

May 11, 1993

Statement of Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, USA (Ret.)

(112) Whether we like it or not, in my years of military service I have experienced the fact that the introduction of an open homosexual into a small unit immediately polarizes that unit and destroys the very bonding that is so important for the unit's survival in time of war.

For whatever reason, the organization is divided into a majority who oppose, a small minority who approve, and other groups who do not care or just wish the problem would go away... 595-96

(113) However, in every case that I am familiar with, and there are many, whenever it became known in a unit that someone was openly homosexual, polarization occurred, violence sometimes followed, morale broke down, and unit effectiveness suffered. Plain and simply, that has been my experience. 596

(114) Will this same pool of high quality young men and women be available to us if the ban on homosexuals in the military is lifted? If what I am told by young men and women who talked to me is indicative, the answer is no. If what I am told by countless parents is indicative, the answer is no. 596

(115) What about our troops' rights? Are we really ready to do this to the men and women of our Armed Forces and to risk a possible decrease in our Nation's ability to defend itself simply to force our servicemen and women to accept a lifestyle of a very well-organized, well-financed, and very vocal, but what turns out to be a very small minority of our society? 597

Statement of Col. Frederick C. Peck, USMC

(116) I spent 27 years of my life in the military, and I know what it would be like for him if he went in. And it would be hell. And if we went into combat..., he would

be at grave risk if he were to follow in my footsteps as an infantry platoon leader or a company commander. I would be very fearful that his life would be in jeopardy from his own troops.

And I am not saying that that is right, or wrong, or whatever. I am telling you that is the way it is. You get into war, the first casualty is truth; the second is the value of human life. Fratricide is something that exists out there, and there are people who would put my son's life at risk in our own Armed Forces. That is just one reason. That is a very important reason, for me, speaking personally about my own son, to counsel him not to go in the military. 602

Statement of Maj. Kathleen G. Bergeron, USMC

(117) The introduction of homosexuals into this environment, in my opinion, will not work. They will not gain peer acceptance. 604

(118) In my opinion, the introduction of acknowledged homosexuals into the Marine Corps will destroy this team building process. Heterosexual Marines will choose not to live, socialize or recreate with homosexuals... 604

QUESTIONS

(119) **Colonel Peck:** ...if you open the door, then someone who wants to be very flamboyant and very provocative, very assertive, very demanding, very litigious about their sexual orientation would have just as much a right to serve. And that could be very damaging to our military image and our effectiveness. 610

(120) **Senator Levin:** They simply say I am a homosexual. That would be enough, for you, to remove that person from the military. 618

General Schwarzkopf: Right, because that would polarize the organization. 618

(121) **Senator McCain:** Do you believe that recruitment would be significantly impacted if this ban were lifted? 621

Colonel Peck: I think we have to look to our constituency as it exists now, Senator...the polls of the people who currently serve, the people who we have asked to join and have come forward and joined, are against it....I was, frankly, shocked by the depth of their vehemence and how emotional they feel about this. 621-22

(122) **General Schwarzkopf:** It just plain and simply is the fact that open homosexuality is the problem... 627

(123) **Major Bergeron:** ...I think in this time with an all volunteer force it would especially impact on the quality

and the type of individual we then attracted into the armed forces.... I do not think the mothers and fathers of America are going to send us their children so willingly because of the way they feel about the issue. 630

(124) **Senator Warner:** . . . I am deeply concerned about those who hold religious beliefs. I am concerned about those gays now in the close for fear that a change in policy would compel them to come out in some way, and that therefore they would be concerned about their physical well-being. 637

(125) **Colonel Peck:** If we change this, we may have an even tougher time and might have to resort to the draft. 640

(126) **Senator Smith:** Well, in essence, if we have feelings, whether they be right or wrong, if we have feelings about ethical, moral, religious background, if the majority of the force feels that for whatever reason being gay is unethical or immoral If against their religion, they would have to in essence go against all of that moral upbringing... 641

(127) **Senator Nunn:** When both of you came out and decided to make your announcement about your orientation, did you consider the effect this would have on some people's moral beliefs that you serve with? 670

(128) **Senator Nunn:** ...there are many religions that basically condemn homosexual behavior as immoral. I am not aware of any religion that basically takes anything even remotely similar to that positions regarding race or gender. 671

(129) **Senator Warner:** Give up the right to actively profess your sexuality among your fellow associates....Give it up. and that seems to me what we are asking. You give that up, then we will let you serve quietly, efficiently and patriotically in every other way. 677

[extracts continued]

May 11, 1993 Hearing

1. I am Major General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, United States Army, and I am presently assigned as the Director of Military Personnel Management, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Department of the Army. In this capacity I am responsible for the development and promulgation of Department of the Army policy regarding homosexuality.

2. The Army, like the other armed services, excludes homosexuals from military service. Department of the Army policy with respect to homosexuality is mandated by Department of Defense Directives 1332.14 and 1332.30. The policy on homosexuality is clear and unambiguous. Homosexuality is incompatible military service because the presence of homosexuality in the military service seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission. This policy rests in large part on unique nature of the mission of the armed forces and the special needs, without par in civilian society, that this mission creates. The basis for the military's homosexual policy is expressed in the DOD directives and Army regulations as follows:

Homosexuality is incompatible with military service. The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission. The presence of such 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 insure 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 to recruit and retain members of the armed forces; to maintain the public acceptability of military service; and to prevent breach of security.

3. I have over 26 years of active commissioned service in the United States Army. During this time, I have served in a number of command and staff assignments and I have led troops in combat. Among these assignments, I have held the following positions: From July 1969 to December 1969, I was the Executive Officer to the Chief of Staff, United States Army Vietnam. From December 1969 to July 1970, I commanded the 1st Battalion, 6th Infantry, 6th Infantry Brigade, 23d Infantry Division (American), in Vietnam. In October 1974, I became the Deputy Commander of the 172d Infantry Brigade at Fort Richardson, Alaska. Thereafter, from October 1976 to July 1978, I was the Commander of the 1st Brigade, 9th Infantry Division at Fort Lewis, Washington. From Fort Lewis I went to Camp H. M. Smith in Hawaii where I was the Deputy Director for Plans, United States Pacific Command. Then, from August 1980 to August 1982, I was the Assistant Division Commander, 8th Infantry Division (Mechanized), United States Army Europa. While in Europe I was also the Community Commander for the Mainz Military Community. In August 1982, I assumed my present position. I am a graduate of the United States Military Academy, the United States Army Infantry Officers' Basic and Advanced Courses, the United States Army Command and General Staff College, and the United States Army War College. Additionally, I hold a Masters Degree from the University of Southern California.

4. Based on my personal experience and observations as both a commander and a staff officer and on reports and studies maintained by my present office, I can state that homosexuals are unsuited for military service for the following reasons, among others:

a. Homosexuals in military service have a direct, adverse impact on the morale of other Army members. Homosexuals tend to polarize units. I am aware of instances when heterosexuals have been solicited to commit homosexual acts, and, even more traumatic emotionally, physically coerced to engage in such acts. Such instances of homosexual conduct clearly destroy morale and elevate hostility toward homosexuals.

b. Related to morale, but also an independent justification for the homosexual policy, is the respect for privacy rights of heterosexual servicemembers who would be forced to live and work with homosexuals in conditions of minimal privacy. Even in peacetime, soldiers often share living areas, shower and toilet facilities in barracks or onboard ships. Most servicemembers view being forced to sleep, shower and use toilet facilities with members of the opposite sex as an infringement of their privacy. To force them to live under similar conditions with members of the same sex having a different sexual preference would be a similar infringement of privacy. This infringement would be aggravated in the conditions which prevail in combat or simulated combat operations. It is not inconceivable that if homosexuals were allowed to serve separate living facilities would have to be provided for heterosexual males, homosexual males, heterosexual females and homosexual females.

c. Allowing known homosexuals to serve would damage the image of the Army in the eyes of the American people and demean its national role. Because of the prevailing aversion to homosexuals in our society and because homosexual conduct continues to be criminal in many places, including the military, the Army would suffer in esteem if known homosexuals were allowed to serve. The impact on the Army's public image would also endanger recruitment and retention, by causing potential servicemembers to hesitate to enlist, making parents of potential servicemembers reluctant to recommend or approve the enlistment of their sons and daughters in an organization in which they would be forced to live and work with known homosexuals, and causing members of the Army to hesitate to reenlist.

d. A policy which allowed homosexuals to serve would also have a deleterious impact on duty performance and unit cohesion, order and discipline. A military leader, whether an officer or a noncommissioned officer, known as a homosexual is unable to effectively command or lead his or her soldiers because of a loss of respect and trust in his or her abilities. Further, homosexuals in leadership positions often develop emotional involvements subvertin the traditional Arm concepts of discipline and immediate response to order, whether popular or not. Likewise, a soldier's performance of his or her individual duties could be influenced by emotional relationships with other homosexual, or the fear of disclosure of homosexual conduct or possible criminal prosecution. Because of this fear, homosexuals may be increased security risks. These factors would certainly affect the Army's ability to perform successfully in peacetime or on the battlefield.

e. Finally, homosexuals, by definition are individuals who have an established prediliction for violating the Uniform Code of Military Justice through the commission of sodomy. Exclusion of homosexuals from military service is a means of precluding military service by a group of individuals who have a natural proclivity to commit criminal acts.

5. The Army's homosexual regulations are intended only to bar service by homosexuals; that is, only persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct are prohibited from service in the United States Army. The Army's regulations concerning homosexuals do not afford a basis for bating the entry or for separating persons who simply evince academic interest in homosexuals or their causes.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed under penalty of perjury on 29 October 1982, at Arlington, Virginia.



H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF
Major General, U.S. Army

[extracts continued]

that I could not be in a married life; and came to terms with who I was, and had to deal with that.

The American Psychological Society has also said that homosexuality is not a mental disease. You know, this is something that has been dropped from the diagnostic category, in the early seventies. And, you know, the American Psychological Society, the American Society of Social Workers, and the American Nursing Association have all suggested that this ban be overturned, because this really is a very, very disruptive regulation as it is; and they, themselves, think that, you know, we are beyond that point of calling it a mental disease.

Senator THURMOND. And so you sought help, but--

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. They found out that I was okay.

Senator THURMOND. I would like to ask you other two, have you sought medical or psychiatric help to try to correct the situation?

Mr. PANICCIA. No, sir. I have never thought that there was something to correct. I function normally. I am happy. I function in society. I contribute something to the betterment of this country, at least I did before I was discharged.

Sergeant ELZIE. Sir, I did not seek help, because as a United States Marine, the Marine Corps gave me self esteem and pride in myself as an American fighting man. And they, the Marine Corps teaches integrity, and to believe in yourself; and when I realized what my orientation was, I carried that on out, and I did not see any problem with that.

Senator THURMOND. Since you suffered the handicap that you have, all three of you--

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. We do not consider it a handicap, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. You do not feel that you need to take any steps to try and correct it?

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. No, we do not.

Sergeant ELZIE. No, sir.

Mr. PANICCIA. It just is not, that just is not the way it is.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you very much.

Senator LEVIN. Senator McCain?

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank the witnesses for their testimony today. I am concerned about the impact on the all-volunteer force if the present policy were changed. We have talked to recruiters. I have talked to people like the Command Master Chief Petty Officer of the USS America. I have talked to commanding officers, and I have talked to petty officers.

I have also talked to a number of parents, who have grave concern about their sons or daughters enlisting in the military and having the situation different from what it is today: In other words, the situation with the ban lifted.

I do not see any prospects for this country returning to the draft, unless we are engaged in a conflict of a magnitude which is hard for me to envision. For the foreseeable future, we will be dependent upon the all-volunteer force; which all Americans who know about the all-volunteer force view as an incredible success. As General Schwarzkopf testified, the all-volunteer force has the highest quality men and women that we have ever been able to attract and keep in the military.

I would like to have your views on the effect on the all-volunteer force, and on our ability to recruit and retain a highly qualified young men and women in the military. Doctor, we would be glad to start with you.

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. Thank you, Senator McCain. I can give you some examples of what has happened in the course of the past few years, since I came out.

As you may know, I have four sons, one of whom was planning to join the Air Force; and, as a result of my separation, has chosen not to do that. I have co-workers whose children have told their parents that, because of my separation and the regulation that discriminates against homosexuals serving in the military, that they choose not to think about the military as a career.

Senator MCCAIN. Children have to told you that?

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. Yes, that is correct. I have had phone calls and letters from professional people who were planning on joining the military, physicians, nurses, who said that, I cannot join under the circumstances because in my society, and where I live and work, there is no discrimination, and I cannot join an organization where that sort of policy exists; when the issue is sexual orientation, and not the ability to perform their job.

Senator McCain. Then these people must have been unaware that this policy has been in effect?

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. These were people who heard about it after my separation.

Senator MCCAIN. I see. They were otherwise totally ignorant of the fact that the military excludes gays?

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. They were civilians. That is correct.

Senator MCCAIN. Interesting group of people. Please go ahead, Chief.

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. Civilians.

Chief AMIDON. Yes, Senator, I will not claim to be an expert on recruiting or in any of the recruiting capabilities of our country, but it seemed to me from the testimony of Mr. Korb, I tend to agree with it, with the testimony of Mr. Korb, that if we drop the ban there will be a very little impact on our military. I really think a great deal of what we are observing right now is an enormous ripple over all the publicity that arose over this issue. But I think the actual dropping of the ban will have very little effect,

There was a lot of concern, it seems to me, when President Truman lifted the ban on blacks serving in the military, that people from the southern states would no longer want to serve. Well, in my experience, sir, the southern states of this country still provide probably the largest number of individuals entering the service; and I expect that those sort of trends will continue.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you. Mr. Paniccia?

Mr. PANICCIA. I think the best way for me to respond to that is to tell you about a group of people that are absolutely phenomenal. They have been a tremendous sense of support for me. They are a national, actually an international, organization, and their name is Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays. And they are literally thousands and thousands of our mothers and fathers and aunts and uncles and friends and relatives, who are tremendously supportive of people like myself and all the other panel members.

And they have all said to me, in various ways, that they just simply think that they could not tell their children, who are not gay, they could not tell them that they would wish that they go in the military, those that were interested, while this ban is in place. So we are seeing just the opposite.

I point this out because I think a lot of times you, we do not necessarily see all that is there. And a group like this, and there are many others, is I think a very good example that this is the rest of the picture. It is not necessarily, before looking at that, it is not necessarily the whole picture.

The other thing I think I will say is that, really, this issue will become a self-fulfilling prophecy if we continue to just say, "It won't work; it won't work," then certainly it will not work. But when we start looking, I feel when we start looking at the facts, we start looking at the lives that are impacted adversely as a result of this ban being in place-and I am speaking, of course, of people like myself-I think that is important to realize. If we simply say, we keep saying this, "It won't work," then sure, it is going to be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Senator MCCAIN. Sergeant Elzie?

Sergeant ELZIE. Yes, sir. I can kind of speak from my own experiences, sir, because at one time in my career, I worked as a recruiter and actually was, by my CO, they wanted me to go on to Recruiter School; but I opted to go back to the fleet. And sir, one of the things I realize in that why young people join the military, is not for a socially conscious issue. People join the military, from what I have seen, the young men coming and the young women coming into the office, for educational opportunities, travel, to leave home honestly, to experience life, and to serve their country. Not one of those people that came in ever mentioned the issue of gays and lesbians in the military; never raised the issue, well, that they could not serve next to a black person, even though, you know, I have heard racist statements in the military; I mean, that was not why they joined the military. And as far as a volunteer force, I think it is going to continue to be an outstanding force. One other thing that I have noticed since coming out, I did an interview with MTV and have had some young people come up to me after watching that and, of course, our young people growing up today watch a lot of television, watch their, these people on television. And what we are hearing a lot on television now is tolerance; and trying to get rid of hate and bigotry. And I have had young people in the high school in Jacksonville, North Carolina, where Camp Lejeune is, come up to me after I spoke there and say, "Hey, we support what you are doing. And we cannot understand what the issue is." And so I think the volunteer force is going to continue to be all-volunteer, and outstanding.

Dr. CAMMERMEYER. If I could just make one comment, also. Many of the university campuses where the ROTC programs are now in place are also being challenged because of the regulation and equal opportunity for everyone. And so, you know, it is more than just some of the parents and that sort of thing. But the kids themselves are also reacting to the policy; at least those that are going to be the officers of tomorrow.