

April 29, 1993

(67) **Senator Warner:** ... the key factor was that it will work in a military organization if it works in society. If society is prepared and does, in fact, accept the openness of a professed homosexual or lesbian, then it will work in the military. 348

Statement of Dr. Charles C. Moskos, Professor of Sociology,
Northwestern University

Statement of David R. Segal, Professor of Sociology,
University of Maryland

Statement of Dr. Judith H. Steihm, Professor of Political
Science, Florida International University

(68) Third, the need to maintain discipline, order and morale needs to be understood as a problem with more than one solution. One approach, indeed, is to exclude individuals who are scorned. The problem with this solution is that it gives preference and power to the intolerant. 393

(69) I would agree that, even in the nations that have official policies of nondiscrimination, there is unofficial discrimination. But even if that is the case, the question for us is: What should the official policy be? What law reflects our values? Even if we must expect that unofficial and nonsanctioned discrimination occurs, that should not drive our policy. 395

Statement of Lt. Gen. Calvin Waller, U.S. Army (Retired)

(70) It is my opinion that homosexuals that are allowed total openness in our Armed Forces would cause less ready units, or units that would not nearly be as effective as the units we currently have. 400

(71) if you are going to change the military unit to a force that must have openly homosexuals in it..., then I think that you are going to have a severe impact on the kind of people that you attract to the military force....

I think that if you allow this sort of thing to happen that you are going to see that the good young men and the good young women that we currently have will say I do not want to be a part of that kind of force.

QUESTIONS

(72) **Dr. Moskos:** If there are some restrictions, in other words, whether it is do not tell, do not ask, or whether it is the complete ban, what have you, the very fact that these restrictions exist mean that you can fend these approaches off much easier than if it were allowed in the open. 408

(73) **General Waller:** I have already stated beyond any shadow of a doubt that they can do there jobs and do it well. My conflict is with the openness that you seem and others seem to want to foist upon the military forces. 416

(74) **General Waller:** . . .we have a great deal of history that homosexuals have been in out of closet, in the closet. They can hide what they want to do or go somewhere and go to

a job. 420

(75) **General Waller:** However, once the period of peril has passed, then you go back to what you consider your norms are. I mean, if you had prejudice before, then those prejudices come out, and I do not think that is ever going to change. 423

(76) **Senator Robb:** "While I can sympathize with what gays are going through, I draw the line when gays want to openly foist their lifestyles upon soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines." quoting General Waller. 433

(77) **General Waller:** Now, when--I would say to you, and I do not know what religion you are--but when an individual, whether he is Baptist, Catholic, Jewish or whatever--starts getting up on his high horse and saying you are going to be damned for the rest of your life unless you believe in my particular religion, then we cannot have that kind of nonsense in the military forces. 434

(76) **Senator Robb:** I think that most Americans certainly are not comfortable, to say the least, and would react negatively to anyone who attempted to force them to accept their particular views, whether it be with regard to religion, whatever the case may be. 434

(79) **Dr. Moskos:** Declared gay is different than known gay. I think that is an important decision to make. I mean, the system can live with known gays, but declared gays, I think, then does shade off into the conduct realm, which then brings all those second order consequences, which are very hard to answer. 441

(80) **Senator Cohen:** What we are trying to do is find out whether there is any rational basis for the kind of prejudice that is there.

We are talking about prejudice against an entire class of people. Is there a rational basis for that? In there a reasonable basis for discriminating against that entire class of people under the circumstances, where you are going to put people at some point in time in a combat scenario, in which they may not have anticipated? 445

(81) **Dr. Moskos:** I think that is a good question about is the antipathy toward gays rationally based or is it a matter of prejudice. Of course, it is both...

But I think there are some rational grounds that have to be raised for the ban or a variation of it.

You do not have to morally look down on gays, but at the same time I do not think we should get on our high horses and more to look down on those who do look on gays, because there are a variety of motives for that kind of behavior. 450