ACCOUNTABILITY AND DADT

A Framework for Assessing Predictions of Disruption Caused by Openly Gay Military Service

> A Report By Dr. Nathaniel Frank December 2011

Overview

This report outlines six major categories of predictions of disruptions to society as a consequence of allowing lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) troops to serve openly in the United States. These predictions are all empirical assertions; they can be proven or disproven with research based on the experience of the U.S. with openly gay service. Similar predictions were also made for the dozens of foreign countries that have allowed gay troops to serve openly. Empirical research on those countries has consistently shown that the predictions were unfounded. The predictions outlined in this report can help provide researchers with a basis to evaluate whether the negative predictions about the repeal of "don't ask, don't tell" actually come to pass in the U.S.

While the predictions outlined here are not exhaustive, they are meant to represent the full range of categories of predictions that opponents of repeal have voiced since "don't ask, don't tell" was created in 1993. They are culled from over twelve years of researching and writing about gays in the military.

The Categories

The categories used here to organize the predictions about the impact of repeal are as follows. Lifting the ban will:

- 1. Increase HIV/AIDS and Other Health Problems in the Military
- 2. Increase Sexual Assaults in the Military
- 3. Undermine Morale, Readiness and Unit cohesion
- 4. Harm Recruiting and Retention, Requiring a Return of the Draft
- 5. Increase Casualties
- 6. Hurt National Security and Threaten the American Way of Life

http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2010/0610_dadt/DADTReport_FINAL_20101130(secure-hires).pdf.

¹ For the latest research on foreign militaries, see the Department of Defense's "Report of the Comprehensive Review of the Issues Associated with a Repeal of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,' November 30, 2010, available at

Historical Context: Background on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) is the common term for the policy and federal statute created under President Bill Clinton in 1993. The policy allowed LGB² Americans to serve in the military but only if they kept their sexual orientation secret and refrained from engaging in "homosexual conduct," which was defined to include both same-sex sexual activity and statements indicating that one was gay, lesbian or bisexual.

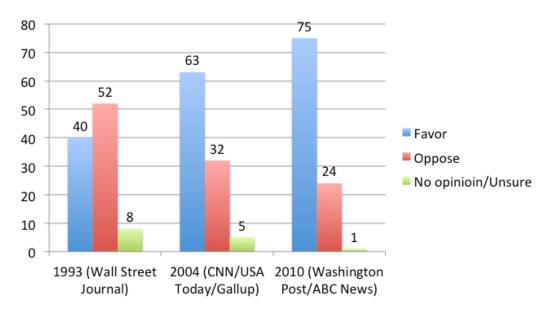
In 2010, after roughly 14,000 troops were discharged under DADT, Congress, with the support of the top military leadership, voted to repeal the law and allow LGB people to serve without restriction. The legislation called for a delayed implementation of repeal, which would end the ban after training and certification by the President, Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff that the military was prepared to lift the ban. Sixty days after certification, the ban would be repealed, at which time LGB service members would no longer be required to conceal their sexual orientation or abide by the previous conduct restrictions; new recruits would be welcome to apply without restrictions on conduct or speech; and previously discharged LGB service members would be allowed to reapply for admission to the military. Repeal would not change the medical disqualification of transgender people and would not grant equal benefits to partners of service members, which are restricted by separate statutes and regulations.

On July 22, 2011, the President, Joints Chiefs Chairman and Defense Secretary certified repeal, and implementation occurred on September 20th. Since that date, LGB Americans have been allowed to serve without concealing their orientation.

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² Transgender people are barred from service under a separate medical regulation, and the lifting of DADT does not alter that restriction.

Public Opinion about Openly Gay Service



"Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and women to serve in the military?"

The Predictions

1. Lifting the Ban will Increase HIV/AIDS and Other Health Problems in the Military

Excluding gay troops "is rational in that it is directed, in part, at preventing those who are at the greatest risk of dying of AIDS from serving. This is understandable in light of the overall mission of defending the nation. The interest we as a nation have in a healthy military cannot be underestimated."³

- Judge Oliver Gasch, U.S. District Court, 1991

AIDS "would add to the burden on medical facilities in disproportionate numbers." With a "higher incidence of sexually transmitted diseases," gay service members would "compete disproportionately for services" in the military's medical system. On military bases, "mothers and fathers with children would now face additional competition from homosexual couples. Families may find one of their children, suffering from chicken pox, standing in waiting room lines behind homosexuals suffering from diseases they incurred during homosexual activity."

³ Eric Schmitt, "Citing AIDS, Judge Backs Service Ban on Gays," New York Times, December 10, 1991.

⁴ Robert H. Knight, "How Lifting the Military Homosexual Ban May Affect Families," policy paper, *InFocus*, Family Research Council, November 1992.

- Robert Knight, Family Research Council, 1992

"The readiness of the military to deploy and perform its combat mission is directly linked to the medical well-being of the force. The homosexual lifestyle has been clearly documented as being unhealthy. Due to their sexual practices, active male homosexuals in the military could be expected to bring an increased incidence of sexually transmitted diseases and other diseases spread by close personal contact, Additionally, the association of the homosexual lifestyle as a high risk behavior in contracting AIDS could create the perception of an 'enemy within." ⁵

- Military Working Group, Summary Report, 1993

"Homosexual men are more prone to health problems through sexually transmitted diseases, especially hepatitis and AIDS. They comprise a substantial majority of AIDS cases and more than 50 percent of homosexual men will contact Hepatitis B, even though homosexuals amount to no more than 2 percent of the American population. In light of these facts, it is apparent that the elimination of the ban on homosexuality in the military would place servicemen and women at serious health risks for no military reason and place disproportionate and heavy demands on available military health care and mental hygiene facilities."

- Ronald Ray, former Marine Colonel, 1993

"I believe allowing gays to openly serve in the armed forces would have an adverse effect on the 27 million American veterans the VA system serves... By opening the door to gays, potentially enormous proportions of exposure will be on the VA health care system."

- Frank Murkowski, former U.S. senator, 1993

"If wounded and bleeding as a serviceman on the battlefield, the Army med techs, or the Navy corpsmen will attempt a transfusion from the nearest serviceman. Would you, as a wounded serviceman, accept a transfusion from a gay?" 8

- Vincent Pattavina, former Captain, Navy Reserve, 2003

"The medical implications of [lifting the gay ban] are compelling. According to data released last year by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, gay and bisexual men are 50 times more likely to have HIV [sic] than heterosexual men. This would be devastating for military resources already stretched thin, and it has pronounced implications for battlefield blood transfusions."

⁵ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Summary Report of the Military Working Group*, July 1, 1993.

⁶ Ronald Ray, "Military Necessity & Homosexuality," in *Gays: In or Out: The U.S. Military & Homosexuals; A Source Book* (McLean, VA: Brassey's, 1993).

⁷ Senate Committee on Armed Services, *Policy Concerning Homosexuality*, 1993.

⁸ Vincent Pattavina, "Retired Navy Officer Opposes Gays in Military," *The Patriot Ledger*, December 30, 2003.

⁹ Tony Perkins and John Sheehan, "A Charade with Consequences," *Politico*, June 15, 2010. What the CDC actually found is somewhat different: that "the rate of new HIV diagnoses among MSM [men who have sex

- Gen. John Sheehan (RET, USMC) and Tony Perkins, Family Research Council, 2010

2. Lifting the Ban will Increase Sexual Assaults in the Military

If gay troops are allowed to serve openly, they will sexually assault straight troops, as evidenced by "instances where heterosexuals have been solicited to commit homosexual acts, and even more traumatic emotionally, physically coerced to engage in such acts."¹¹

 General Norman Schwarzkopf, former Commander of U.S Central Command, 1993

"[My crew is] repulsed by the prospect of having to shower in view of homosexual shipmates, as well as sleep no more than 2 feet from homosexuals." 12

- Commander James Pledger, former Commanding Officer, U.S.S. *Arthur W. Radford* destroyer, 1993

Openly gay service "raises concerns about the ability of heterosexual service members to be free from unwanted advances or unnatural attention from those who find them sexually attractive."¹³

 David Schlueter, Professor of Law, St. Mary's University, in testimony before Congress, 1993

"What this shows is that homosexuals cannot be expected to remain celibate while on active duty in the military. With legalization, I believe there would be even more cases like this." ¹⁴

- Admiral John Dalrymple, former Executive Director, Navy League, 1993, referring to a male-male assault case, 1993

"It is important to these men watching these proceedings that they feel safe when they lie down on their racks." ¹⁵

- Lt. Steven W. Williams, military prosecutor in above case, 1993

"Initiatives that may be taken by a second-term Clinton administration, or at the direction of the federal courts, to introduce avowed homosexuals into [the military] will only exacerbate many of these problems [which include] rapes and other sexual offenses." ¹⁶

with men] in the U.S. is more than 44 times that of other men." "CDC Fact Sheet: HIV and AIDS among Gay and Bisexual Men," September 2010.

12 Ibid.

¹¹ İbid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ron Word, "Homosexual Assault Cases Cited in Military-Gays Debate," *The Associated Press,* June 8, 1993.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Frank Gaffney, Jr., "Rising Tide That Could Sink All Ships," *The Washington Times*, November 12, 1996.

Frank Gaffney, Jr., Center for Security Policy, 1996

"We do separate men and women in the military in intimate living conditions. If you had open gays, you'd probably have the same harassment problems as you do among men and women."17

Charles Moskos, former professor, Northwestern University, 2000

"As a Navy medical officer for 40 years, I know of many instances of homosexual abuse by illegally present gays."18

Vincent Pattavina, former Captain, Navy Reserve, 2003

Lifting the ban would lead to "inappropriate passive/aggressive actions common in the homosexual community," "forcible sodomy" and "exotic forms of sexual expression." 20

Elaine Donnelly, Center for Military Readiness, 2008

Lifting the ban could encourage abuse of heterosexual troops, such as that of "a band of lesbians that harassed new females."21

Sgt. Maj. Brian Jones (RET. Army), 2008

"When you're in training situations, where you have an individual that has the power, really, of life and death, in some circumstances, over individuals, there can be a lot of coercion. And this can be a very dangerous situation and very intimidating situation. It's just not healthy for the well-being of the military."22

Tony Perkins, Family Research Council, 2010

"Homosexuals in the military are about three times as likely to commit sexual assaults than heterosexuals are, relative to their numbers... If the law is overturned and open homosexuals are welcomed into the military, the number of homosexuals in the armed forces can only increase—leading to a corresponding increase in same-sex sexual assaults."24

- Peter Sprigg, Family Research Council, 2010

¹⁷ Nathaniel Frank, Unfriendly Fire: How the Gay Ban Undermines the Military and Weakens America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009), xvii.

¹⁸ Vincent Pattavina, "Retired Navy Officer Opposes Gays in Military," The Patriot Ledger, December 30, 2003.

²⁰ House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Personnel, Statement of Elaine Donnelly, Center for Military Readiness, 110th Congress, July 23, 2008.

²¹ House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Personnel, Statement of Sgt. Maj. Brian Jones, 110th Congress, July 23, 2008.

²² "Larry King Live," CNN, February 2, 2010.

²⁴ Peter Sprigg, "Homosexual Assault in the Military," Family Research Council analysis in *Insight*, May 2010.

3. Lifting the Ban will Undermine Morale, Readiness and Unit cohesion

"The presence of [gay service members] adversely affects the ability of the armed forces to maintain discipline, good order and morale; to foster mutual trust and confidence among servicemembers; to ensure the integrity of the system of rank and command; to facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of servicemembers who frequently must live and work under close conditions affording minimal privacy; to recruit and retain members of the armed forces; to maintain the public acceptability of military service; and to prevent breaches of security." ²⁶

- Department of Defense Policy Directive 1332.14, 1982

Openly gay service would be "prejudicial to good order and discipline."27

- General Colin Powell, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1992

"Unless a firm stand is taken by the military, the U.S. Armed Forces will also become a casualty of the relentless attack from feminist, homosexual and other radical forces." 28

- Ronald Ray, former Marine Colonel, 1993

"The core values of the military profession would be seen by many to have changed fundamentally if homosexuals were allowed to serve. This would undermine institutional loyalty and the moral basis for service, sacrifice, and commitment... The [Military Working Group] found that the presence of open homosexuals in a unit would, in general, polarize and fragment the unit and destroy the bonding and singleness of purpose required for effective military operations... The presence in the military of individuals identified as homosexuals would have a significantly adverse effect on both unit cohesion and the readiness of the force—the key ingredients of combat effectiveness. If identified homosexuals are allowed to serve, they will compromise the high standards of combat effectiveness which must be maintained, impacting on the ability of the Armed Forces to perform its mission."²⁹

- Military Working Group, Summary Report, 1993

"Americans cannot stand by and let him destroy our military. Republicans will fight this change with every ounce of energy." 30

- Duncan L. Hunter, former Congressman, 1993

"What is going on here is an effort in effect to downgrade and demean and break down the whole structure of our military forces."³¹

²⁶ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Directive No. 1332.14, Enlisted Administrative Separations, January. 28 1982.

²⁷ "Powell Says Discipline is Basis of Military Homosexual Ban," Associated Press, February 6, 1992.

²⁸ Ronald Ray, "Military Necessity & Homosexuality," in *Gays: In or Out: The U.S. Military & Homosexuals; A Source Book* (McLean, VA: Brassey's, 1993).

²⁹ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Summary Report of the Military Working Group, July 1, 1993.

³⁰ "Nunn, GOP Fight to Keep Gay Ban," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (from wire dispatches), July 19, 1993.

- Admiral Thomas Moorer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1993

"Will lifting this ban improve or hurt our ability to fight and win future conflicts? I say, It will hurt."³²

- Trent Lott, former U.S. Senator, 1993

"We're not going to let politics destroy the greatest Army the world has ever seen."33

- Phil Gramm, former U.S. Senator, 1993

"Known homosexuals threaten established values and create tensions that can undermine a unit's spirit and confidence." ³⁴

- John Marsh, Jr., former Secretary of the Army, 1993

"In view of the unique conditions of military service, active and open homosexuality by members of the armed forces would have a very negative effect on military morale and discipline."35

- Sam Nunn, former Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, 1993

"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.³⁶

- "Policy Concerning Homosexuality in the Armed Forces" (U.S. Code), 1993

"If we're so desperate that we have to go to people that subscribe to values that are radically different than the military's, then it makes the process of inculcating military values much more difficult and therefore already bad retention rates are going to get worse."³⁷

- Robert Maginnis, former Army Colonel, Family Research Council, 2000

"There are good reasons why the military does not want gays and lesbians in the military. One good reason is their presence destroys military cohesion. When you have to live, sleep and fight at close quarters, heterosexuals do not have the team fighting ability (military cohesion) that is necessary to win battles. The units of our best soldiers, Marines

³¹ Republican Research Committee's Task Force on Military Personnel, Hearing of the Republican Research Committee's Task Force on Military Personnel; Subject: Proposal to End the Ban on Gays in the Military, February 4, 1993.

³² Senate Committee on Armed Services, *Policy Concerning Homosexuality*, 1993.

³³ Adam Clymer, "Lawmakers Revolt on Lifting Gay Ban in Military Service," *New York Times*, January 27, 1993.

³⁴ John O. Marsh Jr., "Let Congress Decide," New York Times, January 14, 1993.

³⁵ Melissa Healy and Karen Tumulty, "Aides Say Clinton to End Prosecution of Military's Gays," *Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1993.

³⁶ 10 USC 654, Policy Concerning Homosexuality in the Armed Forces.

³⁷ Rowan Scarborough, "Conservative Groups Urge Army to Halt Rolling Stones Ads," *Washington Times*, May 14, 2000.

and sailors in past wars have had excellent military cohesion, which would have been obviated by the presence of gays and lesbians."38

- Vincent Pattavina, former Captain, Navy Reserve, 2003

"Our past experience as military leaders leads us to be greatly concerned about the impact of repeal [of the 'don't ask, don't tell' law] on morale, discipline, unit cohesion, and overall military readiness..."39

- "Flag & General Officers for the Military" (statement of over 1000 flag and general officers), 2009

"We've had 14 Congressional hearings, all coming to the same conclusion—that [openly gay service] would undermine unit cohesion and military readiness." 40

- Tony Perkins, Family Research Council, 2010

"Assimilating openly homosexual Marines into the tightly woven fabric of our combat units has strong potential for disruption at the small unit level."41

- General James Amos, Commandant of the Marine Corps, 2010

"Homosexuality carries with it profound behavioral implications. Sexual attraction among members of the same sex—living, exercising, fighting and training alongside one another in the closest of quarters—could devastate morale, foster heightened interpersonal tension and lead to division among those who, more than virtually any other group in society, need to act as one."42

- General John Sheehan (RET, USMC) and Tony Perkins, Family Research Council, 2010

Quickly ending the ban would impede the Pentagon's ability to "ensure that any repeal of DADT does not irreparably harm the government's critical interests in military readiness."

- U.S. Department of Justice brief, 2010

Lifting the ban by court order "would break faith with the troops and destroy bonds of trust that must exist between the commander-in-chief and the forces he leads."

- Elaine Donnelly, Center for Military Readiness, 2010

The Patriot Ledger, December 30, 2003.

³⁸ Vincent Pattavina, "Retired Navy Officer Opposes Gays in Military,"

³⁹ Flag & General Officers for the Military, Center for Military Readiness, "Statement to the President and Members of Congress," 2009.

⁴⁰ "Larry King Live," CNN, February 2, 2010.

⁴¹ Robert Burns, "General who Backed Gay Ban Says Repeal Went Well," *Associated Press*, November 29, 2011.

⁴² Tony Perkins and John Sheehan, "A Charade with Consequences," *Politico*, June 15, 2010.

⁴³ Paul Young, "Government Asks Judge to Stay Injunction Against "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," *City News Service*, October 14, 2010.

⁴⁴ Paul Young, "Government Asks Judge to Stay Injunction Against "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," *City News Service*, October 14, 2010.

"The military is not ready for the adverse effects that would flow from such a repeal. Of principal concern is the intractable nature of many of the problems with accommodating not just homosexuals, but the radical Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) agenda in an institution like the U.S. military, in which mutual trust, unit cohesion and the effects of protracted forced intimacy may determine esprit de corps and combat readiness."

- Frank Gaffney, Jr., Center for Security Policy, 2011

"The presence of open homosexuals in the close confines of ships or military units opens the possibility that eros—which unlike philia is sexual, and therefore individual and exclusive—will be unleashed into the environment. Eros manifests itself as sexual competition, protectiveness and favoritism, all of which undermine the nonsexual bonding essential to unit cohesion, good order, discipline and morale." 46

- Mackubin Thomas Owens, Naval War College, 2011

4. Lifting the Ban will Harm Recruiting and Retention, Requiring a Return of the Draft

"Good people will leave the military in droves" if gays are allowed to serve. 47

- Four-star retired General (anonymous), 1992

"The country may be forced to consider abandoning the all-volunteer force and returning to conscription" 48

- Army Working Group, working papers, 1993

"Open homosexuality in the military would likely reduce the propensity of many young men and women to enlist due to parental concerns, peer pressure, and a military image that would be tarnished in the eyes of much of the population from which we recruit." 49

- Military Working Group, Summary Report, 1993

"Recruiting would go into the tank because the majority of kids being recruited today are blue-collar kids that don't embrace the gay agenda." 50

⁴⁵ Frank J. Gaffney, Jr., "Gates' Choice: Defense Secretary Should Not Certify Military Readiness for Homosexuals," *The Washington Times*, June 13, 2011.

⁴⁶ Mackubin Thomas Owens, "The Case Against Gays in the Military," Wall Street Journal, February 2, 2011.

⁴⁷ David Ari Bianco, "Echoes of Prejudice: The Debates over Race and Sexuality in the Armed Forces," in Craig Rimmerman, ed., *Gay Rights, Military Wrongs: Political Perspectives on Lesbians and Gays in the Military* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 49.

⁴⁸ Eric Schmitt, "Months After Order on Gay Ban, Military Is Still Resisting Clinton," *New York Times*, March 23, 1993.

⁴⁹ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Summary Report of the Military Working Group, July 1, 1993.

⁵⁰ Rowan Scarborough, "Pentagon stance on homosexuals shifted quickly," *Washington Times*, December 15, 1999.

- Robert Maginnis, former Army Colonel, Family Research Council, 1999

"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." ⁵¹

- "Flag & General Officers for the Military" (statement of over 1000 flag and general officers), 2009

Surveys suggest that if the ban is lifted, a minimum of "24,000 current members of the armed forces might be lost over and above normal discharge attrition in a one-to-three year period... Because these personnel would be completing one or more terms of service, they would, in fact, represent a hemorrhage of mature, skilled losses from the professional ranks. This is an enormous risk to the viability of our armed forces... If you vote to [lift the ban,] I believe you will inflict significant damage on the All-Volunteer Force." 52

 General Carl Mundy, former Commandant of the Marine Corps, 2010, in a letter addressing Congress

Lifting the ban "may even prove decisive to the viability of the all-volunteer force. That viability may, in turn, determine our ability to avoid in the years ahead—as we have for the past four decades—a return to conscription to meet our requirements for warriors in those conflicts."⁵⁴

- Frank Gaffney, Jr., Center for Security Policy, 2011

5. Lifting the Ban will Increase Casualties

"There could be some very emotional feelings" [if the ban is lifted, and if change comes too quickly, "I fear for the lives of people in the military themselves." 55

- Sam Nunn, former Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, 1992

Lifting the gay ban "could cost lives."56

- Robert Knight, Family Research Council, 1992

⁵¹ Flag & General Officers for the Military, Center for Military Readiness, "Statement to the President and Members of Congress," 2009.

⁵² Carl Mundy, letter to Congress, posted by the Center for Security Policy at http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/p18602.xml, December 17, 2010.

⁵⁴ Frank J. Gaffney, Jr., "Gates' Choice: Defense Secretary Should Not Certify Military Readiness for Homosexuals," *The Washington Times*, June 13, 2011.

⁵⁵ "Dole, Nunn Urge Clinton to Go Slow Lifting Ban on Gays," *United Press International*, November 15, 1992.

⁵⁶ Robert H. Knight, "Should the Military's Ban on Homosexuals Be Lifted?" (policy paper, *Insight*, Family Research Council, November 1992).

Letting gay troops serve openly would turn the military into a "wishy-washy force" that would "needlessly cost thousands of American lives."⁵⁷

- General William Weise, retired Marine General, 1993

"When your life hangs on the line, you don't want anything distracting... Mistakes and inattention or distractions cost Marines' lives." 58

- General James Amos, Commandant of the Marine Corps, 2010, discussing his reasons for opposing openly gay service

"I hope that when we pass this legislation [lifting the ban] that we will understand that we are doing great damage, and we could possibly and probably—as the commandant of the Marine Corps said and I've been told by literally thousands of members of the military—harm the battle effectiveness, which is so vital to the support, to the survival of our young men and women in the military." ⁵⁹

- Sen. John McCain, 2010

6. Lifting the Ban will Hurt National Security and Threaten the American Way of Life

"The code of ethics, the morals, everything we're built upon would be threatened" by lifting the gay ban.⁶⁰

- Mike Scott, former Marine Major who flew the President's helicopter, 1992

"Undermining military families by placing homosexual behavior on a par with marital fidelity would provide devastating evidence that our government no longer recognizes the importance of strong families in cultivating the virtues that enable us to be a free, self-governing people."

- Robert Knight, Family Research Council, 1992

"Homosexual activity, like adulterous relationships, is clearly condemned in the Scriptures. In addition, the Bible records God's historic judgment on societies characterized by this deviant behavior." Because of this, "we state our unequivocal opposition to lifting the current ban. We believe that such presidential action would defy the moral law of God and the standard of natural law, subvert military law, and also undermine the integrity of the armed forces of the United States of America." 62

- Resolution of the National Association of Evangelicals, 1993

⁵⁷ House Committee on Armed Services, *Policy Implications of Lifting the Ban on Homosexuals in the Military: Hearings Before the House Committee on Armed Services*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 1993.

⁵⁸ Craig Whitlock, "Marine General Suggests Repeal of 'Don't Ask' Could Result in Casualties," Washington *Post*, December 15, 2010.

⁵⁹ Sen. John McCain, Senate Debate, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act of 2010," December 18, 2010.

⁶⁰ Andrea Stone, "Armed Forces' Latest Battleground is Within," USA Today, November 17, 1992.

⁶¹ Robert H. Knight, "How Lifting the Military Homosexual Ban May Affect Families," policy paper, InFocus, Family Research Council, November 1992.

⁶² "Resolution Adopted by the National Association of Evangelicals," Orlando, Florida, March 9, 1993.

"Almost all homosexuals engage in sexual practices which are inherently degrading or humiliating and are rarely practiced by heterosexuals. The degrading nature of such practices constitutes the very real basis of the homosexual security threat as pictures of a service member or of a civilian policy maker in any such extremely compromising position makes them extremely vulnerable to blackmail or extortion... What is at stake here is of greatest significance, far, far greater than merely an issue of military personnel policy. Our military institutions, the nation, our families will not pass this way again." 63

- Ronald Ray, former Marine Colonel, 1993

"It has been well documented that when the immorality of a nation reaches such a level, punishment ceases to be individual and becomes national. When the civil order loses its ability to act righteously and morally, God will act. What a man and a nation sow, so shall he and the nation reap. When lawmakers and judges approve homosexuality we know we are sowing destruction, and we seek to turn back God's wrath by pleading with the military leaders of today to preserve the standards and the ban... Any such tolerance will be a thorn in the side of the people, leading inevitably to the destruction and/or corruption of individuals, community, and eventually even nations." 64

- Ronald Ray, former Marine Colonel, 1993

"For over two hundred years the military has been the ethical and moral compass for this... nation. If we move the compass off its course by even one degree we start the military and this nation down a dangerous path." 65

- Colonel Timothy Tatum, former Army Chaplain, 1993

"If it happens [openly gay service], we will witness yet another disaster, born of an attempt to force a traditionalist institution to conform to an ideology that has damaged or destroyed virtually everything it has touched." 66

- Pat Buchanan, former presidential candidate, 1993

Service members must "adhere to unforgiving organizational values and behaviors. Instead of embracing military culture, 200 years of military experience has found that homosexuals want to subject the military's best interests to their lifestyle choices. That's why the military has long held to the principle statement that 'Homosexuality is incompatible with military service.'" The result of openly gay service will be "a chain reaction that, ultimately, threatens our national security."

- Robert Maginnis, former Army Colonel, Family Research Council, 2001

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⁶³ Ronald Ray, "Military Necessity & Homosexuality," in *Gays: In or Out: The U.S. Military & Homosexuals; A Source Book* (McLean, VA: Brassey's, 1993).

⁶⁴ Ronald Ray, "Military Necessity & Homosexuality," in *Gays: In or Out: The U.S. Military & Homosexuals; A Source Book* (McLean, VA: Brassey's, 1993).

⁶⁵ House Republican Research Committee hearings, quoted in *Lambda Report*, newsletter, June-July 1993.

⁶⁶ Patrick Buchanan, "Clinton's Crusades; Gays In The Military? Women In Combat? He's Trying To Destroy The Country," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (syndicated), May 17, 1993.

⁶⁷ Robert Maginnis, "Homosexuals in the Military, 2001 Update," Family Research Council.

"If you can wipe out Christianity from the United States,... maybe we can have gays in the military, thereby weakening it and our country."68

Vincent Pattavina, former Captain, Navy Reserve, 2003

"What if [proponents of lifting the ban] are wrong? Is there any way to find out without taking a real risk with national security? Are the advocates of gays in the military prepared to say, *fiat justitia*, *ruat caelum* ['Let justice be done, though the sky may fall']? And if so, do the rest of us, the majority of gays and straights alike who would prefer not to take such a risk with our lives, property, and freedom, have any say in the matter?"69

James Bowman, Ethics and Public Policy Center, 2009

"If this kind of agenda is forced on the Marine Corps, if it's okay for the Marines, why is it not okay for the local school, the local marriage bureau, ultimately all of civilian life will be affected."70

Elaine Donnelly, Center for Military Readiness, 2010

⁶⁸ Vincent Pattavina, "Retired Navy Officer Opposes Gays in Military,"

The Patriot Ledger, December 30, 2003.

⁶⁹ James Bowman, "'Don't Change 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell," Weekly Standard, October 12, 2009.

⁷⁰ Elaine Donnelly, "Secure Freedom Radio," January 25, 2010.