinton's plan and gay aspirations were routed. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Colin Powell and Senate Armed Services Committee chair Sam Nunn piled on, noisily registering their opposition. Presidential power, which had seemed an awesome thing through the many years it was arrayed against them, provided no cover for gays, who, in their confusion,

could muster none for the president.

"We went from wondering how to keep our people from becoming complacent to wondering whether we were going to go down the chutes," says William Waybourn, executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund. Washington's gay political community was so stunned

by the onslaught that Tim McFeeley, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, the largest gay lobbying group, with a staff of thirty-eight, later felt compelled to distribute a memo to his board responding to the damning question, "Where was HRCF?"

At the start of 1993, gays' primary goal had been passage of the Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Act, which would afford gays the same civil-rights protection — from discriminatory housing and employment practices, for instance — as heterosexuals. Breaking the military ban was expected to be an almost natural byproduct of Clinton's election. Instead, overnight it had become the test of gay political legitimacy. "This is now the civil-rights question on which all collateral civil-rights questions will rely," says gay-rights attorney Tom Stoddard.

In fact, the predicament was a case study of the perils of getting one's wish: Gays lost control of their agenda at precisely the moment Washington began

LEADING THE CHARGE: DAVID MIXNER



* P O L I T I C S *

taking it seriously. "We were caught by euphoria" over Clinton's victory, mutters Representative Barney Frank.

In the campaign, Clinton rarely strayed from his melodious message of jobs and productivity into the more dissonant theme of gay rights. But he embraced gay voters with a personal intensity unlike any presidential candidate before him. Clinton's unique relationship with gays stemmed predominantly from his appearance at a Hollywood fund-raiser last May. The event provided a \$100,000 boost to Clinton's campaign at a time when, sagging in the polls, he was looking like an apt successor to Mondale and Dukakis. It was organized in large part by David Mixner, an L.A. business consultant and near-legendary gay political figure who was the only open homosexual on the Clinton campaign's executive committee.

Mixner is a vintage Friend of Bill. He'd met Clinton in 1969 at a reunion of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy campaign grunts on Martha's Vineyard. The two young activists, born three days apart, had both come from obscure backgrounds and made their own ways into movement politics. Both were handsome, with expansive charm, acute intelligence and raw political instincts. Unlike Clinton at the time, however, Mixner, one of the chief organizers of the 1969 Vietnam Moratorium, was already a bona fide political leader.

When Mixner introduced his friend to the crowd of several hundred gay men and lesbians, he told them Clinton would be "our Harry Truman," the president whose 1948 executive order integrated blacks into the military. Clinton gave one of his most memorable speeches that night. Visibly exhausted, the lumpy bags under his eyes a moldy blue-green, he stood at a podium, text in hand, and for twenty-five minutes bathed the room in empathy.

"If I could," Clinton said near the end of his speech, his emotions made raw by fatigue, "if I could wave my arm for those of you that are HIV positive and make it go away tomorrow, I would do it. So help me God, I would. If I gave up my race for the White House and everything else, I would do that."

Clinton's appearance at the Palace was a political milestone. Videotapes of the speech were passed around by gays across the country. The speech locked the candidate into a partnership with the gay electorate, a relationship cemented by more than \$3 million in contributions and thousands of gay campaign volunteers. Later, a portion of the text — "I have a vision and you are a part of it . . ." — was etched in Plexiglas and made an official inaugural souvenir. For gay cognoscenti, this otherwise hackneyed trinket was like a secret handshake with Clinton. Gays knew that for the first time ever,

a president's "you" meant "us."

"After the president's election I had the sense for the first time, even in New York, that gay people were part of the cultural fabric of the nation," says Tom Stoddard, who remembers Clinton as a popular upperclassman at Georgetown University, where both attended college. "Having the president embrace us meant for me the certification of my liberation. It sort of certified in the deepest possible sense that gay people are here to stay. It's like having the family made whole again."

Buoyed by acceptance, gays anticipated a Rose Garden ceremony in which Clinton would sign an executive order opening the military to homosexuals. At first, so did Clinton. But they badly miscalculated. The presidential paradigm for gay rights was not to be Truman's bold stroke of the pen, but John Kennedy's studied diffidence in the face of a politically threatening and socially disruptive civil-rights movement. Kennedy courted black voters but feared Southern senators. He felt a moral stake in the movement's success but a political stake in the dream's deferment. Clinton, who has tried on so much of JFK's style over the years, perhaps did not choose this particular suit. But he's wearing it.

For gays, the stroke of the pen will have to follow, not precede, the bus rides and marches. Further complicating matters, Clinton struck a deal with Nunn to postpone the day of reckoning for six months, then directed Aspin to produce a report by July 15th on integrating gays into the military. Having done that, Clinton retreated behind his economic program. Cut loose by their president, gays now not only have to launch their own civil-rights movement and win the nation's support. They have to deliver it on deadline.

TAPED TO A WALL IN THE THREE-ROOM office of the Campaign for Military Service, in a building just off Dupont Circle, is the scrawled essence of the campaign's message: IT'S DISCRIMINATION, STUPID. Like much else in the campaign, the message bespeaks a strong identification with the president. But it also reflects a clarity of focus. This is not a campaign about recognition of domestic partnerships or AIDS funding or hate-crimes legislation. In truth, it's not even about discrimination against homosexuals, as generally understood. It is solely about the military's very particular discrimination against homosexuals who wish to serve in its ranks.

"Discrimination against someone who wants to serve other people is especially groundless and especially offensive," says Stoddard, the campaign coordinator. Stoddard and his colleagues believe that if Americans refuse even to let gays die in combat for them, it may be quite a while before they're in the mood to address gay

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grievances of a less heroic bent.

The campaign was founded by the activists who gathered in Georgetown on January 29th. Bob Burkett, on behalf of David Geffen, and Barry Diller each pledged \$25,000 on the spot. (Geffen, worth hundreds of millions, is under pressure to contribute in the deep six figures.) David Mixner, who attended a subsequent meeting, and three other high-profile professionals formed the core of a finance committee hoping to raise \$3 million to fund the full panoply of tactics the campaign is employing: grass-roots organizing, congressional lobbying, a bus tour and prospective TV spots in targeted markets.

Organizers have few illusions about the queasiness with which many Americans consider homosexuality. But they believe a well-crafted appeal to Americans' sense of fair play will yield results. Polls show the country roughly divided on the issue. Citing a recent CBS News-*New York Times* poll indicating forty-three percent favor retracting the ban, Stoddard says the goal is to get "another ten percent" and then leverage that support into votes in Congress, where the ban's fate will likely be decided.

Gays are working their way from the edge of liberal public opinion toward the middle, hoping to capture Peoria before the Christian right gets there. The campaign has conducted focus groups in Ohio, Louisiana and Florida to test its message on Middle America, which, after a long, painful siege over abortion, finds itself subject to yet another heated values debate it would just as soon ignore.

"The people in our focus groups didn't want to spend two hours discussing this subject," says campaign pollster Mark Mellman. And strategists know Americans may not be ready to endorse gay "lifestyles." But containing the question solely to one of discrimination by the military seemed to work. One participant said he would never hire a homosexual himself but couldn't condone a similar practice by the federal government.

Unlike the Christian right, which is as rural and suburban as gays are urban, gays don't have a lot of political experience in Middle America. In the past decade, the gay community gained political skills by organizing against AIDS; it delivered human services, raised money, built institutions. It expanded its own political infrastructure and built sturdy bridges to power on the coasts. It did not, however, make inroads to the middle, where so many gays and lesbians, after all, grew up.

In March the campaign launched a five-week trip to reach the middle, via the Midwest and the South. Called the Tour of Duty, the bus trip carried gay and lesbian veterans on a route through midsize media markets that were most notable for their political geography. (Taken togeth-

er, the stops make a pretty good road map to undecided votes in Congress.) The tour's slogan, credited to *New Republic* editor Andrew Sullivan, was succinct, undemanding and on message, asking only to "Live and Let Serve."

The tour hasn't yet generated the kind of widespread publicity the campaign had hoped for. But at each stop, veterans hold a press conference to show the locals the mundane face of the gay veteran and answer nervous questions about the effect of showers on morale and AIDS on the battlefield. It is the kind of public-education effort that if reinforced over several years, could lead to substantial changes in attitudes. But a blip on the eleven o'clock news does not make for a revolution.

Still, the campaign must do its best to move what pollster Mellman calls the "malleable middle" because gays lack the numbers to muscle Congress outright. Voter Research and Surveys estimated the '92 gay vote at 2.4 percent of the total, which, due to the closet factor and the tendency of gays to congregate in the same precincts, is probably low. But estimates of 10 percent or more used by some gay groups are almost certainly too high. "We don't have the votes," acknowledges one lobbyist. "They know that."

However, as countless special interests from pro-Israel Jews to peanut farmers can attest, numbers aren't everything. With the backing of the president and congressional leadership and smart lobbying and PR, not to mention the occasional lure of a wealthy gay contributor, it is possible for gays to win on Capitol Hill. But first, says Barney Frank, the campaign must give members "the courage of their convictions in the most literal sense."

According to congressional sources in both houses, a vote on the issue is likely after Nunn's hearings and Aspin's report are concluded. Gay-rights supporters are hoping the more streamlined legislative process and party loyalty will carry the House. "I think we can win this one in the House," says Frank. But everyone is worried about the Senate. "It's not terminal in the House, but it's life threatening in the Senate," says a campaign lobbyist.

Senators are keeping tabs on a special election in May that may hold some clues to how resonant the issue is with voters. A Republican opponent of Texas Democrat Bob Krueger has produced an ad condemning Krueger's support for gays in the military. "Other members are looking at how he comes out of this," says a lobbyist.

Campaign lobbyists have graded every member of Congress from one to five based on their perceived or indicated position on repealing the ban. Ones, whose support is considered solid, are kept informed, and fives, whose opposition is deemed immutable, are monitored. Those two groups constitute a majority of the

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Senate in almost equal portions. Any member among the two-through-four minority is targeted for persuasion. "I have a gut feeling we can make this happen," says one lobbyist. "I'm hoping for some of these middle-of-the-road guys."

Lobbyists bring exemplary gay military personnel like Tracy Thorne and Greta Cammermeyer to meet legislators and tell their tales of achievement and discrimination. Gay constituents are rounded up to meet with their senator or representative both in Washington and in the home district to testify to local gay roots. Everyone is briefed beforehand on the correct way to make an impression.

In one lobbying expedition, Cathy Woolard, an HRCF lobbyist, brought Crae Pridgen and his mother to meet North Carolina Democrats in the House. Pridgen, a gay North Carolinian, was beaten by marines outside a gay bar in January, making national headlines. "We just go in and sit down, and Crae tells the story of what happened to him," Woolard says. "Mrs. Pridgen talks about how she felt as a mother. I sort of have the facts to stick in along the way." Powerful North Carolina Democrat Charlie Rose didn't tell Woolard how he would vote, but he did write a letter to the president in which he deplored the beating.

The nature of gay politics dictates that nearly every aspect of the campaign is intensely personal. Gay activists trade rumors about the supposed lesbianism of a high-ranking Pentagon official's daughter, staking their hopes for civil rights on the denouement of family melodramas over dinner. In the same vein, Mixner says the campaign's best shot at receiving corporate underwriting is "a corporate CEO who has a son or daughter who is gay or lesbian."

The accent on the personal is also evident in Congress. "People are very uncomfortable with sexuality anyway," says one of the two dozen lobbyists the campaign has enlisted. "When it's homosexuality, it makes them even more uncomfortable. For the first thirty minutes you're talking to them, they're thinking: 'Is he queer? God, I wonder what those people do.' They don't hear a word you're saying. It's not until about the third visit that they actually start listening."

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZERS, MANY OF WHOM, like their president, came of age in movement politics, are acutely aware of the civil-rights precedents of buses and marches. "The parallel is not Clinton-Gore," says Tom Sheridan, a lobbyist who is organizing the campaign's efforts on Capitol Hill. "It is the Freedom Rides."

Organizers are trying to recruit the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP as coalition partners capable of validating their discrimination and even asked Coretta Scott King to lend her sainted profile to the

cause. "It's important that this is not perceived as just a gay issue," says Hilary Rosen, a prominent recording-industry lobbyist who is helping the campaign. The bus tour also tried to arrange a media stop in Selma, Alabama, on the bridge where police attacked peaceful black marchers in 1965.

The similarities between the black and gay experiences, while far from exact, are undeniable. In each case, the military's exclusion policy was justified with almost identical language about troop morale and social order. And just as the franchise was once denied the "good Negro" housekeeper on account of the "bad Negroes" who would spoil it for everyone, gays who serve the military with distinction must remain closeted, lest drag queens and predatory sex fiends leave Castro Street behind for Dionysian Camp Lejeune.

If race provides one prism through which to view the issue, the battle over abortion rights, with its two polar extremes vying for the coveted middle, provides another. By the end of the Bush administration, the right finally, definitively had lost the abortion fight. Reeling from the conservative Supreme Court's refusal to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and the subsequent election of a prochoice president, the Christian right seized upon gays in the military as a values issue capable of mobilizing conservative troops — another in what appears to be an interminable line of cultural last stands.

On December 1st, while gays were busy funneling résumés to the transition team, a largely futile exercise yielding few placements in the new administration, some three dozen military and conservative-values groups met in Washington to form the Coalition to Maintain Military Readiness. Members of the coalition represented a vast grass-roots network and knew how to arouse it. The Traditional Values Coalition sent letters to the 25,000 churches in its membership, asking ministers to organize their flocks against the impending tide of sodomites; the Retired Officers Association contacted more than 400 local chapters urging them to organize members and alert local press to their opposition to Clinton's plan. Later, the group set up a 900 number that members could call to send a letter automatically to their representatives in Congress. Groups like the Family Research Institute and Concerned Women for America sent out direct-mail solicitations refining fear of "the gay lifestyle" and "militant homosexuals" into money in the bank.

Their champion in the Senate is Indiana Republican Dan Coates, who appears eager to fill the shoes of the aging titan Jesse Helms. Coates will do the shouting, but the Christian right, like the Pentagon, is counting on Democrat Sam Nunn to bar the door. "The real action," one campaign lobbyist says, "is between

the administration and Nunn. I think he's put himself exactly where he wants to be."

In the intricate universe of the Armed Services Committee, as elsewhere, the issue of gays in the military raises complicated emotions about sexuality, patriotism, morality, military readiness. But it is also intimately connected to another set of considerations — about base closings, downsizing, conversion, budget priorities. Nunn has appointed himself keeper of the flame for both traditions, fighting Clinton's gays and Clinton's budget cuts with the same deliberate, soft-spoken hostility. "Nunn sees himself as the defender and surrogate for the military in this administration," says a veteran Democrat.

In part, Nunn's stance stems from the fact that he has staked his career on a single issue — military affairs — only to find his expertise drastically devalued by the Cold War's demise. "Some-

times you major in the wrong subject," asked Nunn to hold hearings on the issue last year, hoping a sober discussion might prod debate. In the supercharged atmosphere this year, with the clashing egos of Clinton, Nunn, Aspin and Powell all in play and the political stakes high, gays are almost incidental to their own trial.

AT THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE in late March, Clinton was asked if he would be willing to support "restrictions" on the deployment of homosexuals in the military; he flatly stated that he "wouldn't rule that out." The next day, White House aides confirmed that position: The president would consider recommendations to segregate gay military personnel.

Watching the press conference, David Mixner says, made him "sick to my stomach." Clinton aide Bob Hattoy, one of the few openly gay White House aides,

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There is little Clinton can do to prod or punish the senator from Georgia, whose primary constituency has for years been the Pentagon. Nunn, who has fired two staffers because they were gay, needs no favors, perks or photo ops from Clinton's White House. When the president visited Georgia in March, Nunn stayed in Washington. During the campaign, he reneged on a commitment to escort Hillary Rodham Clinton on a Georgia visit after the Gennifer Flowers scandal erupted. All the while, Nunn seems to take a perverse joy in calling Clinton his "good friend."

Nunn unilaterally announced in January that he would begin his hearings on gays in the military in March. When the White House quietly prevailed upon him to postpone the hearings to give the president's economic plan center stage and gay activists time to organize, he acceded to the request by nudging the opening sessions ever so slightly, to the end of March.

Nunn's hearings will, more than any other single factor, set the terms of debate. Nunn has given gay groups wide latitude in choosing their own witnesses and clearly wishes his hearings to be perceived as fair. But even if the hearings are not unfavorable to gays, they represent the type of public education that lays the groundwork for long-term gains, not immediate results. In fact, the HRCF had

told a reporter he "almost started crying."

The White House later backtracked on Clinton's statement, saying it was merely a gaffe. But Clinton's most recent comment on the controversy had been his February 10th statement that he was "appalled" at the amount of time he had spent on gays in the military.

There have been other warning signs as well. Gay activists couldn't help noticing that throughout the controversial days of January, neither Hillary Clinton nor Al Gore made any show of support. And they are troubled that the president did not move quickly to appoint an AIDS czar, as he had promised, or to appoint more gays in the administration. When the White House took a dive on another campaign promise, to overturn the ban on HIV-positive immigrants, some gays began to chafe. Barney Frank counsels that the administration is solid. "They could have made a grand gesture and walked away from it," Frank says. "They made a decision not to do that."

Even so, gays are beginning to hedge their bets. Gay fund-raisers and major donors told DNC chair David Wilhelm they would withhold campaign contributions if the president doesn't hold the line. Mixner says he has delivered an unequivocal message to the White House on the consequences of dodging the fight, raising the specter of a Clinton reelection campaign in 1996 in which the candidate is never heard for all the [Cont. on 122]

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[Cont. from 42] hecklers who dog his trail.

"We are willing to lose our jobs; we are willing to go to jail for freedom," says Mixner, who seems eager to assume leadership of what he calls "my community." He acknowledges he has no idea whether gays, many professionals like himself, are ready to commit themselves to large-scale civil disobedience and radical protest. "I don't know until we try," he says. But as Frank told an audience composed primarily of gay congressional staffers at the end of March, "Civil disobedience is what you do when you don't have enough political power."

Despite their financial resources and growing political sophistication, gays have been unable to spur passage of their civil-rights bill or to fend off many of the local and state referendums attempting to restrict their rights.

Some activists privately concede that the campaign's "coalition" doesn't amount to much, either. Natural allies like the National Organization for Women have been disappointingly slow to lend a hand. Coretta Scott King declined to participate. Even gay groups have jealously guarded their mailing lists. "We're out here on our own again," says a member of ANGLE, an elite gay-rights group in Los Angeles. "I don't see the black community, I don't see the Hollywood community, getting involved." And money? "It will mostly come from the gay and lesbian community," Mixner says. "If we depended on going beyond there, we wouldn't succeed."

Gays cannot move forward without ending the ban. And they cannot end the ban without Clinton. The president has another opportunity to send a signal the weekend of April 25th, when what organizers expect will be the largest gay-rights march in history hits Washington. "What does Clinton do?" Mixner asks. "He can't go out of town or watch a football game."

Mixner prepared a memo for the White House on JFK's handling of the 1963 March on Washington, when, according to Gallup, six of ten whites thought blacks were pushing too hard for change. Knowing Clinton is unlikely to join a gay contingent on the speakers platform, Mixner suggested symbolic options ranging from a visit to the AIDS quilt by one of the Clintons or Gores to the president's attending Sunday services with homosexuals at the Lincoln Memorial.

Any presidential action will be scrutinized from all sides. Though inaction, too, can be historic. Kennedy watched on TV as Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech. Though King made his way to the mountaintop, Kennedy laid low. We'll soon know if Clinton too is afraid of heights. ■

1993 March on Washington

Articles from the Washington Blade, Friday, April 23



White House photo

President Clinton meets with Gay leaders in the Oval Office

Meeting called 'very positive'

President doubles scheduled length of historic Oval Office meeting

by Lisa Keen

The White House press corps was beginning to get a little antsy at 4:30 last Friday afternoon, April 16. Gay leaders were supposed to have been meeting with President Clinton from 3:30 to 4. Either Clinton had started the meeting late — as he so often does — they grumbled among themselves, or the meeting was over and the White House had sneaked the Gay leaders out a side door. A few pulled out their cellular phones to report their uncertain status to their newsrooms; one volunteered to go ask "staff."

As the 30 or so milled about outside the famous west portico door guarded by a dress uniformed Marine, one male reporter made his exit by performing what he characterized as an imitation of Lt. Col. Ollie North: He threw a limp wrist into the air, kicked back his right heel, and lisped, "Es-cuuuse me," with a big smile on his face.

The reporter-scout returned with reconnaissance about the status of the meeting: "Nobody knows." The wait continued.

An official inside the west wing door beckoned the Marine guard inside. This prompted a few reporters to discuss the possibility that the White House didn't want him to be visible in the background where the cluster of microphones was aimed and waiting for someone to talk about the meeting, which, no doubt, would cover Gays in the military.

At 4:50, somebody noticed President Clinton walking up the east steps to the Old Executive Office Building on the west side of the White House. From that comfortable distance — too far to shout a question — he turned and looked back at the stakeout, then entered the building.

About 15 minutes later, a White House staffer in shirt-sleeves came out and nestled himself next to the line of cameras and soon after, the group of eight Gay leaders emerged. They had not been whisked away through a side door; but instead, brought through the west portico entrance reserved generally for members of Congress

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1993 March on Washington

Articles from the Washington Blade, Friday, April 23

President surprises Gay leaders with questions

Continued from page 1

and other dignitaries. And the meeting didn't get started late; it ran twice as long as expected — 60 minutes instead of 30.

When they emerged from the one-hour get-together, the Gay leaders expressed a strong sense that President Clinton is still deeply committed to ending discrimination against Gays. As White House Communications Director George Stephanopoulos watched from behind the press, they said, among other things, that Clinton:

- seemed committed to addressing the April 25 March on Washington rally himself, albeit by a satellite video or telephone hookup from Boston;
- reiterated his plan to issue an executive order ending the ban against Gays in the military on July 15;
- stated that he was "really interested" in issuing an executive order to prohibit discrimination against Gays in federal employment;
- assured them that he will not give up the \$200 million for AIDS care in his economic stimulus package for the current fiscal year;
- asked them for specific nominees for the AIDS czar position; and,
- expressed general support for the Congressional civil rights bill to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation.

In their remarks to the press corps, they emphasized that the April 16 visit represented the first time a U.S. president held a meeting with representatives of the Gay community and that they saw this as a major turning point in the community's struggle for equal rights as Americans.

"It was a very, very positive meeting and the president reaffirmed that he was elected and plans to serve all Americans," said Phill Wilson, who served as the key spokesperson for the event.

Wilson is head of the National Black Gay and Lesbian Leadership Conference and of the Los Angeles AIDS Project. Also participating in the meeting were: Nadine Smith and Billy Hileman, two of the four cochaIRS for the National March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation; William Waybourn, head of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund; Tone Osborn, head of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Tim McFeeley, head of the Human Rights Campaign Fund; Tom Stoddard, head of the Campaign for Military Service; and,

Andrew Barrer, head of Coalition '93, which is promoting the appointment of open Gays to positions within the Clinton administration.

White House staff present during the meeting included Alexis Herman, assistant to the president and director of public liaison; Keith Boykin, an openly Gay appointee who serves as special assistant to the president and director of news analysis; and Bob Hattoy, an openly Gay appointee in the White House Office of Personnel.

Going into the meeting with President Clinton, the six men and two women who represented the Gay community at the historic White House visit agreed to focus on three issues: the March on Washington, Gays in the military, and the Congressional Gay civil rights bill. To their surprise, Clinton added a few other subjects to the discussion: an executive order to protect federal employees, who should be AIDS czar, and AIDS funding.

Based on accounts of the meeting from several of those in attendance, President Clinton greeted each person individually at the door to the Oval Office and seemed eager to make them feel at ease. Once the group settled down onto two facing couches, Wilson, sitting next to the president, thanked Clinton for the meeting on behalf of the gathering. He said the meeting was especially historic because it was dealing with Gay issues specifically, but he noted that, as a man living with AIDS, he wanted to thank the president for his work on AIDS.

"The president picked up on that," said NGLTF's Osborn, "and assured the group that he would not put the \$200 million for AIDS in his economic stimulus package 'on the chopping block'." He also mentioned that he was having trouble finding an AIDS czar.

"Then he asked, 'What shall we talk about now?'" recalled Osborn. She said the group was eager to keep the March on Washington at the top of its agenda, so March cochair Nadine Smith spoke up "and made a very eloquent case for him to appear in person" at the event.

Smith said she told the president that the March on Washington would be the largest civil rights demonstration in the history of this country and that it was an "important opportunity to send a message, not just to those marchers who are assembled, but to the nation." Smith said the March on Washington group had sent

1993 March on Washington

Articles from the Washington Blade, Friday, April 23

Clinton an invitation to address the March some time ago but had not gotten any response. She said, however, that Clinton indicated he was aware of the invitation and "was committed to, in some way, participate in the March."

Smith and others recalled that Clinton said he would "definitely" be out of town on Sunday but that he seemed to be seriously considering a secondary option they suggested — to address the marchers live through a video or phone hookup from Boston. Smith noted that Clinton also said he was thinking about using his Sunday speech to newspaper editors to talk about the Gay civil rights movement.

There were at least two somewhat awkward moments during the 60-minute meeting. Several in attendance said they were somewhat startled when the president himself brought up the idea of issuing an executive order prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation in federal employment. During a conference call the day before, the Gay leaders had decided not to bring up that issue because one of them — Stoddard, who is also a legal activist — assured them that court interpretations and civil service guidelines already instruct most federal agencies not to discriminate against Gays. Because the group expected to have only 30 minutes with the president, said Stoddard, that issue was left off the short list of priorities the group felt it had to cover.

"The president said he was really interested in following through on an executive order" for federal employees, recalled NGLTF's Osborn. "When he said that, we all looked at Tom."

Stoddard said the president had noted that an executive order for federal employees "seemed less controversial" than the one for Gays in the military.

"I told him the reason it was less controversial was that, for 20 years, the federal Civil Service Commission has been operating under guidelines it issued in 1973 instructing supervisors not to discriminate based on homosexuality."

Osborn said the president suggested that they "talk more about this" idea once "things get cleared up" around the Gays in the military executive order.

"He's very open to that," she said. And several of those at the meeting said the president seemed "very confident" that the military ban against Gays will eventually be lifted.

Stoddard said he told President Clinton

that he felt his public remarks emphasizing the need to distinguish "status" from "conduct" were becoming an "increasingly dangerous distinction." Stoddard said some senators on the Armed Services Committee were beginning to interpret such things as statements of "I am Gay" as "conduct." He said the president immediately recognized his point and noted that maybe the better distinction was between status and "misconduct."

At another point, Clinton caught the leaders off guard by asking them for names of people whom he should consider for AIDS czar. Wilson, of the Black Gay Leadership group, said Clinton told them that two people already have turned down the position and that the administration was "back to square one" in trying to find someone.

"He did ask for names," said Wilson, "but we didn't put forward any specific names."

Asked why not, several of the Gay leaders said they felt it was inappropriate for any individuals to propose their own favorites without having discussed them with the group first.

"In a meeting like this," said Wilson, "whoever is invited needs to try to reflect as broad a consensus from the community as possible. We were all trying to be cautious around how much we spoke from our own personal perspectives. Instead, we wanted to make comments to reflect as best as we can the messages we get from various constituencies."

But also, said Wilson, "I don't think there is any consensus at the moment for a name. And we really need to get on the ball and try to coalesce around a name. Right now, every name that's floated — somebody has really wanted to crucify that person."

Those attending the meeting noted that an aide to the president came in after the scheduled 30 minutes and gave the routine "subtle indications" that it was time for the meeting to end. But the president "ignored that," said Smith, "and kept the conversation going."

Outside at the press stakeout, one of the first questions asked was whether the Gay group felt "snubbed" by President Clinton's plans to be in Boston for the March on Washington.

"It was very clear to us that while President Clinton may be in Boston during the March," replied Osborn, "his soul will be in Washington."▼

WILLIAM WAYBOURN



ASHINGTON — William Waybourn doesn't laugh at off-color jokes and never uses four-letter words. Quite often, however, he hears dirty jokes and obscene language — directed at him.

Some of it can be shrugged off easily. Some of it can't.

Take his cassette tape of calls from a man whom Mr. Waybourn has dubbed The Nut. The tape is a series of scratchily recorded, venomous

anti-gay telephone messages that Mr. Waybourn received on his Dallas answering machines. At the time, he was president of the Dallas Gay Alliance and arguably one of the least popular men in Dallas.

The crank calls eventually were traced, and the caller was forced to stop. But Mr. Waybourn kept the tape as a sort of memento mori.

John Thomas, executive director of the recently renamed Dallas Gay and Lesbian Alliance, says Mr. Waybourn saved his crank mail, too. "I thought it was not healthy to read over things that people say with such hate," Mr. Thomas says. "William would get very mean letters, even from people in the gay community."

Bruce Monroe, president of the local Foundation for Human Understanding, thinks he knows why Mr. Waybourn kept the messages.

"It's very easy to lose sight of why we do what we do, to become complacent," Mr. Monroe says. "Every now and then, you need to sit

down and go, 'This is what it's all for.'"

And that struggle — for civil rights, for empowerment — is something Mr. Waybourn, 45, never allows himself to forget.

To that end, Mr. Waybourn habitually works 12-hour days and spends most of his free time reading newspapers and magazines, networking and planning fund-raisers. If he seems consumed by his cause, says Rev. Michael Piazza of the Cathedral of Hope in Oak Lawn, it is because "for people who change the world, that's the way it is."

"And he is out to change the world — not only for lesbian and gay people and people with AIDS," Mr. Piazza says. "He feels passionate about justice for everyone."

Sometimes, Mr. Waybourn muses, that goal seems far away. "Whenever I think our movement is on the verge of acknowledgement, as opposed to acceptance," he says, "I play this tape."

He's a descendant of Texas Rangers, obsessed with justice. An ex-journalist and acknowledged master of manipulation. A crusader, criticized within his own movement and driven by the memory of a dead friend. His quiet appearance belies his razor wit, and his single-mindedness gives little hint of his nurturing side.

Continued on page 2

BY JOYCE SAENZ HARRIS

He is not without his share of critics from outside and inside the movement

Continued from page 1

Love him or hate him, no one disputes William Waybourn's commitment to his cause or the fact that he now wields power on a national scale. When he telephones CBS, the White House or a member of Congress, people pay attention, and this he uses to his advantage. Being in Washington, he says, makes him feel "like Br'er Rabbit in the briar patch."

The AIDS issue probably did more than anything else to push Mr. Waybourn into combativeness. He calls the Reagan-Bush era "12 years of American holocaust." He gibes at closeted gays who promote anti-gay policies, referring to them as "Jews for Hitler."

But in less-militant moments, he says simply that he wishes more people realized that gays and lesbians are "just people like them: taxpayers and citizens who deserve the same rights and privileges as everyone else."

Mr. Waybourn's Dallas resume is long. He was co-founder of the AIDS Resource Center, the Nelson-Tebedo Community Clinic for AIDS Research, the AIDS Arms Network, the Dallas Legal Hospice and the Dallas Dinner Committee, which in 1982 staged the city's first AIDS fund-raiser.

He was president of the Foundation for Human Understanding and the Dallas Gay Alliance. He pushed Parkland Hospital to give the drug AZT to indigent AIDS patients. He also was prominent in the coalition that sought but failed to remove state District Judge Jack Hampton for his alleged anti-gay bias, and in the effort to allow lesbian Mica Englund to serve with the Dallas Police Department.

Two years ago, Mr. Waybourn left Dallas to organize the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, a Washington-based political action committee that raises grass-roots funds for openly gay or lesbian candidates. As executive director, he "moved an organization with a four-person staff into the national limelight within a year of coming to Washington," says Jason Heffner, a policy analyst at the National Commission on AIDS.

"When the Victory Fund started out, nobody even got paid for the first couple of months," says David Mixner, a Beverly Hills business consultant who was a senior adviser to the Clinton campaign. "What William has done has not escaped the notice of anyone in Washington. And he's the one who did it, with his leadership."

The Victory Fund still is a shoe-string operation — but now, as Mr. Mixner notes, "They're raising large amounts of money." In 1992, the Victory Fund raised \$263,000 for 12 candidates nationwide. Six won, including Texas legislator Glen Maxey, D-Austin.

"The response has been phenomenal," says philanthropist Andrew Barrer, a Democratic fund-raiser and Victory Fund volunteer. This year, the 2,000-member Victory Fund already has pledged of \$400,000 for 20 races.

Peter Brooks, former co-chairman, of Dallas' Lesbian and Gay Political Coalition and a longtime Democrat, agrees that Mr. Waybourn has done "a tremendous job organizing the Victory Fund." But, as a frequent opponent on Mr. Waybourn's home turf, Mr. Brooks adds, "I view his conversion (to political activism) with a certain amount of cynicism."

"In the '80s, William had nothing but disdain for political organizing," Mr. Brooks maintains. "I remember him writing in the DGA newsletter that politics made him sick to his stomach. . . . It's extremely amusing that he has become this celebrated political organizer."

Foes say they were glad to see Mr. Waybourn leave Dallas, and friends do not expect him to move back from Washington. Says modeling agent Kim Dawson, "Dallas is a fond place in his heart, but he has done us."

William Warren Waybourn was the youngest of Bill and Mildred Waybourn's three children and their only boy. He was also an asthmatic. So the Waybourns moved from Houston to Matador, a tiny West Texas town 82 miles east of Lubbock, and they launched a restaurant, Waybourn's Cafe.

There were perhaps 1,000 souls in Matador, and young William — then nicknamed "Butch" — knew just about everyone. His oldest friend, Gary Campbell, says their 1950s childhood was reminiscent of *The Last Picture Show*.

Eighth-grade kids drove jalopies

on dirt roads; teen-agers played pinball at the Dixie Dog and surreptitiously drank beer at the drive-in movie. Young Butch made a pet of a piglet named Suzy, who "thought she was a dog" and followed him around town on a leash.

The Waybourns showed an unusual sensitivity to Matador's impoverished blacks, opening their home to battered African-American women who needed shelter. They also opened their restaurant to black customers. Mr. Waybourn remembers that his parents had a contract with the bus line that stopped nearby, and once the passengers included a black woman with her young son.

As the little boy and Butch played together, he began to notice a confrontation taking place between his mother and the bus driver.

"The bus driver wanted them (the black family) to eat in the back of the restaurant," Mr. Waybourn recalls, "and my mother wouldn't allow that. She wanted them to eat with the rest of the passengers."

Mildred Waybourn won out, but her son has not forgotten the cost. Not long afterward, they lost the contract with the bus line. And the bus no longer stopped at Waybourn's Cafe.

Mr. Waybourn is a one-time journalist and former public-relations executive who instinctively knows the value of a well-phrased quote. As his partner and several friends point out with frank admiration, "William is a great manipulator of the media."

Kay Vinson, a Cedar Springs business owner and former co-chairman of the Lesbian-Gay Rights Lobby of Texas, takes a less admiring view. "He knows you always have to be available. The (Dallas) news media, being relatively lazy, learned to rely on William (as spokesman for the Dallas gay and lesbian community)," she says. "He was always there with a 20-second sound bite."

His wit is formidable and frequently used to make painful points with friend and foe alike. He likes to compose faxes and letters intended to persuade — or needle, or bludgeon — those who differ with him on a matter of policy. He can put together an ad-hoc committee in less time than it takes most people to get dressed in the morning.

Mr. Waybourn dresses as soberly as a minister and speaks with the meticulous logic of a philosophy professor. With his thinning, graying light-brown hair, neat mustache, mild blue eyes and glasses, he has an unassuming, gentlemanly air.

But underneath, he is absolutely relentless.

For that relentlessness, some love him and others frankly do not. "I know William has enemies," says Mica England. "But I have mine, too."

It is true, Mr. Monroe says, that "William is very opinionated and controlling on a lot of issues. Those of us who love him have learned to ignore that."

Louise Young, a Dallas lesbian and prominent Democratic organizer, says diplomatically: "William's pretty focused on his goals. That's not to say he won't compromise — but he finds it difficult to turn loose of that focus."

"We have many of the same goals. The question is, how do you get there?"

Mr. Brooks, less charitably, calls Mr. Waybourn "a mean-spirited SOB whom I have seen eviscerate people unnecessarily. And he did it just because they didn't agree with him. William's a real control freak."

One of Mr. Waybourn's opponents, Don Mason at AIDS Services of Dallas, simply declined to comment: "Anything I could tell you about William Waybourn, you couldn't print."

"People say he holds grudges," Mr. Monroe says. "But I've known him eight years, and I can say he

does not. He remembers the history, yes, but it takes a lot to get under his skin — and I mean an awful lot. And William is the type that has been hurt deeply by people who were his friends."

Mr. Waybourn is quite aware that he has foes in the gay and lesbian community. "I asked (civic leader) Adlene Harrison one time, how did she deal with criticism?" he recalls. "She said, 'Well, you get up in the morning and see these bruises. And you realize that the bruises from your friends are bigger and hurt deeper than the others.'"

"And you get up and get going."

Mr. Waybourn's conservative political foes, unsurprisingly, do not like his methods or his cause. "Radical" is probably the politest thing Mr. Waybourn is called by those on the religious right.

"I don't think I'm very radical at all," Mr. Waybourn demurs, a bit disingenuously. "A lot of people have told me I'm not radical

enough."

"He is a radical," counters his significant other of many years, Craig Spaulding — who mischievously points out that only a true believer would have "picked this crusade that's not going to make him any money."

"A radical wants to change the system," says Mr. Piazza. "William wants to make the system work."

Unlike Mr. Spaulding and many other men of the Baby Boom generation, Mr. Waybourn did not serve in Vietnam. He says a hearing problem kept him out of the draft.

He says he never marched against the war but recalls that he and his friends "used to throw heated pennies out the window at the ROTC corps who assembled by the journalism building at Tech. We used Zippo lighters, heated the pennies and bounced them off their helmets." It was a mildly subversive act, just the sort of thing he enjoys.

It is therefore either fitting or ironic that Mr. Waybourn helped launch the National Campaign for Military Service, an organization that is pressuring Congress and the White House to overturn the ban on openly gay or lesbian personnel on active military duty. Last weekend in Dallas, 70 people — including about 20 veterans, some in uniform — gathered at the Gay and Lesbian Community Center for a forum on the issue.

Mr. Waybourn brought along his "poster children, as I call them," Lt. j.g. Tracy Thorne and Petty Officer Keith Meinhold. "Will takes a practical view of things," Petty Officer Meinhold says. "He doesn't discuss anything but what it takes to get the job done."

For 90 minutes, the two men share their stories and answer questions. It has been a rough week for their cause. "The president may have a strong commitment to us, but his staffers do not," Lt. Thorne says. David Mixner, in Dallas that day, has publicly criticized his friend the president and "has burned his bridges to the White House," Mr. Waybourn tells the audience.

Now it's time to increase the pressure, he says. Warn Democratic moneymen that campaign dollars will dry up. Write to Democratic senator, Bob Krueger, who supports overturning the ban, and don't forget Republican senator, Phil Gramm: "We haven't written him off."

The two Navy men are "the Rosa Parks of this issue," Mr. Waybourn says, as the forum ends. "And this could be our Selma, Alabama."

Mr. Waybourn still has a certain nostalgia for Matador. He says, chuckling, that his old friends back home are proud of his Washington success but aren't eager to discuss his job.

Such ambivalence exists within Mr. Waybourn's own family. His father, who died in 1976, never knew that Mr. Waybourn was gay. His mother, who died in 1983, knew he was gay and was fond of his partner. Mr. Waybourn's sister in Austin is supportive of him, but the sister in Houston has distanced herself.

So Mr. Waybourn has expanded his "family." He takes young staff members under his wing, fussing over their health and counseling them on family problems. He also regards Mr. Spaulding's 20-year-old daughter as a stepdaughter and keeps a large color photograph of her on his desk.

Stephanie, a college student in Oklahoma City, says Mr. Waybourn "doesn't hesitate to tell me what the realities of life are, in regard to politics, people or the way the world works. Any time I want advice, he'll give it to me. Or even if I don't."

"William likes to be counselor-priest to people," says friend Bruce Monroe. "I don't know that he intends to be, but he falls easily into that role. When he wants you to get right with Jesus, he says, 'Let's do lunch.' . . . It's his way of reeling people back in."

Friends say that although Mr. Waybourn does not mind a policy fight, he shrinks from personal conflict. Mr. Spaulding says that in 19 years, "we have never had an argument. One time we came close . . .

but it was over in a few seconds."

Says John Thomas: "William would rather not confront personal difficulties. He'd rather ignore them or hope they go away."

Nine years ago, Mr. Waybourn was driving home from a late-night game of Trivial Pursuit when he experienced chest pains and nausea. Somehow he managed to get to his East Dallas house, and from there an ambulance took him to Baylor Medical Center.

It was the classic heart attack in all respects save one: Mr. Waybourn was just 36 years old.

At the time, he smoked three to four packs of cigarettes a day. He was also under stress: His mother died of kidney cancer in May 1983, and afterward, "well, it was like the walls sort of caved in."

"In the old days, William was a committed multiple-pack-a-day smoker, and he was always 'rush chairman' among his friends and new people in town," says John Thomas. "He'd go on a bar tour and have a drink in every bar."

After the heart attack, Mr. Waybourn went into therapy and at last came to terms with his homosexuality and his mortality. He had angioplasty, "the balloon-o-gram," in 1988 and controls his cholesterol with medication. He quit smoking: "My last cigarette was that one on April 13, 1984," he says. "And I've not smoked since then. But I'd smoke in a minute; I loved smoking."

Mr. Waybourn now eats lots of chicken and stir-fry, and he no longer drinks. He also bakes unattractive batches of "heavy-duty raisin bran muffins," Mr. Spaulding says. "He has one every morning. . . . If he's going to be out of town, he plans ahead and takes as many as he needs along on the trip."

Mr. Waybourn graduated from Texas Tech in 1969 and worked for the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*. In

the meantime, a woman friend of whom he was fond had died in the crash of a private plane. There were no other relationships with women that even verged on the serious, he says.

He had begun to realize he was gay, and a few years later, he met Mr. Spaulding while they both were working at the *Dallas Times Herald*.

In 1976, Mr. Waybourn left the *Herald* to work for Trammell Crow's Dallas Market Center as associate director of public relations and advertising. "William was great in a crisis," says Delores Lehr, a Crow marketing and PR consultant and former vice president of the Market Center. "I liked his attitude. He knew exactly where he was going."

Eventually he opened his own advertising and PR agency. He lost some clients who spotted him on the local newscasts, helping his best friends Bill Nelson and Terry Tebedo work on an AIDS patient's unfinished home. "That was," he says, "the first time I knew you had to be careful with this stuff."

His deeper involvement came in 1980, when he and Mr. Spaulding, along with Mr. Nelson and Terry Tebedo, started the Crossroads Market at Cedar Springs and Throckmorton Street. Mr. Nelson ran the store while everyone else worked at their day jobs, but it became an evening hangout for those in the movement.

In 1984, after Mr. Waybourn's heart attack, Mr. Nelson asked him to work on the board of the Foundation for Human Understanding, a nonprofit group that funds many of the alliance's community projects. Mr. Waybourn agreed, as long as he didn't have to attend too many meetings — "the biggest waste of time in American business."

At that time, he says, he became more politically aware of "how bad things really were" for gays and lesbians, in terms of civil rights and the AIDS epidemic. Much was achieved in the ensuing decade, but "we had to do it for ourselves," Mr. Waybourn says.

The alliance's community programs continue without Mr. Nelson and Mr. Tebedo, who died of AIDS-related illnesses in 1990 and 1988, respectively. Their deaths were the most agonizing of many for Mr. Waybourn, who stopped counting after "well over 100" of his friends died.

He still attends funerals — the most recent Dallas one was for his friend Bill Hunt — but says he will no longer deliver eulogies. "I'd rather do for people while they're alive," he says.

"During Bill's illness," says Mr. Nelson's mother, Jean Nelson, "William was always there for us. I truly feel he's like a son to me." Mr. Waybourn can hardly get through a long conversation without some reference to Mr. Nelson. The loss went "deeper than tears," says friend Pam Proctor.

"When Bill Nelson died, William changed," Mr. Monroe says. "I felt he was lonely. He missed Bill a lot, and his death hurt him a lot."

"Not a day goes by but he measures himself against Bill. He's always asking, 'What would Bill think?'"

Neither Mr. Waybourn nor Mr. Spaulding came from a religious family. They never attend church, except to go to funeral services.

"William does not believe in organized religion," Mr. Spaulding says. "But that doesn't mean he doesn't believe in a Supreme Being."

Mr. Piazza says Mr. Waybourn's attitude is "common with a lot of gay activists, because organized religion traditionally has been an enemy of the gay community."

"William is not religious at all. But I think he's one of the best Christians I know. He epitomizes what being a disciple of Jesus Christ is all about, with his advocacy of the sick and needy and disenfranchised."

Once, while he still lived in Dallas, Mr. Waybourn got another series of mysterious hang-up phone calls. At last, the caller revealed himself as a Baptist preacher's 15-year-old son, agonizing over the realization that he was gay and unable to reconcile that fact with his faith.

"Are you a Christian?" the boy asked.

"Well, of course," Mr. Waybourn said.

"But you're a homosexual," William Waybourn said, "I am that, too."



PHOTO: Hugo Wessels/Photo Press International

William Waybourn in his Washington office

William Warren Waybourn

Date and place of birth: July 2, 1947, in Houston.

Occupation: Executive director, Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund.

Favorite president: William Jefferson Clinton.

Favorite movie: *The Crying Game*.

Favorite all-time TV show: Anything on C-SPAN.

I drive: The Metro (D.C. subway).

My heroes are: The gay and lesbian military "poster children," e.g., Joe Steffan, Keith Meinhold, Tracy Thorne, Grethe Cammermeyer, Dusty Pruitt, Perry Watkins, plus countless others who served their country with honor.

The best advice I could give a 20-year-old is: "Stephanie, your father and I want you to marry for wealth."

My trademark cliché or expression: "You get what you resist."

Behind my back, people say: "He is manipulative, but he gets things done by pushing people beyond self-imposed limitations."

Guests at my fantasy dinner party: Bill Nelson, Terry Tebedo, Mike Richards, Tony Anthony, Bill Hunt and Mike Hearn, plus all the others who have since died of AIDS.

I wish I could sing like: Turtle Creek Chorale director Timothy Seelig — then I could have my own backup singers, too.

If I had a different job, I'd be: The first openly gay police chief of Dallas.

I'm happiest when: I am among friends.



PHOTO: Milton Hinnant

William Waybourn addresses a 1989 press conference on the Dallas County household HIV survey.

Thank you for the "High Profile"
of William Waycoven in the
Sunday Dallas Morning News, 4-4-93

My son is gay age 14 - We
have been all over the world
w/ Doctor after Doctor.

I now understand that gay is
something he did not pick or
choose - He too understands & his
life is better. Too many kids
take / destroy their lives because
they don't understand & religion etc
judges these people.

The article helped my son see
that a man stands for his
beliefs & acknowledges his homosexuality.
It was the final thing that saved
my sons life.

Thank you

A mother -



**GAY AND
LESBIAN**



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A Brief History of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund

The election of Texas Governor Ann Richards provided the unlikely catalyst for the beginnings of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund. Clearly outspent by her multi-millionaire opponent, Richards raised \$10.5 million to become the Lone Star State's chief executive officer. Clayton Williams, her oilman foe, raised \$20 million, with at least \$10 million in the form of a personal loan to his own campaign. When you strip away the advantage provided Williams by his own checkbook, Richards not only beat Williams at the ballot box, but she actually raised \$500,000 more than he did. These contributions were directly related to EMILY's List, a donor network of dedicated contributors who had agreed in advance to support at least two national races with contributions of \$100 or more. The acronym EMILY is for "Early Money Is Like Yeast" -- it makes the "dough" rise. Contributions to viable candidates, given early and in sufficient quantities, transformed qualified candidates from "fringe" status to "frontrunners."

Within days of Richards' election, Dallas gay activist William Waybourn placed a call to former Human Rights Campaign Fund executive director Vic Basile. Waybourn wondered why the lesbian and gay community and its candidates had missed the opportunity afforded women candidates by the strategy developed by EMILY's List. Basile and Waybourn then agreed to meet in Washington, D.C. during December, 1990, to formulate a strategy for developing a similar organization.

The initial reaction of gay and lesbian activists to the Victory Fund idea was tremendous. Waybourn and Basile met again in New York in January, 1991. Again, activists reacted positively and encouraged them to found the Victory Fund. During the next several months, Waybourn and Basile sought financial commitments from major funders, and asked activists selected for their fundraising and political prowess to serve on the founding board of directors. Longtime Portland activist and fundraiser Terry Bean, longtime political guru David Mixner of Los Angeles, former Columbus, Ohio professional athlete Lynn Greer, Los Angeles AIDS researcher and physician Dr. Scott Hitt, West Coast attorney and activist Roberta Bennett, Dallas Gay and Lesbian Alliance executive director John Thomas, San Francisco businessman David Detrick, recording industry executive Hillary Rosen, and Human Rights Campaign Fund Executive Director Tim McFeeley were among those who committed to raising \$10,000 each to serve on the board. These funds would be used to sustain the operation of the Victory Fund until a sufficient level of memberships could be attained.

On May 1, 1991, the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund was formally created as multi-candidate Federal political action committee, i.e., as a donor network, vis à vis EMILY's List, but responsive to a different community. Waybourn was hired as Executive Director and Basile signed on as a consultant. Individuals joined the organization with a contribution of \$100 or more, and agreed to give \$100 or more to at least two recommended candidates within a 12-month period. As candidates meet the criteria of the Victory Fund and are recommended to the network, checks are made payable directly to the candidates' campaigns and sent to the Victory Fund, where the checks are combined and sent to the candidates as a massive show of community support.

In the fall of 1991, Seattle City Council candidate Sherry Harris became the first candidate recommended to the Victory Fund donor network, then consisting of 181 members. The overriding question at that time was whether or not lesbian and gays living in other regions of the country would contribute money to the campaign of a woman running for office in the Northwest. The answer was an overwhelming "yes." A total of 41 members responded with just over \$4,000. The money was used to help pay for a brochure by Harris entitled "With All Due Respect," which was sent directly to Seattle's voters. Additional contributions kept rolling in from the network, eventually totaling over \$14,000 (including City of Seattle matching funds for each check up to \$50). With Victory Fund help, Harris became the nation's first openly lesbian African-American city council member when she beat a 24-year incumbent.

The Victory Fund is growing at a rapid rate. Its goal was to raise a total of \$80,000 for six candidates during its first election cycle. Instead, it raised more than \$263,000 for 12 candidates, six of whom won their races. The 1993 membership goal called for an increase to 1,800 members. Due to successful direct mail and special events, the Victory Fund surpassed this goal just 21 days into the new year. Today, the Victory Fund has more than 3,000 members in 45 states who have given over \$500,000 directly to qualified openly gay and lesbian candidates.



**GAY AND
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GAY and LESBIAN VICTORY FUND

Membership in the Victory Circle is \$1,000 year or \$85 per month (pledge). As a member of the Victory Circle you will receive recognition in newsletters, programs and promotional materials (if you wish), plus regular updates on issues and candidates, and inside information from the campaign trail. You will also receive invitations to special occasions to meet candidates, gain first availability for tickets to Victory Fund events and receive the Victory Fund logo lapel pin. Contributions from Victory Circle members like you help sustain the operating expenses of the Victory Fund.

Full Membership in the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund is \$100 or more. Members receive candidate profiles of qualified openly gay and lesbians running for public office. Members agree to support at least two of these recommended candidates with direct contributions of \$100 or more within a 12-month period. Total Annual Commitment: \$300.

Associate Membership is granted to any one who gives a contribution of \$99 or less to support the Victory Fund candidate research, promotion and indirect election of openly gay and lesbian candidates. Although no further financial commitment is necessary, associate members receive the candidates' profiles and frequently make direct contributions to recommended candidates.

How it works: Thousands of members and associate members read the recommended candidates' profiles, decide which candidates to support (and when), write their checks payable directly to the candidate's campaign, enclose them in pre-paid envelopes (provided) and send them to the Victory Fund. Checks from members and associate members are combined and immediately sent as a massive show of community support. If 100 members support one candidate with contributions of \$100 or more, that puts at least \$10,000 directly into a candidate's campaign. Early money helps move qualified candidates from "fringe" status to "front runners."

The Victory Fund has enjoyed great success during its early history. Formed as a political action committee in 1991, it took only 41 members to raise over \$4,000 for then-Seattle City Council candidate Sherry Harris. Because of this early support, Sherry Harris became the nation's first openly-lesbian African-American elected official. A short 12 months later, the Victory Fund had just over 1,000 members who contributed more than \$250,000 directly to 12 candidates, six of whom won their races. Today, the Victory Fund has more than 2,200 members, with almost half of them joining since the November elections. We need more members. We need you.



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Important Facts About The Victory Fund

▼ The Victory Fund is a donor network of individuals who are committed to electing openly gay and lesbian public officials. Although it is a registered political action committee (PAC), the Victory Fund supports candidates with in-kind contributions, referrals to campaign professionals and access to its donor network. It is a nonconnected multi-candidate Federal political action committee, has no affiliation with any other organization and backs candidates for races at the city, county, state and federal levels.

▼ The Victory Fund was founded on May 1, 1991.

▼ Since its inception, it has raised more than \$500,000 for recommended candidates.

▼ Candidates who are recommended must meet certain criteria and complete an exhaustive screening process (see Candidate Criteria sheet).

▼ The Victory Fund has helped elect the nation's first openly lesbian African-American woman to public office (Sherry Harris, Seattle City Council). Other "firsts" for Victory Fund candidates include the first openly gay and lesbian state representatives in Oregon (Gail Shibley), Texas (Glen Maxey) and Wisconsin (Tammy Baldwin). The Victory Fund also played an important role in the re-election of Massachusetts Congressman Gerry Studds.

▼ During the 1993 election cycle, the Victory Fund has already helped three candidates win office: Jackie Goldberg, Los Angeles City Council, Craig McDaniel, Dallas City Council and Shelley Gaylord, Madison (WI) Municipal Judge.

▼ Because of its unique structure, the Victory Fund enables small donors to have a major impact on races. Members join the Victory Fund for \$100 or more, then agree to give at least \$100 to two recommended candidates within a 12-month period. After candidates are qualified, members receive profiles of each race and choose which candidates to support, and when. Checks are made payable to the candidate's campaign, but sent to the Victory Fund, where they are combined with contributions from other members and sent to the campaign as a massive show of community support.

▼ Membership in the Victory Fund is now more than 2,700 nationwide.

▼ To demonstrate the Victory Fund's effectiveness, some 72 candidates contacted the Fund for financial aid during the 1992 election cycle. Of these candidates, only 12 were recommended to the network, of which six won. Of the remaining 60 candidates, only two won.

▼ The Victory Fund **Political Resource Directory** links qualified candidates (and potential candidates) with gay and lesbian officials, gay and lesbian political clubs, and gay-friendly campaign professionals who can help them run winning campaigns.

▼ The Victory Fund Training Institute organizes regional workshops for candidates and campaign managers to give them an edge on the competition.



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VICTORY FUND CRITERIA:

1. Be openly gay or lesbian;
2. Endorse the Federal Gay/Lesbian Civil Rights Bill;
3. Hold aggressive positions on AIDS funding and anti-discrimination issues;
4. Be pro-choice; and
5. Be a viable candidate.*

***QUESTIONS TO DETERMINE VIABILITY:**

1. What do demographics and past voting behavior say about your ability to win? (explain in detail; use poll data, if available)
2. What is your campaign plan? What is your strategy for winning?
3. What demographic groups will you target?
4. What is your theme or message? What issues will you emphasize?
5. What are your greatest strengths and weaknesses as a candidate?
6. Have you ever run for office or worked on a campaign? Give details.
7. Have you ever held elected or appointed office? Please list offices and dates.
8. Who is (are) your opponent(s)? If your opponent is an incumbent, how is s/he vulnerable? If there is no incumbent who are the other candidates and how are they vulnerable?
9. What is your campaign structure? What staff do you plan to hire?
10. Who is your campaign manager? What is his/her campaign experience?
11. What consultants have been hired for media, polling and fundraising?
12. What is your budget for both the primary and general elections? How much do you anticipate spending on fundraising, media, field and administration?
13. What is your fundraising plan? How much can you raise from individual donors? How much cash do you have on hand?
14. How much money have you raised in past campaigns? How much have you raised to date?
15. What are the individual and corporate spending limits for this race? What are the maximum individual and corporate campaign contributions allowed?
16. What endorsements have you received or do you expect to receive? What endorsements has (have) your opponent(s) received?
17. What is the date of the primary election? The general election?

**ALL INFORMATION PROVIDED WILL BE MAINTAINED WITH STRICT
CONFIDENTIALITY. MEETING THE ABOVE CRITERIA DOES NOT GUARANTEE
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VICTORY

VICTORY FUND SUPPORTS RECORD NUMBER OF CANDIDATES

"You gotta play to win" is as apt a truism for politics as it is for any other competitive forum. And thanks in large part to the expanding impact of the Victory Fund political network, openly gay candidates are competing for and winning elective office in unprecedented numbers.

The Victory Fund has recommended 16 candidates to our donor network in 1993 — compared to 12 in the 1992 election cycle, and 2 in 1991, when the Victory Fund made its debut.

The steady increase is proof that the Victory Fund is succeeding at both of its bottom-line goals: maximizing the number of openly-gay and lesbian officials who hold elective office, and maximizing the number who seek it.

"We can't accomplish the first goal without accomplishing the second," said William Waybourn, Victory Fund executive director. "The commitment of our members to gay and lesbian political empowerment is helping to encourage more and more of our community to consider running."

On Tuesday, November 2nd, six recommended candidates will be on the ballot across the country. They are:



Derek Belt



Michael Nelson



Christine Kehoe

Marilyn Shafer for Manhattan (NY) Civil Court Judge; and **Wallace Swan** for Minneapolis Board of Estimate and Taxation.



Marilyn Shafer

Three other recommended candidates are on the ballot in 1994, **Larry Bagneris** for New Orleans City Council, **Ken Wolf** for Fort Lauderdale City Commissioner, and **Victoria Sigler** for Dade County (FL) Court Judge.

The Victory Fund has helped elect three new openly gay and lesbian office-holders this year, including **Jackie Goldberg** to the Los Angeles City Council; **Craig McDaniel** to the Dallas City Council; and **Shelley Gaylord** to the Wisconsin



Tom Roberts

Derek Belt for Attleboro (MA) City Council; **Christine Kehoe** for San Diego City Council; **Michael Nelson** for Carrboro (NC) City Council; **Tom Roberts** for Santa Barbara City Council;

Three other recommended candidates are on the ballot in 1994, **Larry Bagneris** for New Orleans City Council, **Ken Wolf** for Fort Lauderdale City Commissioner, and **Victoria Sigler** for Dade County (FL) Court Judge.

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(continued on Page 2)

VICTORY

The newsletter of the
Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund
1012 14th Street, Suite 707
Washington, D.C. 20005
Volume 3, Fall 1993

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PROFILES

CANDIDATE PROFILES

GAY AND LESBIAN VICTORY FUND
1012 14th Street, Suite 707
Washington, DC 20005
(202) VICTORY



GAY AND
LESBIAN



VICTORY FUND

12 August 1993

Dear Member,

The events of the past few weeks have proven to the rest of our community what Victory Fund members have known all along — that the inclusion and empowerment of gays and lesbians in the political process can only happen when we are represented by our own. Time and time again we have invested our hopes and energy and money into electing “friends,” only to discover later that our rights and our value as human beings are indeed negotiable. This has to stop. Now.

Our enemies are twisting the political process to declare war on our community. Across the nation, right-wing activists are fielding and funding stealth candidates for state and local offices. Their mission is clear — to repeal existing gay rights laws, enact anti-gay legislation, cut AIDS funding, and censor us out of schools and libraries. They must be stopped. Now.

In the pages that follow are profiles of nine courageous individuals who represent our front line of defense against this electoral tyranny. For those of you who have yet to support any recommended candidates — that time is now. **Christine Kehoe, John Laird, Marilyn Shafer, and Wallace Swan** all face tough primaries in September — less than three weeks away. **Derek Belt, Mike Nelson and Tom Roberts** have only two months to go before their general elections. And **Larry Bagneris and Victoria Sigler** need to raise early money now to give them the winning edge in their races.

For those of you who have already given, please consider making another contribution to these outstanding individuals. Your earlier support has helped make a tremendous difference in these races; your additional support will help offset the relentless power of right-wing fanatics who are coming out in force against all gay men and lesbians who seek elective office.

I urge you to be as generous as you can with your support. These candidates are pioneering firsts in the political arena and represent our best and brightest hopes against a dark and dangerous movement of hate.

Yours in Victory,

William Waybourn
Executive Director

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Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund Campaign
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FOR CANDIDATES
WE CAN COUNT ON**



GAIL SHIBLEY
House of Representatives, OR



GERRY STUDDS
US House of Representatives



SHERRY HARRIS
Seattle City Council



GLEN MAXEY
House of Representatives, TX





**GAY AND
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Victory Fund Releases Excerpts from Book on Gay and Lesbian Officials

Washington, D.C. — 2 November 1993 — The Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund has just released pre-publication excerpts from its upcoming book *Out For Office*, the first political resource directory targeted to the gay and lesbian community and its supporters. The excerpts, written by Congressman Gerry Studds, San Francisco Supervisor Carole Migden and New York Assemblymember Deborah Glick, give readers a behind-the-scenes look at the realities of running for office as openly gay or lesbian.

Scheduled for publication in early 1994, *Out For Office* links openly gay and lesbian candidates (and potential candidates) with the people, information and resources they need to run winning campaigns. "Although there are hundreds of books on running for office," notes political activist and Victory Fund board member David Mixner, "only *Out For Office* addresses the unique challenge of campaigning as openly gay or lesbian."

Out For Office includes articles on running for office written by campaign professionals and openly gay and lesbian elected officials including Congressmen Gerry Studds and Barney Frank, State Senators Will Fitzpatrick and Dale McCormick, and State Representatives Tammy Baldwin, Glen Maxey and Gail Shibley. These stirring personal accounts of what it's like to run for office as openly gay make *Out For Office* an important addition to both political and gay/lesbian literature. The book also contains a chronology of gay and lesbian candidacies, a selected reading list, and state-by-state listings of openly gay and lesbian elected and appointed officials, gay and lesbian political clubs, and gay-friendly campaign professionals. "*Out For Office* is a must read for anyone who wants to run for office, work on a campaign, or get an insider's view of electoral politics," says Victory Fund board member Joe Steffan, author of the bestselling book *Honor Bound*.

The Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund is the country's only nonpartisan political organization dedicated solely to electing qualified openly gay men and lesbians to public office. Recognizing the need to develop more visible, credible and powerful openly gay and lesbian leaders in all levels of government, the Victory Fund researches and recommends candidates for office at all levels, from school board to Congress, and helps them find the "early money" they need to gain frontrunner status. It links candidates with political resources, organizes campaign training sessions and conducts a steadily expanding range of programs to help them run effective campaigns. Since its inception in May, 1991, the Victory Fund has raised more than half a million dollars for its recommended candidates. In its first election cycle alone, the Victory Fund helped increase the number of openly gay and lesbian officials by 15 per cent.

###

(Editors: Attached are three articles from *Out For Office*. Please credit these as "excerpted from *Out For Office* (ISBN: 1-883665-01-9), published by the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund." For more information or additional excerpts, please contact Kathleen DeBold at (202) 842-8679.)

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**GAY AND
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Out For Office: Precis

Gay men and lesbians are the most underrepresented group in electoral politics. Of the

- ▼ 100 U.S. Senators, none are **openly** gay or lesbian;
- ▼ 425 U.S. Congressmen, only two are **openly** gay;
- ▼ 7,461 members of state legislatures, only 12 are **openly** gay or lesbian;
- ▼ 497,000 elected officials currently serving in the United States, only 58 are **openly** gay or lesbian.

The events of the past few months have made members and supporters of the gay and lesbian community more aware of the importance of electing qualified openly gay and lesbian candidates to public office. Few resources are available to help openly gay and lesbian candidates run winning campaigns. Although there are hundreds of instructional books on running for office, not one addresses the unique challenge of running as openly gay or lesbian. Until now.

In early 1994, the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund will publish **Out For Office**, the first political resource directory designed for the gay and lesbian community and our supporters. Similar to the National Women's Political Caucus' **National Directory of Women Elected Officials**, but broader in scope, **Out For Office** will link openly gay and lesbian candidates (and potential candidates) with the people, information and resources they need to run winning campaigns. In-depth articles by elected officials and campaign professionals will encourage and assist newcomers to the political arena, plus introduce readers to the challenging role of the openly lesbian/gay candidate.

Out For Office will be distributed throughout the country and the Victory Fund will sponsor a promotional tour and book signings featuring the openly gay and lesbian officials who have contributed to the book.

OUT FOR OFFICE: Fact Sheet

- Goals:**
- ▼to introduce the reader to the unique and challenging role of the openly lesbian/gay candidate
 - ▼to link openly gay and lesbian candidates (and potential candidates) with the people and resources needed to run winning campaigns
 - ▼to instruct and inspire newcomers to the political arena
- Sections:**
- ▼Chronology of Gay and Lesbian Candidacies
 - ▼Articles by Officials and Campaign Professionals
 - ▼Words of Wisdom from Gay and Lesbian Elected Officials
 - ▼List of Campaign Professionals
 - ▼List of Gay and Lesbian Political Clubs
 - ▼List of Gay and Lesbian Elected/Appointed Officials
 - ▼Index of Political Resources by State
 - ▼Selected Reading List
- Articles:**
- ▼Cathy Allen, Campaign Connection, "Getting Started"
 - ▼Tom Ammiano, President, San Francisco School Board, "Tenacity"
 - ▼Larry Bagneris, New Orleans Human Rights Commission, "Family Values"
 - ▼Tammy Baldwin, Wisconsin State Assembly, "Rules for Running"
 - ▼Andrew E. Barrer, Coalition '93, "Financing Your Campaign"
 - ▼Kris Bess, Ridder/Braden, Inc., "Working with the Press"
 - ▼Lillie R. Brock, High Impact, Inc., "Campaign Public Speaking"
 - ▼David Clarenbach, Clarenbach Consulting Group, "Voter Contact Strategy"
 - ▼Bill Crews, Mayor of Melbourne, Iowa, "Out in the Heartland"
 - ▼Tom Duane, New York City Council, "Running as HIV +"
 - ▼Angie Fa, San Francisco School Board, "Responsibilities of Running"
 - ▼Will Fitzpatrick, Rhode Island State Senate, "One Candidate's Experience"
 - ▼Shelley Gaylord, Madison Municipal Judge, "Getting Endorsements"
 - ▼Barney Frank, U.S. House of Representatives, "Reaching a Broader Audience"
 - ▼Deborah Glick, New York State Legislature, "What Do We Want?"
 - ▼Jackie Goldberg, Los Angeles City Council, "Get Out the Vote"
 - ▼Marilyn Gordon, MG Associates, "Choosing a Campaign Manager"
 - ▼Sherry Harris, Seattle City Council, "Running for Office"
 - ▼Jeff Horton, Los Angeles Board of Education, "Running for School Board"
 - ▼Dr. Franklin Kameny, "A Historical Perspective"

- ▼ John Leitner, J.H. Leitner, Inc. "Campaign Direct Mail"
- ▼ Glen Maxey, Texas House of Representatives, "Homophobia"
- ▼ Dale McCormick, Maine State Senate, "Winning in a Rural District"
- ▼ Robert G. Meadows, Decision Research, "Targeting"
- ▼ Carol Migden, San Francisco Board of Supervisors, "Running Against Our Friends, If Necessary"
- ▼ Gary Miller, Robla School Board, "Campaign Suggestions"
- ▼ Augustine Paculdar, Dan Carol and Company, "Campaign Research"
- ▼ Irene Rabinowitz, Provincetown Board of Selectmen, "Running in a Small Town"
- ▼ Eric Rosenthal, Human Rights Campaign Fund, "Help From HRCF"
- ▼ Lance Ringel, New York Division of Human Rights, "The National Network of Lesbian and Gay Officials"
- ▼ Beth Schapiro, Beth Schapiro & Associates, "Polling"
- ▼ Gail Shibley, Oregon House of Representatives, "Coming Out on Every Doorstep"
- ▼ Gerry Studds, U.S. House of Representatives, "Preface"
- ▼ Kathy Swayze, Herzog-Swayze, "Campaign Telemarketing"
- ▼ Rich Tafel, Log Cabin Club, "The Log Cabin Club"
- ▼ Chris Wilson, Oakland Park City Council, "The Quiet Approach"
- ▼ William Waybourn, Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, "Respecting the Media"
- ▼ Ken Yeager, San Jose Community College Trustee, "Running with Limited Resources"



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**Excerpt from *Out For Office*
By U.S. Congressman Gerry Studds**

Running for office as an openly lesbian or gay candidate is one of the greatest things you can do for your country, your community, and your own self-respect. As lesbian and gay leaders assume greater responsibilities at all levels of government, our nation will be forced to confront and finally to free itself from the grip of its last socially acceptable prejudice. This can only happen if we invest ourselves fully in the political process. Each of us who enters public life assumes the burden and the privilege of serving as a representative of our community and as a model for those still struggling with their sexuality.

Openness about every aspect of your identity — including your sexual identity — will make you a stronger candidate, a more effective officeholder, and a happier human being. At the most mundane level, it will free you from the fear of exposure and allow you to concentrate on real issues. More profoundly, being "out" as a candidate will give you the inner strength that can only come from being true to yourself. That strength will enable you to project the candor and integrity that inspire trust.

As one who has known political life on both sides of the closet door, I know that this is not an easy thing to do. But whether you win or lose, the

rewards will more than justify the risk.

Elected in 1972, **Gerry Studds**, U.S. Representative for the State of Massachusetts, is one of only two openly gay members of Congress. In 1992 Studds was elected chair of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. He also serves as chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment, and is a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce. As a member of the Health Subcommittee, Studds has worked to redesign the nation's health care system. He is a staunch advocate for lesbian and gay civil rights, for greater federal leadership in the struggle against AIDS and for reproductive freedom. He is an original cosponsor of the federal Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Bill, the Hate Crimes Statistics Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act, and is a longtime leader in the fight to lift the ban on lesbians and gays in the U.S. military.



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**WHAT DO WE WANT? MORE LESBIANS AND GAYS IN OFFICE!
WHEN DO WE WANT IT? NOW!!**

by Deborah Glick
(Excerpted from **Out For Office**)

The increase in the number of openly lesbian and gay elected representatives in the last five years has been astonishing — paralleling the increase in the political clout of our whole community. It is a testament to our strength and increased organizational and political effectiveness that our community is at a point at which we can enter the longstanding debates on electoral representation. We have demonstrated our enormous fundraising capacity, run winning campaigns and become a force to be reckoned with across a broad spectrum of issues and geographic areas. It is exciting that we are now in a position to discuss such sophisticated issues as whether or not to run against candidates who are not all bad — specifically candidates who are "gay friendly."

A necessary first step in discussing and coming to consensus on the issue of lesbian and gay representation is to define representation. We must address the fact that, like most other communities, we are not all of one mind. Therefore we must decide: do we support openly lesbian and gay candidates who are fiscally conservative, oppose abortion, or take other positions not held by the progressive majority of our movement? And how do we balance issues of representation of

women, African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and other underrepresented groups? Once we have determined some basic principles, we must then identify leaders, encourage, train and work with these leaders and then support them in their bids for elected office. We must seek candidates who are not running solely because they are lesbian or gay, but because they have roots in our community, have an ability to communicate articulately, generate excitement about issues and ideas and rally support among others. We must seek energetic and thoughtful leaders. We must identify future leaders and develop their potential. And when we identify and work with candidates, we must then commit ourselves to doing all of the necessary tasks involved in ensuring that they run meaningful campaigns that raise important issues, educate and excite people, and, whenever possible, win.

Selecting and training candidates is part of the work we must do. The other is identifying races — seats to seek and districts in which to run. Here we must consider a variety of variables. Should lesbians and gays run to fill many local seats (including the school boards), or should we pool our resources and target higher level offices — the house of representatives, the senate, governorships, etc.? Should lesbians and gays run only in districts with high numbers of known lesbians and gays? And should lesbians and gays run against candidates who are "gay friendly"?

The issue of "gay friendly" elected officials is particularly relevant as we seek to run more and more lesbian and gay candidates who can actually win. More lesbians and gays live in urban centers like San Francisco, New York, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Atlanta, or in liberal/progressive communities like Ann

Arbor, Northampton, and Madison. But these are not the only places where lesbians and gay men have been successful. In New York, both Albany and Rochester elected gay men to their city councils before New York City did. Part of the dilemma is that in more liberal communities, people already in office often mirror our positions on many issues. Current office holders may be viewed as leaders on some of the most important battle fronts — reproductive freedom, lesbian and gay civil rights, funding for AIDS, domestic partnership, and bias-motivated violence.

If the community is already represented by a person who supports these positions, is there a compelling case for change? I would argue that there is, for a variety of reasons. First, the office holder may not be providing the best representation possible or may vote appropriately on issues but not act as a strong leader or advocate for them. In addition, we must keep the electoral process vibrant. No elected official has the right to hold a seat for as long as s/he wishes. Office holders must seek reelection by residents of their districts. And the process of seeking re-election is a good one. It forces candidates to constantly reach out to their constituencies. If a candidate "writes off" the lesbian and gay community because an openly lesbian or gay candidate is running against them, that tells us something about that person.

In seats with longtime incumbents, there will be many people within the general community who have been waiting for an opportunity to run for office. In 1990, when I decided to run for the New York State Assembly, I began my race by challenging a 36-year incumbent. While he had been the prime sponsor of the

lesbian and gay civil rights bill for 15-20 years, the bill was never actively pursued. His positions reflected the liberal nature of the district, but he was no longer a force for change. He decided mid-race to retire and a whole new group of candidates entered the field, most of whom were also liberal. A field will rarely be empty. But we cannot wait forever to empower ourselves.

It is very difficult to run against an incumbent. It is difficult to get your name out, difficult to raise money, and difficult to win. However, lesbians and gays have a slight advantage. Many in our community have always been electoral. We have provided creative energy and troops for many campaigns. We have provided a strong base of financial support for a variety of gay-friendly candidates. It is now our challenge to tap these resources and channel this energy into the election of openly lesbian and gay candidates.

Similarly, we must use our knowledge and show our strength in the area of redistricting. In order to participate in the next redistricting process, we must begin now to lay the groundwork. All around the country, lesbian and gay activists have made a case for "gay winnable" seats. When New York City expanded its city council, the lesbian and gay community focused on a seat on the west side of Manhattan. By pointing to memberships in lesbian and gay organizations, subscription lists to gay publications and other mailing lists, as well as the location of gay shops and a lesbian and gay community center, a clear case was made for a population nucleus of gay men and lesbians within a geographic area.

We must gather the type of hard data that will be necessary to make the same case

in numerous other parts of the country when we face the next redistricting effort at the turn of the century. Crafting Congressional seats with maximum "gay winnability" should be a priority for our community. It requires that we cultivate relationships in each of the state legislatures where redistricting decisions are made. A coordinated effort must commence immediately.

If we are to be involved electorally, we must ensure that politics and empowerment supersede sentimental impulses. We cannot rely on the kindness of others or become satisfied with anything less than the best possible representation or anyone less than a strong and dynamic leader. As we grow and gather strength, we must use this power in all of the ways that other segments of the population do. In electoral politics, this means running for office — running for as many seats as we see fit and in as many races as we feel appropriate.

Deborah Glick became the first openly gay or lesbian elected official in New York City when she won the Manhattan district seat in the state legislature in 1990. As an assemblymember she serves on the Committees for Governmental Operations, Governmental Employees, Children and Families, Social Services, and Environmental Conservation. She has worked hard to obtain legal status for domestic partners, for the repeal of adultery and sodomy statutes and for the extension of state law to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation. Prior to running for office Glick was an active member with the New York City Chapter of the National Organization for Women, acting as coordinator for the NOW Reproductive Rights Committee. She remains involved a variety of civil rights, women's rights and environmental organizations.



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RUNNING AGAINST OUR "FRIENDS"
by Carole Migden
(Excerpted from **Out For Office**)

Since the election of Harvey Milk to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1977, lesbians and gay men have made striking gains in securing elected office throughout the United States. But, given our share of the electorate, our high level of political activism, and the need for a heightened response to the issues affecting our community, there simply are not enough lesbians and gay men serving in public office, even in progressive, pro-gay cities.

The reasons are many: the high cost of running for office, the unfair stereotype that lesbians, gays and bisexuals are "single issue" candidates and the barriers erected by political machines to preserve their power.

But in the final analysis, the problem is not that we cannot win office, but that we are often too afraid to run — against our "friends" if necessary.

In 1976, Harvey Milk first ran for the California State Assembly against Art Agnos, the candidate of San Francisco's Democratic Party establishment.

Harvey insisted that it was not enough for lesbians and gay men to count on friendly liberal politicians to carry our issues — politicians who would claim that their voices would be most likely to be heard in decision-making

bodies. He insisted that lesbians and gay men need to have sufficient pride to run for office ourselves.

Agnos went on to be a strongly pro-gay legislator and mayor. But the political machine of which he was a part has continued to block gay political self-empowerment, holding the line against such highly qualified lesbian and gay candidates for Congress and the State Assembly as Harry Britt, Roberta Achtenberg, John Duran, and John Laird.

It is clear that, despite the strength and loyalty we have brought to the Democratic Party, we are still not dubbed by the power brokers to run for office. Time and time again — in California and throughout the country — the gay political community has been disappointed to have the power establishment run their own handpicked candidates, people they feel they can "count on," against viable gay candidates in races that we could win. Responding to the pressure they receive from a homophobic society, straight party leaders become nervous at the thought of openly supporting us for office.

Many in the party still subscribe to the condescending and self-serving notion that only politicians have the experience and can claim the respect necessary to secure legislation on issues affecting lesbians and gay men. Pro-gay legislators have even suggested that we should leave them alone and run our candidates in districts with homophobic incumbents — districts where we could never win. Our "friends" just can't understand why we're not simply grateful for everything they've done for us.

There's no question that many straight elected officials have supported the lesbian and gay community on issues including civil rights and AIDS.

Certainly, we appreciate their efforts. But let's be realistic: our strongest champions serve in districts where a strong record on gay rights and AIDS is required to stay in office.

For that political reality, the lesbian and gay community should not be so grateful that we do not assert ourselves in electoral politics. Our community must be willing to run against our straight friends to meet our goal of self-empowerment — just as African Americans, Latinos, and other minorities often must challenge white allies to win self-representation.

The goal of electing lesbians and gay men to office is not simply to flex our muscles. We can be far more articulate and uncompromising in representing our issues than non-gay elected officials can. Beyond that, lesbians and gay men in office have shown that we are effective on every policy issue at all levels of government. Most importantly, the power we gain by electing ourselves to office is the power to break down homophobia and change public attitudes about lesbians and gay men.

As the number of lesbian and gay officials has grown, especially recently with the leadership of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, we have been able to provide a higher level of practical support for lesbians and gay men considering races for public office. But the most important advice we can give is to simply have the courage to run. Power is never relinquished; it has to be taken.

An openly lesbian member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors since 1990, **Carol Migden** has been active in both the Democratic National Committee and the California Democratic Party for more than a decade, serving as two-term chair of the Lesbian and Gay Caucus. During the 1992 Presidential campaign Migden, as chair of the San Francisco Democratic Party, led one of the most successful Get-Out-the-Vote efforts in California's history, helping president Clinton win a landslide victory in that state. And as chair of the State Party Platform Committee, Migden has brought inclusion of lesbians and gays on the civil rights bill, AIDS-related issues and health care to the top of the party's agenda. On the Board of Supervisors Migden has been the leader on similar efforts and on the response to the far right's anti-gay initiatives in California. As supervisor Migden serves as chair of the powerful Budget Committee of the Board of Supervisors, where she is leading the effort to resolve the city's fiscal crisis.