



CHAPTER 11

FLAG & GENERAL OFFICERS FOR THE MILITARY

30 March 2009

Statement to: President Barack H. Obama and Members of Congress

**Subject: Support for the 1993 Law Regarding Homosexuals in the Military
(Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C.)**

Dear Mr. President and Members of Congress:

In 1993 Congress passed a law (Section 654, Title 10), affirming that homosexuality is incompatible with military service. The law passed with bipartisan, veto-proof majorities in both houses, and federal courts have upheld it as constitutional several times. We believe strongly that this law, which Congress passed to protect good order, discipline, and morale in the unique environment of the military, deserves continued support.

The 111th Congress is likely to take up legislation to repeal the law (Section 654, Title 10) early in 2009. Our past experience as military leaders leads us to be greatly concerned about the impact of repeal on morale, discipline, unit cohesion, and overall military readiness. We believe that imposing this burden on our men and women in uniform would undermine recruiting and retention, impact leadership at all echelons, have adverse effects on the willingness of parents who lend their sons and daughters to military service, and eventually break the All-Volunteer Force.

As a matter of national security, we urge you to support the 1993 law regarding homosexuals in the military (Section 654, Title 10), and to oppose any legislative, judicial, or administrative effort to repeal or invalidate the law.

Very respectfully,

The Undersigned Flag & General Officers

This statement was delivered to Pres. Barack Obama, Pentagon officials, and senior members of Congress on 31 March 2009. Personal signatures are on file with the Center of Military Readiness. As of 4 February 2010, there were 1,163 signatories to the Flag & General Officers for the Military (FGOM) Statement. For further information, see www.flagandgeneralofficersformilitary.com.

Flag & General Officers for the Military

The following retired Flag & General Officers have signed a statement to the President of the United States and Members of Congress in support for the 1993 law regarding homosexuals in the military (Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C.).

4-Star Rank (51)

Gen E. E. Anderson, USMC (*ret.*)¹
 Gen Robert W. Bazley, USAF (*ret.*)²
 Gen Walter E. Boomer, USMC (*ret.*)³
 Gen Arthur E. Brown, Jr., USA (*ret.*)⁴
 Gen Edwin H. Burba Jr., USA (*ret.*)⁵
 Gen Paul K. Carlton, Sr., USAF (*ret.*)⁶
 Gen John R. Dailey, USMC (*ret.*)⁷
 Gen Terrence R. Dake, USMC (*ret.*)⁸
 Gen James B. Davis, USAF (*ret.*)
 Gen John K. Davis, USMC (*ret.*)⁹
 Gen John R. Deane, Jr., USA (*ret.*)
 Gen Michael J. Dugan, USAF (*ret.*)¹⁰
 Gen Ronald R. Fogleman, USAF (*ret.*)¹¹
 Gen John W. Foss, USA (*ret.*)
 Gen Carlton W. Fulford, Jr., USMC (*ret.*)
 Gen Paul F. Gorman, USA (*ret.*)¹²
 Gen Richard E. Hawley, USAF (*ret.*)¹³
 Adm Ronald J. Hays, USN (*ret.*)¹⁴
 Adm Thomas B. Hayward, USN (*ret.*)¹⁵
 Gen C. A. Horner, USAF (*ret.*)¹⁶
 Adm Jerome L. Johnson, USN (*ret.*)¹⁷
 Gen P. X. Kelley, USMC (*ret.*)¹⁸
 Gen William F. Kerman, USA (*ret.*)¹⁹
 Gen William L. Kirk, USAF (*ret.*)²⁰
 Gen Frederick J. Kroesen, USA (*ret.*)²¹
 Gen James J. Lindsay, USA (*ret.*)²²
 Adm James A. "Ace" Lyons, Jr., USN (*ret.*)²³
 Gen Robert Magnus, USMC (*ret.*)²⁴
 Adm Henry H. Mauz, Jr., USN (*ret.*)²⁵
 Gen Louis C. Menetrey, USA (*ret.*)²⁶
 Gen Edward C. Meyer, USA (*ret.*)²⁷
 Gen Thomas R. Morgan, USMC (*ret.*)²⁸
 Gen Carl E. Mundy, Jr., USMC (*ret.*)²⁹
 Gen Wallace H. Nutting, USA (*ret.*)³⁰
 Gen Glenn K. Otis, USA (*ret.*)³¹
 Gen Joseph T. Palastra, Jr., USA (*ret.*)
 Gen Crosbie E. Saint, USA (*ret.*)³²
 Gen Henry H. Shelton, USA (*ret.*)³³
 Gen Robert M. Shoemaker, USA (*ret.*)³⁴
 Gen Lawrence A. Skantze, USAF (*ret.*)³⁵

Adm Leighton W. "Snuffy" Smith, USN (*ret.*)³⁶
 Gen Carl W. Stiner, USA (*ret.*)³⁷
 Gen Richard H. Thompson, USA (*ret.*)
 Gen John W. Vessey, Jr., USA (*ret.*)³⁸
 Gen John W. Vogt, USAF (*ret.*)³⁹
 Gen Louis C. Wagner, Jr., USA (*ret.*)
 Gen William S. Wallace, USA (*ret.*)⁴⁰
 Gen Volney F. Warner, USA (*ret.*)⁴¹
 Gen Joseph J. Went, USMC (*ret.*)⁴²
 Gen John A. Wickham, Jr., USA (*ret.*)⁴³
 Gen Charles E. Wilhelm, USMC (*ret.*)⁴⁴

3-Star Rank (193)

Lt Gen Teddy G. Allen, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Edgar R. Anderson, Jr., USAF (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Edward G. Anderson III, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Marcus A. Anderson, USAF (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Spence M. Armstrong, USAF (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen George C. Axtell, USMC (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Donald M. Babers, USA (*ret.*)
 Vice Adm Albert J. Baciocco, USN (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Robert J. Baer, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Charles W. Bagnal, USA (*ret.*)
 Vice Adm Robert B. Baldwin, USN (*ret.*)
 Vice Adm John A. Baldwin, USN (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen John L. Ballantyne III, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Jared L. Bates, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Emil R. Bedard, USMC (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Dennis L. Benchoff, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Robert R. Blackman, Jr., USMC (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Paul E. Blackwell, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Arthur C. Blades, USMC (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Harold W. Blot, USMC (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen John B. Blount, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Lawrence E. Boese, USAF (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen James A. Brabham, USMC (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen John N. Brandenburg, USA (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Martin L. Brandtner, USMC (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen Devol Brett, USAF (*ret.*)
 Vice Adm Edward S. Briggs, USN (*ret.*)
 Lt Gen George M. Browning, Jr., USAF (*ret.*)

- Lt Gen John D. Bruen, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Peter G. Burbules, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm E. A. Burkhalter, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Richard A. Burpee, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Tony Burshnick, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John S. Caldwell, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm James F. Calvert, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William J. Campbell, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Richard E. Carey, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Paul K. Carlton, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Thomas P. Carney, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Kenneth M. Carr, USN *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm K. J. Carroll, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William G. Carter III, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Patrick P. Caruana, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Carmen J. Cavezza, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Dennis D. Cavin, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Paul G. Cerjan, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Ernest C. Cheatham, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Richard A. Chilcoat, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen George R. Christmas, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Marc A. Cisneros, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Charles G. Cleveland, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Charles G. Cooper, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen George A. Crocker, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John S. Crosby, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James W. Crysel, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John M. Curran, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John J. Cusick, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm George Davis, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen David K. Doyle, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm James H. Doyle, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Brett M. Dula, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Leo J. Dulacki, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Charles B. Eichelberger, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James R. Ellis, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert M. Elton, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William R. Etnyre, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Bruce L. Fister, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William Harold Fitch, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Merle Freitag, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Edward S. Fris, USMC *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Richard C. Gentz, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Alvan C. Gillem II, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William H. Ginn, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Charles P. Graham, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Howard E. Greer, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Wallace C. Gregson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Thomas N. Griffin, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Earl B. Hailston, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James R. Hall, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Patrick J. Hannifin, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Edgar S. Harris, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Bruce R. Harris, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Henry J. Hatch, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Peter M. Hekman, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Samuel T. Helland, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Richard C. Henry, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Fred Hissong, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Jefferson D. Howell, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John I. Hudson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Jan C. Huly, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Neal T. Jaco, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Theodore G. Jenes, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James H. Johnson, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Johnny J. Johnston, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert B. Johnston, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James M. Keck, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert Prescott Keller, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen David J. Kelley, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William M. Keys, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Joseph W. Kinzer, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Jack W. Klimp, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Bruce B. Knutson, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm E. R. Kohn, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Alcide M. La Noue, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Richard D. Lawrence, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James M. Lee, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Tony Less, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Kenneth E. Lewi, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Bennett Lewis, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Frank Libutti, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James M. Link, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Anthony Lukeman, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert J. Lunn, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Lawson W. Magruder III, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Charles S. Mahan, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William R. Maloney, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Caryl G. Marsh, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Charles A. May, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Frederick McCorkle, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Gary McKissock, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Clarence E. McKnight, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Gary H. Mears, USAF *(ret.)*

Lt Gen John H. Miller, USMC *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Gerald E. Miller, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert F. Milligan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Harold G. Moore, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm J. P. Moorer, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen G. S. Newbold, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Jack P. Nix, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm John W. Nyquist, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Edmund F. O'Connor, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen David H. Ohle, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Stephen G. Olmstead, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Allen K. Ono, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert L. Ord III, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John P. Otjen, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Dave R. Palmer, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Anthony L. Palumbo, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Jimmy Pappas, USN *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm John T. Parker, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Garry L. Parks, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Burton D. Patrick, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Ernest D. Peixotto, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John Phillips, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Charles H. Pitman, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Benjamin F. Register, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John H. Rhodes, USMC *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm David C. Richardson, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Thomas M. Rienzi, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Randall L. Rigby, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James C. Riley, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Thurman D. Rodgers, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Craven C. Rogers, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Donald E. Rosenblum, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John B. Sams, USAF *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm James R. Sanderson, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Daniel R. Schroeder, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James T. Scott, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm James E. Service, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Wilson A. Shoffner, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Robert F. "Dutch" Shultz,
 USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen E. G. Shuler, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Jeffrey G. Smith, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Norman H. Smith, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Lawrence F. Snowden, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Michael F. Spigelmire, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen H. C. Stackpoke III, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William M. Steele, USA *(ret.)*

Lt Gen Howard F. Stone, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen George R. Stotser, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John B. Sylvester, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Billy M. Thomas, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Nathaniel J. Thompson, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen James M. Thompson, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Nils R. Thunman, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert A. Tiebout, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Richard F. Timmons, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Richard G. Trefry, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Frederick C. Turner, USN *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Paul K. Van Riper, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John F. Wall, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Claudius E. Watts III, USAF *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Ronald L. Watts, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Joseph F. Weber, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert L. Wetzel, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Alexander M. Weyand, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Orren R. Whiddon, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen William J. White, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Robert J. Winglass, USMC *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Leonard P. Wishart III, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen Jack D. Woodall, USA *(ret.)*
 Lt Gen John J. Yeosock, USA *(ret.)*
 Vice Adm Lando W. Zech, Jr., USN *(ret.)*

2-Star Rank (512)

Rear Adm J. L. Abbot, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William P. Acker, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Christopher S. Adams, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John W. Adams, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Edwin M. Aguanno, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jere H. Akin, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Willie A. Alexander, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gary M. Alkire, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James B. Allen, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Phillip R. Anderson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ronald K. Andreson, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Philip Anselmo, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard W. Anson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Joseph W. Arbuckle, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Victor A. Armstrong, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Wallace C. Arnold, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John C. Atkinson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Marvin G. Back, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Donald M. Bagley, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Darrel P. Baker, USA *(ret.)*

- Maj Gen Charles Baldwin, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas P. Ball, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Craig Bambrough, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David J. Baratto, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Eldon A. Bargewell, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm J. M. Barr, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Raymond D. Barrett, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John R. Batzler, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George V. Bauer, AUS *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James B. Baylor, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James E. Beal, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ronald L. Beckwith, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard D. Beltson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Calvert P. Benedict, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James B. Best, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gerald H. Bethke, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Thomas C. Betterton, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John Bianchi, CSMR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David F. Bice, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles S. Bishop, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John E. Blair, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William Bland, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jonas L. Blank, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Buford C. Blount III, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William M. Boice, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William L. Bond, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Peter B. Booth, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard T. Boverie, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Albert J. Bowley, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Edward R. Bracken, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Patrick H. Brady, USA *(ret.)*⁴⁵
 Maj Gen Robert J. Brandt, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John A. Brashear, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Bobby F. Brashears, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James A. Brooke, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ronald E. Brooks, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James G. Browder, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Thomas F. Brown III, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm D. Earl Brown, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John M. Brown, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Edward M. Browne, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert O. Buggy, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert H. Buker, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Lyle F. Bull, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James W. Bunting, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Lawrence Burkhardt III, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William F. Burns, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Bobby G. Butcher, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William Callaghan, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Colin C. Campbell, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Henry D. Canterbury, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Walter H. Cantrell, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John H. Capalbo, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William C. Carlson, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Fred H. Casey, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John T. D. Casey, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Frank A. Catalano, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George L. Cates, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James C. Cercey, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Stephen K. Chadwick, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard L. Chastain, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert W. Chewing, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Vernon Chong, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Albert H. Clancy, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Peter W. Clegg, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John R. D. Cleland, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Reginal G. Clemmons, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Fletcher C. Coker, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas F. Cole, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard E. Coleman, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Joseph L. Coleman, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard E. Collier, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Paul G. Collins, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Anthony H. Conrad, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Louis Conti, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard M. Cooke, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Andrew L. Cooley, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen J. Gary Cooper, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gregory A. Corliss, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Edward L. Correa, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John V. Cox, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Michael Coyle, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen J. T. (Mike) Coyne, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Wesley E. Craig, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen W. D. Crittenberger, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert E. Crosser, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John J. Cuddy, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Richard E. Curtis, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William D. Daniels, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John R. D'Araujo, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas G. Darling, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William J. Davies, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Harley C. Davis, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard E. Davis, USA *(ret.)*

Maj Gen Jack A. Davis, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Hollis Davison, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William B. Davitte, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gene A. Deegan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David P. Delavergne, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Frank M. Denton, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kenneth E. Dohleman, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ralph O. Doughty, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George Douglas, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James W. Duffy, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Travis N. Dyer, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David B. Easson, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm L. F. Eggert, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm J. J. Ekelund, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Billy J. Ellis, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm George Ellis, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James W. Emerson, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Thomas R. M. Emery, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Paul H. Engel, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert B. Erly, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen W. P. Eshelman, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Harry Falls, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Vincent E. Falter, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Eugene H. Farrell, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John R. Farrington, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Edward L. Feightner, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm D. L. Felt, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles J. Fiala, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Philip B. Finley, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jackson L. Flake, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert M. Flanagan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm G. J. "Rod" Flannery, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James H. Flatley III, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas C. Foley, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Harry J. P. Foley, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Arthur Fort, CEC, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Larry D. Fortner, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert R. Fountain, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Joseph P. Franklin, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ray Franklin, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Paul Fratarangelo, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Stuart French, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Richard D. Friichtenicht,
 USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm S. David Frost, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John L. Fugh, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Martin C. Fulcher, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Donald J. Fulham, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Skip Furlong, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jon A. Gallinetti, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Albert A. Gallotta, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Bradley D. Gambill, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Peter A. Gannon, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James H. Garner, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George T. Garrett, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William F. Garrison, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Richard T. Gaskill, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John D. Gavan, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm H. E. Gerhard, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Timothy Ghormley, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Greg L. Gile, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Louis H. Ginn III, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Harold G. Glasgow, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James M. Gleim, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard N. Goddard, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert A. Goodbary, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Fred A. Gorden, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert L. Gordon, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John "Ted" Gordon, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert H. Gormley, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Albert E. Gorsky, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William H. Gossell, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Todd P. Graham, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Roy C. Gray, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James V. Grealish, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Lee V. Greer, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert H. Griffin, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John S. Grinalds, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen W. C. Groeniger III, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William J. Grove, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James A. Guest, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert K. Guest, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George L. Gunderman, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gaylord T. Gunhus, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William A. Gureck, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David R. Gust, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard A. Gustafson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Frank S. Haak, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Timothy M. Haake, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert E. Haerel, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Craig A. Hagan, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kenneth L. Hagemann, Jr.,
 USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Henry M. Hagwood, Jr., USA *(ret.)*

- Maj Gen Raphael J. Hallada, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Francis X. Hamilton, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Rudolph E. Hammond, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gus L. Hargett, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William E. Harmon, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gary L. Harrell, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James E. Harrell, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William H. Harris, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ronald O. Harrison, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Donald P. Harvey, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James E. Haight, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ralph L. Haynes, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard E. Haynes, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Fred Haynes, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Kenneth G. Haynes, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Guy L. Hecker, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Frank F. Henderson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Clyde A. Hennies, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Curtis B. Herbert III, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen G. B. Higginbotham, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Donald C. Hilbert, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John W. Hill, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William B. Hobgood, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Carl W. Hoffman, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Lowell J. Holloway, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jerry D. Holmes, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles E. Honore, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm J. T. Hood, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Marvin T. Hopgood, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Patrick G. Howard, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard A. Huck, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jerry Humble, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Donald R. Infante, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Dewitt T. Irby, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James T. Jackson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Wayne P. Jackson, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Grady L. Jackson, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Billy F. Jester, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm C. A. E. Johnson, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Alan D. Johnson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Stephen T. Johnson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Warren R. Johnson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kenneth A. Jolemore, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Alvin W. Jones, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William G. Joslyn, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jerry J. Josten, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Angelo D. Juarez, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Thomas A. Kamm, USNR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John F. Kane, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Harry G. Karegeannes, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jerry M. Keeton, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Maurice W. Kendall, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John M. Kersh, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas D. Kinley, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Eugene P. Klynoot, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm J. Weldon Koenig, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Herbert Koger, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Joseph Koler, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm L. S. Kollmorgen, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles H. Kone, AUS *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Glenn H. Kothmann, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Lloyd E. Krase, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard A. Kuci, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kevin B. Kuklok, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert A. Lame, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Lee E. Landes, SC, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Frank C. Lang, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James R. Lang, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Leo J. LeBlanc, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Paul M. Lee, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Larry E. Lee, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kenneth C. Leuer, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Frederick L. Lewis, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas G. Lightner, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles D. Link, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John H. Little, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James E. Livingston, USMC *(ret.)*⁴⁶
 Maj Gen Donald A. Logeais, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Homer S. Long, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John E. Longhouser, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Federico Lopez III, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Bernard F. Losekamp, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Bradley M. Lott, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen J. D. Lynch, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert G. Lynn, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Malcolm MacKinnon III,
 USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William G. MacLaren, Jr.,
 USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard H. MacMillan, Jr.,
 USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Philip H. Mallory, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Donald L. Marks, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John L. Marocchi, USN *(ret.)*

Rear Adm Larry R. Marsh, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Wayne D. Marty, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Michael R. Mazzucchi, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles E. McCartney, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert B. McClinton, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Dan McCormick, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ray E. McCoy, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Darrel W. McDaniel, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William J. McDaniel, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James M. McDougal, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James C. McElroy, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm E. S. "Skip" McGinley II, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Chester M. McKeen, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James J. McMonagle, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John R. McWaters, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David C. Meade, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Guy S. Meloy III, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert E. Messerli, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Frederick Metz, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Floyd H. Miller, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Geoffrey D. Miller, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert G. Mills, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gerald P. Minetti, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Riley D. Mixson, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John P. Monahan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm A. J. Monger, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Mario F. Montero, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James W. Montgomery, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William L. Moore, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Royal N. Moore, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas L. Moore, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Douglas M. Moore, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James E. Moore, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William C. Moore, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Burton R. Moore, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Marc A. Moore, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert D. Morgan, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Jack Moriarty, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James B. Morin, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard Mulberry, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Mark B. Mullin, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas B. Murchie, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Dennis J. Murphy, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James A. Musselman, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Willie B. Nance, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas H. Needham, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George W. Norwood, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm James K. Nunneley, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John M. O'Connell, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas R. Olsen, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ray E. O'Mara, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen G. R. Omrod, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Daniel J. O'Neill, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Rudolph Ostovich III, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert S. Owens, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William C. Page, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James W. Parker, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John R. Paulk, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Donald A. Pearson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Earl G. Peck, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert F. Pennycuick, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Harry D. Penzler, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John S. Peppers, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles H. Perenick, Sr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Elbert N. Perkins, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard L. Phillips, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John R. Piatak, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ross Plasterer, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Arthur J. Poillon, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gerald L. Prather, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Don G. Primeau, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gerald H. Putman, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James I. Pylant, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kenneth J. Quinlan, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Hugh J. Quinn, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen W. R. Quinn, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard J. Quirk III, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David C. Ralston, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John B. Ramey, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Norbert J. Rappl, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Bentley B. Rayburn, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert T. Reimann, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Claude Reinke, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Thomas H. Replogle, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William A. Retz, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen W. H. Rice, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen R. G. Richard, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen D. A. Richwine, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John Ricottilli, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm G. L. Riendeau, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Roland Rieve, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William H. Riley, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Claude J. Roberts, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George R. Robertson, USA *(ret.)*

- Maj Gen Henry D. Robertson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Mastin Robeson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kenneth L. Robinson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Wayne E. Rollings, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William A. Roosma, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm C. J. Rorie, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert R. Rose, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles L. Rosenfeld, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert B. Rosenkranz, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William H. Russ, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James A. Ryan, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Michael D. Ryan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas M. Sadler, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Reymaldo Sanchez, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen C. Dean Sangalis, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Louis R. Sarosdy, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John W. Schaeffer, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard S. Schneider, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Edison E. Scholes, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Hugh P. Scott, (MC) USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles E. Scott, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert H. Shumaker, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard S. Siegfried, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Thomas F. Sikora, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Stephen Silvasy, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Wilbur F. Simlik, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James E. Simmons, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Frank J. Simokaitis, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Darwin H. Simpson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John K. Singlaub, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Mark J. Sisinyak, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James D. Smith, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Monroe T. Smith, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Ray L. Smith, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm C. Bruce Smith, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James R. Snider, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John F. Sobke, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Robert H. Spiro, Jr., USNR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard E. Stearney, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Harry V. Steel, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Orlo K. Steele, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Elmer L. Stephens, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard E. Stephenson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Pat M. Stevens IV, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Lynn H. Stevens, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John F. Stewart, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Joseph D. Stewart, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Eugene L. Stillions, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James B. Stodart, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm F. Bradford Stone, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Henry W. Stratman, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Michael D. Strong III, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jack Strukel, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Duane H. Stubbs, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John Anthony Studds, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Donald L. Sturtz, MC, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Leroy N. Suddath, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Lawrence F. Sullivan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Michael P. Sullivan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Paul E. Sutherland, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles H. Swannack, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Samuel H. Swart, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John J. Sweeney, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Will Hill Tankersley, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James R. Taylor, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Larry S. Taylor, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Mark W. Tenney, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Melvin C. Thrash, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert C. Thrasher, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Larry N. Tibbetts, USAF *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Harold L. Timboe, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm W. D. Toole, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard W. Tragemann, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Terry L. Tucker, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Merton Dick Van Orden,
 USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Lloyd R. Vasey, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Clyde L. Vermilyea, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John M. Vest, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Hal W. Vincent, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen James E. Wagner, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert E. Wagner, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Wayne F. Wagner, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm E. K. Walker, Jr., USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Stewart W. Wallace, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William F. Ward, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gerald G. Watson, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Robert H. Waudby, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Donald Weatherson, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John C. Weaver, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen William L. Webb, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Hugh L. Webster, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Kenneth W. Weir, USMC *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Barclay O. Wellman, AUS *(ret.)*

Maj Gen Billy G. Wellman, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm R. S. Wentworth, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Albin G. Wheeler, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Gary J. Whipple, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen David E. White, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Jerry A. White, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Richard O. Wightman, Jr.,
 USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Claude A. Williams, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Norman E. Williams, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Peter D. Williams, USMC *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Allen D. Williams, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Guilford J. Wilson, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles L. Wilson, USAF *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm John R. Wilson, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen W. Montague Winfield, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Charles J. Wing, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Dennis Wisely, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen George K. Withers, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Walter Wojdakowski, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen John J. Womack, USA *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Stephen R. Woods, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm George R. Worthington,
 USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Edwin H. Wright, USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm William C. Wyatt, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm Earl P. Yates, USN *(ret.)*
 Maj Gen Walter H. Yates, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm H. L. Young, USN *(ret.)*
 Rear Adm W. M. Zobel, USN *(ret.)*

1-Star Rank (407)

Brig Gen Norris P. Abts, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen W. T. Adams, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David M. Adamson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Michael J. Aguilar, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas H. Alexander, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John R. Allen, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Carroll G. Allen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David J. Allen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen George L. Allen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard F. Allen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Benny P. Anderson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles H. Anderson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Dorian T. Anderson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Dale F. Andres, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William S. Anthony, USA *(ret.)*

Brig Gen John C. Arick, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Terrence L. Arndt, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Edwin J. Arnold, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Maurice C. Ashley, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Loring R. Astorino, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James M. AuBuchon, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard W. Averitt, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Terry O. Ballard, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Naman X. Barnes, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas P. Barrett, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen D. Joseph Bartlett, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen George L. Bartlett, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Hugh J. Bartley, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Dana D. Batey, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James L. Bauerle, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Sheila R. Baxter, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert H. Beahm, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James D. Beans, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Floyd E. Bell, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Julius L. Berthold, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William C. Bilo, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harry E. Bivens, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Darrel E. Bjorklund, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard A. Black, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Vincent T. Blaz, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William A. Bloomer, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Spessard Boatright, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James W. Boddie, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Furman P. Bodenheimer, Jr.,
 USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David D. Boland, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Stephen C. Boone, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ronald I. Botz, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Guy M. Bourn, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Darden J. Bourne, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gary D. Bray, USANG
 Brig Gen A. E. Brewster, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John P. Brickley, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James F. Brickman, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John C. Bridges, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen George R. Brier, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ernest D. Brockman, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Matthew E. Broderick, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Donald H. Brooks, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William R. Brooksher, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jeremiah Brophy, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harvey E. Brown, USA *(ret.)*

- Brig Gen J. Royston Brown, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lewis E. Brown, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ralph H. Brown, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Stanford E. Brown, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gary E. Brown, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas J. Bruner, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James M. Bullock, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Edward R. Burka, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John C. Burney, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James H. Burns, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Walter L. Busbee, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Michael E. Byrne, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Bruce B. Byrum, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Sherian G. Cadoria, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Eddie Cain, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James E. Caldwell III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Danny B. Callahan, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph W. Camp, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James R. Carpenter, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James T. Carper, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jimmy L. Cash, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lomer R. Chambers, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Paul Y. Chinen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen G. Wesley Clark, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert V. Clements, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Samuel G. Cockerham, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William P. Cody, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen George P. Cole, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Dan M. Colglazier, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James P. Combs, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Augustus L. Collins, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph F. Conlon III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Vernon L. Conner, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William M. Constantine,
 USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David E. K. Cooper, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Paul D. Costilow, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Christian B. Cowdrey, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Carroll E. Crawford, ARNG
 Brig Gen Stephen J. Curry, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas S. Cushing, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert J. Dacey, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John N. Dailey, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert L. Davis, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert S. Davis, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Benjamin W. Day, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard D. Dean, AUS *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Alan E. Deegan, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas J. DeGraw, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Arnaldo J. DeJesus, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard D. DeMara, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John F. DePue, AUS *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ralph O. DeWitt, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles O. Dillard, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Francis R. Dillon, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lyle C. Doerr, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Walter Donovan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Wilson T. Dreger III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert A. Drolet, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Clifford A. Druit, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles M. Duke, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James T. Dunn, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Douglas B. Earhart, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Raymond W. Edwards,
 USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Randy J. Ence, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John L. Enright, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Burney H. Enzor, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Frederick H. Essig, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Donald M. Ewing, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gerald G. Fall, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Andrew N. Farley, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas D. Farmer, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Anthony J. Farrington, Jr.,
 USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James M. Feigley, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen W. Daniel Fillmore, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Arvid M. Flanum, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Fred R. Flint, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert L. Floyd II, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Melvin V. Frandsen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joe N. Frazar III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Uri S. French III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen H. J. Fruchtnicht, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David L. Funk, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Benard W. Gann, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Larry Garrett, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Augusto R. Gautier, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David W. Gay, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gordon D. Gayle, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Stuart W. Gerald, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles E. Getz, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jacob E. Glick, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Bryghte D. Godbold, USMC *(ret.)*

Brig Gen Joseph W. Godwin, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harold M. Goldstein, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William W. Goodwin, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David L. Grange, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Roger H. Greenwood, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Tommy F. Grier, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert F. Griffin, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Bruce G. Grover, AUS *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Clyde E. Gutzwiller, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harvey M. Haakenson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harry T. Hagaman, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Max G. Halliday, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Donald W. Hansen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gary G. Harber, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Keith L. Hargrove, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Michael H. Harris, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Larry D. Haub, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Donald F. Hawkins, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Edison O. Hayes, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John A. Hays, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lewis M. Helm, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Leif Hendrickson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Terence M. Henry, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James A. Herbert, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ralph E. Hickman, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Keith T. Holcomb, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Terry L. Holden, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William A. Holland, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Bob Hollingsworth, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William S. Hollis, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Alben N. Hopkins, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ronald A. Hoppes, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John D. Howard, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Frank A. Huey, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Francis A. Hughes, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph C. Hurteau, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas R. Ice, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Roderick J. Isler, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Wesley V. Jacobs, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Delbert H. Jacobs, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gerald F. Janelle, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Manning T. Jannell, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James M. Jellett, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James C. Johnson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Julius F. Johnson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen M. A. Johnson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Alan D. Jones, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John L. Jones, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas C. Jones, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas M. Jordan, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert R. Jorgensen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James R. Joy, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Frederick J. Karch, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Kenneth J. Kavanaugh, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Paul F. Kavanaugh, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John H. Kern, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Hugh T. Kerr, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ronald K. Kerwood, AUS *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Boyd E. King, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Roy L. Kline, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jack H. Kotter, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen J. J. Krasovich, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles E. Kruse, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John G. Kulhavi, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Alan J. Kunschner, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Stanley Kwiecniak, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph G. Labrie, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William H. Lanagan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen George A. Landis, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harvey T. Landwermyer, Jr.,
 USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Victor C. Langford III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Peter W. Lash, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard M. Laskey, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jerry L. Laws, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Dennis A. Leach, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen G. Dennis Leadbetter, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gary E. LeBlanc, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Douglas E. Lee, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert C. Lee, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ward M. LeHardy, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Samuel K. Lessey, Jr., USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James H. Lewis, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William Lindeman, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Roscoe Lindsay, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Frederick R. Lopez, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jay M. Lotz, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas P. Luczynski, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James E. Mace, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Pasquale J. Macrone, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Peter T. Madsen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Paul M. Majerick, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Wayne C. Majors, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James G. Martin, USA *(ret.)*

- Brig Gen Walter E. Mather, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Philip M. Mattox, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Paul A. Maye, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Bain McClintock, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gerald B. McConnell, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William L. McCulloch,
 USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ronald V. McDougal, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert P. McFarlin, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Allan F. McGilbra, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William F. McIntosh, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert H. McInvale, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gerald L. McKay, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Max V. McLaughlin, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Claude H. McLeod, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen A. P. McMillan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Keith E. McWilliams, AUS *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James M. Mead, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Clayton E. Melton, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Bruce T. Miketinac, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Leonard D. Miller, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gerald L. Miller, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James E. Mitchell, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lawrence A. Mitchell, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Marvin E. Mitchiner, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James M. Morris, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harry J. Mott III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John W. Mountcastle, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Orlin L. Mullen, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Benton D. Murdock, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph T. Murphy, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Cecil Neely, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Michael I. Neil, USMCR *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harold J. Nevin, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph O. Nixon, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen J. W. Noles, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Curtis D. Norenberg, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas P. O'Brien, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph E. Oder, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen George C. Ogden, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James P. O'Neal, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Michael B. Pace, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles R. Painter, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Peter J. Palmer, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Ralph E. Parker, Jr., USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Roland L. Parkhill, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Edward A. Parnell, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert V. Paschon, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Terry L. Paul, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Frederick R. Payne, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gary H. Pendleton, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Michael J. Pepe, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Mark V. Phelan, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James H. Phillips, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Bruce W. Pieratt, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jeffrey L. Pierson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lloyd G. Pool, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Guido J. Portante, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert Russell Porter, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph N. Pouliot, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Darryl H. Powell, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Larry G. Powell, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard O. Proctor, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James D. Randall, Jr., AUS *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard D. Read, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Stanley E. Reinhart, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas W. Reynolds, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James C. Rinaman, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Harold E. Roberts, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles S. Robertson, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Domenic P. Rocco, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jose M. Rosado, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Roswell E. Round, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Roger E. Rowe, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Floyd L. Runyon, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Theodore R. Sadler, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Walter R. Schellhase, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John R. Schmader, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Eugene W. Schmidt, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John K. Schmitt, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph D. Schott, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph Schroedel, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lawrence R. Seamon, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Michael L. Seely, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert L. Sentman, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James E. Shane, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jerome M. Shinaver, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Denis L. Shortal, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen David V. Shuter, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Elmer O. Simonson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Paul D. Slack, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James D. Slavin, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John W. Smith, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph A. Smith, USA *(ret.)*

Brig Gen Jerry C. Smithers, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Charles E. St. Arnaud, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Vincent E. Stahl, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jon A. Standridge, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jackie D. Stephenson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Velton R. Stevens, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert L. Stewart, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Herbert G. Stocking, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas G. Stone, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert J. Strader, Sr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph S. Stringham, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James J. Sullivan, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas J. Sullivan, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Russell E. Summerlin, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Russell H. Sutton, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Thomas E. Swain, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Burt S. Tackaberry, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Lance A. Talmage, Sr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Hugh B. Tant III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert W. Taylor, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James A. Teal, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Samuel S. Thompson III, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Hoyt E. Thompson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Stanley R. Thompson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen W. H. J. Tiernan, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Alfred E. Tobin, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Warren A. Todd, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William T. Tolbert, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Frank J. Toney, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Peter D. Tosi, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Floyd H. Trogdon, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Gary R. Truex, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John S. Tuck, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard J. Valente, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Jose M. Vallejo, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James R. Van Den Elzen,
 USMC *(ret.)*

Brig Gen Sharon K. Vander Zyl, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen R. L. Vogel, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Rudolph F. Wacker, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John D. Wakelin, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen George H. Walker, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James E. Walker, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Joseph M. Waller, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John R. Walsh, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Floyd J. Walters, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Larry Ware, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William B. Watson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Clark C. Watts, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Robert H. Wedinger, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William Weise, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Arthur A. Weller, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Arvid E. West, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William A. West, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Richard W. Wharton, Jr., USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen William A. Whitlow, USMC *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Stanley J. Wilk, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Dennis A. Wilkie, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Teddy E. Williams, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Sherman H. Williford, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Mary C. Willis, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen James L. Wilson, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Paul G. Wisley, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Rodney D. Wolfe, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Columbus M. Womble, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Kenneth F. Wondrack, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Edward H. Wulgaert, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Mitchell M. Zais, USA *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen Frederick A. Zehrer, USAF *(ret.)*
 Brig Gen John G. Zierdt, Jr., USA *(ret.)*

Notes

1. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
2. Former Commander in Chief (CINC), Pacific Air Forces.
3. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
4. Former Vice Chief of Staff, US Army.
5. Former CINC, US Army Forces Command (FORSCOM).
6. Former CINC, USAF Military Airlift Command.
7. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
8. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
9. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
10. Former Chief of Staff, US Air Force.
11. Former Chief of Staff, US Air Force.
12. Former CINC, Southern Command.
13. Former Commander, Air Combat Command.
14. Former Commander, US Pacific Command.
15. Former Chief of Naval Operations, US Navy.
16. Former CINC, North American Aerospace Command and Commander, Air Force Space Command.
17. Former Vice Chief of Naval Operations, US Navy.
18. Former Commandant, US Marine Corps.
19. Former CINC, Joint Forces Command.
20. Former CINC, US Air Forces in Europe and Commander, Allied Air Forces Central Europe.
21. Former Commander, US Army Europe.
22. Former CINC, Readiness Command and CINC, Special Operations Command.
23. Former CINC, US Pacific Fleet and Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, where he was principal advisor on all Joint Chiefs of Staff matters.
24. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
25. Former CINC, US Atlantic Fleet.
26. Commanded Sub-unified Command in Korea. Deceased, 14 January 2009. Mrs. Menetrey signed (with Power of Attorney) and stated that her husband "believed strongly in this law and would want his name added."
27. Former Chief of Staff, US Army.
28. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
29. Former Commandant, US Marine Corps.
30. Former CINC, US Southern Command.
31. Former Commander, US Army Europe.
32. Former Commander, US Army Europe.
33. Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
34. Former Commander, US Army Forces Command (FORSCOM).
35. Former Commander, Air Force Systems Command.
36. Former CINC, Southern Command.
37. Former CINC, Special Operations Command.
38. Former Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff.
39. Former CINC, US Air Forces in Europe and Commander, Allied Air Forces Central Europe.
40. Former Commanding General, US Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC).
41. Former CINC, Readiness Command.
42. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
43. Former Chief of Staff, US Army.
44. Former Assistant Commandant, US Marine Corps.
45. Medal of Honor recipient.
46. Medal of Honor recipient.



DEFENDING THE CULTURE OF THE MILITARY

Elaine Donnelly

Statement of Priorities and Overview

Any discussion of the issue of gays in the military should begin with a statement of priorities. In the formulation of personnel policies, equal opportunity is important, but if there is a conflict between equal opportunity and military necessity, the needs of the military must come first.

Assigning higher priority to equal opportunity, at the expense of military necessity, opens the door to a wide range of problematic social policies. The campaign to repeal Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C., the 1993 law regarding homosexuals in the military, which is usually mislabeled “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” is a prime example of misplaced priorities.

Members of Congress should ask a basic question: Would repeal of the law Section 654, Title 10 improve or undermine discipline, morale, and overall readiness in the all-volunteer force? In 2009 more than 1,160 high-ranking retired flag and general officers—51 of them retired four-star officers—personally signed a public statement expressing great concern that repeal of the law would weaken unit cohesion, discipline, and combat effectiveness:

We believe that imposing this burden on our men and women in uniform would undermine recruiting and retention, impact leadership at all levels, have adverse effects on the willingness of parents who lend their sons and daughters to military service, and eventually break the All-Volunteer Force.¹

Some advocates argue that this statement reflects only the views of a previous generation, which are not relevant to young people today. But there are reasons why twenty-somethings do not make policies for an institution that puts men and women into harm’s way. Experience matters. The counsel of leaders with invaluable experience should not be dismissed so lightly. Nor should younger counterparts—the flag and general officers of tomorrow—be punished and forced out of the military if they hold similar views.

The armed forces are organizationally strong. All branches and communities of the military have proud histories, cultural traditions, and members motivated by patriotism as well as personal career goals. The institutional strength of the military, however, makes it vulnerable to political pressures that can undermine

its culture. Military tradition requires obedience to lawful authority that is—as it should be—subject to civilian control.

Controversy occurs when civilian officials attempt to impose questionable policies and practices on the armed forces in pursuit of misplaced priorities. Such policies, designed to put egalitarian goals to the ultimate test, frequently conflict with classic elements of military culture. Because the armed forces differ from the civilian world in many respects, an inherent tension exists between sociological goals and the needs of the military.

Unit cohesion, for example, is essential for a strong military force. Cohesion is more than being liked by others; it is a willingness to die for someone else. Horizontal cohesion within a given unit involves mutual dependence for survival in combat.² Vertical cohesion is the bond of trust that must exist between the commander in chief, subordinate leaders, and the troops they lead.³

Both types of cohesion develop from strong bonds of mutual confidence, trust, and discipline that make survival possible under chaotic wartime conditions. Military discipline does not just happen—it must be taught by leaders who have the trust of people who will live, and sometimes die, under their command. Essential elements of military culture foster qualities that are not duplicated anywhere in the civilian world, including selfless courage under fire during war far from home.

Without essential factors such as unit cohesion, discipline, and high morale, the armed forces would degrade into disorganized cohorts of self-interested and leaderless young people armed with lethal weapons. This is why morale and the culture of the military, defined most simply as “how things are done,” must be guarded at all times and never taken for granted. As columnist Thomas Sowell wrote, “Military morale is an intangible, but it is one of those intangibles without which the tangibles do not work.”⁴

Legislative History of Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C.

In 1993 Pres. Bill Clinton attempted to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military. It was one of the most contentious efforts of his administration, sparking months of intense debate. Following 12 legislative hearings and field trips, Congress passed a law codifying the pre-Clinton policy. That statute, technically named Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C.,⁵ frequently is mislabeled “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.” The statute clearly states that homosexuals are not eligible for military service, and federal courts have upheld it as constitutional several times.⁶

Members of Congress seriously considered a concept known as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” which Pres. Bill Clinton formally proposed on 19 July 1993. The proposal suggested that homosexuals could serve in the military as long as they didn’t *say* they were homosexual. Congress wisely rejected the convoluted concept and did not write it into law.⁷

Members recognized an inherent inconsistency that would render the proposed “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy unworkable and indefensible in court: If

homosexuality is not a disqualifying characteristic, how could the armed forces justify dismissal of a person who merely reveals the presence of such a characteristic? Instead of approving such a legally questionable concept, Congress chose to codify Department of Defense (DOD) regulations that were in place long before Bill Clinton took office.⁸

The resulting law, Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C., codified the long-standing DOD policy stating that homosexuals are not eligible for military service. Following extensive debate in both houses, the legislation passed with overwhelming, veto-proof bipartisan majority votes.⁹ In writing this law, members wisely chose statutory language almost identical to the 1981 DOD directives regarding homosexual conduct, which stated "homosexuality is incompatible with military service." Those regulations had already been challenged and upheld as constitutional by the federal courts.¹⁰

The 1993 statute was designed to encourage good order and discipline, not the situational dishonesty inherent in "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Having rejected that concept, Congress chose instead to codify unambiguous findings and statements that were understandable, enforceable, consistent with the unique requirements of the military, and devoid of the First Amendment conundrums that were obvious in President Clinton's 19 July proposal.

Among other things, the law states that "military life is fundamentally different from civilian life," and standards of conduct apply "whether the member is on base or off base, and whether the member is on duty or off duty." It further notes that members of the armed forces must "involuntarily . . . accept living conditions and working conditions that are . . . characterized by forced intimacy with little or no privacy." Therefore, "the prohibition against homosexual conduct is a *long-standing element of military law that continues to be necessary* in the unique conditions of military service" (emphasis added).

These findings and statements are very different from the language proposed by Bill Clinton on 19 July 1993, which Congress did not write into law: "Sexual orientation is considered a personal and private matter, and homosexual orientation is not a bar to service entry or continued service unless manifested by homosexual conduct."¹¹

A thorough search of media reports at the time reveals that there were few news stories reporting passage of the law, and those that did appear in print failed to report its language and meaning with accuracy. Those news accounts and contradictory DOD statements since then have confused the issue by erroneously suggesting that Congress voted for Pres. Bill Clinton's flawed proposal, known by the catch-phrase "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."¹² The situation brings to mind a statement of Oliver Wendell Holmes, quoted by *National Review* editor Rich Lowry and others: "A good catchword can obscure analysis for 50 years."

Describing the law as a "compromise" and referring to it as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" gave political cover to President Clinton, who had promised to lift the ban shortly after his election in 1992. In fact, due to overwhelming public opposition, President Clinton failed to deliver on his promise. The only compromise involved allowed the Clinton administration to continue its interim

policy of not asking “the question” regarding homosexuality that used to appear on routine induction forms.¹³

This politically expedient concession on a matter of process was ill-advised, but it did not nullify the language and substance of the actual law. The statute also includes language that authorizes the secretary of defense to reinstate the question about homosexuality at any time, without additional legislation.¹⁴

Differences between the Law and “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”

It is no accident that the vague phrase “sexual orientation,” the key to Bill Clinton’s original “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” proposal, does not appear anywhere in the law that Congress actually passed. Members of Congress recognized that the phrase would be difficult to define or enforce. Instead, the law is firmly based on conduct, evidenced by actions or statements.

Absent unusual circumstances, a person who says that he is homosexual is presumed to engage in the conduct that defines what homosexuality is. Using the same logic, a person who says he is a philanthropist is presumed to give away money—the conduct that defines what a philanthropist is. It is not necessary for an individual to be “caught in the act” for the eligibility law to apply.

The law should have been given a name of its own, such as the “Military Personnel Eligibility Act of 1993.” Differences between the law and the Clinton administrative policy explain why opposing factions are critical of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.” Even though Congress rejected the concept in 1993, with good reason, the Clinton administration imposed it on the military anyway in the form of enforcement regulations that were announced in December 1993. Those expendable regulations, unfortunately, remain in effect today.¹⁵

In 1996 the US Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit said in a ruling upholding the constitutionality of the law that the Clinton administration’s enforcement policies (“Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”) were not consistent with the statute that Congress actually passed (Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C.).¹⁶ The Clinton administration disregarded the Court of Appeals and perpetuated deliberate confusion by retaining the inconsistent “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in DOD enforcement regulations.¹⁷

Problems with the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Administrative Policy

President Clinton’s convoluted “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” regulations were and still are inefficient and contrary to sound policy. In the civilian world it would be tantamount to a state law forbidding store and bar owners to check ID before selling liquor to younger customers. Such a law would force the proprietor of a bar to assume the risk that if an underage customer drives and accidentally kills someone on the way home, the proprietor will be held liable. That risk is reduced by the posting and enforcement of signs stating “We Check ID.”¹⁸

Properly enforced liquor control laws protect the public interest even if some 18-year-olds successfully conceal or lie about their age and some adults do not ask for proof. It would not be accurate to claim, however, that the age of

customers is “personal and private,” and state law allows 18-year-olds to drink alcohol as long as they do not *say* they are underage.

This is, however, how the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy works. It forbids the Department of Defense to include on induction forms a routine inquiry regarding homosexuality that would help to determine eligibility for military service.

The omission of that question and the lack of consistent, accurate information regarding the law mislead potential recruits about their eligibility to serve. Homosexualist leaders,¹⁹ who want government power to impose their agenda on the military, are well aware of what the law actually says and are a large part of this problem.

Groups such as the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN) and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) constantly attack the wrong target—an administrative policy that Congress did not inscribe in law. Their multimillion-dollar public relations campaign exploits human interest stories demonstrating problems that members of Congress predicted when they rejected Bill Clinton’s 19 July 1993 “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” proposal. Many personal dilemmas could have been avoided if the Department of Defense clearly explained to potential inductees the meaning of the 1993 Eligibility Law.

Many well-meaning people who may not understand the issues involved are opposed to the convoluted “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy or think it needs to be reviewed. They are correct—Congress did not vote for the Clinton “sexual orientation” policy and the secretary of defense should have exercised the option to drop it long ago. “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” diversions, however, should not preclude objective discussion of the consequences of repealing the 1993 Eligibility Law.

Consequences of Repealing the 1993 Eligibility Law, Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C.

Legislation to repeal the 1993 law, H.R.1283, was introduced in the 111th Congress by Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-CA), who has been replaced as primary sponsor by Rep. Patrick Murphy (D-PA). The Murphy bill, which would apply retroactively, would forbid discrimination based on “homosexuality or bisexuality, whether the orientation is real or perceived.”

If Congress approves Congressman Murphy’s new lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) law, commanders, mid-level career officers, and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) would be required to determine how the open-ended “real or perceived” legislative language would apply. Federal courts asked to interpret the new “nondiscrimination” paradigm are likely to extend it to all sexual minorities, including transgendered individuals perceiving themselves to be persons of the opposite sex.²⁰

“Forced Intimacy” Unlike the Civilian World

The new LGBT law would govern the lives of men and women in all military branches and communities, including Army and Marine infantry battalions,

special operations forces, Navy SEALs, and submariners. Unlike civilians, in these communities military personnel do not return home at night after work. They must accept living conditions involving what the 1993 Eligibility Law describes as “forced intimacy,” offering little or no privacy.

A law mandating the inclusion of professed (not just discreet) homosexuals and bisexuals in this high-pressure environment, 24/7, would be tantamount to forcing female soldiers to share private living quarters with men. Such a situation would be unacceptable to the majority of military women even if actual assaults never occurred. Stated in gender-neutral terms, the military would require military *persons* to accept exposure to *persons* who may be sexually attracted to them.

We want and need women in our military, and personnel policies work best when they encourage discipline rather than indiscipline. This is why the military separates men from women in close quarters where there is little or no privacy, to the greatest extent possible. Sexual tension or misconduct of any kind is inherently disruptive whether it occurs on the romantic end of the behavioral spectrum or on the other end where harassment or sexual assaults occur.

The new nondiscrimination law requiring cohabitation with homosexuals or bisexuals, “whether the orientation is real or perceived,” would disregard what we know about men and women in the military. The imagined “gender-free” culture desired by theorists exists nowhere on Earth, except in Hollywood’s social science fiction movies.

Some advocates of gays in the military argue that modern military facilities provide more privacy than older ones, and even if people are exposed to sexual minorities in the field, younger people are used to it, and this is not a big deal.²¹

But the armed forces are not a *Will & Grace* world, created by television sitcom writers for laughs. The issue involves sexuality and the normal human desire for personal privacy and modesty in sexual matters. Elitist arguments equating sexual differences with skin-deep, irrelevant racial differences stand in stark contrast with commonsense customs that are culturally routine.²²

Consider, for example, a typical family-oriented community recreation center that has separate locker rooms for men and women. Inside the entrance of the women’s locker room, a sign clearly states that boys of any age are not permitted. A similar sign regarding girls is posted in the men’s locker room.

The signs are there not as an affront to young boys (or girls). They are there because the community respects the desire for sexual modesty in conditions involving personal exposure to others using the same facility. This is so even though people using the recreation center visit for only an hour or two; they do not live and sleep there for months at a time.

Signs mandating racial segregation in the same community center would never be acceptable. Racial segregation has no rational basis; separation by gender does. Military volunteers deserve the same consideration.

Predictable Sexual Misconduct

If repeal of the law forces the military to disregard basic human psychology, risks of demoralizing misconduct will escalate to include male/male and female/female incidents, in addition to those that already occur. Predictable tensions ensuing from this unprecedented and provocative social experiment would constantly increase the stress of daily life and generate the full range of emotional turmoil, accusations, and legal jeopardy that undermines individual and unit morale.²³

Some advocates of repeal try to end objective debate by accusing anyone concerned about these issues of somehow insulting the troops. The attempt at intimidation fails due to logic. Various types of sexual misconduct occur in the military because men and women are human and therefore imperfect. It is not an affront to anyone to state a simple fact: Human beings are not perfect, and homosexuals are no more perfect than anyone else.

Equality in Elevated Risks

Activists demanding repeal of the law dismiss concerns about sexual misconduct by claiming that existing regulations against heterosexual misconduct can and will be equally applied to misconduct involving openly gay personnel. This is an unrealistic, elitist argument, which was addressed in a House Armed Services Committee Report:

The committee . . . heard a recommendation that the department should, as a matter of policy, enforce the Uniform Code of Military Justice [UCMJ] equally on heterosexuals and homosexuals. . . . The committee believes that such an eventuality is neither conducive to justice nor discipline. Violations of the [UCMJ] ought to be prosecuted on their individual merits, without an effort to compel the department to equalize prosecutions among groups of people, offenses, or artificially comparative categories.²⁴

Reliance on “equal” prosecutions after the fact of harassment or worse would be small comfort to personnel forced to live in conditions that encourage inappropriate, passive/aggressive behavior conveying an unwelcome sexual message. Many women, both civilian and military (including this author), have experienced such behaviors, which are disturbing but do not involve physical assault that would spark disciplinary intervention or prosecution.

Members of Congress who have investigated and expressed outrage about such behavior when it involves women in the military should be among the first to anticipate and try to prevent predictable problems. Despite constant professional training and “leadership,” unwelcome sexual tension occurs and causes division in groups that need to be cohesive in order to be effective.

Brian Maue, PhD, an Air Force major and instructor at the Air Force Academy, addressed this issue in the *New York Times*. Dr. Maue pointed out that a sexual preference–mixed atmosphere in the military would create conditions comparable to what feminists describe as a “hostile work environment”:

Consider that the U.S. military does not allow swimsuit calendars in its workplaces because they can negatively affect the morale of female military members. . . . For example, if a female soldier was sexually uncomfortable with the way a male soldier looked at her, she or anyone who witnessed the situation could file a complaint, even if the man thought that his glance was not done in a sexually aggressive manner. . . .

Thus, if the morale of a heterosexual female military member can be negatively affected by a swimsuit calendar or by the behavior of a male soldier with no sexual interest in her, could she lodge a similar “hostile environment” complaint if she was forced to share a bathroom, a locker room or a bedroom (say, in a tent or in the barracks) with a lesbian soldier who has no sexual interest in her?

The military has traditionally prevented unnecessary privacy violations and complaints by separating men and women wherever privacy issues could arise. . . .

. . . Combining sexual preferences (i.e., lesbians with heterosexual women) would challenge American military commanders with privacy violations and dignity infractions that would reduce unit effectiveness.²⁵

Any attempt to “equalize” regulations between heterosexuals and sexual minorities would lead to constant inconsistencies, persistent doubts about appropriate sexual expression, and an incremental erosion of personal discipline standards.

Equal Enforcement and the Lt Col Victor Fehrenbach Case

It is significant to note that many of the most outspoken advocates of gays in the military also demand the repeal of what they call “antiquated” provisions of the UCMJ that impose higher standards of personal conduct than exist in the civilian world.²⁶ The highly publicized case of Air Force Lt Col Victor Fehrenbach, an 18-year F-15 weapons systems officer,²⁷ demonstrates how “equality” might work to erode and eventually lead to the repeal of personal conduct sections of the UCMJ.

Colonel Fehrenbach became a public figure when he protested an honorable discharge resulting from his admission of homosexual conduct, which had been revealed by someone else. An investigative report in the 23 August 2009 *Idaho Statesman* revealed a more distasteful story relevant to the national debate.²⁸

Prior to the *Statesman* report, supporters tried to generate sympathy for Fehrenbach because he had been “outed” by a third party. That person turned out to be Cameron Shaner, a criminal justice student who told the Boise police that he met Victor Fehrenbach through a gay Web site. Shaner reportedly went to the aviator’s home on 12 May 2008, after Fehrenbach invited him with a text message and “stud” photographs.

According to the *Statesman*, Shaner did not explain why he “got naked” with Fehrenbach in a hot tub, but at 3:00 a.m. he called Boise police to report a sexual assault. Fehrenbach asserted that the encounter was consensual and was cleared of the rape charge, but his admission of homosexual conduct triggered discharge proceedings. Under the 1993 Eligibility Law, persons who engage in homosexual conduct at any time, on- or off-base, are not eligible for military service.

Colonel Fehrenbach deserves respect for participating in the 2003 liberation of Baghdad. The fact remains that despite provisions of the UCMJ (Article

131) that impose higher standards for “officers and gentlemen,” Fehrenbach showed very poor judgment.

One of Fehrenbach’s lawyers claimed that if his accuser had been a woman, “he’d have gone back to work with no further issue.” Dozens of former naval aviators whose careers were ruined by the 1991 Tailhook scandal, some even without evidence of misconduct, certainly would disagree.²⁹

Consider what would happen if a military officer posted nude photographs of himself and used Craigslist to obtain sex from an unknown woman who subsequently accused him of rape. Even if assault never happened, under the UCMJ that man’s career would be over. Fehrenbach and his allies are demanding special treatment just because his conduct was homosexual rather than heterosexual. “Equal” enforcement would lower standards, weaken discipline, and vitiate the culture of the military.

If Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA) and other homosexualists successfully repeal what they call “antiquated” rules governing personal sexual conduct and make the UCMJ consistent with the proposed LGBT law, a wide range of personal conduct regulations would become a thing of the past. Special treatment for Fehrenbach, effectively permitting admitted misconduct if it is consensual, would define discipline down.

Regulations do not allow unmarried heterosexuals to live and sleep with persons of the opposite sex in military close quarters. How would it work if gays and lesbians get to share close quarters with “significant others,” but heterosexual colleagues are denied the same comforts? Unit cohesion weakens when people pair off in sexual relationships, causing others to wonder where their primary allegiance lies.

Personal Reluctance to Report Sexual Tension or Physical Abuse

When a female soldier reports an incident of sexual harassment or abuse, she enjoys the presumption of truthfulness. But under the new LGBT law, if a male soldier reports an incident of homosexual harassment or abuse, he will face the suspicion, if not the presumption, of unacceptable attitudes toward fellow soldiers who are homosexual.

Both male and female heterosexuals whose sexual privacy and values are violated by the new LGBT law will hesitate to file complaints, lest they be suspected or accused of prejudiced attitudes that violate the new “zero tolerance” policy favoring homosexuals in the military. Having no recourse, many will leave the all-volunteer force.

When problems occur, commanders will face the thankless burden of trying to find out what happened and who was responsible for what. Regardless of the he-said or she-said details, in emotionally charged disputes such as this, the consequences would be the same, tearing individual units apart.

There are many personal reasons why women hesitate to file complaints when unwanted sexual approaches occur—embarrassment, intimidation by a superior, fear of not being believed, and so forth. Heterosexual men confronted

with the same type of approaches from other men would face all of the factors that deter women, plus the additional concern that a complaint might lead to questions about their own sexuality. Among men, such insinuations are considered “fighting words.”

A March 2008 story in *Clinical Psychiatry News*, quoting speakers at an annual meeting of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies, reported that “male veterans who have a history of military sexual trauma often fail to disclose their condition until well into treatment for post-traumatic stress disorder, and have many motivations for covering up their problems.”³⁰

According to a special report in the *Florida Times* quoting Veterans Affairs psychologists, a unique program designed to counsel veterans, particularly men who were raped or sexually assaulted in the military, found that men are even more reluctant to report such incidents and subsequent problems than women are. “Military men do not report the attacks because they fear no one will believe them, their careers will be damaged, they will be labeled homosexuals or they will suffer retribution from the attackers or their commanders.”³¹

In an article about male military sexual trauma (MST), Harvard Medical School psychology instructor Jim Hopper commented, “When they get assaulted, they’re unprepared to deal with their vulnerable emotions. They resist seeking help. They believe that their hard-earned soldier-based masculinity has been shattered.” Gay activists writing on favorite Web sites frequently deride or ridicule such concerns about personal privacy, berating anyone who even mentions the subject.³²

Institutional Barriers to Full Disclosure of Problems

A *Navy Times* editorial reported that incidents of male sexual assault often are underreported and may be more prevalent in the military than in other parts of society. *Navy Times* further reported that unlike the civilian judicial system, military courts do not offer a publicly accessible docket of pending court-martial cases. As a result, “military commanders release that information at will, giving them unmatched control over information that should be out in the open.”³³

Two cases summarized below demonstrate the risks of sexual abuse that could occur, with little or no public notice, if the 1993 Eligibility Law is repealed.

Navy Lt Cmdr John Thomas Lee. Lt Cmdr J. T. Lee, a 42-year-old Catholic priest, was a Navy chaplain who tested positive for HIV, an indicator of AIDS, in 2005. Between 2003 and 2007, Chaplain Lee was assigned to counsel midshipmen at the US Naval Academy and Marines at Quantico, VA. According to court testimony and factual stipulations signed by Lee and Navy prosecutors, Lee committed numerous sexual offenses with a young midshipman, an Air Force lieutenant colonel, and a Marine corporal. His conduct was all the more reprehensible due to his undisclosed HIV-positive status and the betrayal of trust associated with his role as a priest and chaplain.³⁴

The *Washington Post* reported on 7 December 2007 that Lieutenant Commander Lee pleaded guilty to several serious charges, but nevertheless got off with a 12-year prison sentence reduced to two, with only 18 months to be served. The plea bargain effectively swept the case under the rug with little public awareness that the scandal even happened.

A surprisingly candid article in *Newsweek* stated that according to a 2007 report, up to 60 military chaplains were convicted or strongly suspected of committing sexual abuse over the past four decades, sometimes against the children of military personnel.³⁵ Studies suggest that sexual assault among military men is most prevalent among junior enlisted ranks.³⁶

According to a recent *Navy Times* article about sexual misconduct, a Navy Department online survey of about 85,000 Sailors and Marines found that reports of male-on-male sexual assaults have increased sharply, up to about 7 percent from 4 percent in 2004. Navy official Jill Loftus indicated that reasons for the increased reports were unclear, but resources for men experiencing sexual assault are few in comparison to those available to women. She added that some commanders of all-male units told Navy officials that they didn't need sexual assault training or coordinators because they assumed they were not needed with only men in their units. The required inclusion of openly gay and bisexual personnel in all-male and mixed-gender units would worsen the underlying problem, not improve it.³⁷ Chief of Naval Operations Adm Gary Roughead, who had previously dismissed such reports as "anecdotal," should order a full investigation and a detailed report on all alleged male-on-male assaults. Absent such a review, claims that there have been no problems with discreet gays in the military should not be considered reliable.

Pfc Johnny Lamar Dalton. In 2007 Pfc Johnny Lamar Dalton, 25, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon—the HIV virus.³⁸ Dalton reportedly disobeyed orders by having unprotected, consensual sex with an 18-year-old, who became HIV-positive shortly after the encounter with Dalton. The Associated Press reported that Dalton pleaded guilty to assault for unprotected sex and was sentenced to 40 months in prison, reduction in rank, and a dishonorable discharge.³⁹

In answer to an inquiry from the Center for Military Readiness (CMR), an Army spokesman confirmed that Dalton's records would show only his criminal violations, not the lesser offense of homosexual conduct. This is standard practice, especially when authorities are mindful of the impact of charges on innocent family members.⁴⁰ For this reason, discharges that involve homosexual conduct may not be reported to the public or to members of Congress—now or in the future if Congress votes to repeal the 1993 law.

Nondeployability of HIV-Positive Personnel

Advocates of gays in the military consider concerns about the nondeployability of HIV-positive personnel to be a taboo subject.⁴¹ Nevertheless, as this author stated in testimony before the House Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee,

responsible officials who make policy for the military should give serious consideration to all consequences of repealing the 1993 law.⁴²

To the greatest extent possible, the armed forces try to reduce or eliminate any behavior, or the propensity for behavior, which elevates risks of survival for any service member. Congress has recognized that all personnel fighting in a close combat environment may be exposed to the blood of their colleagues, and all are potential blood donors for each other. Persons found to be HIV-positive, therefore, are not eligible for induction into the military.

If serving members are diagnosed as HIV-positive, regulations require that they be retained for as long as they are physically able. The military provides appropriate medical care, but HIV-positive personnel are not eligible for deployment overseas.⁴³

An examination of military HIV nondeployability cases shows that since the passage of Section 654, Title 10, the incidence of HIV servicewide has trended downward.⁴⁴ Reasons for the trend are not clear, but it is reasonable to expect that if the law is repealed and great numbers of men having sex with men are inducted into the military,⁴⁵ the line indicating nondeployable personnel who are HIV-positive probably would trend upward.

Given the officially recognized correlation between homosexual conduct and HIV infection, it is reasonable to expect that repeal of the law could increase the number of troops who require medical benefits for many years but cannot be deployed. At a time when multiple deployments are putting great stress on the volunteer force, Congress should not make a major change in policy that could increase the number of nondeployable personnel.

Military Families and Children

In Britain, one of the countries hailed as a role model for homosexual equality, same-sex couples live in military family housing.⁴⁶ Before voting to repeal the 1993 Eligibility Law, members of Congress should consider whether a similar “nondiscriminatory” housing policy would have negative effects on family retention in our military.

The British Ministry of Defence also meets regularly with LGBT activist groups to promote “anti-gay-bullying” programs, similar to controversial programs adopted in some American public school systems.⁴⁷

Our military is likely to follow these examples, mandating programs to teach everyone how to get along with incoming homosexuals of all ages. If military parents are unable to opt out or change their children’s schools, how would they react? No one should expect public protests against official intolerance in the name of “tolerance.” Because our military is an all-volunteer force, families will simply leave.

Since the Department of Defense runs the largest school and childcare systems in the world, this would be a huge victory for homosexualists who want the military to become the cutting edge of radical cultural change. New,

unprecedented practices ultimately would affect all institutions of American life, far beyond what is already happening today.

The Intolerance of “Zero Tolerance”

Once the military establishes an issue as a matter of “civil rights,” it does not do things halfway. Passage of the new LGBT law would introduce corollary “zero tolerance” policies that would punish anyone who disagrees. Any military man or woman who expresses concerns about professed (not discreet) homosexuals in the military, for any reason, will be assumed “intolerant” and suspected of harassment, bad attitudes, or worse. Attitudes judged to be unacceptable will require disciplinary action and denials of promotions—penalties that end military careers.

Enforcement of the gay agenda in the military would be particularly divisive among men and women whose personal feelings and convictions are thrown into direct conflict with the new LGBT law and corollary zero tolerance policy. Among the first to be affected would be chaplains of major religions that disapprove of homosexuality for doctrinal or moral reasons. These would include major denominations of the Jewish, Christian (Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox), and Muslim faiths. Likely issues of conscience would include personal counseling of same-sex couples and requests to perform marriages or to bless civil unions between same-sex couples.

The language of Section 654, Title 10 is completely secular, but individual service members who are practicing members of the religions mentioned above also would face choices involving matters of conscience. These would include the accommodation of same-sex couples in married/family housing and the introduction of personnel and curricula that promote the homosexual agenda in military base schools and childcare centers.

Even those who do not see this as a moral issue could be affected by cultural changes and mandates associated with official zero tolerance of dissent. At the House Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing on 23 July 2008, a member of the committee asked retired Army Sgt Maj Brian Jones, who was testifying in support of the 1993 law, whether he saw the issue as a matter of religious conviction.

Jones, a former Ranger and Delta Force soldier who rescued fallen colleagues in the 1994 “Black Hawk Down” incident in Somalia, said that readiness for combat was his most important concern.⁴⁸ Mid-career and non-commissioned officers who are key leaders in combat-oriented communities could be hit with severe zero tolerance penalties just for expressing opinions similar to those of Brian Jones. Among these would be potential four-stars and senior NCOs who are needed to lead the military of tomorrow.

Carrots, Sticks, and Zero Tolerance Taken to Extremes

In a May 2009 report promoting a road map for repealing the 1993 law, the Palm Center provided insight into social difficulties that the activist group

expects the military to overcome with conscious coercion.⁴⁹ In a three-page section of that report, subtitled “Organizational Changes that Should Accompany Policy Change,” the authors used variations of the word “implementation,” “enforcement,” or “compliance,” often in tandem with the word “problems,” no less than 35 times.⁵⁰

The largely civilian leaders of the Palm Center based their recommendations not on military history or experience, but on “social science research that has focused specifically on sexual orientation and on the open service of gays and lesbians in militaries abroad.” Recommendations proceed from an erroneous premise, suggesting that military organizational culture is essentially a “theme” related to successful inclusion of racial minorities.⁵¹ The inapt comparison underlies an apparent plan to *redefine* military culture as a means to advance social goals, not to achieve military objectives—that is, deterring or winning wars.

In this paragraph of the Road Map Report, the Palm Center confirmed consequences of zero tolerance that would have devastating effects on the culture of the military:

Compliance with the new policy will be facilitated to the extent that personnel understand that *enforcement will be strict and that noncompliance will carry high costs*, and thus perceive that *their own self-interest* lies in supporting the new policy. Consequently, the implementation plan should include clear *enforcement mechanisms* and *strong sanctions for noncompliance*, as well as support for effective implementation in the form of adequate resources, allowances for input from unit leaders for improving the implementation process, and *rewards* for effective implementation. *Toward this end, the Defense Department should work to identify the most potent “carrots” and “sticks” for implementing the new policy.*⁵² (emphasis added)

Under such a regime, the “most potent” career “carrots” would reward commanders who embrace the new law enthusiastically. Civilian and military commanders would be required to interpret and apply the law in all stages of training, education, and deployment and to do so under threat of career penalties if they fail to make it “work.”

Career incentives for superior officers—recommended by the Palm Center as “carrots,” “self-interest,” or “rewards for effective implementation”—could create conflict with the expectation of “accurate information about implementation problems.”⁵³ Human nature being what it is, some officers might be tempted to advance their own careers by reporting no issues of concern under the new law, even if they are aware that subordinates are experiencing demoralizing problems.

Other commanders might fear that accusations of unacceptable attitudes and poor leadership could sink their careers if they take the side of a heterosexual person over a homosexual one. The appearance of self-interest in the decisions of superior officers—an element that the Palm Center considers a *positive* thing—would undermine the bond of vertical cohesion and trust that must exist between commanders and the troops they lead.

Disciplinary “sticks,” described as “strong sanctions for noncompliance,” would deny promotions and end the military career of anyone who disagrees

for any reason. This would force out of the military thousands of junior officers and enlisted personnel who are the land, sea, and air combat commanders, chiefs of staff, and senior enlisted advisors of tomorrow.

Involuntary losses of good people would compound the harmful effects of shortages caused when others decline reenlistment or avoid military service in the first place. It is impossible to justify the potential loss of valued future leaders such as this, incurred just to satisfy the demands of determined homosexuals and their civilian allies in academia and the media.

“Diversity” Training and Education

The Palm Center recommends that “military leaders must signal clearly that they expect all members of the armed forces to adhere to the new policy, regardless of their personal beliefs.”⁵⁴ Coercive implementation would require what the Palm Center described as “surveillance and monitoring of compliance” combined with mandatory training programs to change attitudes and make the new gay-friendly policy work.⁵⁵

Absent current law, the DOD will “salute smartly” and proceed to implement all-encompassing, “nondiscriminatory” training and education programs to enforce acceptance—even among mid-level commanders who would be forced to set aside their own objections in order to teach others. Success for such training would be far more difficult than historic programs designed to end discrimination and irrational prejudice against racial minorities. Mandatory sensitivity sessions will attempt to overcome the normal human desire for modesty and privacy in sexual matters—a quest that is inappropriate for the military and unlikely to succeed.

With the exception of lawyers needed to defend military personnel accused of “bad attitudes,” the only people likely to benefit from the mandatory implementation of such programs would be LGBT advocates and professional diversity trainers that the Department of Defense invites to participate.

None of the time or expense involved in these activities would improve morale, discipline, or readiness in the all-volunteer force. Our military respects women and does not expect them to accept constant exposure to passive/aggressive approaches of a sexual nature. It should not be ordered to change personal feelings and beliefs about human sexuality.

Special Events and Sexual Expression

Gay activists expect special events and occasions to celebrate homosexual service members, in the same way that special days or months are scheduled to recognize minority groups and women in the military. Early in the Clinton administration, the Department of Defense sponsored a day-long “Diversity Day Training Event” in an Arlington, Virginia, Crystal City building near the Pentagon. Programs cosponsored with 18 other government agencies featured lectures, anti-Christian panel discussions, exhibits, workshops, and a controversial video titled “On Being Gay.”⁵⁶

In 2009, Pres. Barack Obama signed a statement proclaiming June to be “LGBT Pride Month.” The Department of State and NASA followed with similar gay and lesbian pride proclamations and activities posted on their Web sites.⁵⁷

Social events can have consequences. According to the *Washington Post*, in May 2009 employees of the American Embassy in Baghdad celebrated gay rights by sponsoring a “Pink Zone” theme party event at a pub called BagDaddy’s.⁵⁸ Guests were invited to attend dressed in drag as their favorite gay icon. An embassy spokesman explained that social events are permitted there because there are no gathering places elsewhere in Baghdad. The same rationale could apply to military people serving on remote bases in war zones.

Consistency in gay-friendly social events would create a new *inconsistency* with policies requiring Americans to avoid practices considered offensive to the Muslim civilians and soldiers that Americans are supposed to train in combat or local security skills. The problem was presaged in July 2009, when the State Department came to regret an incident involving male security contractors in Kabul, Afghanistan.⁵⁹ The alcohol-besotted men partied wildly around a bonfire in a state of near-nudity—bacchanalian behavior that rivaled the most offensive abuses of Abu Ghraib.

Public nudity will not become acceptable in the military, but if the Pentagon follows the State Department’s lead in equating consensual heterosexual and homosexual behavior, where will local commanders be able to draw the line? It is difficult to put one’s foot down when there is no visible floor on which to place one’s foot.

Advocacy not Evidence—Five Flawed Arguments

The Gays in the Military Campaign (GIMC) rarely addresses any of the consequences listed above. Instead, Rep. Patrick Murphy and the Human Rights Campaign, the nation’s largest LGBT activist group, have been coordinating a multimillion-dollar campaign of media events in cities around the country, which began 8 July 2009 at the National Press Club in Washington, DC. The campaign has focused on the human interest stories of homosexuals who were honorably discharged due to the 1993 Eligibility Law.

Ensuing media reports rarely explain the eligibility issue or put the matter of discharges into perspective. Virtually all repeat standard arguments that sound plausible but do not withstand closer scrutiny. There are at least five flawed arguments that Congress should analyze critically before it votes to repeal the 1993 Eligibility Law.

1. The Civil Rights Argument

Advocates for repeal of the 1993 law constantly wrap their cause in the honored banner of “civil rights.” The argument, however, is among the weakest. There is no constitutional right to serve in the military. Sometimes there is an

obligation, as in times of war when conscription is imposed. But there is no "right" to serve; the military is not just another equal opportunity employer.

The Male/Female Analogy. Pres. Harry Truman's executive order to end racial discrimination in 1948 advanced civil rights, but its primary purpose was military necessity. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act does not apply to uniformed military personnel because its provisions might make it harder to confront enemies that are not subject to similar rules.⁶⁰

The military's "can do" efforts to implement zero tolerance for racial prejudice have succeeded faster than in the civilian world because there is no rational justification for racial discrimination. Separation of men and women in circumstances affecting sexual privacy, however, is rational, reasonable, and usually appropriate in the civilian world as well as in the military. The late Charles Moskos, a respected military sociologist and former enlisted draftee, rejected the "black/white analogy" during his testimony before the Senate on 29 April 1993. Moskos asserted that it really is a "male/female analogy."⁶¹

Gen Colin Powell, who was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff early in the Clinton administration, wrote a classic letter addressing the subject to then-Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) in 1993. Dismissing Schroeder's argument that his position reminded her of arguments used in the 1950s against desegregating the military, General Powell replied: "I know you are a history major but I can assure you I need no reminders concerning the history of African-Americans in the defense of their nation and the tribulations they faced. I am part of that history. . . . Skin color is a benign, non-behavioral characteristic. Sexual orientation is perhaps the most profound of human behavioral characteristics. Comparison of the two is a convenient but invalid argument."⁶²

Columnist Charles Krauthammer agreed: "Powell's case does not just rest on tradition or fear. It rests on the distinct difference between men and women. Because the cramped and intimate quarters of the military afford no privacy, the military sensibly and non-controversially does not force men and women to share barracks."⁶³

Dr. Brian Maue points out that the military policy regarding homosexuals is not arbitrary. When the introduction of large numbers of women changed the "sexual preference" makeup of the military, women were accommodated with an infrastructure of separate facilities: "When it comes to open homosexuality, however, another sexual preference would be added that cannot be accommodated separately, even if the military possessed a limitless budget. Homosexual advocates are not asking for equal rights, they are asking for an exception to the universal principle of separate sexual preferences in areas of close body proximity."⁶⁴

Affirmative Action and Retroactive Consequences of a Civil Rights Standard. Campbell University law professor William A. Woodruff has expressed concern about the likely extension of the civil rights standard to logical extremes. Legislation (H.R. 1283) to repeal the 1993 law (Section 654, Title 10) would apply the civil rights model in all matters involving homosexuals on a retroactive basis. Professor Woodruff wrote:

We all know that the military has used various “affirmative action” measures to promote women and minorities. Every selection board instruction by the secretary of the service tells the promotion board to look specifically at minorities and women and make sure they are given fair consideration for promotion because they may not have had the best assignments or gotten the best OERs [officer evaluation recommendations]—evaluations that need to be considered in that context.

Several successful court cases have resulted in back pay for officers non-selected for promotion or who have been forced into selective early retirement because women and minorities were given special consideration in the board’s instructions. . . . But, in affirmative action—land a history of institutional discrimination is one of the factors that courts look to in determining whether quotas or other preferential policies are warranted. I suggest that in context, homosexuals will have a stronger argument for affirmative action recruiting than women and minorities. Will application of the affirmative action efforts require the service to ask about sexual orientation? . . . How else can you identify the people entitled to special consideration? This opens a can of worms that most folks won’t want to deal with.⁶⁵

In addition to the offer of enlistment to persons previously denied, such policies could mean retroactive promotions, which would be extremely disruptive if forced on existing units. Recruiting quotas for gay personnel and financial settlements for persons claiming past discrimination also would be within the realm of possibility.

2. Alleged National Security Argument: Discharges of Homosexuals

The ongoing campaign for homosexuals in the military keeps focusing on almost 13,000 discharges for homosexuality that have occurred since 1994, implying that such losses—over a period of 15 years—have nearly crippled the all-volunteer force. Under closer examination, the argument falls apart.

Newly released DOD figures documenting military discharges in the past five fiscal years (2004–2008) show the same pattern evident in the previous decade: Discharges due to homosexuality affect a minuscule number of troops and represent less than one percent of personnel losses that occur for other legitimate reasons.⁶⁶

According to numbers provided to the Congressional Research Service by the Department of Defense, discharges due to homosexuality, averaged over five years, accounted for only 0.32 percent of all losses—only 0.73 percent if departures due to retirement or completion of service are excluded.⁶⁷

The Department of Defense first put the issue into perspective in 2005, when the under secretary for personnel and readiness provided figures on discharges for homosexuality compared to losses in general for the years 1994–2003. The average percentage of discharges due to homosexuality during those 10 years, as calculated by the Department of Defense, was 0.37.⁶⁸

In 2005 the Department of Defense also provided figures comparing discharges for six reasons, including homosexuality, for 10 years (1994–2003). Highlighting the same categories for the subsequent five years (2004–2008), it is easy to see that proportionate losses for the six reasons noted have not changed significantly (figure 12-1).

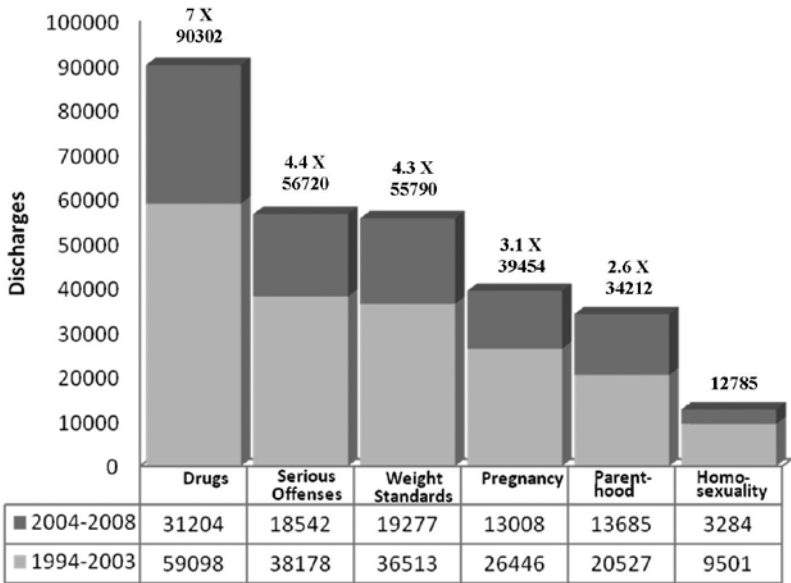


Figure 12-1. Number of discharges by reason, 1994–2008. (Based on data from GAO, *Military Personnel: Financial Costs and Loss of Critical Skills Due to DOD’s Homosexual Conduct Policy Cannot Be Completely Estimated*, GAO-05-299, February 2005, 42–43.)

The report produced by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) on 14 August 2009 confirmed that the small numbers and percentages of discharges for homosexuality do not threaten military readiness. A table in that report showing both the numbers and percentages of homosexual discharges compared to the total active force over a period of 28 years (1980–2008) indicated that the percentage of losses ranged between a high of 0.095 in 1982 to a low of 0.038 in 1994, with the average being 0.063.⁶⁹

The 14 August 2009 CRS report also refuted the legend that discharges declined during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and the gay discharge process was suspended to retain openly homosexual troops to fight.⁷⁰ The Palm Center made the claim without citation in its Road Map Report, and it was repeated in a *Washington Post* op-ed signed by Gen John M. Shalikashvili.

But according to a number of high-ranking generals in a position to know, there was no suspension of homosexual discharges (under DOD regulations) during the Persian Gulf War.⁷¹ According to CRS, a review of discharges during that time indicated that “such a pattern is not evident in these data.” As in a previous February 2005 report, CRS noted that personnel not subject to stop-loss orders include “soldiers eligible for disability retirement or separation, dependency, hardship, pregnancy, misconduct, punitive actions, unsatisfactory performance and homosexuality.”

Some activists who complain about too many discharges nevertheless claim that there are too few, due to alleged suspension of regulations regarding

homosexuals when units are deployed in the current war.⁷² On the contrary, the CRS has confirmed that if a person claims to be homosexual just prior to deployment, an investigation taking as long as eight weeks still must take place. During that time he may be deployed, but if his claim is confirmed, he is returned home and honorably discharged. These rules discourage the possibility of “false claim[s] of same-sex behavior being used as a means of avoiding a mobilization.” CRS added that retention of individuals who are not eligible for service is a “violation of federal law.”⁷³

On page six of its 2009 analysis, CRS quoted an April 1998 DOD report that confirmed that most losses due to homosexuality occur among “junior personnel with very little time in the military . . . [and] the number of cases involving career service members is relatively small.” Furthermore, “the great majority of discharges for homosexual conduct are uncontested and processed administratively. . . . [In FY 1997] more than 98 percent received honorable discharges.”

The secretary of defense could reduce these numbers to near-zero by complying with language in the 1993 law directing that all personnel receive required briefings on the meaning and effect of the law. The secretary also could repeal the administrative “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy/regulations that former Pres. Bill Clinton imposed on the military and exercise his legally authorized option to restore the question about homosexuality that used to appear on induction forms. Homosexuals can serve our country in many ways, but they are not eligible to serve in the military.

3. Foreign Countries as Role Models

Activist groups promoting the cause of gays in the military frequently cite as role models for the United States 25 mostly Western European countries that have no restrictions on professed homosexuals in their militaries.⁷⁴ The number is small compared to approximately 200 nations in the world, and comparisons by sheer numbers put the picture into clearer perspective.

Cultural differences between America’s military and the forces of other countries, to include potential adversaries such as North Korea, Iran, and China, also are important. For four basic reasons, nothing in the experiences of other nations justifies repeal of the 1993 law, Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C.:

1. There are vast differences in the culture and missions of the American military in comparison to much smaller forces maintained by countries that depend on America for defense.
2. Foreign military authorities do not provide independent, objective information about the effects of gay integration on the majority of personnel—not just those who are homosexual.
3. Official or self-imposed restrictions on homosexual behavior in the militaries of foreign countries, which are comparable to the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in this country, would not be acceptable to American gay activists whose definition of nondiscrimination is far more extreme.

4. Our superior military is a role model for other countries, not the other way around.

With all due respect to Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France (excepting the elite Foreign Legion), Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Uruguay—none of these 19 nations' small militaries bear burdens and responsibilities comparable to ours.

The American Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines accept far-away, months-long deployments, and our direct ground combat battalions, special operations forces, and submarines require living conditions offering little or no privacy.

Israel. Israel's situation differs from the United States because all able-bodied citizens, including women, are compelled to serve in the military. In addition, deployments do not involve long distances, close quarters, or other conditions comparable to those common in our military, which elevate the potential for sexual tension.

Israeli popular culture is somewhat accepting of homosexuality, but most homosexuals in the Israel Defense Forces are discreet.⁷⁵ Israeli soldiers usually do not reveal their homosexuality, and used to be barred from elite combat positions if they did.⁷⁶

In the United States, gay activists are not asking for the right to be discreet in the military. The goal is to celebrate and expand that status into every military occupation and eventually into the civilian world. The limited experiences of homosexuals in the Israel Defense Forces do not recommend implementation of this goal.

Germany. The late Prof. Charles Moskos noted that nations without official restrictions on gays in the military were also very restrictive in actual practice. Germany, for example, dropped criminal sanctions against homosexual conduct in 1969, but also imposed many restrictions on open homosexual behavior and career penalties such as denial of promotions and access to classified information.⁷⁷

According to veteran foreign correspondent Dr. Uwe Siemon-Netto, Germany has conscription for both civilian and military duties. About one-fifth of Bundeswehr soldiers are draftees who are not subject to deployment overseas. Homosexuals used to be exempt from conscription but are now subject to it. Due to strong feelings in the ranks, there are few homosexuals in German elite combat units that are subject to deployment in war zones such as Afghanistan.

There are few complaints about the treatment of homosexuals in the German military because young homosexuals of draft age tend to choose alternative forms of civilian national service, including hospital, hospice, or ecology-related assignments.⁷⁸ According to the chairman of their own advocacy group, few of the gays in the German military choose elite combat units that are subject to deployment in war zones.⁷⁹

In 2009 Germany had some 7,700 troops stationed abroad, with 4,000–4,500 in northern Afghanistan and Uzbekistan. Because draftees are not deployed, and because there are strong feelings of opposition to gays in close

combat units, these troops do not provide a model for American forces or for the type of force envisioned by homosexualists in this country.⁸⁰

In his correspondence, Dr. Siemon-Netto added a comment about the French Foreign Legion, which consists primarily but not exclusively of foreign volunteers. Considered to be one of the toughest fighting forces in the world, the French Foreign Legion's corps of nine regiments has been deployed to international crises in Afghanistan, Africa, and the Middle East. Dr. Siemon-Netto wrote, "I have mentioned the Foreign Legion only in support of the assertion that Continental European forces, to wit the German airborne elite units, are not a happy venue for homosexuals to 'out' themselves."

Australia. Australian forces represent one of several nations with civilian and military social cultures far more liberal than the United States. A Web site of the Australian Defense Force has created a romantic image for gays in the ranks, who are described as a "largely invisible" minority.⁸¹ This may reflect the culture of liberal Australian society, but a recent report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* suggests that the nation has priorities for its military vastly different from our own.

On 17 November 2008, the *Herald* reported that personnel shortages were so severe, the Australian navy found it necessary to shut down for a two-month Christmas break.⁸² The stand-down period was scheduled to run from 3 December to 3 February 2009 and will be a permanent arrangement every year. (If Australia is part of an allied naval force in the Pacific, the best time for an enemy to attack would be during the Christmas break.)

The *Herald* reported that the plan was announced to make the Aussie navy more "family friendly," in order to improve retention and remedy personnel shortages. Their navy loses 11 percent of its personnel every year and achieved only 74 percent of its full-time recruitment goals in the previous fiscal year.

The Netherlands and Canada. The Netherlands and Canada have civilian and military cultures quite different from the United States,⁸³ and both countries enjoy the protection of American forces. Dutch and Canadian forces primarily deploy for support or peacekeeping missions that depend on the nearby presence of American forces. In these militaries most homosexuals are discreet, but American gay activists are demanding far more than that.

Dutch society, known worldwide for socially liberal policies regarding sexual matters, is not a model suitable for the US military to follow. Deployments normally do not involve offensive combat or conditions comparable to those experienced by American troops.

Canada chose to include homosexuals in the Canadian Forces in 1992, after the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War. Some Canadian troops have been deployed in supportive roles in the current war, but not under conditions comparable to American forces. Canadian society is more culturally liberal than the United States, becoming one of the first countries to legalize same-sex marriage.

Canada's policy has made it necessary for officials to establish protocols for chaplains asked to perform same-sex marriages. If a chaplain cannot participate

as a matter of conscience, a referral to a colleague or civilian officiating clergy (COC) can be made.⁸⁴ Comparable regulations in the American military would not shield a chaplain from disciplinary measures, such as career-ending denial of promotions for refusing to perform same-sex marriages or to bless civil unions. Nor would chaplains or other military officials be protected from predictable litigation claiming discrimination against same-sex couples.

Britain and the United Kingdom. In September 1999, the European Court of Human Rights ordered the United Kingdom to open its military ranks to homosexuals. Instead of exercising its option to resist, Britain complied with the order. This unnecessary capitulation, in itself, demonstrated profound differences in British and American governments and the cultures of their respective militaries.⁸⁵

Independent information about what is happening in Britain is difficult to obtain, since the Ministry of Defence (MOD) no longer releases objective reports on the integration of gays in the military.⁸⁶ A 2002 MOD report on the subject was kept secret, but in 2007 the *London Daily Mail* obtained a copy by means of a Freedom of Information request. According to a *Daily Mail* article about the 2002 report, Britain's armed forces faced significant protest when the government lifted the ban on homosexuals serving. The Royal Navy, in particular, suffered a loss of experienced senior rates and warrant officers who preferred to quit.⁸⁷

Eight years later, homosexual service members have told activists in this country that the integration process, from their perspective, has been a complete success in Britain. This is not surprising, since they have no reason to complain. Same-sex couples live in married and family housing, dance at social events, and march in gay pride parades.⁸⁸

The Ministry of Defence meets regularly with LGBT activist groups to discuss even more progress for their agenda.⁸⁹ A multicolored "rainbow" version of the official seal appears on the MOD Web site,⁹⁰ which posts newsletters and other documents of interest on the Web site of the MOD LGBT Forum. The forum is looking at issues such as future acceptance of transgenders in the military, and the gay activist group Stonewall praised the Ministry of Defence for working with them on "homophobic bullying."⁹¹ (This is an interesting comment since activists claim that the British experience has been completely positive.)

Britain is often held out as a model for the United States on social change, but the Ministry of Defence has not cooperated by allowing independent interviews. In 2007, the *New York Times* included this in a story promoting the success of gays in the British military: "For this article, the Defense Ministry refused to give permission for any member of the forces to be interviewed, either on or off the record. Those who spoke did so before the ministry made its position clear." Instead of questioning why the restrictions on interviews were so tight, the *Times* headlined the article as if the British experience were an unqualified success.⁹²

Britain is an ally of the United States, and the efforts of its men and women in uniform are admirable and appreciated. Still, there have been indications that all is not well with British forces. European newspapers have reported recruiting and disciplinary problems in the British military.⁹³ When Royal Navy officials stood by and allowed 15 of their sailors and marines to be taken hostage by Iranians in 2007, many observers wondered if the culture of the service had changed, and not for the better.⁹⁴

In January 2009, the British military's top commander agreed with American Secretary of Defense Robert Gates that the British military had been less than effective in carrying out counterinsurgency operations against the Taliban in southern Afghanistan when they first deployed to Helmand Province in 2006.⁹⁵ It is impossible to determine the effect of changes in military culture caused by liberal social policies, but the British military should not be a role model for the American all-volunteer force.

Middle East and Muslim Allies. In this debate there has been little discussion about the cultural values of some of our allies, which could present problems in military situations. In Iraq and Afghanistan, American forces are training Muslim forces in small units in the field. Nine- to 11-man military training teams in Iraq, called embedded training teams in Afghanistan, live, sleep, and train together constantly.

Reportedly, under Sharia law homosexual conduct is a crime in many countries in the Middle East, punishable by imprisonment, flogging, or primitive, violent death. The US military cannot change such attitudes, but it does try to avoid offending Muslim allies whenever possible.⁹⁶ The challenge of training Iraqi and Afghan troops already is difficult enough. If our military creates a serious cultural problem and then "solves" it by exempting openly gay soldiers from close-combat training and deployments with Muslim troops, how would that affect military readiness and the morale of everyone else? Modern history provides few answers to such questions, but members of Congress should consider them before voting to repeal the 1993 law.

Potential Adversaries. Conspicuously missing from the list of 25 gay-friendly militaries are potential adversaries China, North Korea, and Iran. Their combined forces (3.8 million, not counting reserves) are more than two times greater than the active-duty forces of the 25 foreign countries with gays in their militaries (1.7 million).⁹⁷

Congress is being asked to impose a risky military social experiment that is duplicated nowhere in the world. Instead, members of Congress should assign priority to national security, putting the needs of our military first.

4. Civilian Surveys and Polls

The Zogby/Palm Poll. In January 2007, retired Army Gen John M. Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1993 to 1997, joined the gays-in-the-military cause by writing an op-ed for publication in the *New York Times*.⁹⁸ The general's article, and a second one published in 2009 in the

Washington Post, drew attention to a December 2006 poll of 545 service members conducted by Zogby International, indicating that 73 percent of the respondents said they were “comfortable interacting with gay people.”⁹⁹

The only surprising thing about this innocuous question was that the favorable percentage was not closer to 100 percent. Virtually everyone knows and likes at least one person who is gay—but this is not the most relevant issue.

The Zogby poll asked another, more important question that was not even mentioned in the news release announcing the poll’s results: “Do you agree or disagree with allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?” On that question, 26 percent of those surveyed agreed, but 37 percent disagreed. The Zogby poll also found that 32 percent of respondents were “neutral” and only 5 percent were “not sure.”¹⁰⁰

If this poll were considered representative of military personnel, the 26 percent of respondents who wanted the law repealed were far fewer than the combined 69 percent of people who were opposed to or neutral on repeal. This minority opinion was hardly a mandate for radical change, but the poll has been spun and trumpeted for years as if it were.

A closer look at the Zogby poll reveals more interesting details that should have been recognized by news media people reporting on it:

- a. The news release announcing results stated, “The Zogby Interactive poll of 545 troops who served in Iraq and Afghanistan was designed in conjunction with the Michael D. Palm Center at the University of California, Santa Barbara.” Since the Palm Center paid for the survey, it is appropriate to refer to it as the Zogby/Palm poll.
- b. The methodology page stated, “Zogby International conducted interviews of 545 US Military Personnel online from a purchased list of US Military personnel [*sic*].” However, the US military does not sell or provide access to personnel lists to civilian pollsters or anyone else.¹⁰¹ The authors of a separate report analyzing the Zogby/Palm poll undermined its credibility with an honest comment: “Initial attempts to secure a list of military personnel from the Department of Defense in order to draw a random sample for this survey were unsuccessful.”¹⁰²
- c. The Zogby/Palm poll further weakened its own credibility with this overstatement: “The panel used for this survey is composed of over 1 million members and correlates closely with the U.S. population on all key profiles.” If this was a reference to the US military, it was not credible for reasons stated above. If a “million-man” polling sample existed, why did it locate only 545 respondents? This sample was only slightly more than one-quarter of the number used by the *Military Times* poll described below.
- d. The Zogby/Palm poll’s description of methodology referred to a “double opt-in format through an invitation only method.”¹⁰³ The obfuscation was no substitute for the plain and conspicuously-missing word *random*. Respondents, apparently, self-selected themselves to answer a survey on

gays in the military, which might have led to a disproportionately large sample of gay or liberal participants.¹⁰⁴

- e. Activists frequently claim that since greater numbers of younger people are more comfortable with homosexuals, this is evidence enough to justify changing the 1993 law.¹⁰⁵ However, personal relationships among younger people do not seem to be decisive when voters actually decide matters of policy. In 30 states (increased in 2009 to 31), voters (as opposed to courts or legislatures) have approved referenda or other measures banning same-sex marriage, often with comfortable majorities.¹⁰⁶

Civilian Polls. Some civilian polls, such as the *Washington Post*/ABC News poll released on 19 July 2008,¹⁰⁷ have asked respondents whether gays should serve in the military “openly” or “undisclosed.”¹⁰⁸ These questions are not on point because they focus on elements of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” administrative policy, not the consequences of repealing the law.

Such surveys also measure opinions among people who generally know as much about the military as they do about remote issues currently being debated by the Canadian Parliament. The results, therefore, are less relevant to members of Congress considering legislation to repeal the actual 1993 law.

Polling organizations recognize that respondents who believe a policy already exists are more likely to favor that policy, while those who know otherwise are less likely.¹⁰⁹ Constant news reports suggesting that homosexuals already are in the military probably skew civilian surveys to the positive side. This is especially so when a poll asks innocuous questions about knowing or liking individual people who are gay.

Military Times Polls. The annual *Military Times* poll of almost 2,000 active-duty subscriber/respondents found that 58 percent opposed repeal of the 1993 law, described as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” for four years in a row.¹¹⁰ Contrary to some criticisms from activist groups, the *Military Times* editors did not imply that the survey reflected military demographics perfectly. Nor did the editors of *Military Times*, a Gannet-owned publication that has supported efforts to repeal the 1993 law, try to inflate the survey’s credibility in the same way that the Zogby/Palm poll did.

As in previous years, the *Military Times* mailed surveys to subscribers at random, but they counted only the responses from almost 2,000 active-duty military. Unlike the Zogby/Palm poll, questions on the survey covered a wide range of topics, not the gays-in-the-military issue alone.

The 2008 *Military Times* poll asked a new question that produced significant results: “If the ‘don’t ask, don’t tell’ policy is overturned and gays are allowed to serve openly, how would you respond?” The article emphasized that 71 percent of respondents said they would continue to serve. But almost 10 percent said, “I would not re-enlist or extend my service,” and 14 percent said, “I would consider not re-enlisting or extending my service.” Only 6 percent responded “No Opinion.”

Absent unusual circumstances, the military cannot force anyone to enlist or reenlist in the volunteer force. Such results indicate potential recruiting and retention problems that could become even more difficult during a time of intense warfare or during times of economic prosperity, when a recruiter's job is more difficult.¹¹¹

Military professionals follow orders and honor induction contracts that do not allow them to end their military careers overnight. The gradual but persistent loss of even a few thousand careerists in grades and skills that are not quickly or easily replaceable would be devastating to the all-volunteer force.

The Military Officers Association of America (MOAA) Online Survey. In October 2008, MOAA invited readers of their magazine *Military Officer* to participate in an online opinion survey on gays in the military. No one claimed that it was "scientific" or random, (civilian polling companies cannot reach military people directly). Still, the professionally designed online survey, which tabulated the ages and military background of respondents, provided useful insights more relevant than "scientific" surveys of uninformed civilians.

In July 2009, the *Washington Times* reported that the MOAA survey revealed strong support for current policy (16 percent) or an even stronger law excluding homosexuals from the military (52 percent). The same combined percentage, 68 percent, expressed the belief that repeal of the 1993 law would have a very negative effect (48 percent) or a moderately negative effect (20 percent) on troop morale and military readiness.

The MOAA survey of 1,664 respondents included a significant number of younger, active-duty or drilling reserve/guard personnel, many of whom responded to the survey weeks after it was announced in the organization's publicly available magazine. By July 2009, 64 percent of MOAA survey respondents were under the age of 45, and the percentage of currently active-duty or reserve/guard military personnel was 51 percent.

Shattering the usual presumptions, by two-to-one margins these younger, closer-to-active-duty respondents came down in support of current law and opposed to harmful consequences of repeal. Contrary to stereotype, a combined 35 percent of MOAA respondents simultaneously indicated that today's service members are "much more" or "moderately more" tolerant toward homosexuals in the military, while 45 percent said that attitudes were "no different" from those who served in the 1980s and earlier.¹¹²

There was no time limitation on the survey, but a MOAA spokesman said the group was scuttling the poll because there were only 500 responses in the first 11 days. Revising an earlier statement, MOAA officials belatedly described the survey as "statistically invalid" because "some non-members" may have passed the survey around to friends in order to "skew results." No evidence of the alleged activity, on either side, was provided or evident to anyone.

Prior to withdrawing all data that the *Washington Times* had reported, there were 1,664 responses—a significant sample that tripled the size of the initial 500 who responded in the first 11 days. The incident brought to mind an Andy

Rooney aphorism, “To ignore the facts does not change the facts.” The online survey was not invalid—but it was inconvenient.

5. Human Interest Stories

The Gays in the Military Campaign (GIMC). For many years gay activists have been pushing hard for repeal of the 1993 Eligibility Law with a multimillion-dollar public relations campaign focusing on the human interest stories of former military personnel who were discharged because of homosexual conduct, usually evidenced by voluntary statements.

Special attention has been given to linguists who speak Arabic—an important skill in the current war. In 2005, activists decried the loss of “fifty-four Arabic linguists” who were discharged from the military due to homosexuality. The number appeared in a column of personnel losses included in a 2005 Government Accountability Office (GAO) report, but details about the type and level of proficiency of the language trainees, which varied considerably, put the matter into perspective.¹¹³

In 2002 authorities discharged 12 homosexual language trainees at the Army’s Defense Language Institute (DLI) in Monterey, California. Two of the students were found in bed together, and the others voluntarily admitted their homosexuality. When the language trainees were honorably discharged, gay activist groups protested the dismissals as a loss for national security.¹¹⁴

The true loss occurred, however, when 12 students who were not eligible to serve occupied the spaces of other language trainees who could be participating in the current war. This loss of time and resources was a direct result of President Clinton’s calculated action to accommodate homosexuals with his “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” administrative regulations, despite prohibitions in the law.¹¹⁵ The Pentagon should clarify the meaning of the 1993 Eligibility Law and pursue other ways to recruit and train qualified language trainees.¹¹⁶

The Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN) and allied groups such as the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) and Servicemembers United have played up emotional stories of several young men and women who were trained and served in the military but received an honorable discharge when they disclosed they were gay. Even an article in the *Joint Forces Quarterly* appealed to emotions with this: “Several homosexuals interviewed were in tears as they described the enormous personal compromise in integrity they had been making, and the pain felt in serving in an organization they wholly believed in, yet that did not accept them.”¹¹⁷

In most cases it is appropriate to assume good faith on the part of these individuals who want to serve in uniform. The problem is the Department of Defense, which keeps issuing contradictory statements regarding the eligibility of homosexuals to serve. Gay activist groups also aggravate the problem by misinforming young people about the meaning of the 1993 Eligibility Law.

Many people who are patriots and willing to serve are not eligible for reasons such as age, health, personal violations of law, and the like. It makes no

sense to recruit, train, and deploy people who are not eligible to serve. This is the problem with Bill Clinton's convoluted "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, which has created human interest problems that members of Congress predicted and tried to avoid by rejecting it. Criticism of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," however, does not justify repeal of the 1993 Eligibility Law.

Speculation About Willingness to Serve. A July 2008 Palm Center report advocating repeal of the 1993 law, signed by a study group of four retired general and flag officers, suggested that possible personnel losses were not the group's primary concern.¹¹⁸ In Finding Five of the document, the panel conceded that an estimated 4,000 military personnel would be lost to the service if the law were repealed. The report also claimed, with no credible support, that the loss would be "a wash in terms of recruiting and retention" because 4,000 gays and lesbians would enlist to take their places.

The study group's estimates were based on responses to a survey question in the same Zogby poll that the Palm Center commissioned and paid for in late 2006. Finding Five cited responses to Zogby question 27 suggesting that if gays and lesbians had been allowed to serve openly in the military, 2 percent of potential recruits—about 4,000 presumably heterosexual military men and women—probably would have declined enlistment in the past 14 years. Then the study group claimed without support that the 4,000 losses would be "canceled out" by 4,000 gays and lesbians likely to enlist in their places.

The estimate of potential losses, however, was miscalculated. The percentage of military people identified by Zogby in survey question 27 was not 2 percent; it was 10 percent, five times greater, with 13 percent undecided. Taking those percentages and estimates at face value, that means 20,000 people would have declined to join the military since 1994, or 32,000 men and women if half of Zogby's undecided group was factored in.¹¹⁹

Yet another estimate came from Dr. Aaron Belkin, director of the Palm Center, who submitted to the House Armed Services Committee a brief statement claiming that if the law were repealed, 41,000 new recruits would join the military.¹²⁰ If 10 times more than the Palm Center's own study group's 4,000 figure was good, why not pick another number—any number—to make the estimate even better?

Belkin's statement quoted Gary D. Gates, PhD, whose statement filed with the House Armed Services Committee used the same 41,000 figure and cited his own speculative claim that 65,000 homosexuals are currently serving in the military.¹²¹ Gates was the author of a September 2004 report published by the Urban Institute, titled *Gay Men and Lesbians in the U.S. Military: Estimates from Census 2000*.¹²²

The 24-page Gates Report included several tables of numbers regarding military service rates, age, gender, and other factors. It concluded, "Estimates suggest that more than 36,000 gay men and lesbians are serving in active duty, representing 2.5 percent of active-duty personnel. When the guard and reserve are included, nearly 65,000 men and women in uniform are likely gay or lesbian, accounting for 2.8 percent of military personnel."¹²³

The Gates Report was widely described as definitive, even though many of the numbers used to calculate percentages of gays in the military were based on speculation derived from several social science sources as well as the 2000 Decennial Census. The document stated that same-sex couples living in the same household are “commonly understood to be primarily gay and lesbian couples even though the census does not ask any questions about sexual orientation, sexual behavior, or sexual attraction (three common ways used to identify gay men and lesbians in surveys).”¹²⁴

This is one of several caveats in the Gates Report, including this observation: “Prevalence estimates of the proportion of men and women in the United States who are gay or lesbian drawn from samples that can be used to make nationally representative estimates are rare.”¹²⁵

Using a statistical method called the Bayes Rule, author Gates added up speculative figures regarding different military communities (active duty, guard, and reserve) to come up with the 65,000 figure. Paul Winfree, a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation Center for Data Analysis, has described the Bayes Rule or Bayes Theorem as “basically a calculation of the probability of an event occurring subject to certain known priors.”¹²⁶ Statisticians use the Bayes Rule as a formula to determine probability when relevant factors are known with certainty.¹²⁷

The Gates Report calculated the number of gays and lesbians in the military by using estimated figures derived from the 2000 Census. Winfree noted that the Bayes Rule methodology used in the Gates Report was standard, but the resulting estimate was only as good as other estimates made using the 2000 Decennial Census. (A judgment on those figures was beyond the scope of his review.)

Given the element of speculation throughout, it is an overstatement to describe it as an objective presentation of “real numbers.”¹²⁸ It is not possible to determine the accuracy of estimates used in the Gates Report, which was prepared in consultation with the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military (now the Palm Center) and the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network.

Even if there were 65,000 homosexuals serving discreetly in the military, it would not follow that the time has come to repeal the 1993 law. Homosexualists are not seeking the right to serve discreetly in the military. The goal is unrestricted acceptance of professed sexual minorities in the military, regardless of the consequences.

Road Map or Railroad?

“Stop-Loss” Authority for National Security Only

In May 2009 the Palm Center issued a 29-page Road Map Report claiming that President Obama can and should suspend enforcement of Section 654, Title 10 by signing an executive order.¹²⁹

Under the terms of 10 U.S.C. 12305 the president may suspend any law regarding “separation” of military personnel in time of a declared national emergency—defined as a period when reservists are serving on involuntary active

duty, as they are now. But according to law professor William A. Woodruff, the purpose of the stop loss authority is to benefit national security, not to achieve political objectives:

The authority under the stop loss law (10 USC 12305) is quite broad, but the real issue is whether permitting homosexuals to serve is vital to national security. This is where the Palm Center takes things off track. They are urging the President to use his national emergency authority to create an environment that will eventually lead to the repeal of 10 USC 654. However, Congress passed the law, 10 USC 12305, to allow the President flexibility to respond to national emergencies, not to give him political cover to socially engineer the military.

If, as the Palm Center apparently believes, service by homosexuals is beneficial and not detrimental to national security, with no adverse impact on unit cohesion and combat effectiveness, the issue should be debated on that basis and not by using statutory authority enacted for other purposes.

Even though President Obama has promised to work to repeal 10 USC 654, he seems to understand and appreciate that such unilateral political decisions in an area the Constitution specifically vests in the Congress would show profound disrespect for a coordinate branch of government. The situation is very similar to the deference the courts show the Executive and Legislative branches in areas the Constitution assigns to the political branches. Likewise, the political branches must be sensitive to their respective areas of constitutional authority and not try to usurp each others' legitimate areas of responsibility.

If President Obama yields to gay activist pressure and unilaterally suspends or stops enforcement of the law, the troops would perceive that action as an evasion of his oath to "faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States." Even the *Washington Post*, a strong proponent of gays in the military, questioned the Palm Center's plan to "get around existing policy."¹³⁰

Preempting the Joint Chiefs

Palm Center reports have twice suggested strategies to coerce senior members of the military to go along with their agenda. The May Road Map Report set the tone by suggesting that "the President should not ask military leaders if they support lifting the ban. . . . Any consultation with uniformed leaders should take the form of a clear mandate to give the President input about how, not whether, to make this transition."¹³¹

In a subsequent report, the Palm Center went even further in advocating a strategy that would short-circuit the political system. The document confirmed insufficient votes to repeal the law and criticized fellow activists for not having a plan to overcome the resistance of reluctant members of Congress, including Democrats from fairly conservative districts.¹³² Claiming that military leaders consider repeal of the 1993 law to be inevitable, Palm disrespected military leaders with this: "In terms of their capacity to make trouble, it is the legislative process that would open a can of worms by allowing military leaders to testify at hearings and forge alliances with opponents on the Hill. *A swift executive order would eliminate opportunities for them to resist*" (emphasis added).¹³³

This two-step plan to box in members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff with a presidential executive order reveals an attitude of arrogance and elitism that should not be allowed to prevail.

Conclusion

Proposed radical change demands a heavy burden of proof. Advocates of repealing the 1993 Eligibility Law have not carried that burden or made a convincing case. Lofty civil rights rhetoric cannot erase the normal desire for sexual privacy in the real world of the military. Consistently small numbers and percentages of people discharged due to homosexuality contradict any claim that a national security emergency justifies repeal of the law.

It is not convincing to hold up as role models for America's forces the small, dissimilar militaries of foreign nations—none of which have adopted the extreme agenda being proposed for our military. Nor does it help to ignore the stated opinions of experienced and current military personnel of all ranks or to advocate zero tolerance and punishment for anyone who disagrees with the gay agenda.

Some advocates cavalierly argue that intimate living conditions in infantry battalions and aboard submarines should be made *more* uncomfortable to accommodate at least four different gender and sexual orientation groups. Others have admitted that some units may become dysfunctional if Congress repeals the 1993 law.¹³⁴ No one has justified these costs in terms of personnel disruptions, operational distractions, or scarce defense dollars.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the rationale for social policy changes begins with a choice of priorities. Advocates of this cause assign higher priority to career considerations than they do to the needs of the military. Arguments for repeal of the 1993 Eligibility Law center on self interest, not concerns about morale and readiness required for a strong military culture and an effective national defense. Professor Woodruff has noted:

The military is not popular culture. It is very different and must remain so to defend the freedoms that advance our popular culture. Those who favor personnel policies grounded in notions of fairness to the individual must be required to demonstrate beyond any doubt that military discipline, unit cohesion, and combat effectiveness will not be diminished one iota by adoption of their preferred policy. Otherwise, it elevates the individual over the mission and that is the antithesis of military service.

Policy changes involving political coercion, compromised standards, and elevated risks of social disruption would undermine the culture of the military, and complicate the lives of thousands of good men and women in our military whose voices rarely are heard. For their sake as well as the nation's, we have to get this right. We need to maintain our military as the strongest in the world—it is the only one we have.

Appendix: 10 USC 654

§ 654. Policy concerning homosexuality in the armed forces

- (a) **Findings.**— Congress makes the following findings:
- (1) Section 8 of article I of the Constitution of the United States commits exclusively to the Congress the powers to raise and support armies, provide and maintain a Navy, and make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.
 - (2) There is no constitutional right to serve in the armed forces.
 - (3) Pursuant to the powers conferred by section 8 of article I of the Constitution of the United States, it lies within the discretion of the Congress to establish qualifications for and conditions of service in the armed forces.
 - (4) The primary purpose of the armed forces is to prepare for and to prevail in combat should the need arise.
 - (5) The conduct of military operations requires members of the armed forces to make extraordinary sacrifices, including the ultimate sacrifice, in order to provide for the common defense.
 - (6) Success in combat requires military units that are characterized by high morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion.
 - (7) One of the most critical elements in combat capability is unit cohesion, that is, the bonds of trust among individual service members that make the combat effectiveness of a military unit greater than the sum of the combat effectiveness of the individual unit members.
 - (8) Military life is fundamentally different from civilian life in that—
 - (A) the extraordinary responsibilities of the armed forces, the unique conditions of military service, and the critical role of unit cohesion, require that the military community, while subject to civilian control, exist as a specialized society; and
 - (B) the military society is characterized by its own laws, rules, customs, and traditions, including numerous restrictions on personal behavior, that would not be acceptable in civilian society.
 - (9) The standards of conduct for members of the armed forces regulate a member's life for 24 hours each day beginning at the moment the member enters military status and not ending until that person is discharged or otherwise separated from the armed forces.
 - (10) Those standards of conduct, including the Uniform Code of Military Justice, apply to a member of the armed forces at all times that the member has a military status, whether the member is on base or off base, and whether the member is on duty or off duty.
 - (11) The pervasive application of the standards of conduct is necessary because members of the armed forces must be ready at all times for worldwide deployment to a combat environment.

(12) The worldwide deployment of United States military forces, the international responsibilities of the United States, and the potential for involvement of the armed forces in actual combat routinely make it necessary for members of the armed forces involuntarily to accept living conditions and working conditions that are often spartan, primitive, and characterized by forced intimacy with little or no privacy.

(13) The prohibition against homosexual conduct is a longstanding element of military law that continues to be necessary in the unique circumstances of military service.

(14) The armed forces must maintain personnel policies that exclude persons whose presence in the armed forces would create an unacceptable risk to the armed forces' high standards of morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability.

(15) The presence in the armed forces of persons who demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts would create an unacceptable risk to the high standards of morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability.

(b) **Policy.**— A member of the armed forces shall be separated from the armed forces under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Defense if one or more of the following findings is made and approved in accordance with procedures set forth in such regulations:

(1) That the member has engaged in, attempted to engage in, or solicited another to engage in a homosexual act or acts unless there are further findings, made and approved in accordance with procedures set forth in such regulations, that the member has demonstrated that—

- (A) such conduct is a departure from the member's usual and customary behavior;
- (B) such conduct, under all the circumstances, is unlikely to recur;
- (C) such conduct was not accomplished by use of force, coercion, or intimidation;
- (D) under the particular circumstances of the case, the member's continued presence in the armed forces is consistent with the interests of the armed forces in proper discipline, good order, and morale; and
- (E) the member does not have a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts.

(2) That the member has stated that he or she is a homosexual or bisexual, or words to that effect, unless there is a further finding, made and approved in accordance with procedures set forth in the regulations, that the member has demonstrated that he or she is not a person who engages in, attempts to engage in, has a propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts.

(3) That the member has married or attempted to marry a person known to be of the same biological sex.

(c) **Entry Standards and Documents.**—

(1) The Secretary of Defense shall ensure that the standards for enlistment and appointment of members of the armed forces reflect the policies set forth in subsection (b).

(2) The documents used to effectuate the enlistment or appointment of a person as a member of the armed forces shall set forth the provisions of subsection (b).

(d) **Required Briefings.**— The briefings that members of the armed forces receive upon entry into the armed forces and periodically thereafter under section 937 of this title (article 137 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice) shall include a detailed explanation of the applicable laws and regulations governing sexual conduct by members of the armed forces, including the policies prescribed under subsection (b).

(e) **Rule of Construction.**— Nothing in subsection (b) shall be construed to require that a member of the armed forces be processed for separation from the armed forces when a determination is made in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Defense that—

(1) the member engaged in conduct or made statements for the purpose of avoiding or terminating military service; and

(2) separation of the member would not be in the best interest of the armed forces.

(f) **Definitions.**— In this section:

(1) The term “homosexual” means a person, regardless of sex, who engages in, attempts to engage in, has a propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts, and includes the terms “gay” and “lesbian”.

(2) The term “bisexual” means a person who engages in, attempts to engage in, has a propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual and heterosexual acts.

(3) The term “homosexual act” means—

(A) any bodily contact, actively undertaken or passively permitted, between members of the same sex for the purpose of satisfying sexual desires; and

(B) any bodily contact which a reasonable person would understand to demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in an act described in subparagraph (A).

(b) **Regulations.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act [Nov. 30, 1993], the Secretary of Defense shall revise Department of Defense regulations, and issue such new regulations as may be necessary, to implement section 654 of title 10, United States Code, as added by subsection (a).

(c) **Savings provision.**—Nothing in this section or section 654 of title 10, United States Code, as added by subsection (a), may be construed to invalidate any inquiry, investigation, administrative action or proceeding, court-martial,

or judicial proceeding conducted before the effective date of regulations issued by the Secretary of Defense to implement such section 654.

(d) Sense of Congress.--It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the suspension of questioning concerning homosexuality as part of the processing of individuals for accession into the Armed Forces under the interim policy of January 29, 1993, should be continued, but the Secretary of Defense may reinstate that questioning with such questions or such revised questions as he considers appropriate if the Secretary determines that it is necessary to do so in order to effectuate the policy set forth in section 654 of title 10, United States Code, as added by subsection (a) and

(2) the Secretary of Defense should consider issuing guidance governing the circumstances under which members of the Armed Forces questioned about homosexuality for administrative purposes should be afforded warnings similar to the warnings under section 831(b) of title 10, United States Code (article 31(b) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice).

Notes

1. The Flag & General Officers for the Military (FGOM) statement, dated 30 March 2009, was delivered to Pres. Barack Obama, Pentagon officials, and senior members of Congress on 31 March 2009. The statement and a brief issue overview are available at www.flagandgeneralofficersformilitary.com. Personal signatures were requested by a Steering Committee of seven four- and three-star retired officers via regular postal mail (not e-mail). A clear majority of the Army officers listed, for whom retirement dates are available, were in command after 1994, when the 1993 Eligibility Law was in effect. As of 4 February 2010, 1,163 handwritten signatures were received and are on file with the Center for Military Readiness, which provided administrative support for the FGOM project. The full statement appears as chapter 11 in this volume.

2. In his address to the “Boys of Pointe du Hoc” on the 40th anniversary of D-Day 1984, Pres. Ronald Reagan described the force of military cohesion: “You were young the day you took these cliffs; some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you. Yet, you risked everything here. Why? Why did you do it? What impelled you to put aside the instinct for self-preservation and risk your lives to take these cliffs? . . . We look at you, and somehow we know the answer. It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love.”

3. William Darryl Henderson, PhD, testimony before the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 26 June 1992, and Commission Report to the President, 15 November 1992, Finding 2.5.1, page C-80-81, quoting Dr. Henderson’s book, *Cohesion: The Human Element*, National Defense University Press, 1985.

4. Thomas Sowell, “The Anointed and Those Who Aren’t,” *Washington Times*, 8 February 1993, E3.

5. National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year (FY) 1994, Pub. L. no. 103-60, § 571, 107 Stat. 1547, 1670, (1993), codified at 10 U.S.C. § 654, reprinted in appendix. The 1993 law codified long-standing DOD regulations adopted in January 1981. See Elaine Donnelly, “Constructing the Co-Ed Military,” *Journal of Gender Law & Policy* (Duke University) 14 (May 2007), hereafter cited as *Duke Law Journal*, 906-10. The article is available in full at <http://www.law.duke.edu/shell/cite.pl?14+Duke+J.+Gender+L.+&+Pol%27y+8151>.

6. Jody Feder. “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”: A Legal Analysis,” *Congressional Research Service Report* 7-5700, R40795, 2 September 2009.

7. Legislative history clearly shows that members of Congress did not intend to accommodate professed homosexuals in the military. See 103rd Congress, House Report 103-200, NDAA for

FY 1994, 287. Rep. Steve Buyer (R-IN), then-chairman of the House Armed Services Committee (HASC) Personnel Subcommittee, underscored the point in a 16 December 1999 Memorandum for Members of the Republican Conference, "Policy Regarding the Present Ban on Homosexuals in the Military": "Although some would assert that section 654 of Title 10, US Code . . . embodied the compromise now referred to as 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,' there is no evidence to suggest that the Congress believed the new law to be anything other than a continuation of a firm prohibition against military service for homosexuals that had been the historical policy." See document available at <http://cmrlink.org/problemgays.asp>, and Duke *Law Journal*, 905–8.

8. Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C., and Duke *Law Journal*, 904–7.

9. The FY 1994 NDAA codified language almost identical to that in DOD directives promulgated in 1981. An amendment offered by Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Cal.), which would have allowed the president to decide policy regarding gays in the military, was defeated on 9 September 1993, on a bipartisan 63 to 33 vote. On 28 September the House rejected a similar amendment, sponsored by Rep. Martin Meehan (D-MA) and Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), which would have stricken the Senate-approved language and expressed the sense that the issue should be decided by the president and his advisors. The Meehan/Schroeder amendment was defeated on a bipartisan roll-call vote, 264 to 169.

10. See extensive analysis in the University of Missouri-Kansas City *Law Review* article by Campbell University law professor William A. Woodruff, "Homosexuality and Military Service," 64 UMKC L. Rev. 121, 123–24 (Fall 1995). Also Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C., and Duke *Law Journal*, 903–10. Professor Woodruff is a leading expert on the issue of homosexuals in the military.

11. Duke *Law Journal*, 908–11.

12. Official spokesmen continue to suggest, erroneously, that homosexuals are eligible for military service if they do not say they are homosexual. Statutory language requires briefings and educational materials to clarify the meaning and intent of the law, but the Department of Defense has failed to comply with this provision. See Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C., "Required Briefings." Also Duke *Law Journal*, 907–8.

13. David E. Burrelli. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: The Law and Military Policy on Same-Sex Behavior," *Congressional Research Service Report 7-5700, R40782*, 14 August 2009, hereafter cited as *CRS Report*, 14 August 2009, 1–5.

14. Duke *Law Journal*, 900–908.

15. See DOD Release No. 605-93, Dec. 22, 1993. The DOD News Release announcing enforcement regulations primarily referred to the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy announced by President Clinton on 19 July 1993, not the language and meaning of Section 654, Title 10. The unnoticed discrepancy has been the source of confusion and controversy ever since.

16. In a 9-4 decision that denied the appeal of Navy Lt Paul G. Thomasson, a professed homosexual who wanted to stay in the Navy, US Circuit Judge Michael Luttig wrote about the exclusion law: "Like the pre-1993 [policy] it codifies, [the statute] unambiguously prohibits all known homosexuals from serving in the military." Judge Luttig added that the Clinton administration "fully understands" that the law and DOD enforcement regulations are inconsistent and has engaged in "repeated mischaracterization of the statute itself."

17. Pres. George W. Bush could have rescinded the Clinton regulations with a stroke of the pen, but did not do so, for reasons unknown.

18. CDR Wayne L. Johnson, Judge Advocate General's Corps, Navy, retired, notes that the same principle of effective enforcement applies even if there are some underage individuals who are more mature and trustworthy than some 21-year-olds who are legally permitted to purchase alcohol.

19. The term is taken from a July 2008 Dutch newspaper commenting on gay issues in that country. There are homosexuals who are not homosexuals and activist heterosexuals who are.

20. According to its own *LGBT News* Web site and newsletters, the British Ministry of Defence meets regularly with LGBT groups advocating transgender rights. See www.lgbt.mod.uk. The Behavioral Sciences and Leadership Department at the US Military Academy at West Point invited a formerly male graduate and transgender activist to address classes on 4 November 2008. The Michael D. Palm Center, formerly the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military, has posted on its Web site an article titled "Transgender People in the U.S. Military." In

another July 2009 article titled “Self-Inflicted Wound,” the Palm Center complains that proposed legislation, H. R. 1283, would “do nothing for transgender service members,” signaling an intent to expand that agenda during or after the current legislative process (27 July 2009, p. 6). The list of expectations from the transgender faction would include military housing access and medical coverage for pre- and post-transgender reassignment surgery.

21. Aaron Belkin and Melissa Sheridan Embser-Herbert, “A Modest Proposal,” *International Security*, 27 (Fall 2002): 178.

22. In a presentation opposite Nathaniel Frank, PhD, of the Palm Center, in Chicago on 17 June 2009, Air Force Academy instructor Brian Maue, PhD, speaking for himself only, noted that in the Air Force, body-touching measurements to determine waist size and personal fitness are done only by persons of the same sex. Respect for sexual privacy also is apparent at every commercial airport, where female security workers perform more extensive body searches of women. Fleeting risks of dignity discomforts are minimized by reasonable practices that respect sexual differences and sensitivities. Maue added that men and women in the military, who must share close quarters on a constant basis, deserve the same respect.

23. Andrew Tilgham, *Navy Times*, “Why So Many Skippers Get Fired,” 14 September 2009, 18. The article reports that “personal misconduct is by far the most significant cause of CO firings. Some 45, or 35 percent of the firings during the past 10 years, were due to misbehavior rather than a significant mishap, command performance, or a troubled command climate.”

24. See House Report 103-200, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., NDAA for FY 1994, Report of the Committee on Armed Services on H.R. 2401, 30 July 1993, 290.

25. Brian E. A. Maue, PhD, “The Locker Room Issue,” in “In the Barracks, Out of the Closet,” Room for Debate, *New York Times*, 3 May 2009. Dr. Maue’s opinions were identified as his own.

26. William H. McMichael, “Report: Outdated Sodomy Law Should Be Repealed,” *Navy Times*, 16 November 2009, 12. Previous reports by this private commission, headed by retired military judge Walter T. Cox III and by a 1998 Task Force on Good Order and Discipline that was appointed by then-Defense Secretary William S. Cohen in 1997, have issued several proposals for revising manuals for courts-martial on several sexual offenses, including adultery.

27. Some reports described Lt Col Fehrenbach, a WSO, as an F-15 pilot whose training cost \$25 million. DOD figures provided to the 1992 Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces estimated training costs for fighter or bomber pilots to be \$3.1 million. See Commission Report, Finding #2.6.1GH, p. C-93.

28. Dan Popkey, “Gay Boise Air Force Pilot ‘Outed’ by False Accusation,” *Idaho Statesman*, 23 August 2009. SLDN lawyers representing Fehrenbach did not contest the Boise Police Report, DR#813-786.

29. Col W. Hays Parks. “Tailhook: What Happened, Why, and What’s to be Learned,” US Naval Institute *Proceedings*, September 1994, 89–102.

30. Jeff Evans, “Men with Military Sexual Trauma Often Resist Disclosure,” *Adult Psychiatry*, March 2008, 21.

31. Alan Snel. “Male (and Female) Rape in the Military,” *Florida Times Special Report*, 17 January 2003. This article included graphic descriptions of some of the assaults suffered by men seeking treatment for military sexual trauma.

32. Bill Sizemore, “Military Men Are Silent Victims of Sexual Assault,” *Virginian Pilot*, PilotOnline.com, 5 October 2009.

33. Editorial. “Corps Puts Spin Control Ahead of Victims’ Health,” *Navy Times*, 17 December 2007, 44.

34. Ernesto Londono, “Navy Chaplain Pleads Guilty: HIV-Positive Priest Is Sentenced in Sex Case,” *Washington Post*, 7 December 2007, B-1. In one of the pornographic photos obtained by the *Post*, Lieutenant Commander Lee was sitting nude on a sofa in his office flanked by an image of the Virgin Mary and a framed photo of Marine Gen Peter Pace, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

35. Dan Ephron, “Questionable Conduct,” *Newsweek*, 15 December 2007.

36. Andrew Tilghman, “Military among Settings in Which Assault ‘Most Likely,’” *Navy Times*, 17 December 2007, 9. This article quotes Mic Hunter, a psychologist and author of *Honor*

Betrayed: Sexual Abuse in America's Military: "The military, boarding schools, sports teams and prison—these are the settings where a male is most likely to be assaulted."

37. Philip Ewing, *Navy Times*, "Male-on-Male Sex Assaults Increase," *Navy Times*, 7 December 2009, 22.

38. Michael Moore, "Soldier at Bragg Charged with HIV Assault," *Raleigh News & Observer*, 18 July 2007.

39. Associated Press (AP), "US: HIV-Positive Paratrooper Pleads Guilty to Assault for Unprotected Sex," *Washington Post*, 1 November 2007.

40. Maj Thomas Earnhardt, US Army Forces Command (FORSCOM), to the author, e-mail, 28 January 2008. Major Earnhardt wrote that Private First Class Dalton was not charged with homosexual conduct because "it's not in the Army's interest to pursue an additional charge that imposes no criminal penalty."

41. Rep. Vic Snyder (D-AR) nearly went "bonkers" (quoting his word) in protest against a mention of this subject by this author as part of her 23 July 2008 testimony. Snyder's intemperate language betrayed an apparent inability to comprehend or discuss a serious subject affecting the health and readiness of deployable units.

42. See testimony of Elaine Donnelly, House Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee, 23 July 2008, available at http://armedservices.house.gov/pdfs/MilPers072308/Donnelly_Testimony072308.pdf, 15–16.

43. DOD Instruction 6485.01, 17 October 2006, Subject: Human Immunodeficiency Virus.

44. See analysis and graph prepared and posted by the Center for Military Readiness at http://cmrlink.org/cmrrnotes/HIV_Statistics100107.pdf.

45. See Centers for Disease Control HIV/AIDS Fact Sheet, "HIV/AIDS Among Men Who Have Sex with Men," June 2007. "In the United States, HIV infection and AIDS have had a tremendous effect on men who have sex with men (MSM). MSM accounted for 71 percent of all HIV infections among male adults and adolescents in 2005"; and Sarah Kershaw, "New H.I.V. Cases Drop but Rise in Young Gay Men," *New York Times*, 2 January 2008.

46. Chris Johnston, "Navy to Advertise for Homosexual Sailors," *London Times Online*, 21 February 2005.

47. In May 2009, an Alameda County, CA, school district mandated an LGBT curriculum for all students that denied parents the right to opt out. One activist reportedly said that the children of parents who would opt-out of such education were the ones who need it most. "Gay Curriculum Proposal Riles Elementary School Parents," *Fox News*, 22 May 2009; and "Compulsory LGBT Curriculum Pushes 'Political Agenda' on Schoolkids, California Parents Charge," *Catholic News Agency*, 24 May 2009.

48. USA retired Sgt Maj Brian Jones testimony. House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Personnel, 110th Cong., 23 July 2008, available at <http://cmrlink.org/fileuploads/HASC072308JonesTestimony.pdf>.

49. "How to End 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell': A Roadmap of Political, Legal, Regulatory, and Organizations Steps to Equal Treatment," Michael D. Palm Center, University of California Santa Barbara, CA, May 2009, hereafter referred to as the Palm Roadmap Report. The report appears in full text as chapter 10 in this volume.

50. Palm Roadmap Report, 19–21.

51. The Palm Roadmap Report suggests that "a new policy will work best if personnel are persuaded that it will not be harmful to the armed forces or to themselves, and may even result in gains. Toward this end, explanations of the new policy should be framed using themes reflecting military culture, such as the military's pride in professional conduct, its priority of mission over individual preferences, its culture of hierarchy and obedience, its norms of inclusion and equality, and its traditional 'can do' attitude," 19.

52. *Ibid.*, 20.

53. *Ibid.*, 21.

54. *Ibid.*, 6.

55. *Ibid.*, 20.

56. Rowan Scarborough, "Navy Officers Balk at Pro-Gay Seminar," *Washington Times*, 8 September 1994, A-1.

57. Office of the White House Press Secretary, "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered Month," News Release, 1 June 2009. Also see Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/pix/igbt/>, and NASA Equal Opportunity Programs Office, <http://eeo.gsfc.nasa.gov/>.

58. Al Kamen, "For One Night, Baghdad Gets a Pink Zone," *Washington Post*, 22 May 2009.

59. "14 from U.S. Embassy Security Staff in Afghanistan Fired," *CNN.com*, 5 September 2009, available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/09/04/afghanistan.contractors/index.html>. Indiscipline is cumulative and progressive. Date-stamped photos taken at Abu Ghraib prison indicated that the Soldiers debased themselves before they abused Iraqi prisoners. See Duke *Law Journal*, 886.

60. Presidential Commission Report, Findings 1.32, 1.33, and 1.33A, p. C-40.

61. Senate Hearing 103-845, 1993, p. 424.

62. Karen DeYoung, *Soldier: The Life of Colin Powell* (New York: Knopf, 2006): 230-33. Army Gen Colin Powell and other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff resisted President Clinton's move to lift the ban on gays in the military. Powell was frustrated that the issue was overtaking every other issue. "He had never been attacked by liberals before, particularly as a bigot; it bothered him far more than he had anticipated." This intimidation factor is relevant to the current debate.

63. Charles Krauthammer, "Powell Needs No Lectures," *Washington Post*, 29 January 1993, A23.

64. Brian Maue, PhD, an Air Force major and professor at the Air Force Academy, e-mail to the author, 17 July 2009. He was expressing personal views only.

65. July 2008 communication with the Center for Military Readiness. Following the civil rights model, in 2007 the British Ministry of Defence issued an open apology to all servicemen and servicewomen who were not admitted to or retained in the military before the ban on homosexuality was lifted (by order of the European Court of Human Rights) in 1999. See Damian Barr and Lucy Bannerman, "Soldiers Can Wear Their Uniforms with Pride at Gay Parade, says MoD," *London Times Online*, 14 June 2008.

66. Additional graphs and tables are displayed in "False 'National Security' Argument for Gays in the Military," available at <http://cmrlink.org/CMRDocuments/DoDDDischarges-090809.pdf>.

67. David F. Burrelli, *CRS Report*, 14 August 2009, 5-10.

68. Dr. David Chu, under secretary of defense for personnel and readiness, letter, 7 February 2005, published in "Military Personnel Financial Cost and Loss of Critical Skills Due to DoD's Homosexual Conduct Policy Cannot be Completely Estimated," GAO Report GAO-05-299, February 2005, 42-43.

69. *CRS Report*, 14 August 2009, 9-10.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Palm Roadmap Report, 7; and Gen John M. Shalikashvili, USA, retired, "Gays in the Military: Let the Evidence Speak," 19 June 2009. In addition to the CRS, several officers in command during the Persian Gulf War have refuted this assertion. Lt Gen Robert B. Johnston, USMC, retired, who served as chief of staff, US Central Command (CENTCOM) at the time, would have been privy to any accommodation to that effect or conversation about it between Joint Chiefs chairman Gen Colin Powell and Gulf War commander Gen Norman Schwartzkopf. According to General Johnston and several former commanders at the time, the alleged suspension of discharges never happened.

72. Michael D. Palm Center, "Researchers Locate Army Document Ordering Commanders Not to Fire Gays," 13 September 2005; and "Pentagon Acknowledges Sending Openly Gay Service Members to War," 23 September 2005. The Palm Center claimed to have found an Army handbook from FORSCOM, Fort McPherson, GA, stating that homosexuals could be retained during deployments.

73. *CRS Report*, 14 August 2009, 6-8.

74. The Michael D. Palm Center, "Nations Allowing Gays to Serve Openly in Military," June 2009; David Crary, AP, "Allies Stance Cited in US Gays-in-Military Debate," 13 July 2009; and Otto Kreisher, "Few Armies Accept Homosexuals," *Sacramento Union*, 7 June 1993.

75. Charles Moskos, "Services Will Suffer If Used for Social Experiments," *Richmond-Times Dispatch*, 28 February 1993, F1; Susan Taylor Martin, "Israeli Experience May Sway U.S. Army Policy on Gays," *Israel 21c.com*, 10 January 2007; and author's e-mail correspondence with Israeli policy analyst Ethan Dor-Shav, May 2009.

76. Charles Moskos, "Services Will Suffer If Used for Social Experiments," *Richmond-Times Dispatch*, 28 February 1993, P. F1; and e-mail correspondence with Israeli policy analyst Ethan Dor-Shav, May 2009.

77. Otto Kreisher, "Few Armies Accept Homosexuals," *Sacramento Union*, 7 June 1993, A5.

78. Caucus of Homosexual Members of the Bundeswehr (AHsAB e.V.). Uwe Siemon-Netto, PhD, a veteran German foreign correspondent, translated this information and other German documents relevant to this subject. E-mail correspondence on file with author, May 2009.

79. *Ibid.*

80. On 22 January 2008, the national German wire service *Deutsche Presseagentur* reported that gay activist and AHsAB e.V. chairman Jan Trautmann, a chief petty officer, said that though he has personally never had "negative experiences" since "coming out" in the navy, "most homosexuals prefer to stay away from elite units such as paratroopers."

81. Australian Defence Force. "Understanding Homosexuality," <http://www.defence.gov.au/fr/education/Understanding%20Homosexuality%202003/index.html>.

82. Cynthia Banham, "Navy Closes for Christmas, Families First in New Year," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November 2008.

83. Kate Monaghan, "Dutch Political Party Wants to Normalize Pedophilia," *CNSNews.com*, 26 July 2006, <http://www.cnsnews.com/ViewSpecialReports.asp?Page=/SpecialReports/archive/200607/SPE20060726a.html>.

84. Interfaith Committee on Canadian Military Chaplaincy, "Same Sex Marriage/Blessing of a Relationship: Guidelines for Canadian Forces Chaplains," 25 September 2007.

85. *Lustig-Prean and Beckett v. United Kingdom*, 29 Euro. Ct. H.R. 548, 587 (1999); Human Rights Watch: Uniform Discrimination, 38; and *BBC News*, "Delight and Despair at Gay Ban Ruling," 27 September 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/458842.stm (reporting that the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights was "not binding on the UK Government").

86. Lawrence Korb, Sean E. Duggan, Laura Conley. "Ending 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell.'" The Center for American Progress, June 2009, 17. This report cites a report due six months after the United Kingdom capitulated to the European Court order to accommodate gays in the military, but nothing more recent.

87. "Lifting Ban on Gays in Armed Forces Caused Resignations Report Reveals," *Daily Mail Online*, 15 October 2007, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-487750/Lifting-ban-gays-armed-forces-caused-resignations-report-reveals.html>.

88. Chris Gourley, "Armed Forces March United for Gay Rights at Pride London," *London Times Online*, 5 July 2008, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article4276099.ece>; and Chris Johnston, "Navy to Advertise for Homosexual Sailors," *London Times Online*, 21 February 2005.

89. Nicholas Hellen, "Navy Signals for Help to Recruit Gay Sailors," *London Times Online*, 20 February 2005; and Chris Gourley, "Armed Forces March United for Gay Rights at Pride London," *London Times Online*, 5 July 2008, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article4276099.ece>.

90. Ministry of Defence, *LGBT News Web site*, available at <http://www.mod.uk/NR/rdonlyres/370C9F8D-4728-4805-BE98-27A0207C2271/0/LGBTNewsletterMay08.pdf>.

91. Richard Hatfield, "A Few Words from Our Diversity Champion," in Ministry of Defence, *LGBT News*, May 2008, <http://www.mod.uk/NR/rdonlyres/370C9F8D-4728-4805-BE98-27A0207C2271/0/LGBTNewsletterMay08.pdf>; and "LGBT Definitions - Transexuality," Ministry of Defence Web site, <http://www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/AboutDefence/WhatWeDo/Personnel/EqualityAndDiversity/LGBT/LgbtDefinitionsTransexuality.htm>.

92. Sarah Lyall, "Gay Britons Serve in Military With Little Fuss, as Predicted Discord Does Not Occur," *New York Times*, 21 May 2007, 8.

93. Tony Czuczka, "British Soldier Admits to Assault on Captive," *Washington Times*, 19 January 2005, available at <http://www.buzztracker.org/2005/01/19/cache/441692.html>; and Glenda Cooper. "Photos Indicating Abuse Renew British Debate," *Washington Post*, 20 January 2005, A18.

The reported abuse of male Iraqi soldiers with a forklift involved forced sexual acts, but details are not known because of court-ordered gag orders.

94. Mary Jordan and Robin Wright, "Iran Seizes 15 British Seamen," *Washington Post*, A-11; also see US Naval Institute *Proceedings*, May 2007, 10, which ran an editorial cartoon comparing the British navy of 1982 that sailed immediately to free the Falklands to a sailor of 2007. The first panel (1982) read, "Britannia Rules the Waves!" The second one (2007), read "Er, I say, Britannia Let Iran Waive the Rules!"

95. Michael Evans, Defence Editor, "British Were Complacent in Afghanistan, Says Sir Jock Stirrup," *London Times Online*, 30 January 2009.

96. "Bringing Serenity to Soldiers," *Army Times*, 6. This article, about the Army's first Buddhist chaplain, reports that "the military is trying to find chaplains who can minister to American troops without offending Muslim allies."

97. *Time/Encyclopaedia Britannica Almanac* 2009.

98. John M. Shalikashvili, op-ed, "Second Thoughts on Gays in the Military," *New York Times*, 2 January 2007, 17; and "Gays in the Military: Let the Evidence Speak," *Washington Post*, 19 June 2009.

99. Zogby International, Opinions of Military Personnel on Gays in the Military, December 2006, submitted to Aaron Belkin, director, Michael D. Palm Center (hereafter Zogby/Palm poll), available at <http://www.zogby.com/news/ReadNews.dbm?ID=1222>.

100. See Zogby/Palm poll, 14–15, question 13.

101. Due to security rules that were tightened in the aftermath of 9/11, personal details and even general information about the location of individual personnel is highly restricted. Memorandum from Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz to Secretaries of the Military Departments et al., 18 October 2001, addressing "Operations Security throughout the Department of Defense."

102. Bonnie Moradi, PhD, and Laura Miller, PhD, "Attitudes of Iraq and Afghanistan War Veterans toward Gay and Lesbian Service Members," *Armed Forces & Society* OnlineFirst, 29 October 2009, hereafter referred to as Moradi and Miller report, <http://afs.sagepub.com/cgi/rapidpdf/0095327X09352960v1>. The *Boston Globe* and other major media misrepresented this commissioned paper as if it were a genuine research report of the RAND Corporation. See Bryan Bender, "Study Builds Case for Repealing Don't Ask," *Boston Globe*, 9 November, 2009, http://www.boston.com/news/politics/politicalintelligence/2009/11/study_builds_ca.html.

These reports disregarded RAND's news release, which indicated that the paper "was the product of a contract directly with the researchers and not through RAND" (<http://www.rand.org/news/press/2009/11/09/index.html>).

In e-mail correspondence with the RAND Media Relations Department, the Center for Military Readiness determined that RAND employee Dr. Miller produced the paper on her own time, together with an academic associate at the University of Florida. Survey results discussed in the paper were from the 2006 Zogby International Poll, which also was commissioned by the Palm Center.

103. Zogby/Palm poll methodology, 2.

104. The Moradi and Miller report acknowledged that the Zogby/Palm poll and other studies shared "the limitation of being unable to distinguish responses by sexual orientation, as asking for sexual orientation disclosure on a survey would pose a substantial risk to participants under 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,'" 6.

105. Zogby/Palm poll, 2. Zogby's 2006 polling sample was somewhat questionable, but if it were to be considered credible, internal data in the poll revealed interesting insights. The poll seemed to indicate that opinions on this issue have more to do with military occupation than they do with age. Active-duty people in the younger and older ranks were more favorable to the idea, but the ones in the middle age and experience group, who were more likely to be involved in close combat situations, were more strongly opposed.

106. Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) Watch, Alliance Defense Fund, Marriage Amendment Summary, updated Fall 2008, <http://www.domawatch.org/amendments/amendmentsummary.html>.

107. Kyle Dropp and Jon Cohen, "Acceptance of Gay People in Military Grows Dramatically," *Washington Post*, 19 July 2008, A03.

108. While 71 percent of self-identified veterans in the *Washington Post* poll said gay people who do not declare themselves as such should be allowed to serve, that number dropped sharply to 50 percent for those who are open about their sexuality.

109. *Presidential Commission Report*, 15 November 1992, Commissioner-Generated Finding 14, p. C-135, citing Roper Organization, Inc., "Attitudes Regarding the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces: The Public Perspective," September 1992.

110. Brendan McGarry, "Troops Oppose Repeal of 'Don't Ask,'" *Navy Times*, 5 January 2009, 16. Annual *Military Times* surveys are done by mailing questionnaires randomly to subscribers to the affiliated newspapers *Air Force Times*, *Army Times*, *Navy Times*, and *Marine Corps Times*. The polls tabulate only responses from active-duty personnel. Results are published in all four affiliated newspapers.

111. Michelle Tan, "No More Felony Waivers," *Army Times*, 4 May 2009, 28. In 2004, the US Army felt compelled to adjust waiver policies to allow some recruits to join despite previous run-ins with the law. Due to the economic downturn of 2009, however, recruiting results improved and felony waivers were suspended.

112. Grace Vuoto, "Is Obama Administration Listening to the Troops?" *Washington Times*, 30 July 2009, B2.

113. General Accountability Office, "Military Personnel: Financial Costs and Loss of Critical Skills Due to DoD's Homosexual Conduct Policy Cannot be Completely Estimated," February 2005, 21; cited in Duke *Law Journal*, 923.

114. Nathaniel Frank, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell v. the War on Terrorism," *The New Republic*, 18 November 2002, 18; also Alistair Gamble, op-ed, "A Military at War Needs Its Gay Soldiers," *New York Times*, 29 November 2002.

115. On 11 December 2002, CMR filed a formal request for assistance with the Army inspector general, asking for an investigation of this waste of educational resources at DLI, followed by a 17 November 2003, Freedom of Information (FOIA) request that did not ask for personal information. The request was initially denied and later "answered" with largely blank pages marked with the FOIA exemption code that is used when government officials refuse to confirm or deny that disciplinary proceedings have taken place.

116. See Donnelly, HASC Testimony, 23–25.

117. Col Om Prakash, USAF, "The Efficacy of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,'" *Joint Forces Quarterly* 55 (4th Quarter, 2009), 92. Publication of Colonel Prakash's essay in the *JFQ* was the automatic result of a writing competition judged by officials at the National Defense University, which also awarded a generous Amazon.com gift certificate to the first-place winner. A spokesman for Adm Mike Mullen confirmed that the chairman had nothing to do with Colonel Prakash's essay prior to its winning the competition and its automatic publication in the *JFQ*. Colonel Prakash's article primarily drew upon sources favoring repeal of the law and failed to draw distinctions between "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" and the 1993 Eligibility Law.

118. *Report of the General/Flag Officers' Study Group*, Michael D. Palm Center, July 2008. The document claimed that the four retired officers "devoted particular and extensive effort" to the study of published works submitted by named "invited experts" who disagree with the Palm Center's views. There are no footnotes referring to opposing views that this author and others gave or recommended to the panel in response to a letter from the project co-coordinator, Brant Shalikhvili, whose father served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The report appears as chapter 7 in this volume.

119. *Ibid.*, Finding 5, 8. The prospect of losing thousands of personnel apparently did not disturb the Palm Center study group because, they said, the military would become more "diverse" as a result. So much for concerns about recruiting, retention, or other factors associated with military necessity.

120. Dr. Aaron Belkin, written testimony submitted to the Military Personnel Subcommittee, Committee on the Armed Services, US House of Representatives, Hearing on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Review, 23 July 2008, 2.

121. Gary J. Gates, testimony on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," submitted to US House of Representatives, Armed Services Committee, Military Personnel Subcommittee, 23 July 2008, 2.

122. Gary J. Gates, PhD, the Urban Institute, *Gay Men and Lesbians in the US Military: Estimates from Census 2000*, 26 September 2004. Dr. Gates is now a senior research fellow with the progressive Williams Institute at the UCLA Law School, Los Angeles, CA.
123. *Ibid.*, iii.
124. *Ibid.*, 1.
125. *Ibid.*, 2.
126. Paul Winfree, policy analyst, Center for Data Analysis, Heritage Foundation, e-mail correspondence with the author, 19 February 2009.
127. Mr. Winfree agreed that proper use of the formula could be demonstrated with a bag of multicolored M&M candies. If a researcher knows the total number of candies and the number in each color group, the Bayes Rule can be applied as a formula to determine the probability that a child reaching into the bag will pick out a particular color.
128. Joanne Kimberlin, "Study Finds 65,000 Gay Men, Women in the Military," *Virginian-Pilot*, 21 October 2004.
129. Palm Roadmap Report, 11–12.
130. "Do Tell," editorial, *Washington Post*, 27 June 2009.
131. Palm Road Map Report, 4–5.
132. Aaron Belkin, "Self-Inflicted Wound: How and Why Gays Give the White House a Free Pass on 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,'" Michael D. Palm Center, 27 July 2009, 4–5.
133. *Ibid.*, 11.
134. Col Om Prakash, USAF, "The Efficacy of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,'" *JFQ* 55 (4th Quarter 2009), 93.

About the Author

Elaine Donnelly is president of the Center for Military Readiness, an independent, nonpartisan public policy organization that specializes in military/social issues. Founded in 1993, CMR advocates high, single standards in all forms of military training and sound priorities in the making of military/social policies.

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger appointed Mrs. Donnelly to be a member of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) for a three-year term (1984–1986). In 1992, Pres. George H. W. Bush appointed her to the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces.

In May 2007 the Duke University *Journal of Gender Law & Policy* published her comprehensive, peer-reviewed article titled "Constructing the Co-Ed Military." In July 2008 she presented testimony on the issue of homosexuals in the military before the House Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee.

Mrs. Donnelly has published articles on military personnel issues in many newspapers and magazines nationwide, including the *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, the *Boston Globe*, *Congressional Quarterly Researcher*, *U.S. News & World Report*, the *Washington Times*, the Naval Institute's *Proceedings*, and *Human Events*, and has appeared on most network and cable network discussion programs. Formerly active in volunteer political and issue activities, in 2002 she was the recipient of the American Conservative Union's Ronald Reagan Award.