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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Secret Service [partial]; [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (2 pages)	02/19/1997	b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F), b(6)
002. email	FBI [partial] (1 page)	10/31/1997	b(7)(C), b(6)
003. email	Secret Service [partial]; [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (2 pages)	02/19/1997	b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F), b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel Office
Bridget McGovern; Brad Winter
OA/Box Number: 18582

FOLDER TITLE:

[Dennis M. Sculimbrene 1-564] [5]

2014-0469-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C.
2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of
an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial
information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of
financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information
concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1996

BY TELECOPY

Louis J. Freeh
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Dear Director Freeh:

As you may know, Congressman Clinger today divulged, on the House floor, an interview report from a confidential FBI background investigation that has been declared to be false by the person who was interviewed. I am writing to you to ask how we can work together to ensure continued public confidence in the accuracy of FBI investigations.

According to Mr. Clinger's statement today, the background investigation file on Mr. Craig Livingstone includes a report by Agent Dennis Sculimbrene on a conversation he says he had with White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum concerning Mr. Livingstone's hiring. But, according to a statement issued by Mr. Nussbaum today, that conversation never took place.

This Administration and the American people have enormous confidence in the FBI, for good reason. And, the role that the agency plays in conducting background investigations and helping to ensure the suitability of appointees for their posts cannot be overstated. The President, you and the American people have a large stake indeed in the fairness and accuracy of this process.

That is why we are troubled, as we know you must be, by the implication that an FBI background investigation might include a false report. This matter is especially worrisome coming as it does on the heels of published reports of the conviction of one of the agents who did background checks at the White House on charges of falsifying at least 50 interviews that he claimed to have conducted.

It is equally troubling that a Member of Congress can publicly reveal confidential FBI information, whether for partisan purposes or otherwise. It should not escape notice that this is done at a time when Members of Congress have expressed worry that employees of the executive branch might have sought out confidential FBI information about certain individuals and

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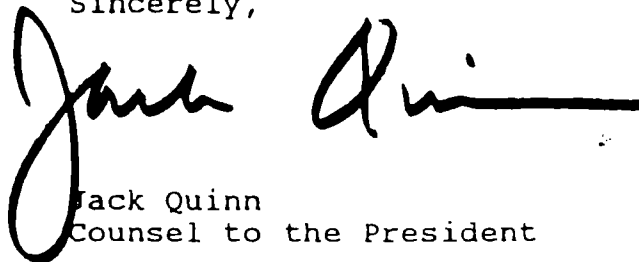

CGE 054203

planned to somehow use it publicly. While that charge has never been established against anyone in the executive branch, we now witness the same objectionable behavior by the very people who professed to be the guardians of privacy.

It is important that we take steps to ensure continuing confidence in the confidentiality and the integrity of the FBI clearance process. I look forward to your suggestions as to how we can work with you to that end.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jack Quinn". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Jack Quinn
Counsel to the President

Attachment

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A standard 1D barcode with vertical black bars of varying widths on a white background.

CGE 054204

July 25, 1996

Contact:
Jim Fitzpatrick
202-942-5878

STATEMENT OF BERNARD NUSSBAUM

I never told FBI Agent Sculimbrene, or anyone else, that the First Lady recommended Craig Livingstone for his position in the White House or that the First Lady knew Livingstone's mother. I never knew or heard any such things. In fact, I understand that the First Lady and Livingstone's mother don't know each other. I am mystified and outraged that someone would attribute to me something I never said.

FIRST LADY HILLARY CLINTON Q AND A'S IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA
MONDAY, JULY 1, 1996

Q from AP: Before we get too far along with our wonderful Romanian visit, I want to clear up just one thing hanging over Washington. Did you or to your knowledge, did Vince Foster have anything to do with the hiring of Craig Livingstone?

A from HRC: I don't know anything about it, I know I didn't.

Q from AP: Do you have any reason to believe that Vince Foster did?

A from HRC: I have no reason to believe that.

Q from AP: Is there any connection between your mother and Craig Livingstone's mother. Which is something the FBI agent is claiming.

A from HRC: The "ex FBI Agent"? No there is no connection. I do believe, if I ever meet the woman I'm going to say "Mrs. Livingstone I presume."

FIRST LADY DISCUSSION WITH TRAVELING PRESS
HELSINKI, FINLAND
JULY 10, 1996

Q from ABC: I need to follow-up on one of Ron's questions. When did you first meet Craig Livingstone? When did you become aware that you knew him?

A from HRC: Gee, I don't have any idea. I don't recall meeting him for the first couple of years we were in the White House. I just don't know him. I have met him since then, but my best memory is sometime within the last year is the first time I ever put a face and a name together.

Q from AP: I really don't want to belabor this, but did I understand you on the Livingstone question, that you don't really have a memory of knowing him until this all happened?

A from HRC: Ron, I did not know his mother. I did not know him. I did not have anything to do with his being hired. And, I do not remember even meeting him until sometime in the last year. So, it does not mean I did not run into him. It does not mean that I did not shake his hand in a receiving line. All that could have happened. But, in terms of any connection with this young man or any kind of relationship with him, there was none.



CGE 054207

Ex-FBI Agent: First Lady Wanted Livingstone on Staff

'It's a Done Deal,' Counsel Allegedly Said

By George Lindner Jr.
and Pierre Thomas
Los Angeles Times Staff Writers

A former FBI agent assigned to the White House says he was told that Craig Livingstone was named head of personnel security despite a questionable background because "Hillary wants him."

Writing in a new book, "Unlimited Access—An FBI Agent Inside the Clinton White House," the agent, Gary Aldrich, said then-assistant White House counsel William R. Kennedy II told him in early 1993 that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton wanted Livingstone in the job.

Kennedy, Aldrich wrote, asked him what the FBI thought of Livingstone as a replacement for a longtime veteran and "in particular what the FBI would think if there were character issues in his background."

"I responded gingerly, saying it was a post that should be filled with someone squeaky clean, before Kennedy cut me off. 'I guess I see your

point, but it doesn't matter. It's a done deal. Hillary wants him.'"

The embattled Livingstone announced his resignation Wednesday at a House hearing after a drumfire of criticism over his office's improper collection of sensitive FBI background reports on hundreds of Republicans from past administrations. One of the biggest mysteries left at the hearing was the question of who had hired Livingstone, a longtime political advance man with no background in security issues.

Aldrich was assigned to the White House to conduct background investigations for five years until he retired in June 1995. Angry to lose and laced with undocumented allegations, his book was published by a conservative house, Regnery Publishing Co. It was immediately denounced by the White House.

"On its face, this is trash for right-wing crap," said White House spokesman Mark Fabiani. Regnery, he said, has published books by former Los

Los Angeles Times Staff Writers

FILBER, Pross A6

Angeles police officer Stanley C. Koon and the National Rifle Association's executive vice president, Wayne LaPierre Jr. Fabiani said publication of the Aldrich book "is a political act with zero credibility."

Earlier this month, Aldrich wrote a short article for the Wall Street Journal's editorial page. It alleged that prominent White House employees suspected of disloyalty were in for "special" attention, Hillary Clinton style—such as new background investigations before they were due. As FBI agent he worked with M. Dennis Sculmbreene, has alleged that White House political operatives prompted him for information contained in confidential FBI background files in an effort to root out career employees and replace them with Clinton supporters.

Those charges have led to an internal FBI investigation. The probe is focused on Aldrich's contentions that he told his supervisor, James Bourke, that the security system at the White House had been relaxed so those loyal to the Clintons could evade background checks. If Bourke was aware of such activity, the FBI inspectors will try to determine what, if anything, he did about them, sources

said. The inquiry is also directed at Sculmbreene's allegation that his FBI supervisors rebuffed against him for testifying as a defense witness in the trial of fired White House travel chief Billy R. Dale. Dale was acquitted of embezzlement charges.

Sculmbreene has said he now reports to the FBI offices in Tysons Corner, where he has "no work, no assignments." In an August 1995 memo, David Bowles, another FBI agent who worked on the Dale case, told FBI higher-ups that Sculmbreene has "very bitter political feelings against the White House" and accused him of "retaliatory" behavior.

In his book, Aldrich said the new Clinton White House used temporary passers for many months to get around the need to provide the Secret Service with FBI background reports for permanent passers.

The White House counsel's office tightened security procedures in early 1994 after a review concluded that more than 100 employees were allowed to work for months without routine background investigations. White House officials acknowledged then that some White House staffers were found to have troublesome personal problems when the long-delayed investigation was finally completed.

Aldrich recounted meetings with Kennedy and with late White House deputy counsel Vincent Foster on the security problems, and said he told Foster the FBI had found character questions among staff members "in the highest levels" of the White House.

At one point, Aldrich wrote, he and Livingstone discussed the serious security problems, including staff members who should have been fired because of their backgrounds and the lack of cooperation from other White House staff members to even submitting to FBI interviews. Livingstone, wrote Aldrich, said Kennedy understood the problems but refused to deal with them.

The two men decided to go to higher-ups about the security problem, according to Aldrich. He wrote that he assumed they would discuss it with then-White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum. "Craig looked at me like I didn't have a brain. Nussbaum? It's not Nussbaum we gotta talk to. We'll be talking to Hillary."

Livingstone never mentioned the meeting with Hillary Clinton again, and it never came off, Aldrich wrote.

Staff writers Susan Schmidt and Jim McGee and researcher Nathan Abou contributed to this report.

The Washington Post
Friday, June 18, 1996

FINAL

CGE 054215

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5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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June 29, 1996, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 857 words

HEADLINE: Aldrich Despised Clintons, Colleagues Say; Former FBI Agent at White House Was 'Cozy With Bush Staff'

BYLINE: Serge F. Kovaleski; Pierre Thomas, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

To a number of his peers, was a competent FBI agent with strong conservative convictions who felt a kinship with the Bush administration and was openly disgusted when Bill Clinton captured the Oval Office.

"He was very cozy with most of the Bush staff," said an FBI agent who knows Aldrich and spoke on the condition of anonymity. There is "no doubt he has a phenomenal bias" against the Clintons.

"He was almost personally offended that the Clintons had won, and made no secret of that," the agent said. After Clinton was elected president, the agent said, Aldrich remarked, "I've never seen so many ponytailed, 50-year-old men in my life."

Aldrich, a 26-year veteran of the FBI, retired last year because, he has suggested, his experience in the Clinton White House soured him on the bureau. He had spent the last five years of his career as one of two FBI agents assigned to the White House, where he was responsible for conducting background investigations on White House personnel.

In his controversial new book, "Unlimited Access: an FBI Agent Inside the Clinton White House," Aldrich described his post as an elite assignment that afforded him the unique opportunity to look out the window and see "a king or a queen visiting the president."

But the FBI post at the White House has also been the subject of considerable controversy, particularly during the Clinton administration. One of the agents who helped with White House background checks in 1994 and 1995, Halbert Gary Harlow, was charged and eventually convicted last year of falsifying at least 50 interviews that he claimed to have conducted.

Aldrich was assigned to full-time duty at the White House with agent Dennis Sculimbrene, who almost lost his life in a 1995 accident, and has been quoted by another FBI agent as saying "he could get away with anything" because he was disabled. Sculimbrene is involved in a legal dispute with the FBI over his work assignments. He alleges he is being discriminated against because of his disability.



CGE 054216

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The Washington Post, June 29, 1996

The FBI response to the allegations raised in Aldrich's book was a terse, two-paragraph statement saying that Aldrich had published his account without completing a required bureau review process.

As a condition of FBI employment, all employees and former employees are required to submit for review any publications that "could have been based on knowledge gained as a result of their employment," the FBI release said. "The purpose of this review is to ensure the integrity of the investigative or other official information employees learn as part of their official duties."

Jay Stephens, Aldrich's lawyer and former Republican U.S. attorney for Washington, said yesterday that over the last six months he and his client had worked closely with the FBI to address any concerns the agency may have about the manuscript.

"We substantially met all their concerns except for a couple of very limited passages that have become moot as a result of the hearings into problems in security clearances at the White House," Stephens said.

However, a senior bureau official disputed Stephens's account, saying that substantial issues remained unresolved before the book's publication.

Some senior bureau officials yesterday appeared caught in the position of trying to respond to a book with some credible allegations and other claims they considered undocumented rumor.

"Are we outraged by this behavior?" asked one senior bureau official. "Of course we are." But the official said that the bureau hasn't decided what to do about the book and noted that Aldrich does have First Amendment rights.

Should it decide to take action against Aldrich for publishing before the review process was completed, the bureau's only option is to pursue civil litigation to control profits of the book, said one source.

Upon first receiving the book, the FBI forwarded it to its Office Professional Responsibility as a part of routine procedure. Thus far the bureau has not been able to secure documents to substantiate Aldrich's claims about security procedures at the White House, sources said.

Aldrich first surfaced publicly two weeks ago, just after the controversy erupted over the White House's improper receipt of hundreds of FBI files, when he published an op-ed piece assailing the Clinton administration in the Wall Street Journal. In it, he accused the White House of thwarting security and background checks. He made no mention of the upcoming book.

The book describes the early Clinton White House as being in complete disarray, rife with staff members who had once been drug abusers, suffering from lax security clearance procedures and targeting employees that it wanted fired to make room for individuals who were viewed as loyal to the Clintons. He also claimed that the FBI ignored repeated complaints that the Clinton administration was allowing staff members to go long periods of time without permanent White House passes.

FBI sources said they had not yet been able to find any record of the complaints Aldrich said he had lodged.

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Staff writer Jim McGee contributed to this report.
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 29, 1996

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Former Top FBI Agent at White House Raises Questions About Security Office

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — An FBI agent who was, until two months ago, the top FBI agent working in the White House, has raised new questions about the White House's personnel security office and its director, Craig Livingstone.

FBI agent Dennis Sculmbrene, who was recently transferred from the White House to FBI's Washington field office, has told investigators for the Senate Judiciary Committee that he raised complaints with his superiors about the chaotic management of the personnel security office two years ago and that he also had suggested that the office be run in a non-political manner. But Mr. Livingstone's hold on the job was secure because, the FBI agent said, he was told, Mr. Livingstone's mother knew First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

A White House spokeswoman and a lawyer for Mr. Livingstone both deny that Mrs. Clinton knows Mr. Livingstone's mother. Mr. Sculmbrene doesn't know why he was transferred from his post at the White House. He is currently embroiled in a legal dispute with the Federal Bureau of Investigation over work assignments.

During an unsworn interview Wednesday with the staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Mr. Sculmbrene alleged that Mr. Livingstone had some problems in his background and had said some untrue things to the FBI when he underwent an investigation for security clearance. He didn't tell investigators what the alleged problems in Mr. Livingstone's background or untrue statements were. Despite having no background in law enforcement, Mr. Livingstone was given the job and approved for security clearance.

Mr. Livingstone and an assistant improperly obtained FBI files on more than 400 people, including many Republicans. Congressional investigators and Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr are trying to determine whether the two men made an innocent mistake or were seeking to dig up dirt on political opponents. In private interviews with congressional investigators, Messrs. Livingstone and the assistant, Anthony Marceca, have said that the files were requested accidentally and weren't misused.

Mr. Livingstone, who is on leave from the White House post, referred questions to his attorneys. Mr. Livingstone's lawyer, David Cohen, declined to discuss the background investigation of Mr. Livingstone. "Background investigations are private matters," he said.

Slow Clearance Process

Mr. Sculmbrene, who worked at the White House for a decade and has conducted numerous background probes of presidential appointees, described his experience with the Clinton administration in a two-hour interview with Senate investigators. The security office problems started early in the Clinton White House, Mr. Sculmbrene said. The clearance process was moving very slowly, and many people were walking around the complex without proper passes, he said. Mr. Sculmbrene and another FBI agent at the White House, Gary Aldrich, repeatedly complained to their superiors about problems, and at one point Mr. Sculmbrene said he suggested turning over the security office to a professional rather than a political appointee.

In 1993, he thought he had a good candidate, Jackie Dinwiddle, who worked in the security office during the Carter administration. However, when he brought the idea to then-deputy White House counsel William Kennedy—who has since resigned—he says Mr. Kennedy told him that he was stuck with Mr. Livingstone. Mr. Sculmbrene told investigators that Mr. Kennedy knew there were problems in Mr. Livingstone's own background investigation, and another person familiar with the matter confirms this. Mr. Kennedy and his lawyer didn't respond to requests for comment.

According to Mr. Sculmbrene, both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Livingstone told him that Mr. Livingstone's mother knew Mrs. Clinton, which seemed to explain his standing. However, Mr. Sculmbrene said he has no independent knowledge of whether the two women actually knew one another and suggested that Mr. Livingstone may have made it up in an attempt to inflate his status or protect his job. Another person who worked with Mr. Livingstone confirms that Mr. Livingstone boasted of ties between his mother and Mrs. Clinton.

'An Absolute Fabrication'

Mr. Cohen, Mr. Livingstone's lawyer, called this account "an absolute fabrication." White House officials said that Mr. Kennedy has denied telling Mr. Sculmbrene of any connection between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Livingstone's mother. Jane Sherburne, White House special counsel, said Mrs. Clinton denies knowing Mrs. Livingstone.

Although Mr. Sculmbrene says his performance has been consistently rated as exceptional by the FBI, Senate investigators questioned him about events that could color his version of events. The FBI agent sustained a severe head injury two years ago that left him partly disabled, although he has returned to work. He is pursuing a discrimination complaint against the FBI, claiming he has been ordered to do work that contradicts his physician's recommendations. He said he is also under investigation for allegedly giving his son his government parking pass.

Mr. Sculmbrene also said he worries that he may be suffering retribution from superiors because he testified on behalf of former travel office director Billy Dale at Mr. Dale's embezzlement trial last year. Mr. Dale was acquitted. The firing of Mr. Dale and the rest of the travel office in 1993 led to a congressional inquiry and eventually to the disclosure that the White House had improperly obtained Mr. Dale's FBI file, along with more than 400 others.

Questions also were raised yesterday about whether Messrs. Livingstone and Marceca also collected confidential Internal Revenue Service data. According to a letter sent yesterday by Sen. Charles Grassley, an Iowa Republican, to FBI Director Louis Freeh, a box of documents removed from Mr. Livingstone's office by the FBI contained a folder full of papers bearing the IRS logo. Sen. Grassley asked the FBI director to describe what sort of documents are in the folder.

WSJ
6/25/96

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CGE 054219

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

UNITED STATES SENATE

* * *

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

* * *

INTERVIEW OF M. DENNIS SCULIMBRENE

* * *

Washington, D. C.

June 19, 1996

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507 C Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-6666



CGE 054220

1 the head of the military office.

2 Mr. Larkin. I want to do one thing real quick. Can I
3 get a phone number where I can give you a call later?

4 Mr. Sculimbrene. 754-4265. That is my home number.

5 Mr. Larkin. And where do you live at?

6 Mr. Sculimbrene. 1521--

7 Mr. Larkin. Well, no.

8 Mr. Sculimbrene. 703.

9 Mr. Larkin. Area code is what I meant to say.

10 Mr. Hubbard. Now, you said Craig Livingstone had this
11 job because who wanted him to have the job?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. Mrs. Clinton is apparently a friend
13 of Craig's mother.

14 Mr. Yoo. Mrs. Clinton is a friend of Craig's mother?

15 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. And that is why Bill Kennedy
16 told me he was stuck with Craig.

17 Mr. Larkin. What do you think his background and
18 expertise is to getting him in a high-profile job like that?

19 Mr. Sculimbrene. Craig's?

20 Mr. Larkin. Yes.

21 Mr. Sculimbrene. Now, mind you, I did his background
22 now. So I--

23 Mr. Larkin. I don't want to get into this. As a
24 matter of fact, I won't even ask it.

25 Mr. Yoo. Let me ask you, though, do you have any--do



1 you remember any conversations where you were told that Mr.
2 Livingstone got the job because he was connected with Mrs.
3 Clinton?

4 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. Kennedy told me that.

5 Mr. Yoo. Bill Kennedy told you that?

6 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes, because Kennedy asked me whether
7 we should keep him.

8 Mr. Yoo. Do you remember what was said? Do you
9 remember the exact words?

10 Mr. Sculimbrene. No. The exact words, no. The word
11 "stuck" stays--the word "stuck" sticks in my mind; that he
12 was stuck with him.

13 Mr. Yoo. Do you remember when you talked to him?

14 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. This was a month or two into
15 the administration when we were looking for somebody to take
16 over Jane Dannenhauer's job, and like I said, I had gone to
17 Bill Kennedy proposing Jackie Dinwiddie as a candidate, and
18 I thought why not.

19 Mr. Larkin. A Democrat.

20 Mr. Sculimbrene. Here is a Democrat who worked on the
21 campaign, worked on the transition, honest, you know,
22 trustworthy. The Bureau had worked with her in the past.
23 Perfect candidate, but do they pick her? No.

24 Mr. Larkin. You know, under what circumstances did
25 this occur, the conversation?

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1 Mr. Sculimbrene. It could have possibly been during
2 the conversation when I went to Bill Kennedy to talk to him
3 about, you know, an employee or maybe during Bill Kennedy's
4 own background investigation when I went to interview him
5 about his own case, but I did have a number of interviews
6 with--you know, here is the standard practice up there.

7 You know, you go in and you do your job, and then, you
8 know, like everything else, well, what did you do this
9 weekend, you know, and we lapsed into personal, private
10 conversations, and that's what happened to--that is when
11 the subject of Jackie Dinwiddie came up. That is when I
12 interjected my belief that it would help the administration,
13 it would help the FBI to have an employee who had previous
14 experience there, and certainly she had the credentials for
15 the job, but I was told by Kennedy that he was stuck with
16 Livingstone and that was the end of it.

17 Mr. Yoo. How did he refer to Mrs. Clinton in your
18 conversation?

19 Mr. Sculimbrene. How did he refer to her?

20 Mr. Yoo. Yes.

21 Mr. Sculimbrene. Do you mean like what words did he
22 use? Whatever he said, I took it to mean the First Lady.

23 Mr. Yoo. Okay.


CGE 054223

24 Mr. Sculimbrene. The First Lady or Hillary.

25 Mr. Yoo. When he said that Mrs. Clinton--that Craig

1 had to be--that he was stuck with Craig because of his
2 connection to the First Lady, do you remember the exact
3 words he might have used?

4 Mr. Sculimbrene. No. Like I said, the only word that
5 really sticks out in my mind is the word "stuck."

6 Now, mind you, whether it is true or not, I mean, I
7 don't know for a fact. I don't know whether for a fact that
8 Craig Livingstone's mother--for all I know, Craig
9 Livingstone may have told him that and he believed him.

10 Mr. Larkin. Your recollection is it had something to
11 do with Craig's mother?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. Mother, yes.

13 Mr. Larkin. Okay.

14 Mr. Hubbard. Now, when Mr. Kennedy made this
15 statement, did he use either the name "Hillary Clinton" or
16 "Hillary Rodham Clinton" or "the First Lady"? Did he
17 designate her or did you infer from what he said that he was
18 referring to Hillary?

19 Mr. Sculimbrene. Perhaps I inferred that he was
20 talking about the First Lady, but I think I was correct in
21 my inference.



CGE 054224

22 Mr. Hubbard. And on what basis would you say that?

23 Mr. Sculimbrene. Well, why would he keep--why would he
24 keep this person here that I don't think he personally
25 liked? I don't think he thought he had the qualifications.

1 He knew--he knew of his--he knew of the problems in his
2 background investigation. He asked me when I kind of
3 refused to answer the question whether he should be hired
4 there, and then when I tried to supply a new person, it
5 seemed to me like--here, I will lay it right on his lap.
6 Here is the perfect person to solve your problems, and the
7 answer to that is, well, I really can't do it because you
8 know who wants him there. Now, that is an inference. That
9 is an inference.

10 Mr. Larkin. Did Craig ever make any reference to the
11 fact of how he came there?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. Now, Craig did tell me that his
13 mother--

14 Mr. Larkin. Was what?

15 Mr. Sculimbrene. --knew Hillary Clinton.

16 Mr. Larkin. He said--

17 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes, he did tell me that, but Craig
18 told me several things that were not true.

19 Mr. Hubbard. Such as?


CGE 054225

20 Mr. Yoo. Do you remember when he said that?

21 Mr. Sculimbrene. I don't--I am getting at the gray
22 area here now.

23 Ms. Owens. No, no. You are fine there. If I lean
24 forward, it is because he had mentioned derogatory in
25 reference to Livingstone's file, and I am concerned

1 about--that reflects the results of an investigation when he
2 said that there was derogatory, and I would just assume--

3 Mr. Larkin. And we will, like, strike that, okay, for
4 the record.

5 Ms. Owens. That was the only area I had concern in,
6 and they have been very good about the leading things or
7 problematic.

8 Mr. Larkin. We are trying. We are trying.

9 Mr. Hubbard. Can I follow up on this?

10 Mr. Yoo. What day'did--do you remember when Mr.

11 Livingstone made that comment to you about her mother?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. This was during my several interviews
13 with him in the process of doing his background
14 investigation.

15 Mr. Hubbard. You said that he told you several things
16 that you now know to be untrue. Can you tell us what they
17 are?

18 Mr. Sculimbrene. Mr. Livingstone or Mr. Kennedy?

19 Mr. Hubbard. Mr. Livingstone.

20 Mr. Sculimbrene. Well, we are going to get into--

21 Ms. Owens. Are they in connection with the background
22 investigation when he was interviewed?

23 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes.

24 Mr. Larkin. We will pass

25 Mr. Yoo. Can I ask just one or two questions? We are


CGE 054226

TALKING POINTS:

FBI "HEADS UP" TO THE WHITE HOUSE

- ♦ Representative Clinger's allegation concerning the FBI and the White House is both irresponsible and meritless.
- ♦ Representative Clinger acted irresponsibly by divulging confidential FBI background information that Mr. Clinger knew was directly contradicted by a sworn deposition of Agent Dennis Sculimbrene.
 - What is worse, Mr. Clinger refused until after his House floor speech the repeated requests of Committee Democrats to review the Sculimbrene deposition.
 - Mr. Clinger's release of confidential FBI background information was coldly calculated to offer only a one-sided, biased picture of the facts. Mr. Clinger actively covered up the contradictory facts in the Sculimbrene deposition.
- ♦ What Mr. Clinger is really upset about is that the White House was able to anticipate Mr. Clinger's release of confidential background information and quickly provide the facts that refuted Mr. Clinger's partisan allegations. As a result, the public and press received a complete picture of the facts instead of Mr. Clinger's self-serving, partisan portrait.
- ♦ Mr. Clinger created this entire matter in the first place by his outrageous demand that the FBI show him confidential background material gathered by the FBI on Craig Livingstone.
 - This background information was gathered by the FBI for the White House about a White House employee.
 - The FBI made the decision to agree to Mr. Clinger's demand and to show this confidential background information to Mr. Clinger and his staff.
- ♦ Once the FBI decided to show the private background information to Mr. Clinger, the FBI notified the White House Counsel's Office that Mr. Clinger would be reviewing this material.
 - The FBI also provided an oral description of a portion of the material Mr. Clinger was about to review.


CGE 054235

- At no time was the White House Counsel's Office allowed to review this material, although both Mr. Clinger and his staff were offered the opportunity on at least two separate occasions to review the material.
- In short, the treatment that the White House received was inferior to the treatment Mr. Clinger and his staff received -- even though the confidential information being examined was prepared for the White House about a White House employee.
- ♦ The Counsel's Office anticipated that Mr. Clinger would divulge this private confidential information. The Counsel's Office also anticipated that Mr. Clinger would reveal this information in the most biased way possible -- releasing only part of the facts and casting the information in the worst possible light. On both scores, the Counsel's Office was correct.
- ♦ The Counsel's Office then acted appropriately to determine that the information Mr. Clinger would be leaking was incomplete and false. The Counsel's Office contacted those individuals whose names would be raised by Mr. Clinger's eventual leak of private information and found out that Mr. Clinger's allegation was baseless.
- ♦ The result was clear: When Mr. Clinger -- using the legal fig leaf of the Speech or Debate Clause -- divulged this confidential information in a biased and incomplete way, the White House was able to provide statements, news articles and other information. Consequently, the press and public received a complete picture of the facts instead of Mr. Clinger's self-serving rendition.
- ♦ For Mr. Clinger to complain now about a chain of events that he himself started signals a new low for his blatantly political inquiry.


CGE 054236

FACT SHEET

- Dennis Sculimbrene has offered differing accounts of the story involving Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Livingstone:
 - 1) "According to Mr. Sculimbrene, both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Livingstone told him that Mr. Livingstone's mother knew Mrs. Clinton, which seemed to explain his standing. However, Mr. Sculimbrene said he has no independent knowledge of whether the two women actually knew one another and suggested that Mr. Livingstone may have made it up in an attempt to inflate his status or protect his job." Wall Street Journal, 6/25/96
 - 2) Sculimbrene is now reporting that Mr. Bernard Nussbaum was the individual who informed him that Mr. Livingstone received his job because of a pre-existing relationship between Mrs. Livingstone and Mrs. Clinton.



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2) Q: Now, you said Craig Livingstone had this job because who wanted wanted him to have the job?

Sculimbrene: Mrs. Clinton is apparently a friend of Craig's mother.

Q: Mrs. Clinton is a friend of Craig's mother?

Sculimbrene: Yes. And that is why Bill Kennedy told me he was stuck with Craig.

Q: Let me ask you, though, do you have any--do you remember any conversations where you were told that Mr. Livingstone got that job because he was connected with Mrs. Clinton?

Sculimbrene: Yes. Kennedy told me that.

Sculimbrene Interview before the Senate Judiciary Committee, 6/19/96

3) Sculimbrene's FBI reports state that Mr. Bernard Nussbaum was the individual who informed him (Sculimbrene) that Mr. Livingstone received his job because of a pre-existing relationship between Mrs. Livingstone and Mrs. Clinton.

FACT SHEET

Sculimbrene's allegations have been disputed by all parties:

- **Mrs. Livingstone states:** "I do not know Hillary Rodham Clinton, I have never met Mrs. Clinton, and I have never spoken with Mrs. Clinton. We are not, and never have been, personal friends." [Statement of Mrs. Gloria Livingstone, 7/25/96]
- **Mr. Nussbaum states:** "I never told FBI Agent Sculimbrene, or anyone else, that the First Lady recommended Craig Livingstone for his position in the White House or that the First Lady knew Livingstone's mother." [Statement of Mr. Bernard Nussbaum, 7/25/96]
- **Mrs. Clinton has stated:** "I did not know his mother. I did not know him. I did not have anything to do with his being hired." [First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's statement in Helsinki, Finland on 7/10/96]
- **Mr. Bill Kennedy has stated:** "I have never had any discussion with Mrs. Clinton about Mr. Livingstone. No one else ever told me that Mrs. Clinton had any interest whatsoever in Mr. Livingstone or his position." [Statement of William H. Kennedy, 6/29/96]
- **Mr. Craig Livingstone has stated:** "I've asked my mother and she, for the record, says that she has never met Mrs. Clinton." [Livingstone testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, 6/28/96]
- **Dennis Sculimbrene has offered differing accounts of the story involving Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Livingstone:**
 - "According to Mr. Sculimbrene, both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Livingstone told him that Mr. Livingstone's mother knew Mrs. Clinton, which seemed to explain his standing. However, Mr. Sculimbrene said he has no independent knowledge of whether the two women actually knew one another and suggested that Mr. Livingstone may have made it up in an attempt to inflate his status or protect his job." [Wall Street Journal, 6/25/96]
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- Sculimbrene's FBI interview report states that Mr. Bernard Nussbaum was the individual who informed him (Sculimbrene) that Mr. Livingstone received his job because of a pre-existing relationship between Mrs. Livingstone and Mrs. Clinton.
- According to a news account, FBI agent David Bowie, who worked with Sculimbrene, wrote in an August, 1995 memo that Sculimbrene had "very bitter political feelings against the White House." Bowie further accused Sculimbrene of "irrational" behavior. [The Washington Post, 6/28/96]

Sculimbrene is involved in an employment dispute with the FBI, alleging he was discriminated against because of his handicap. (Sculimbrene suffered a severe head injury after being hit by a propeller.) Sculimbrene has been quoted by another FBI agent as saying, "he could get away with anything" because he was disabled. [The Washington Post, 6/29/96]

- In a news account, Sculimbrene stated the FBI was seeking retribution for his testimony in the Dale trial. (Sculimbrene testified on behalf of Billy Ray Dale at Dale's trial for embezzlement in November of 1995.) [Wall Street Journal, 6/25/96]
- Numerous issues regarding the propriety of the actions of other FBI agents assigned to the Clinton White House have arisen over the last few years. "...the FBI post at the White House has also been the subject of considerable controversy, particularly during the Clinton administration." [The Washington Post, 6/29/96]
- "One of the agents who helped with White House background checks in 1994 and 1995, Halbert Gary Harlow, was charged and eventually convicted last year of falsifying at least 50 interviews that he claimed to have conducted." [The Washington Post, 6/29/96]
- Former FBI agent Gary Aldrich published a book on the Clinton White House which featured wild, unsubstantiated rumors. The book was widely criticized for making public raw FBI data. Aldrich "published his account without completing a required FBI review process." [The Washington Post, 6/29/96]

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

UNITED STATES SENATE

* * *

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

* * *

INTERVIEW OF M. DENNIS SCULIMBRENE

* * *

Washington, D. C.

June 19, 1996

MILLER REPORTING COMPANY, INC.

507 C Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-6666

1 the head of the military office.

2 Mr. Larkin. I want to do one thing real quick. Can I
3 get a phone number where I can give you a call later?

4 Mr. Sculimbrene. 754-4265. That is my home number.

5 Mr. Larkin. And where do you live at?

6 Mr. Sculimbrene. 1521--

7 Mr. Larkin. Well, no.

8 Mr. Sculimbrene. 703.

9 Mr. Larkin. Area code is what I meant to say.

10 Mr. Hubbard. Now, you said Craig Livingstone had this
11 job because who wanted him to have the job?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. Mrs. Clinton is apparently a friend
13 of Craig's mother.

14 Mr. Yoo. Mrs. Clinton is a friend of Craig's mother?

15 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. And that is why Bill Kennedy
16 told me he was stuck with Craig.

17 Mr. Larkin. What do you think his background and
18 expertise is to getting him in a high-profile job like that?

19 Mr. Sculimbrene. Craig's?

20 Mr. Larkin. Yes.

21 Mr. Sculimbrene. Now, mind you, I did his background
22 now. So I--

23 Mr. Larkin. I don't want to get into this. As a
24 matter of fact, I won't even ask it.

25 Mr. Yoo. Let me ask you, though, do you have any--do

1 you remember any conversations where you were told that Mr.
2 Livingstone got the job because he was connected with Mrs.
3 Clinton?

4 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. Kennedy told me that.

5 Mr. Yoo. Bill Kennedy told you that?

6 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes, because Kennedy asked me whether
7 we should keep him.

8 Mr. Yoo. Do you remember what was said? Do you
9 remember the exact words?

10 Mr. Sculimbrene. No. The exact words, no. The word
11 "stuck" stays--the word "stuck" sticks in my mind; that he
12 was stuck with him.

13 Mr. Yoo. Do you remember when you talked to him?

14 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. This was a month or two into
15 the administration when we were looking for somebody to take
16 over Jane Dannenhauer's job, and like I said, I had gone to
17 Bill Kennedy proposing Jackie Dinwiddie as a candidate, and
18 I thought why not.

19 Mr. Larkin. A Democrat.

20 Mr. Sculimbrene. Here is a Democrat who worked on the
21 campaign, worked on the transition, honest, you know,
22 trustworthy. The Bureau had worked with her in the past.
23 Perfect candidate, but do they pick her? No.

24 Mr. Larkin. You know, under what circumstances did
25 this occur, the conversation?

1 Mr. Sculimbrene. It could have possibly been during
2 the conversation when I went to Bill Kennedy to talk to him
3 about, you know, an employee or maybe during Bill Kennedy's
4 own background investigation when I went to interview him
5 about his own case, but I did have a number of interviews
6 with--you know, here is the standard practice up there.

7 You know, you go in and you do your job, and then, you
8 know, like everything else, well, what did you do this
9 weekend, you know, and we lapsed into personal, private
10 conversations, and that's what happened to--that is when
11 the subject of Jackie Dinwiddie came up. That is when I
12 interjected my belief that it would help the administration,
13 it would help the FBI to have an employee who had previous
14 experience there, and certainly she had the credentials for
15 the job, but I was told by Kennedy that he was stuck with
16 Livingstone and that was the end of it.

17 Mr. Yoo. How did he refer to Mrs. Clinton in your
18 conversation?

19 Mr. Sculimbrene. How did he refer to her?

20 Mr. Yoo. Yes.

21 Mr. Sculimbrene. Do you mean like what words did he
22 use? Whatever he said, I took it to mean the First Lady.

23 Mr. Yoo. Okay.

24 Mr. Sculimbrene. The First Lady or Hillary.

25 Mr. Yoo. When he said that Mrs. Clinton that Craig

1 had to be--that he was stuck with Craig because of his
2 connection to the First Lady, do you remember the exact
3 words he might have used?

4 Mr. Sculimbrene. No. Like I said, the only word that
5 really sticks out in my mind is the word "stuck."

6 Now, mind you, whether it is true or not, I mean, I
7 don't know for a fact. I don't know whether for a fact that
8 Craig Livingstone's mother--for all I know, Craig
9 Livingstone may have told him that and he believed him.

10 Mr. Larkin. Your recollection is it had something to
11 do with Craig's mother?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. Mother, yes.

13 Mr. Larkin. Okay.

14 Mr. Hubbard. Now, when Mr. Kennedy made this
15 statement, did he use either the name "Hillary Clinton" or
16 "Hillary Rodham Clinton" or "the First Lady"? Did he
17 designate her or did you infer from what he said that he was
18 referring to Hillary?

19 Mr. Sculimbrene. Perhaps I inferred that he was
20 talking about the First Lady, but I think I was correct in
21 my inference.

22 Mr. Hubbard. And on what basis would you say that?

23 Mr. Sculimbrene. Well, why would he keep--why would he
24 keep this person here that I don't think he personally
25 liked? I don't think he thought he had the qualifications.

1 He knew--he knew of his--he knew of the problems in his
2 background investigation. He asked me when I kind of
3 refused to answer the question whether he should be hired
4 there, and then when I tried to supply a new person, it
5 seemed to me like--here, I will lay it right on his lap.
6 Here is the perfect person to solve your problems, and the
7 answer to that is, well, I really can't do it because you
8 know who wants him there. Now, that is an inference. That
9 is an inference.

10 Mr. Larkin. Did Craig ever make any reference to the
11 fact of how he came there?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes. Now, Craig did tell me that his
13 mother--

14 Mr. Larkin. Was what?

15 Mr. Sculimbrene. --knew Hillary Clinton.

16 Mr. Larkin. He said--

17 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes, he did tell me that, but Craig
18 told me several things that were not true.

19 Mr. Hubbard. Such as?

20 Mr. Yoo. Do you remember when he said that?

21 Mr. Sculimbrene. I don't--I am getting at the gray
22 area here now.

23 Ms. Owens. No, no. You are fine there. If I lean
24 forward, it is because he had mentioned derogatory in
25 reference to Livingstone's file, and I am concerned

1 about--that reflects the results of an investigation when he
2 said that there was derogatory, and I would just assume--

3 Mr. Larkin. And we will, like, strike that, okay, for
4 the record.

5 Ms. Owens. That was the only area I had concern in,
6 and they have been very good about the leading things or
7 problematic.

8 Mr. Larkin. We are trying. We are trying.

9 Mr. Hubbard. Can I follow up on this?

10 Mr. Yoo. What day'did--do you remember when Mr.
11 Livingstone made that comment to you about her mother?

12 Mr. Sculimbrene. This was during my several interviews
13 with him in the process of doing his background
14 investigation.

15 Mr. Hubbard. You said that he told you several things
16 that you now know to be untrue. Can you tell us what they
17 are?

18 Mr. Sculimbrene. Mr. Livingstone or Mr. Kennedy?

19 Mr. Hubbard. Mr. Livingstone.

20 Mr. Sculimbrene. Well, we are going to get into--

21 Ms. Owens. Are they in connection with the background
22 investigation when he was interviewed?

23 Mr. Sculimbrene. Yes.

24 Mr. Larkin. We will pass

25 Mr. Yoo. Can I ask just one or two questions? We are

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AN FBI AGENT INSIDE
THE CLINTON WHITE HOUSE

GARY ALDRICH



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become our liaison contact. I didn't want to repeat my risk of being hugged.

Back in my office, I placed a few phone calls, made some notes of my Watkins interview, and waited for Dennis to arrive. He walked through the door shortly before noon. He had stopped by the SPIN office at Tyson's Corner, Virginia, before coming down.

Dennis was a White House veteran. He'd spent most of his FBI career assigned to Washington, where he became a friend to senators, congressmen, and chiefs of staff, and was an expert on White House politics and protocol. His reputation had been forged first on Capitol Hill, then at the White House over the course of nearly fifteen years. He had worked under three administrations—Carter, Reagan, and Bush.

By the time I ended my partnership with Scully (Dennis's nickname), I had handled more than two thousand White House staff investigations in the Bush and Clinton administrations and had conducted as many as ten thousand interviews.

Dennis looked agitated. "I tell you, Gary, this is going to be a challenge. I don't know about you, but I'm having a heck of a time getting these Clinton people to grant interviews. I call people up, tell them who I am and what I need to do, and they tell me they're too busy to talk to the FBI!"

Too busy to talk to the FBI? How did they expect to get permanent passes to the White House or security clearances so they could read classified material? Even during the Gulf War, people in the Bush administration worked us into their schedule.

Our SPIN cases had short deadlines, and there were hundreds of cases to complete. The temporary passes that were issued by the Secret Service ran out in ninety days. By my calculations, we would have to complete several cases every day if we were to avoid a problem with the Secret Service and Counsel's Office. There wasn't any time to chase staff who considered themselves "too busy."

"Gary, I think we're in for some real trouble," Dennis warned. "With Bush, we were dealing with straight arrows. I don't think that's going to be the case here. Just look at Zoe Baird and her husband—two rich yuppies screwing over two ignorant illegal aliens, while she's making over \$500,000 a year. And they wanted her to be

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~
ORIGINAL

CHARACTER MATTERS

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since this was the ground floor, the last stop for the elevator.

There was some pushing and shoving, grunting and bumping while they all tried to sort it out. The men didn't give any deference at all to the women, who were giving as good as they were getting. It looked like a sales day at Macy. I stared in wonder at folks who looked like they were about to take their very first elevator ride. After it looked like everything was settled, I got on.

On the way up, two Clinton staffers were sharing their deepest, most personal thoughts about their new supervisor. The problem was, it was loud enough for everyone to hear. I wondered how they knew that I, or someone else in the elevator was not the good friend of the supervisor. It was pretty intense. Someone behind me sneezed and made no effort to turn their head or cover their mouth.

I got off the elevator at the fifth floor and unlocked the door to room 532, the FBI Liaison Office. I was the first in. I flicked on the lights and walked over to my desk. After what I had just experienced, the office felt like a safe haven.

The FBI Liaison Office had become comfortable to me over the past 2 1/2 years, and I always felt good about coming to work. After all, what FBI agent would not want to work at the White House. It was a prime assignment, if not as exciting as chasing the mafia. I had done all that, twenty years of it, in fact.

Dennis and I had worked hard to furnish the FBI office in a professional manner, and the effect, overall, was classy. We had some old and heavy but nicely re-finished oak desks. We had leather chairs, and a couch and a coffee table. It was better furnishing than what we were used to at the FBI, but not as nice as the offices over in the West Wing. Best of all, we had some real decent pictures on the wall, some "jumbos" framed prints.

The pictures which were shots taken during the Reagan and Bush Administrations had once hung in the West Wing. Dennis and I had many friends in the previous administration, and quite often we would receive a token of thanks for our good work, like these pictures. They weren't ours to keep. They were the property of the White House, but I was certain that now that they had to come down off the walls, nobody in the Clinton Administration would want them.

As I enjoyed my coffee and pondered the shock I had just received from seeing the Clinton staff for the first time, the group I would be working with every day for the next two or more years, I looked around the office. The royal blue carpet was fairly new and was clean and neat. It was vacuumed once a week or more. An FBI agent, used to rougher surroundings, could get spoiled at the White House. The GSA ladies came every day to clean our office. The Custodians, mostly hard working black moms, liked me and we often traded jokes. They took care of us, but not because we were the FBI. We were nice to them, treated them with respect and dignity. They were decent, honest and trying hard. They had kids at home or in college.

This office was probably the best location an FBI Special Agent could ever hope to have. We had three windows facing north, south and west. I could look down 17th Street to Constitution Avenue, and it was a decent view. I would often hear the sirens and see the motorcycles as the President's or Vice President's motorcade passed by. Or sometimes it was a king, or a queen visiting the president.

What a job! Past administrations had given the FBI all the support that was needed to enable us to get our jobs done. The space, the furniture, the phones, and some office

making progress, I decided to suspend the interview, and gather more information for another "run" at Watkins, later. I wanted to finish my character inquiry, since economy of time and Bureau deadlines was a constant reality. Watkins was a tough character, and I needed more time to prepare for a second round.

Watkins was clearly steamed. I learned later that he had a hair trigger temper. I knew that the worst thing that could happen to me would be an allegation that I was not "acting" like an FBI agent, but he had no grounds to claim that. He was clearly upset with my refusal to back down. His voice, his gestures, his eye movements signaled to me that he was on the edge of losing it.

I made the tactical decision that I had obtained as much information as I was going to get from Watkins that day. I would have to reinterview Watkins to get the rest, but I would come back with documentation, or other, additional "evidence", more interviews to back up the character issue at hand.

If that was the way it had to be done, that's how I would do it, but, in the end, either the FBI would order me off the case, or I'd get the information, and Watkins would answers my straight questions with straight answers.

I excused myself and made reference to another interview at a later time. He seemed agreeable, and so I made my exit. As I walked back to the FBI Office, I thought about the morning, the Cerda response to a simple phone call, and Watkins' evasive attitude. I was worried about what I had seen and heard.

My job had been simple. I was to interview the individuals seeking clearances which would give them the permanent White House passes, and to talk to as many persons in the White House who knew the individual, or knew of an incident, if there was one, that spoke to the issue of character. That was it. A simple job unless people refused to cooperate.

The White House staff had an obligation to cooperate with the FBI, and it was clearly to their advantage to do so. If an individual refused to answer my questions, I would simply report their failure to cooperate to the Bureau, who would in turn call the Counsel's Office. To maintain the security program and the FBI's credibility, the Counsel's Office would then order the individual to cooperate. At least they did in the Bush Administration.

If a staff member refused to cooperate with the FBI, it would be grounds for dismissal. This seemingly harsh approach was the only way the SPIN investigations could have any credibility. It wouldn't take too many refused interviews before the word would get around to the rest of the staff, and then we would have little or no effectiveness. But reporting persons for failure to cooperate was rarely necessary since ^{they} had been so well pre-screened and had little to hide.

I was happy to get out of Watkins' office. I was used to feeling at ease in my White House assignment, and Watkins made me feel uncomfortable. I was used to being in a White House where FBI agents felt at home. I was not pleased that Watkins would be the OA point person who I was supposed to be friendly with, and yet, I could not have given him an easy interview. That would have been wrong, and I would have ended up compromising myself.

I thought that it might be possible my partner Dennis could get along with Watkins better than I. I made a mental note to suggest that Dennis meet him. Dennis and I had made such decisions in the past to divide White House liaison contacts when it became obvious that he, or I was better able to communicate with any particular individual. It was an effective and

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House Counsel's Office. But if Jane told someone at the FBI Headquarters to "jump" they would most likely ask, "how high?" I had worked in the SPIN Unit at FBI Headquarters, and I knew that they were very sensitive to any call from the White House, and rightfully so. They had no reason to distrust President Bush, or his Administration.

Dennis and I knew that Jane's power was limited to administrative policy matters, or process, and she never attempted to meddle in the business of adjudication of SPIN background investigative results. That was the Counsel's job. But the FBI thought she was very powerful, and because they thought that, she was.

Jane knew that Dennis and I were sincere, and she would often suggest changes to the FBI, which were really suggestions from us, and the FBI would implement them. I think they sometimes suspected Dennis and I of behind the scenes maneuvering, but they never caught us in the act. Jane never told on us. Our ideas usually made sense, and made a good system even better. Jane knew that, and she was happy that we were interested in doing a good job of protecting the presidency.

The adjudication process was the decision made to grant a permanent pass, after the FBI summary of the investigation was reviewed. It was properly the responsibility of the Deputy Counsel, then John Schmitz, now Vince Foster. Only after the Deputy had reviewed and initialed off on the recommendation to grant a permanent pass could one be issued.

But, before that pass was issued, the Secret Service first had to review the FBI summary report and concur with the Counsel's recommendation, so as to eliminate any possibility that the pass applicant was a danger to the President of the United States, or a threat to national security.

This combination of FBI, Secret Service and White House Counsel's Office teamwork fairly guaranteed to the extent humanly possible, that only the best, the finest, the most trouble free persons were allowed access to the White House. When I came there in the summer of 1990, I found a system that worked. There was no reason why it wouldn't work for the Clinton Administration, if they wanted it to.

And so even if Dennis and I were concerned about the Clinton staff that we had seen so far, we knew that there was a process to "weed out" the bad ones, which would save the president some embarrassment in the long run. Maybe the president would be disappointed that he could not have this one or that one working in the White House, because of a serious character flaw, but in the end, the president would be better served, because these "problems" would not have a chance to endanger or embarrass him.

I didn't know if the Clinton Administration would continue to use a Security Consultant, but if they did not, I knew that the system could and would still operate. The Secret Service, the FBI, laws, policies, presidential Executive Orders existed that would allow the system to run on "auto-pilot" if the Clintons and their lawyers left it alone, didn't tinker with it too much.

A well running, well behaved White House staff was its own reward. A rough running, badly behaved White House staff would result in severe consequences for the president, and would undermine his credibility and moral authority to lead. This was not just my opinion.

History books were full of stories of White House scandals; scandals which in one famous case brought down a president, and in another caused an incumbent president to not seek re-election. Any school child knew the stories of President Nixon and President Johnson. I

assumed a Georgetown graduate, a Rhodes Scholar, a Yale Lawyer and a seasoned politician would know that too. It turned out that Hillary Clinton and Bernard Nussbaum knew quite a lot about what it would take to take out a president.

If President Clinton was too busy to think about such matters, the First Lady and his/her Counsel could remind him. After all, they knew what could happen if a White House staff made major mistakes because of serious character flaws. They knew, because they were major players on the House Select Committee to Impeach President Nixon. But I didn't know that then, and I doubt that many people did.

As my first day of work in the Clinton Administration ended, I thought about the 30 year tradition of the FBI's association with the White House. We had served Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan and Bush. We had become an institutional part of the security operation, and the White House.

Year after year and administration after administration the Bureau's name was invoked as proof that the Executive Branch was doing everything possible to ensure that only the best and brightest would serve in the White House.

What was not so well known was the fact that we were also a major component in the safety and security of the president and the White House itself. But the FBI did not guard the president; we weren't even allowed to carry our weapons within the gates of the White House complex. When the shooting started, the Secret Service didn't want confusion about who had guns or who didn't. The rule was, only the Secret Service carried weapons.

Our role in the safety and security of the president was to conduct the SPIN investigations upon which the Secret Service relied. The Secret Service did not conduct their own investigation of anybody, except for their own employees. Yes, they did conduct a computerized name check through the usual data bases to determine if someone was wanted, or had threatened the president by letter, or by some other means. But, they did not check on the backgrounds of White House staff members.

That was the FBI's job. And when we were finished with the SPIN investigation, then and only then did the Secret Service issue a permanent pass. They were the agency and the only authority to give access to the White House. They had the responsibility to guard the president and the White House and everything and everybody that was contained within the complex. How could they be held responsible for security if they did not control the access?

The FBI's role, then, was more complex than was generally known to the public. The FBI also served in another capacity. Prior to the botched Travel Office affair, the FBI Agents had served as a point of contact for any White House employee, political or not, who felt they were a witness to fraud or other wrongdoing being committed on the complex.

The Secret Service also conducted investigations of alleged criminal behavior, and sometimes there was some confusion or friction about who should be investigating, or who should have taken the complaint in the first place, but since the "mission" was the protection of the president and the Presidency the agents and the agencies worked out any turf problems that developed out of an allegation.

As the FBI agents made their rounds, and conducted their hundreds of interviews each month, there were opportunities for each and every staff member to surface problems. This association between the FBI and the Executive Branch provided an excellent means to control and surface fraud and abuse at the White House. With the presence of the Secret Service and

the media, under no circumstances is this information to be released to any media representative until after the Director has held the news conference.... Oh man! Frank, Frank?"

But all Jim heard on the line was "Bzzzzzz," a dial tone. Frank had hung up so he would not have to hear an FBI agent beg for his career. The night shift supervisor was demoted back to the street by the next evening for this embarrassing but otherwise insignificant blunder, which merely ruined the intended impact of the Director's and Attorney General's news conference.

The government worked very hard to find and train Jim and all the other "Jims" throughout the system, and treats disclosure very harshly when it happens, even by accident. In Jim's case he didn't mean to do anything wrong, and the impact of the release of this information only resulted in discomfort and inconvenience for the Bureau's press office who had to explain why the West Coast already had the story, but the East Coast did not. Not much harm was done. Jim was embarrassed and learned his lesson.

What if an FBI SPIN investigation determined that an employee you wanted to assign to the classified documents section of your security department was just plain silly, immature, indiscreet, or just plain stupid? Wouldn't you want to know that before you gave the OK to allow access?

The last requirement for federal employment satisfied by the FBI Spin investigation is a basic one, but one worth mentioning as important if you agree that each and every dollar sent to the US Treasury should be treated with respect, and with the care that represents the pain each and every taxpayer suffers on April 15 as they see a significant portion of their hard earned income going to be used to pay the wages of some government employee, somewhere.

The federal government takes the biggest bite out of our incomes. The White House is a part of the federal government, and except for the elected official who lives there, all the other people who are there, are government employees. They are not paid by the political party who caused them to be there. They are not paid by donations, nor are they paid by lobbyists. They are paid and supported by our tax dollars. The very same dollars that we just sent in, that we cannot now use to get our car fixed, buy a new couch, or send our kid to the college of our choice.

When I came to the White House in the summer of 1990 I knew I would be working with Special Agent Dennis Sculimbrene. It was very exciting and gentlemanly work for the both of us, who were two FBI senior Special Agents, each at the tail-end of our careers.

Dennis and I were different in our backgrounds, but we were both the same in many important ways. We both loved working at the White House. We both enjoyed working hard. We both wanted to do a good job and we both had enormous respect for the presidency.

Dennis Sculimbrene was a friend to Senators and Congressmen and Chiefs of Staff. He was an "expert" White House tour-guide and a hard act to follow. "Scully", understood the politics and the protocol and taught me how to approach the powerful White House staff of George Bush, and how to succeed in my mission. How to get the Chief of Staff or some other high level staffer to give the truth, the information even if it caused shockwave inside the administration.

Scully knew the tricks of the trade, and I learned much from him. I had spent 20 years solving crimes, usually the White Collar kind, and I knew a thing or two about getting information, but in order to get information, you first had to get an appointment. Politicians were masterful at dodging people they didn't want to see. Getting an appointment to see the Chief of Staff, or the head of the National Security Council, or the U.S. Trade Representative or the dozens of other busy and powerful people is an art. Scully taught me how. His reputation had been forged first on Capitol Hill, and then at the White House, over the course of nearly 15 years, through three administrations, Carter, Reagan and Bush.

Scully was a bit older than I was, but I had more time in the FBI. He had spent almost all of his career, except for a short stay in Buffalo chasing mobsters, in applicant work, in Washington, D.C., and he had worked his way up to the White House assignment.

Scully flew cargo planes for the Air Force during the Vietnam conflict, and later became an FBI Agent. He has always had an interest in political issues, and government, and is probably more conservative than I am. I was comfortable in the Bush Administration, and so was Scully, but he preferred the philosophy of the Reagan Administration because it was more conservative. Not to say he was not a firm supporter of President Bush, that was clearly evident.

However, when I came to the White House I was not spending a lot of my time worrying about politics, in fact I was not spending any time worrying about politics. I came to the White House to grow, to get away from the dreary work of a criminal investigator, and to prepare for a graceful exit from the FBI.

I was there to help the White House and Secret Service screen the White House staff, and I took my job seriously. I would not, and I never did, allow political opinions to color the results of any background investigation. My principles would not allow it. Nor did I ever think Scully pulled his punches. Some people in the Bush Administration, and I know lots of people in the Clinton Administration would have liked us more if we had been a little less "inquisitive" about some of their staff members and their character flaws. But we were FBI agents. If we couldn't be trusted to do the right thing, then, who could be?

I had an opinion about politics and I had a firm point of view, but I kept it to myself. I just didn't bring it to work with me. I thought to do so would be unprofessional, and probably a quick ticket out of the White House.

I came to the White House to learn from the "best and the brightest." How did they act, how did they dress, how were they successful? Who were they, really, these people I read about in the newspapers every day? I needed to be as professional as I had ever been in my career to accomplish my mission.

In the summer of 1990 I began working among the most professional persons that I had ever seen together in one place. It was evident to me that they were a class act, in their attitude, their demeanor, their speech, their manners and their dress. I wanted to learn from the very polished and polite Bush Administration.

And so I paid attention to what Scully had to say, and I watched how he worked. And within six months I felt confident that things were going well for me. I was being accepted into this very selective group, but I was also getting along very well with the permanent staff. It's one thing to be assigned to the White House. It's quite another to be accepted, and so I enjoyed my apparent success.

working on the campaign at the time of the alleged harassment.

Chris Varney, the Campaign's Counsel and now Cabinet Secretary for the Clinton White House, had handled the settlement reached with Moore, according to the article. I had interviewed Varney about Watkins. Varney had told me that she didn't know anything negative or derogatory about Watkins.

When I learned out about the allegation and the fact that a "settlement" existed, and confronted Varney, she told me that she could not discuss it, since all parties to the settlement had agreed not to discuss the incident, as part of the settlement agreement, and she was a party to the settlement. How convenient. Was the agreement binding in the event of an FBI investigation? I didn't think so.

I immediately reported Varney's failure to cooperate back to FBI Headquarters, and awaited instructions, which never came. This incident was an opportunity lost, to reach some understanding with the Clinton Administration lawyers to ensure that all incidents past and present were reported to the FBI agents responsible for investigating such serious allegations.

But the FBI backed down, and the credibility of my partner and I became even more eroded with this lack of backbone on the part of some lawyer or bureaucrat (or both) over at the Bureau.

I wondered how many other incidents had occurred during the campaign that would speak to the character of now White House staffers, that the FBI would never know about through this neat trick of legal dipsy-doodling. If the Clintons and their lawyers could rationalize this kind of lie to the FBI, then where would they draw the line? The lie was, of course the fact that nobody reported Watkin's sexual harassment to the FBI, even though most of the campaign must have known about it. Each person who had been interviewed in Little Rock, and in Washington had been asked about such matters. All said no to the question of misconduct. All, in effect, lied to the FBI. They didn't say, "There is something that I know that I can't tell you about." They said, "There is nothing."

About this same time, I made an observation to my partner Dennis. I told him that I had found my "litmus" test case. I told him that there was an individual high up in the Clinton Administration who was a close personal friend of the President, who appeared to have a number of significant character questions in his background.

I remember telling Dennis that if the Clinton Administration kept this person in place at the White House, in spite of all that the FBI SPIN investigation developed by way of negative and derogatory information, then the Clinton Administration would probably keep anyone. This person was not dismissed by the Clintons due to any information developed from my FBI SPIN investigation. This person was not unique. I cannot recall hearing that anyone was denied access, dismissed because of anything developed through an FBI investigation. Except for a few poor single mothers in low positions, who failed to pay their bills on time. These folks were not allowed to stay at the White House, even though their "sins" came no where close to the "sins" of the friends of Bill and Hillary Clinton.

From the 25th of January to the day I met Vince Foster I had handled a grand total of 12 SPIN investigations involving White House staffers, and had probably met and interviewed about 60 or so of the new staffers. My partner Dennis had been exposed to about the same number, as we had fairly even case loads. In the 12 cases I had handled, I was seeing the beginnings of a serious character issue pattern. In those few cases, I had also experienced

the very new circumstance of meeting significant resistance by White House staffers to being interviewed by an FBI agent.

None of my polite, calm but firm, professional bearing was working on these people. My calls made were not returned, or appointments that were finally made were canceled, or in some cases, the persons to be interviewed never came to my office, as had been arranged, or, they failed to show up at their own offices at a prearranged time.

When I would finally locate these persons and ask them why they did not keep their appointments, pointing out that my schedule had been negatively impacted, and my time had been wasted waiting for them, their excuses were ridiculous. "I was too busy to come"

I would say, "Well, why didn't you call?" They would answer, "I forgot" or "I didn't have time" or "I did call, and nobody answered your phone." We had an answering machine hooked to our phone - I knew it was just another lie.

Some enterprising dodgers returned our calls at 10:30 pm or at midnight when they knew full well we would not be there. When they called at those hours they would simply say, "I am returning your call." They would not offer any clues as to how or where or when we might interview them, even though there could be no doubt as to the purpose of our call.

Did these people really think we worked 24 hours a day? Of course they knew better. They knew we were trying to interview them, and they were clearly dodging us. It became a game, but I could think of no good reason to play games with people who were wanting something: a clearance to work in the White House. They needed me. Or, did they? Had someone told them that clearances were not a problem, not an issue? Had someone told them, "don't sweat the FBI, we've got it covered? There had to be something going on to explain their lack of concern and cooperation.

Our cases were starting to get behind, and if the caseload increased as expected, we would really be behind. Many of their attempts to avoid us were very creative, slippery, slick.

In one case, Dennis was having difficulty interviewing Isable Tapia, the President's Director of Advance. Finally, he "stalked" her, he lurked outside her doorway, and observed Tapia coming into her office. He then ran to a phone and called, only to be told that she was not in. He knew better. He staked out her office door, and when she came out, he "pounced" on her. Clearly annoyed, but caught, she relented and allowed the interview. It was ridiculous, and I refused to lower myself to that level to play such silly games.

After all, I wasn't conducting these SPINs for my entertainment or for my educational benefit. These were supposed to be for the President of the United States. He said he wanted these done. Why weren't his staff members showing more cooperation? Why were they lying to us about their availability? I resolved to do something about it.

I repeatedly brought the failure of the staff's cooperation to my management's attention. I wrote memos about it. So did Dennis. When we had annoyed our supervisor sufficiently, he wrote a memo back, suggesting that we should "be aggressive, within the bounds of professionalism" suggesting that we had not been aggressive enough. Well, I hadn't drawn my weapon on anyone yet. I hadn't hand-cuffed anyone, nor had I slapped anyone around. What did he mean, "be aggressive"? I had interviewed thousands of persons at the White House before the Clinton Administration, and the interviews were complete and on time. He was simply trying to throw this "hot potato" right back into our laps. The clear message was, "The

FBI can't help you guys on this. Do what you got to do. Just don't tell me about it."

With the Watkins issue, the hostility I had experienced in many of my contacts with the Clinton staff, along with the failed phone calls and messages and the missed appointments, I decided that I would raise these issues with Bernard Nussbaum and Vince Foster at my earliest opportunity to see if things could go more smoothly.

I talked Dennis into joining me, but he didn't need much persuasion. He was having serious problems, too. We had followed the chain of command. We had reported the difficulty back to our FBI management, asking for their help. Nothing had happened.

We had our chance to speak to Bernie Nussbaum on 2/11/93 and we decided to attempt to clear things up. We decided to ask Bernard Nussbaum why his staff was avoiding the FBI.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROSY WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL'S OFFICE

When Bernard Nussbaum was announced as the President's White House Counsel, I can only recall that the public was told that he was a "brilliant New York Attorney." I have met many New York Attorneys. I have not met one yet who believes that he or she is not brilliant. All New York Attorneys refer to each other as "brilliant". They are all from the "prestigious law firm of" It must be against New York law to say "New York Attorney" without using the words "brilliant" and "prestigious law firm of" along with the lawyer's name.

I had received an investigation that would require an interview of Nussbaum and I was eventually able to get an appointment to meet him. I invited Dennis to join me, and I told him I intended to ask Nussbaum point blank about the chaos in the security program, as well as the seemingly erratic way that the Cabinet level Presidential appointments were being handled.

Admittedly I was skeptical about what kind of "magic" Nussbaum had brought to the Clinton White House. I had already seen significant evidence that matters relative to his legal department were not going well.

Hundreds of Clinton staff members were wandering the White House without clearances. George Saunders was beginning to be a regular visitor to my office, complaining that the Counsel's Office was not letting him do his job. Secret Service Agents, usually restrained in their comments were complaining to me that they had no idea of who these new people were. The behavior, appearance and failure of the cooperation of Clinton's staff worried me, and now, the third Attorney General nominee was announced before the FBI had a chance to look into her background. Something was clearly amiss, and Nussbaum would know why. If he didn't know why, we were in serious trouble.

Who was Bernard Nussbaum, really? Who knew him and where did he come from? When he was announced by the President there was much that the public was not told by the media. After I retired I learned who he was where he had been, what he had done and who he knew, but on February 11, 1993, the first time I met him, I didn't know how close he was to Hillary Clinton.

A little research into easily available public material disclosed the close personal and political relationship between Hillary Clinton and Bernard Nussbaum. It did not take the investigative skills of an FBI Agent to discover this connection, and its importance.

To know the roots of the connection between Hillary and Bernie, one must go back to 1973 when an effort to impeach President Richard Nixon was begun by Congress. This effort was led by Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, a Congressman who went on to become Speaker of the House. In his autobiography, O'Neill makes no bones about his lifelong disgust and hatred for Republicans.

Tip O'Neill relates in his book, "Man of the House" that the effort to impeach was his idea, but was not really received well by his fellow Members of the House. Many Members were understandably squeamish about impeaching the President of the United States.

Tip had no such reservation, and in fact had been one of the first to utter the "I" word on the Hill. To make the case for impeaching Nixon even though there was an absence of evidence of "High Crimes and Misdemeanors" which were required by the Constitution, a 718 page document was researched and written by the legal staff on the House Judiciary Committee.



and brothers, who were engaged in the big struggle?

Today with the benefit of hindsight and time to reexamine the Clinton White House, it appears certain to me that Bill Clinton gave Hillary the job of setting up and staffing the White House Counsel's Office. Bernie Nussbaum as Counsel, Vince Foster as Deputy, and Bill Kennedy as Associate Counsel. These were the major and critical legal appointments. All the other lawyers were just staff.

After Rodham and Nussbaum had devoted their lives trying to figure the legal angles to use Nixon's words and deeds while in the White House to throw him out of the White House, they could now use what they learned from Nixon's mistakes to keep Bill Clinton free from interference from Congress, free to do whatever he wanted to do as President, out of trouble, and in the White House. Together they could be "damage control" for a president who obviously was going to be in need of such a function.

Bernie and Hillary could prevent another impeachment no matter what Bill Clinton did. They knew how to do it. In his book, O'Neill observes, "Those tapes are what undid Nixon. If he had destroyed them, he could have remained in office until the end of his second term," and, "not to destroy them was irrational."

In 1973, Rodham and Nussbaum worked overtime to get those tapes. In 1993, twenty years later, Nussbaum was quoted, while defending his decision to forbid FBI agents from searching the dead Vince Foster's Office, "A smart New York Lawyer would have made the documents disappear before the subpoenas arrived." Would it be helpful if that smart New York Attorney also had knowledge of what it would take to impeach, and how impeachment could be avoided?

I knew of none of this when I walked through Nussbaum's door on February 11, 1993. All I knew was that the FBI was being treated shabbily, and the Presidential Appointment process, and White House security system was a mess.

It was the day after the nomination of Janet Reno to be Attorney General, was announced. The FBI was not conducting an investigation yet. Once again, the choice was announced, and only afterward was the President going to look into Reno's background, Reno's character. Three failed AG nominations in a row? It was very possible.

Dennis and I knew we were getting close to Nussbaum's office in the West Wing of the White House when we smelled the cigar smoke. In spite of Hillary's well publicized pronouncement that the White House was to be a smoke-free work place Nussbaum smoked cigars in his office anyway.

Nussbaum had chairs set up around a coffee table and he motioned us to sit there. He introduced himself to us, and we spent a moment on small talk. Nussbaum wanted to get right down to business.

Nussbaum began to speak immediately, not waiting for our complaints which he had obviously anticipated, and his oration was filled with effusive praise for the FBI, and included platitudes about the Bureau in general and specifically about the role of Dennis and I at the White House.

He went on and on about how important he thought our work was, but the manner in which he spoke and his body language I think was actually saying, "I don't like you, I don't want to meet with you, you are wasting my time." I thought the notion that he would actually like FBI agents, admire the Bureau, and be interested in what we had to say was preposterous.

Nussbaum must have noticed by the look on my face that I was not impressed. He said, "Look, we made some mistakes with the Baird and Wood nominations. We have taken steps to avoid making the same mistakes again." What steps? It was the day after the announcement of Janet Reno. I had not seen any sign of an FBI investigation of her, nor had Dennis.

I first asked Nussbaum why he thought the White House staff members as a group were being uncooperative and in some cases openly hostile to two FBI agents they had never met before. He did not seem surprised by this revelation. Nussbaum assured us that the staff would cooperate, and he advised he would direct Foster, his Deputy, to let him know if anyone was not fully cooperative.

I was not convinced by his words. I could not see smooth sailing ahead, only trouble. I was deeply concerned that someone in the White House, or a combination of someone's were purposefully unravelling and sidestepping the process. Nussbaum's answers did nothing to assuage my concern.

Such blundering, if it continued, would only result in embarrassment to the White House, to America. It was so predictable. Even the most shallow inquiry into the history of past administrations revealed how certain staff members or Cabinet Secretaries could cause enormous damage to the administration and thus to the reputation of the President, the presidency and to the nation.

"Mr. Nussbaum", I began, "I have seen no evidence that Janet Reno has submitted any documents to the FBI to enable us to conduct a proper background investigation, but her nomination has already been announced, yesterday." Nussbaum didn't say anything.

I turned to Dennis and asked, "Dennis, do you have any paperwork on the Reno investigation?" Dennis of course answered no, and both turned and looked at Nussbaum. His face had turned beet red. He was clearly angry. I was calling Nussbaum on his obvious dissembling.

Nussbaum looked at me for a long time. I stared right back. I had this distinct impression that he was considering whether or not to squash me like a bug. He could have. I knew he had the power to pick up the phone and have me thrown out of the White House, just like that. Nussbaum said nothing, and we looked at each other in an uncomfortable silence. Well.

I had made a big mistake and I knew it, but all the hard work of the many past years to attempt to perfect the security system to protect the President was on the line. I had put my heart and soul into my job which was the protection of the President, and I believed it was a worthwhile mission.

The security of the President of the United States, and the White House and national security was my business and I could not stand idle knowing that President Clinton, or any other president had his life in danger, or national security was compromised because of the ignorance or arrogance (or both) of some cocky New York lawyer.

The thought crossed my mind that it was people like Nussbaum who bring great leaders down. The ego trips that some senior staff members go on can blind them to their own real shortcomings and inadequacies. Nussbaum's phoney confidence about security, character background investigations, or what it took to protect President Clinton was revealed during our meeting, and the fact that he would straight face lie to two senior FBI agents about Reno's

background investigation, indicating that he had "taken steps" was obnoxious at the very least.

I had fear and dismay that if Nussbaum's arrogance were to continue, serious problems for President Clinton could be the only outcome. Of course, I believed it was within his power to set matters straight, and I believed Nussbaum to be the President's Counsel. With the Clinton Administration, not everything was as it appeared to be.

I hoped Foster would be more receptive to what I was talking about, and I had an appointment to see him the next day, so I made a mental note to brief him if I had the chance. That is, if I still had a job at the White House to come back to. Besides, I got along better with Southern lawyers, I always had.

Nussbaum stood up which was the signal that the meeting was over, and grim faced he walked us to the door. Dennis and I parted company at Nussbaum's office door without a word spoken. I am sure that each participant felt that I had tossed something smelly into Nussbaum's punch bowl. Gloom and impending doom was heavy in the air. I had made an enemy, a big one. I had stepped over the line.

Dennis knew it too. When I saw him later in the day, he said, "Wow, Gary. I'm not sure how close I want to stand to you right now." We both laughed. Dennis was no shrinking violet - it had just been my turn to joist the windmill, and the meeting had been my idea. Dennis knew any fallout from the meeting would involve him also, since he was present.

After more than 20 years in the FBI, I thought the worse thing the Bureau could do to me if they learned of the meeting and strongly objected, was to put me back to work on the streets, chasing crooks, talking to crime victims, and dealing with defense attorneys. On the other hand, they might not be all that upset.

FBI Special Agents have had a tradition of "doing the right thing" even when great personal risk was involved. When you took the risk you never knew whether you guessed right, or not. I felt very strongly that the FBI would ultimately back me up, but might have to transfer me to make the White House happy. Compromise was the way things were done in Washington. I would just have to wait and see.

Of course, transfer from the White House was the worst possible penalty I faced for causing Nussbaum to get angry, I thought. But then, that was before Travel-gate, when seven innocent men suddenly found themselves on the wrong end of an FBI criminal investigation. As I pondered my possible fate, I wondered if chasing violent criminals might not be such a bad idea after all.

CHAPTER SEVEN SPINNING THE SPINS

Our meeting with Nussbaum on the 11th, and my meeting with Vince Foster on the 12th seemed to break loose part of the log-jam of investigative cases that we had been expecting, and I became busy with an increased case load. However, the interviews were not any easier to get; the staffers were still trying to dodge Dennis and I.

As a response to our complaints about uncooperative staffers, Foster wrote a memorandum to all White House Staff, directing all White House staff to turn in their FBI forms, and make time for Dennis and I when we called for an interview. We were grateful to see that Foster was at least trying to assist us.

It was puzzling, however, to see the name of William H. Kennedy III on the heading of the memo, suggesting that he had a joint or equal participation in the authorship of the memo. Who was William H. Kennedy, III? I had never heard of him.

The memo was dated February 17, 1993, and frankly was unprecedented. That the Deputy Counsel would have to scold White House employees about cooperating with the FBI was truly amazing. That he would put it on paper was a significant error, in my opinion. I thought that from my discussion would flow a verbal reminder in a senior staff meeting, which would then be passed on down, verbally. In the memo Foster acknowledged that certain key events must occur before permanent access is obtained by each staff member. Forms needed to be filled out and submitted. Interviews by the FBI must take place. Foster also reminded the staff that there was a time frame problem and the clock was running on this process. "There are a large number of staff members yet to be interviewed and only a few weeks left to complete them before your temporary clearance expires. Foster's memo goes on to illustrate the fact that he had a clear understanding, and a willingness to adopt the security system that was handed off to him by the Bush Administration by this statement:

"Avoid the last-week crunch and the risk of expiration of your temporary clearance."

Appearances were important in the security business. If the memo had been written by Nussbaum and Foster, then the staff would have had the impression that the direction to cooperate with the program was coming from the very top, where it was supposed to be in the first place. Who was this William Kennedy guy, anyway? When we spoke to Foster and Nussbaum they never mentioned Kennedy as a player in the security process.

Not known to me, and apparently a surprise to Kennedy as well, was a decision to delegate this troublesome security mess down to the Associate Counsel level, a big mistake in my opinion. The decision may have been made as a result of our meeting with Nussbaum and later the next day with Foster. Otherwise why would Nussbaum and Foster lead everyone to believe that they were going to run the security program as it had been run in the Bush Administration? I have subsequently learned since my retirement that a meeting took place on 2/16/93 with William Kennedy, Beth Nolan, his Deputy, and Gregory Walden, former Bush Administration Associate Counsel, at the White House Connection, a restaurant near to the



CHAPTER EIGHT WHO WAS BILL KENNEDY?

Sometime after Foster's memo I learned that Bill Kennedy was going to be the security guru. I learned as much as I could about him. George didn't know him. Jane Dannenhauer could not tell me very much. Dennis had his background investigation, but he could shed no light on why Kennedy.

I prepared for my first meeting with William Held Kennedy, III, and on or about the 22nd of February, I walked down to his office, located on the first floor of the OEOB, room 136, after calling his secretary for an appointment. I had some case that required his interview.

I found a rather large bulky man, 6 foot or so, dark haired, and dressed well, like a lawyer from a prestigious law firm might be expected to dress. I recall that his tie was loose and his collar was unbuttoned. He appeared to be a little larger than his white long sleeved shirt wanted to be, so that there was a certain stuffed appearance to Kennedy.

Kennedy appeared to be the kind of guy who looked forward to the lunch hour, and perhaps, the happy hour. He also had this "hang-dog" forlorn, sad expression on his face, as if he was in pain. He always looked like he was being set upon, mistreated in some fashion. I recently saw him testifying in front of the Senate WhiteWater panel. He still had that pained, "you are ruining my life" expression.

I introduced myself, told him who I was with and what we did. I gave him a quick thumbnail of how long I had been assigned to the White House. He asked a number of questions about my background, and I recall telling him that I had extensive experience, 20 years of experience, in fact, with white collar crime, and that my degree was in accounting. He seemed very interested in this information. I told him that I had also specialized in political corruption, having jailed politicians and lawyers during the years I handled such matters. I always enjoyed telling lawyers about those experiences for some reason. It always got their attention.

Kennedy reached down into his center desk drawer and pulled out Foster's memorandum of February 17, 1993. He handed it to me and asked me if I had anything to do with it's production or preparation. I admitted that I had spoken to Foster about the difficulty we were having getting our investigations completed due to the staff's failure to cooperate.

I did not tell Kennedy that we had experienced hostility, disrespect, and insulting comments. I did not tell him that folks were not bothering to return our calls, or calling back at ridiculous times, such as 10:30 pm, knowing full well that we would have been long gone by that time. That had been one of the cute tricks that we were having to endure in our efforts to get the job done.

Kennedy was clearly perturbed about the memo. "I wouldn't have written this. I'm not happy with this. Vince should have checked with me before he sent this out." I wasn't sure what part he objected to, but I didn't much care. After all, as long as FBI agents were ordered to clear the President's staff, by Executive Order signed by the President, I felt justified in supporting whatever methods, including embarrassing memos written by Deputy Counsel, if that's what it took to get some peoples' attention.

I began, "Look Mr. Kennedy." He interrupted long enough to correct me, "Call me Bill." Where had I heard that before? "Look Bill, I understand that everyone is busy, and



so predictable to those of us who were not Rhodes Scholars, or Yale Lawyers.

By the end of February I had met and interviewed about one hundred of the new Clinton people, and many of these persons were senior staff, and many were in a position to influence the outcome of security screening, like Kennedy.

If I hadn't met everyone yet, I had managed to observed most of the new Clinton Administration in their offices, in the hallways, on the grounds, in the lunchrooms, coming and going from the White House Complex and in the other ways that would come with the unique nature of my assignment and my unfettered access. By the end of February more permanent staff were beginning to comment about what they were seeing, and experiencing. Naturally they were being discreet and guarded in their comments, but enough was said to me to convince me that I was not the only one concerned with the new staff. The permanent staff was concerned, but the security people were apoplectic.

During this period of time I managed to cross paths with the President on at least 3 occasions, either in the West Wing, as I was going one way, he another, or over the OEOB as he was coming down the hall on the way to a conference in room 450, the auditorium. President Bush had also walked down that hallway many times, and I had watched him as he went by.

Bush was always flanked by Secret Service agents, and he usually had two or three of his closest advisors with him. He walked fast, and with great purpose in his step. He would look to the right and to the left, but if he saw you, the best that you could hope for was a smile or a slight nod.

President Clinton handled himself quite differently. The first time I saw him he was without the Secret Service agents. They were in the hallways, but were at a distance from the President. President Clinton didn't walk down the hall with the same "straight ahead" purposeful walk of President Bush. He meandered. I wondered why he had so much more time than Bush. Had things gotten better in the world that fast? I thought to myself as I watched him linger with this one or that, "How can he afford to waste all this time?"

I watched him carefully. There was something. I was trying to put my finger on just what it was. He just didn't look "presidential". In fact, Vice President Dan Quayle had appeared more presidential when he was the Vice President, at least in my opinion.

I recall my co-worker, agent Greg Schwarz telling the story of using the Vice President's desk in the Dirksen Senate Office building on the day when Quayle made a rare visit to his own office there. He took look at Schwarz sitting at his desk, and said, "You're not the Vice President!"

Schwarz had been dispatched with just a few words, and there was not mystery about who was who.

So when President Clinton spoke to me as if he didn't know who I was, I interpreted it to also mean he didn't know who he was yet, and if he didn't know that in the month of February, 1993, then I feared we were in a lot of trouble.

In those early months it appeared to me that there were too many Clinton people who didn't know who they were. They also didn't know where they were and they didn't seem to care. Day after day my partner and I had to endure hostility, rudeness, deception and downright incompetence at all levels of staffing at the White House. It didn't seem to matter if the Clinton appointee was old or young, high level or low level. They generally all were ill

Staffer after staffer reported to me with great pride that they would told by Hillary that they would have no life beyond serving Hillary and Bill Clinton. The First Couple had to be their ultimate loyalty. That loyalty oath offered some explanation for why so many were confused by the FBI's questions about loyalty. After all, how do you serve two masters? In their minds, serving Bill and Hillary Clinton was serving the country.

One of my core beliefs had always been the concept of the Constitution as higher authority. As much as I admired and respected some of the FBI Directors and Presidents and Attorney Generals that I worked for, I always was aware of that higher authority, The Constitution. Without the Constitution, we were nothing. With it, each of us had rights. And, responsibilities such as standing up for what's right, even if it means standing up to the President. If we cannot do that, then, what have we become? A banana republic?

Of course the applicant's political ideology was a key factor in being at the White House in the first place, but that was not something new to the White House, and party affiliation was none of my business anyway, unless they were a member of the Communist party. When the FBI stopped sending me background material that would spark such loyalty questions, I lost my ability to inquire.

The Bush Administration usually checked out political appointees to make sure they voted Republican. But I do not recall any Bush appointee mentioning the need to swear loyalty to other than the flag and the Constitution.

I struggled to maintain my objectivity. I made a vow that I would not allow these rude and obnoxious people get to me. I would not allow their hostility, arrogance, and obvious distaste for authority and specifically, FBI agents with authority, to color my perception of the White House as an institution, or the Presidency as I had come to know it and respect it. But, it was very trying, and the circumstances were taking a personal toll on me.

Any pretense at guarding the President, First Lady or anybody else seemed to be dropped, as crowds of people, some not even wearing temporary or visitors passes anymore wandered about the White House. At a point in time, the people that I didn't know outnumbered the people that I did know. This wasn't about "knowing" people, as in friendships, this was about security. The White House complex was effectively unguarded, this coming at a time when intelligence agencies were reminding everyone that several Third World nut cases might take revenge against the United States for real or imagined reasons.

In addition to the hundreds of new Clinton people who would remain employed and finally go through some kind of screening procedure, there were hundreds of "Health Care Task Force" folks, and hundreds more of campaign jetsam and flotsam, so weird that apparently not even the Clintons could conceive of hiring them as federal employees.

Walking out my door one day, two of these characters walked by. They were wearing identical "costumes", or "uniforms" to signal to others where they were "coming from." With tight fitting jeans, jean jackets and turtleneck shirts, and earrings and pony tails and they were obviously in love, or I guessed they were since they were holding hands. I jumped back into the office and motioned to Dennis to come see, since nobody would believe me if I told them that two men were walking around the White House, holding hands. Ah, love. Dennis and I had a good laugh about it, after we got over our shock and disgust for this apparent disrespect for the White House. I was getting used to this kind of "in your face" behavior on the part of the Clinton friends.

would live. I remember first meeting Scott. I had to interview her about one of her "outstanding" replacements for the grandmothers she had given the boot to. I made the call, made the appointment, and went on down to talk to her.

Entering the office, located in the first floor corridor of the OEOB, I noticed what a mess it had become. When it was Shirley Green's office, under Bush, it was neat, clean, professional. I liked Shirley. She was a smart, savvy woman who was dedicated to the production of quality letters from the White House. Every letter was received, cataloged and answered. Every school child received a reply. Every happy, or angry writer got a response from the President. Of course it wasn't seen or signed by the President, and many of the letters dealing with a particular issue were form, and autopenned, but the letters were answered, and the opinions were noted.

But I was about to meet Green's replacement, Marsha Scott. I went into her office, and I was warmly, too warmly greeted by Scott, a woman who appeared to be in her mid to late thirties. At least she acted and dressed that way. In fact, I noticed she was dressed and was acting like Sharon Stone did in the detective scene, in the movie, "Fatal Attraction". In that scene, Stone, dressed in a very short skirt and sans undergarments, tried to distract the "dumb" detectives by giving them more to think about than interviewing her about a murder she had committed.

On this day in March, the detective scene was being repeated, except I was the detective! This was happening to me! Except, Scott was no Sharon Stone. If she had been Stone, I confess, I would have probably lost my concentration. I was not impressed by this blatant attempt to distract me, to compromise me.

That Scott used this rather simple technique, with less than adequate and somewhat worn tools, was actually sad, not exciting to me. I thought to myself, "Good Lord, what next?", and I wondered what manner and class of persons Scott had been associating with. Obviously persons appreciative of cheap thrills. I cannot say that she was, or was not wearing any undergarments as per Hillary Clinton's directive; I could not bring myself to look.

After I returned to my office, I told Dennis about the Scott interview, and asked him if he had met her. He had, and she had tried to "take his picture" too. We both knew that she was a close personal friend of President Clinton, and we both knew what that might say about Clinton, but in the early months we were guarded in our comments, even with each other. I wondered, "Could this be one of the bimbos that the newspapers referred to during the campaign?" I remember that Besty Wright had attempted to prepare a list of possible "Bimbo eruptions", that is, women who might try to capitalize on their "knowledge" of Candidate Clinton. One such person, Gennefer Flowers, had been given a good job in Arkansas government for her efforts on behalf of then Governor Clinton. Was it possible that Scott was working at the White House for similar reasons? I thought, "Nah, they wouldn't be that obvious."

In the meantime, the mail stacked up. I walked around the halls and looked at some of the postcards that had been sent. I discovered that much of the mail, still stacked and untouched consisted of protests sent in by citizens reacting to the Clinton Administration policies. Abortion, Gays in the military, the spotted owls, Zoe Baird, Kimba Wood, Janet Reno, you name it. The Clinton Administration was getting blasted if this mail was any indication. But the mail wasn't getting processed; it was just sitting there. And then, one day, it was gone. Just



officer would have to be around dirt bags; that was part of the job. But in the White House?

When Melvin had an answer, I got ready to copy it down in my notes. "OK. I think I would say that I used marijuana about 400 times. Yeah, maybe 400. Maybe more." I paused, staring at my notes, at my pencil. I looked up to see if my partner Dennis had heard the answer. He had. Dennis was grinning like a polecat and shaking his head. He was trying to control the same response I was having, but he could smile because Melvin had his back to him.

This was it. I had spent many an hour with many of the Clintons' "best and brightest" and I had heard so many things. They came to see me in T-shirts. They came to see me in jeans. And earth shoes. And short skirts without stockings, or modesty.

They came from Pizza Hut, and Dominoes and Joes bar and grill, and off of campaign airplanes where they had been stewardesses, and stewards. I couldn't stand it. I wanted to shout out loud, "THIS IS THE WHITE HOUSE. DAMN IT!" I collected my thoughts and tried to regain my composure, but I just could not let this moment pass.

"Melvin, what did you conclude?" Melvin looked puzzled at my question. "Melvin, what did you find out?", I asked with a straight face. Melvin still didn't get it. "I don't know what you mean. What do you mean?"

"Well," and I looked over at Dennis to see if he was listening. He was. "Melvin, you are the one who described your drug use as "experimental". Obviously, you conducted many "experiments", maybe more than 400 experiments. Surly by now you have reached a "scientific conclusion", right? Have you concluded that you are addicted, Melvin? Or have you concluded that you love marijuana? What is your scientific conclusion about drugs?

With that, Dennis broke up laughing, and so did I. Clearly, Melvin was not amused, and while I had my laugh, I also figured this might be my last day at the White House. But by now I had already decided that the Clinton White House was not my kind of White House. I had worked many years on the side of law and order, and I thought that my last years in the FBI could be spent some place where my work meant something. Maybe someplace where my co-workers and associates shared my values. This place was certainly not at the Clinton White House. Marijuana, 100 times a year for 4 years? Hell, Melvin was defined as "a hard core drug user" by Clinton's own drug Czar!

Melvin got up. He was agitated at me, and now Dennis. "This is not fair. This is not professional. I resent this!" He moved towards the door. "Melvin, look. I'm sorry. Sit back down and we'll move on and finish this thing up so you don't have to come here again." He sat down, and we went through the last of it. We finally got to the loyalty question. Sure enough when I asked him about his loyalty he immediately concluded I was talking about "Bill and Hillary" Clinton. (He called them Bill and Hillary. I called them the President and the First Lady.)

I was ready for his response, and quickly pointed out that I meant the "Country, the Constitution, the Flag" and he quickly gave me the predictable Clinton Administration answer, "Oh yeah. The Country. Sure."

Melvin was shown the door, but every time after that day, when my partner or I would see him in the hallway, Melvin, the "scientist", who should have been more mellow from all his drug use, would glare at us.

A second example, who I will call Mr. Kafka for reasons you will soon

That was the only explanation that I could come up with, then or now. There was no plan to run the White House. There was no plan to staff the White House. And there was no standard for employment at the White House, beyond a absolute loyalty to Hillary and Bill Clinton and their ideology, which was finally emerging as Ultra Liberal, New Left Liberal, leftist, or CounterCulture, whatever you want to call it.

Once again, the media to the rescue. Bill Clinton (no mention of the Co-President) is "drifting to the left". This was nonsense if anyone bothered to check where Bill and especially Hillary had been all of their political lives. Maybe the campaign rhetoric had been "Centrist" or to the right of the New Left, but those were just words. The Clintons had not "drifted" anywhere. They were just where they had always been. It was a Co-Presidency, just like they had said it was going to be, and they were very liberal, in fact, New Left Liberal.

Hillary Clinton had clearly emerged as the more powerful of the two. He had been elected, but she controlled 51%, or maybe more.

All of this became so obvious, overtime, to the people working at the White House, which included the media. But by the time the media got through with the information, and had cleaned it and shaped it, and Hillary was still being presented as a secondary figure. The media had ignored, or missed the obvious, and now they could not admit that. Even the book, "The Agenda" written by Bob Woodward played along with this fantasy of "Where's Hillary?" A blind aardvark could have found 50 acorns before Bob Woodward could find Hillary's influence all over the White House. Everybody who worked in the White House, even the custodians knew it. But Bob Woodward couldn't see it; so much for his investigative reporting.

In late spring I began to wonder if the media, and perhaps the nation could simply be in a state of deep denial. Could the nation be suffering from a major case of what psychologists call, "Cognitive Dissidence"? This circumstance occurs when information is presented that is so against every deep seated personal belief, so as to cause the alteration of one's core beliefs, instead of acknowledging the reality that certain facts, certain truths do indeed exist. Could it be that the average citizen just could not accept what their own eyes and ears was trying to tell them?

Examples of the ridiculous non-method of staffing the White House continued. My partner Dennis returned to the FBI office one morning, grinning and shaking his head. I knew he was about to tell me an interesting story. I had a few of my own I wanted to tell him.

I asked him, "Dennis, what's up? You look like you just swallowed a canary." "Gary, I just had the most amazing interview. You know about the wife of a Congressman who just came on?" I told Dennis that I had heard about her. Her name isn't important to this story. Dennis continued, "Well, she has just been hired to be Deputy Assistant to the President, and Deputy Director of Public Liaison, and she's working for Alexis Herman.

Dennis said, "Well, Gary, I'm finished with her interview, and started to get up to leave and she says to me, "Do you know what I'm supposed to do here?", and I'm thinking that she's asking me about something to do with security, or her pass, and I tried to answer, but she said, 'no, no, I'm talking about this job, this job here at the White House. What are my duties? Do you know what I'm supposed to do? What did the last person who had my job do here during the Bush Administration? Do you know?' "Gary, I just stood there and stared at her. Gary, I can't believe it! This woman is getting 85K a year, and she hasn't a clue as to



what her duties are. This Clinton bunch is amazing!"

Of course I couldn't disagree with Dennis. Everyday brought some new surprise, some new shock.

One day in early March 1993, I walked into the office of Presidential Scheduling to talk to Mike Lefrano about a background investigation. He had been given the Deputy slot, and I had known the Deputy under President Bush, so I was not prepared for what I was about to see. In the first place, the office walls were still bare, and cardboard boxes were still sitting on the floor, some partly unpacked. I looked around. On the filing cabinet sat a motorcycle helmet. The last occupant of the Scheduling Office drove an adult vehicle to work.

The office was very messy, and the carpet was in need of a good cleaning. Half empty coffee cups were strewn about, and the place looked like a college dorm room. Mike was looking right at me, and was talking to me, but his words made no sense at all. It was as if I was coming into the middle of a conversation, and I didn't recognize the subject matter. He also waved his arms at me while he talked and looked at me, and I wondered if he had gone crazy, off the deep end. I knew scheduling the president could be stressful, but...

Of course, he wasn't talking to me at all. He was wearing a miniature headset, like a telephone operator might wear, and he was speaking to someone somewhere about an upcoming Presidential visit. I gestured an offer to leave, inasmuch as he clearly was not ready to talk to me. I was annoyed that the staff member sent me right into the office without a warning that he was on the phone. It was bad manners. I gestured an offer to leave, but Lafrano indicated that I should stay.

While I waited and waited for the call to end, I recalled a funny story told to me by Tony Benedi and Mel Lukins both senior Advance and Scheduling staff in the Bush Administration. Just before the Inauguration in January 1993, they went to the Capitol to meet Advance personnel from the Clinton Administration for a meeting so that a smooth transition could take place when the Oath of Office was administered to President Clinton. Tony and Mel arrived a little early, and waited for the Clinton Advance guys to arrive.

Dressed in their usual impeccable suits, white shirts and ties, they acted like the classy guys that they were. They knew that they might be the only representatives of the White House that persons they dealt with might ever meet, and so they acted in a manner to leave the best possible impression, and being dressed for the occasion was one of the major ways they could leave a good impression. I knew what they were talking about, since all of the agents at the FBI were trained to leave the best impression.

While they waited and looked at their watches for the now late Clinton representatives, they began to get a little nervous, because three rough looking characters had arrived and were hanging around, eye-balling them. Were they about to be mugged? Tony wondered. They were about thirty or thirty five, dressed in jeans that were torn or dirty, wearing faded sweatshirts or levi jackets. They looked like "bikers" to Tony, noting that they had ear rings and pony tails. Tony thought they might be there to erect bleachers, or do some other construction. He walked over to them.

"Guys," Tony began, "We're supposed to meet a few folks from the Clinton Administration. Have you run into any guys in suits, looking like they were lost, or like they were looking for somebody?" The lead advance guy for President Clinton gave Tony a dirty look, "We are the Clinton Advance team." Tony recalled a long silence, as the two groups

behaved as if they had just come face to face with space aliens. I could relate.

Even Mike Lafrano reached his limit. On September 29th, 1993 I received a call from Mike. He asked me if I remembered him. Sure I did. "Gary. Do you mind if I ask you a question?" I replied, "Sure, Mike, go ahead. I answer you if I can." Mike said, "Gary. How do you FBI guys do your jobs here in the White House?" Misunderstanding the question, I tried to answer, "Well, Mike, ah, you know, we just call folks and line up interviews, and..." Mike interrupted, "No. No. I'm asking you how you can clear people through the security system when there are no standards." I asked, now real curious, "What are you trying to say, Mike?" He replied, "Gary, I'm telling you, I know a lot of these people, and I cannot believe that they are here, in the White House. Don't you people have any standards at all?"

Of course I was shocked at Lafrano's question, and that a Clinton staffer would actually admit that the White House had persons within that even a Clinton staffer would reject. I explained that the standards were not the FBI's standards, but were the Clinton standards. I think when he hung up he understood what I was trying to tell him.

A senior staffer, a permanent employee is walking down the hall in the OEOB when he spies Hillary Clinton walking his way. He has not met her yet, and so he thinks this might be a good time to say hello. She approaches with her Secret Service agents walking several paces behind her. He says, "Good morning, Mrs. Clinton." She turns to him, and pierces his skull with laser beams that are coming from her angry, now squinted eyes.

My friend, still works at the White House and I cannot use his true name for very obvious reasons. He has a family to feed. But he recovers, and walks on down the hall, dumbstruck by the unbridled hostility he has just experienced. He knew Barbara Bush. Hillary Clinton is no Babs.

Another staffer, also permanent, has just witnessed the event from her cracked door. She comes out, and tells my friend the following, "John, I guess you didn't get the word?" John says, "No, what are you talking about?" She says, "John, when "Queen Hillary" walks down the hall, you're not supposed to look at her. You're actually supposed to go into an office if there is one nearby. She doesn't want to see staff, and she sure as hell would not want to meet to you!"

John says, "Come on, you've got to be kidding me." She says, "No John. We got the word in a staff meeting. It's true. Look around. Do you see anyone else in the hall?" John looked around, and sure enough people were starting to emerge, like prairie dogs coming out of their burros after the hawk had flown past. They looked down towards Hillary's procession to see if she had entered her office before they ventured forth.

My FBI partner Dennis has a similar story. In the month of February, 1993 he was walking to the Residence to interview Head Usher Gary Walters about a new employee. He saw Hillary Clinton coming from the opposite direction. She was carrying a box that appeared to be heavy, and she was about to come to a double door that was hard to open, even if she had not been carrying a heavy box. He noticed the Secret Service Agents making no effort to assist her, and Dennis thought that was strange. He took a step, starting toward to door to assist her. A residence staff member close enough to Dennis to whisper to him without being heard by "Queen Hillary" said, "Don't!"

Dennis also describes a laser-eye beam treatment from Hillary. Later, the residence staff member who also cannot be named, told Dennis that the known instructions were



These thresholds may be annoying to those who want the FBI to jump in and investigate, to solve the problem, to solve a crime that they think must have been committed, but the thresholds are there to protect every citizen's Constitutional rights, and prevent the very real, very significant negative impact that an FBI investigation can have. And to hopefully prevent another "Nixon".

On May 19, 1993 I was unaware that the White House Counsel's Office had reached a conclusion regarding the activities of seven good men in the Telegraph and Travel Office.

I did not know that my partner, Dennis, had been trying to head off a criminal investigation of Billy Dale and his 6 subordinates, but I know it now. Dennis has told me, since the Trial of Billy Dale in the fall of 1995, that he made several trips to Bill Kennedy's Office to plead with him, to discourage him from taking this course of action. Dennis had gotten wind of the attempt to criminalize the activities of the Travel Office, and he was trying to reason with Bill Kennedy, Associate Counsel to the President.

As much as Dennis and I talked about what was going on around the White House, there was still a small segment, a small amount of distance between us that would not allow full disclosure. I wish that Dennis had told me because I would have assisted him in his attempt to held off what was obviously a political misuse of the FBI. I had spent 20 years investigating criminal activity, and I knew how to spot a fraud or an embezzlement, and I knew how to investigate one so as to solve the crime, and to successfully prosecute the criminal.

Kennedy knew I knew this. I had told him of my extensive background in White Collar Crime matters. On top of that, I was an accountant. If Kennedy had called me in to discuss what he had been told, what he had concluded, I would have shifted into my analytical mind-set of finding the MHT. I think I would have found it pretty quickly. I think I would have discovered that Billy Dale had put together a "Rube-Goldberg" method of greasing the skids of Custom Officials of foreign countries so that the media's boxes and bags would not get hung up for significant periods of time.

Billy was not slipping twenty dollar bills into the pockets of foreigners for the president; it was for the media! This was beneficial to the media, who wanted to cover the president at his foreign stops, but it was also beneficial to the president, who wanted the coverage.

After all, can you picture a president all ready to sign a historic agreement in some foreign country, pen poised, waiting for the photo dogs who are still waiting back at the airport, at customs to clear their bags? It would be ridiculous. Everyone knew that. Why the media didn't take care of this problem themselves is not known to me, but Billy took the fall for it.

Maybe that is why so many media giants, like Sam Donaldson, showed up to testify on Billy's defense. They knew what really had happened, and they felt sorry for Billy. So did I.

When Dennis heard that the Travel Office was under the microscope, he had gone to Kennedy and had told him of the Travel Office - Media - Customs delay problem. He told Kennedy that he believed that this less than savory arrangement could be what Katherine Cornielous had been hearing about; not some scheme to line the pockets of the Travel Office personnel. But Kennedy and Corneillous had their marching orders to make some vacancies.

Hillary Clinton was pressuring Watkins, who ran the Travel Office, and her

Counsel, who would then decide a course of action, to include presenting the case to the United States Attorney for prosecutive action. In some instances, the employee could simply be fired, after agreeing to make restitution, or return the stolen equipment, whatever.

Why didn't the Clintons use the simple effective technique of the SPIN special update investigation? The answer, I believe is that they didn't really believe there was anything there for a SPIN investigator to find. I would have probably washed out the allegation, thus defeated their attempt to use the FBI as cover.

There was still another way, again probably not selected by the very impatient Hillary, and gang. She wanted something more expeditious, like in, "Off with their heads - Off with their heads!" The White House Counsel's Office could have simply asked Dennis or I to look into the allegation, and make a referral to our office.

This activity had been a traditional part of the responsibility of the FBI agents working at the White House, for as long as anyone can remember. After the media storm over the use of the FBI, statements were made, inaccurate statements that the FBI should never have contact with the White House, or visa-versa, without getting the Attorney General into the loop. There were statements made by the FBI, the White House and the Department of Justice that this policy had been in effort for a long time, and was well known. This was an absolute falsehood, designed by the White House to cover up the fact that the real track, the obvious course of action was to call in Dennis or I to look at the allegation.

Dennis in fact was already aware of the behind the scenes attempts to set up Billy Dale. He had protested to Kennedy that what was going on was just not right. But what about me? Kennedy knew I was a White Collar Crime expert, an accountant. I had worked on criminal matters for twenty years, and all of my cases had been winners. Why not consult with an FBI agent, on the scene, who knew how to investigate and prosecute White Collar Crimes? The answer again is very simple. Kennedy knew I was smart, and straight, not the correct combination for what he and the "gang" had in mind. I could not be bought, and I could not be bamboozled either. I had a reputation for being a straight-arrow. They would not have gotten the answer they wanted from me, so I was never called.

This is especially important because at the time of Billy Dale's alleged embezzlement, a period of time during the Bush Administration, (naturally - you don't think any of this would have happened on Clinton's watch, would you?) it was at that very time that I investigated Billy Dale's character with an Update SPIN investigation. This was a routine SPIN, coming due at a specific time, to update the six or seven previous SPINs that Dale had gone through since he came to the White House.

What did I find when I investigated Billy Dale in 1991? Nothing. Absolutely nothing negative, that is. On the positive side, I recall that persons that I interviewed about Dale talked of him in the very highest of terms. He was hardworking, honest, dedicated, polite and respectful, and a true American. Not a soul thought that he was devious, dishonest, disrespectful, conniving, sneaky, underhanded, a poor manager, disorganized, chaotic, or any other the other characterizations the Clintons were interested in hanging on him. That is why Kennedy did not pick up the phone and call me. He had access to the SPIN investigation that had been conducted on Dale, by me.

Not to say that I would have a problem with looking into Dale's finances, given an allegation. I was a trained investigator, and sad but true, I had seen many folks who had an

got Joe, and led him in. I had been bumped by a lobbyist Romash did not even know.

"Heidi, I said through clenched teeth, "I have been trying to interview Marla for some time now. You know that. I have been waiting here for Marla to finish her obviously personal phone call, and she knows I'm waiting out here. Why did you do that to me?"

Kukus looked positively puzzled, "Why, what do you mean? I'm not sure what you are implying." I tried to be civil, "Heidi, you know damn well what I am talking about. Now, either you walk a note in there right now, telling your boss that I'm ticked, or, I am going right down the hall to see my good friend, and your Chief of Staff, Roy Neel. Now, what's it going to be?" I didn't know Roy Neel well; it was a bluff. Her smirk was gone, replaced with hostility. "OK, Gary, but you don't have to get so upset about it", she sniffed. She wrote a note and took it in.

Romash took her time ending her meeting with Joe. Then she walked him out, avoiding any eye contact, or any greeting to me. Joe left, and then Romash turned to me, "OK, let's get this over with, I'm busy!" Without apology or explanation, Romash disposed of the interview and glared at me the entire time we went through it. She also smoked like a chimney. So much for Hillary's smoke-free White House policy.

Another Gore staffer that was "too busy" was Katy McGintee, Deputy Assistant to the President for Environmental Policy, in the Office of Policy Development. This office while falling outside the scope of the Vice President, was actually staffed with people chosen by the Vice President because of his interest and expertise in the environment. I tried and tried to get interviews with McGintee. I needed to talk to her about the many new people coming in to serve under her direction. Many were coming from the Hill, where she had been before the Clinton White House. I knew she knew them well, but she did not have the time to talk to me. At one point I told Kurt Zwally, her Administrative Assistant, that I needed to talk to her right away, due to a significant issue related to one of her staff. Again, a bluff.

Kurt said he would call me back. He did. He said that he had talked to McGinty about my request for interview, and she suggested that Kurt, a twenty something administrative assistant could "speak for her." What? "Kurt, look, apparently you or she does not understand what we are trying to do here. This is no a job interview. I need to speak to her because she knows someone very well, knows them personally and professionally, is their supervisor, and it's her job and my job to get together and speak about it. I can't ask you any of these questions." I reported this to my headquarters, and they reported her failure to cooperate to the White House Counsel's Office, and nothing happened.

There were others who were perpetually unavailable. Although I had good reasons to interview Anthony Lake and Sandy Berger, the Assistant to the President, and the Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (NSC) I never once was able to interview them. I reported their failure to make time for me, and nothing happened.

Another key Clinton senior staffer, Micky Kantor, Ambassador, and United States Trade Representative was likewise too busy, as were most of his senior staff. I reported their failure to comply with requests for interviews, and again, nothing happened.

It was also in June when I finally found out what was bothering my GSA cleaning lady, an otherwise happy, but hardworking black grandmother working to put some grandkids through college. She came into my office, and still had that glum look on her face. I was worried that I, or Dennis had said or done something to offend her. I said, "Melba, what is



CHAPTER FOURTEEN
VINCE FOSTER, UNRAVELLING

On July 9, 1993 I was going to meet once again with Vince Foster. I had seen him from time to time after our meeting in February, but the security program had been delegated down to Bill Kennedy, and Kennedy was the person who I was supposed to speak to in the event of any issue. After travel-gate I had nothing to say to Mr. Kennedy.

When I would pass Foster in the hallway, or under some other informal circumstance he would seem pleasant, happy, normal. We would stop and chat about generalities, but I did not make any effort to speak to him in the hallways about my concerns. I saw no evidence of depression, and if he was suffering, he hid it well.

By July, Dennis and I had seen patterns which had greatly concerned us. A pattern of character serious character flaws in the backgrounds of Clinton and Gore staffers. A pattern of confusion and chaos in the operation of the security program. A pattern of hostility, and avoidance on the part of the staff to meet with us that could only mean one thing: They were trying to avoid meeting with the FBI about their background investigations.

Further, it seemed that this staff had to be the most "perfect" or most forgetful staff ever assembled, because in interview after interview, absolutely nothing was ever produced of a negative or derogatory nature. Nothing. This was in spite of the evidence that these persons could not possibly know each other for months, in some cases, years, in some cases live together as roommates or lovers, and yet they did not know a thing! About a staffer's drug use, bad credit, arrests, affairs, wife abuse.

You name it - they didn't know anything about it. It became obvious that they were not about to "rat out" their friends or associates to the FBI, even if it meant lying to us.

Time after time I had explained that this process was not on behalf of the FBI. The FBI had nothing to gain from developing negative information. These investigations were conducted for the White House, for the President. If the staff did not tell us of serious character problems, then we could not relay the problems to the president.

We didn't have a crystal ball. All we had was our interviews, and if people did not tell us the truth, then we were ineffective. Of course I never considered that President Clinton would not want to know, and that his staff would know that he didn't want to know. I didn't understand how President Clinton thought or how he would approach the issue of character flaws in his Administration. I did recall his statements about having the most ethical administration, ever. It was beginning to look like just another campaign lie from my perspective.

It was truly amazing that the Secret Service was not "allowed" to know who was who was working in the White House, and so they were not issuing any permanent passes. In the Bush Administration, a temporary pass was very easy to see, because there was a very large "T" on it, in big bold black print. Clinton's Counsel's Office and the Office of Administration changed that in a hurry. Instead of a big "T" that could be easily seen by the Secret Service, or anyone else who would need to know, there was this little tiny "t" that could hardly be seen. This was how Nussbaum, Foster and Kennedy and Watkins was able to get around the pass

"stand-off" with the Secret Service! They negated the importance and significance of the permanent pass.

The tiny "t" pass would now allow staffers to go anywhere in the White House, unrestricted. In other words, the significance of the differences in passes was washed out by this clever approach, but the Secret Service stood fast. They would not issue permanent passes until and unless they were able to review the background investigations so that they could know that the staffers were not a danger to the President or the facility. I knew all this going into my meeting with Foster, and it weighed heavy on my mind. I had reached the conclusion that working at the White House could be dangerous.

I was counting on Foster's inquiry about security to enable me to address the problem with him once again. Even though I was convinced by March of the depth and seriousness of the security problems at the White House I had exhausted all of my known avenues in my own agency for attempting to bring the issue to a head, to somebody's attention, to "fix" it in some manner.

Dennis, the other FBI agent assigned to the White House, and I had discussed the various problems with our FBI management over and over again. If they passed the information on and up there was never any evidence of it.

Things just got worse. In fact our management seemed unconcerned, as if it was not the FBI's problem, and in reality, maybe it wasn't. After all, the Secret Service had primary responsibility for guarding the White House and President Clinton. And yet, I felt a moral responsibility to try to assist if I could. If the president was attacked, if a staffer was hurt or the facility became the target of a terrorist incident, foreign or domestic, I would have felt terrible, and responsible if I did not make some attempt to resolve the problem.

Dennis and I had a plan to go further out on a limb and discuss the various security problems at the White House with an FBI Assistant Inspector during the September filed office, but that was a long way off. We subsequently did report our concerns to him. I remember his comment so well: "I'm not here to inspect the security of the White House. I'm here to inspect your work." Protection of the President, the White House and the Nation's secrets was my work, my only mission! At least that is what I believed.

It was predictable that as was true in any other bureaucracy, the FBI did not like boat-rockers and did not take kindly to FBI agents criticizing the White House or the President, their ultimate "boss". Besides, the FBI Director was trying to keep his job. He did not want an issue, any issue with the White House, and everyone knew that.

Even without the element of the FBI Director's plight which made him compromised, there was no evidence that whistle blowers in the FBI have ever been treated with open arms, no matter what the issue has been. Dennis and I should not have been surprised, and we weren't. My partner and I were doing the best we could to fulfil our mission as we understood it, nothing more, nothing less, and we at least reported the problem to our superiors, just like we were supposed to.

And so when I walked into the West Wing, past the Secret Service uniformed guard, up the stairs to the second floor to the suite housing the Counsel and the Deputy Counsel's Office it was with a feeling of resignation and dismay. I knew that while Foster had shown some concern about security during the previous meeting and had even written a memo at my request to all of the White House staff insisting that they cooperate with the FBI and make

professional and complete investigation, and they had been passed over!

I was truly flabbergasted and you could have knocked me over with a feather. What was going on? We were good enough to investigate the Travel Office Staff, an investigation of an alleged missing \$50,000., a case that should really have been handled by the Secret Service, if there should have been a criminal investigation in the first place. But we weren't up to investigating the death of the President's third highest White House Staff member? The Park Service is a fine organization, but under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, not the Justice Department!

Where was the attempt to have at least the appearance of an independent investigative agency? Had the FBI crime lab suddenly become passe'? Were Park Service officers better trained?

It would take many more months to answer those questions to my satisfaction, but in the meantime I was still burdened with the assignment of bringing each and every one of Clinton's staff members to the security background process. Kicking and screaming. Scratching and clawing. Fighting the process, fighting with my partner Dennis and I all the way, attempting to avoid us at all costs, and still getting away with it. Now, we didn't even have Vince Foster to help us anymore.

The White House was like a morgue for about a week. Getting interviews with the Clinton staff had always been hard. Now it was impossible. I got busy with administrative work, and I took advantage of this "national emergency" to attend firearms training, and take care of other FBI agent duties not related to the White House.

Near the end of July, my partner Dennis was crossing West Executive drive on his way to the West Wing to conduct some interviews when he ran into Bill Kennedy, and they stopped to talk. Dennis told me later that this was the first time he had seen Kennedy since Foster's death. Dennis described Kennedy as solemn, but then Kennedy always appeared to be in pain of some kind. He usually had a hang dog appearance. Dennis gave him his condolences, and they stood there and discussed the facts surrounding Foster's death. Kennedy denied that Foster's White House tour or his new life in Washington had anything to do with his alleged suicide.

Kennedy would know better than most about that. The Travel Office fiasco had been engineered by Kennedy and Watkins, with Foster's acquiescence. As Rose Law Firm partners, they were both deeply involved in the Whitewater "mess". If these matters had anything to do with Foster's death, Kennedy would know, and Kennedy was telling Dennis that it wasn't Travel-gate.

"Dennis, Vince brought his problems from Arkansas with him to the White House. It wasn't anything that happened here."

Then on August 11th, Director of Security Craig Livingstone asked me to meet him in the White House Counsel's security office, but he would not tell me why he wanted to see me over the telephone. As I walked down to the first floor of the OEOP I wondered if I was going to be told anything about Foster and the suicide. Livingstone did not indicate to me that I should bring any notes of any particular case with me, so I knew our meeting was probably not about a routine BI matter.

I thought I might be in for some interesting information, since Livingstone was close to the Clintons. He would have known Foster and his family well. I hadn't talked to him

Hillary were during the same time. Vince thought if it surfaced it would ruin his life, his marriage, and he thought it would impact big time on Hillary and the Presidency. He was worried sick about it.

"Affair with Hillary? Hillary had an affair with Vince?" I asked Craig. Livingstone looked genuinely surprised I didn't know about the rumors. "What? You're kidding me, right?" I couldn't believe what he was saying. I remember I was aware that my hands began to sweat. Why the hell was he telling me this? Why was he dumping this on me? I thought to myself that I was in territory that I just didn't want to be in.

Craig went on, "There are some people down in Little rock who are talking about this stuff. We thought it was put to bed, but it's resurfacing."

I asked him the obvious, "So what? If it's not true, big deal. Those kinds of co-worker rumors happen all the time. Why would Foster kill himself over some rumor?"

Craig didn't answer. He just stared straight ahead, and in his non-answer, I believe he was telling me that he believed that they were true. There were a few quiet moments while I tried to decide what to say next. What could I say? This was not an area I wanted to be in, to talk about with a friend of the President and his wife. I was very uncomfortable, and I tried to change the subject.

"Craig, the fact remains that the security system is broken, and now the only guy who seemed to give a damn about it who could do anything about it, is dead. What do we do now?" Craig agreed that the system was failing, and he pointed to a stack of files immediately to his right. It was a high stack.

He said, "See that stack of files over there? Each one is about a staffer who needs to be fired, right now! And I can't get Kennedy to do anything with them."

I knew that nobody was being fired. I knew that no body was impacted by the FBI BIs, and now here was the confession. No matter what we had turned up, folks who had significant problems in the character department were still coming every day to the White House as if nothing was happening. Nothing was happening, except that the FBI and Secret Service had becoming a laughing stocks, paper tigers.

I said, "Craig, have you discussed these staffers with Kennedy? Does he know what the problems are, does he understand?"

"Oh, yeah. He knows. Not only that, but he won't give me the budget or the manpower to do this job."

I knew that already. Craig had many more responsibilities than his predecessor, Jane Dannenhauer, and yet he was being paid about one half of what her salary was. Jane ran a good shop, but she had never presumed to deny employment to anyone. She was happy to flag issues with her little yellow stickies, and then send the packages up to the Deputy Counsel, John Schmitz, for his opinion and recommendation to Counsel.

For sending out forms and getting forms back, and putting yellow tags on FBI summaries, Dannenhauer was paid twice as much as Livingstone, who had become basically responsible for the entire security system, such as it was.

I shared my complaints about Kennedy with Craig. "This guy Kennedy doesn't seem like the right man for the job, Craig. For one thing, he takes nothing seriously. And for another, he's a snake." "What do you mean, a snake?" I told him of the time that Kennedy "set up" my FBI partner Dennis and I, and almost caused Dennis a transfer from the White House.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

PREDICTED EMBARRASSMENT AND TROUBLE

From the very beginning of the Clinton Administration straight through to the fall of 1993, the FBI SPIN investigation case requests had come in fits and starts with no apparent relationship to who was being investigated, nor how long they had been inside the White House. Even the violent death of Vince Foster, which should have been seen as a warning, hadn't changed anything. Security just seemed to get worse.

It was soon apparent that many Clinton staffers were simply ignoring repeated requests from their own Counsel's Office to fill out the necessary forms so that an investigation could commence. As I made my rounds I saw many staffers doing crossword puzzles, or engaged in personal conversations enough to dispell any notion that everyone was "so busy". It just appeared to me that they were "so casual" or "so lazy."

But the problems weren't just the fault of lazy or busy Clinton staffers. Maybe the word was out that it didn't matter if they filled out the forms. Even when the forms were filled out, dated and signed by staffers who weren't "appalled" by the notion that the FBI would question their past behavior, some forms which would eventually end up on my desk had been sitting somewhere for months, for months for no apparent reason.

Dennis and I were receiving many forms a full seven months after they had been filled out and signed. We could easily determine the extent of the delay from the date of signature on the form. In some cases, the date was scratched through with a pen, and a current date was penned in next to it. I guess someone in Counsel's Office thought that made it OK.

The effect of this tardy submission to the FBI was manifold. Six months is a long time in the life of a new White House employee, which might include a move or two as they settled into the Washington area, and it also might include a move or two within the Clinton Administration.

Since no apparent thought was given initially to matching experience and education with a particular job vacancy, much re-shuffling was underway within the White House Offices. Many people were already quitting, and sometimes I would begin an investigation to find that the staffer was long gone.

The FBI had agreed to finish the cases within a specified time frame, but of course that agreement was based on the assumption that the forms would be complete and current. Many were not. Because additional information was needed to conduct a complete investigation, it was necessary for Dennis and I to find the staffer under investigation and help them update the forms.

This was "holding their hands" as far as I was concerned, and I resented having to do it. The FBI should have rejected this faulty paperwork, and sent the forms promptly back, but they did not. It became our burden, and I did not understand the logic. Part of the determination of suitability and trustworthiness was a person's attitude of cooperation with the investigation. If they failed to submit complete forms, or they gave false or fictitious information, or they lied to the FBI agents, or they tried to avoid talking to us altogether, then as far as I was concerned, they were not cooperative, and should have been shown the door.

Our FBI office was getting ready for its semi-annual internal inspection which would take place in early fall, and Dennis got wind through the FBI grapevine of an attempt to

doing is illegal?, asked one. He went on, "To me, it is a clear violation of national security, standards of conduct and Executive Orders of the President!"

I said, "There are bigger issues here than just what DOJ or Congress think about all of this. This kind of significant downplaying of standards sets legal precedents. Now that they have allowed just about anyone in here, now they have no legal means to get rid of anyone they don't want." After all, how do they fire someone for a significant character problem? All they would have to do it trot about twenty five of the president's "finest" to court, and that would be about it."

The issue of standards and suitability was not just a "wishful" concept dreamed up by straight FBI agents, or "mormons", a term of derision used by some in the Clinton Administration to disparage those who lived normal lives and lived by the rules. The framework was established so that the Executive Branch could have some legal means to drum out those who had bad character. You couldn't pick and choose which character traits were good and bad out of the air. These were well established and well documented concepts. Either you used the guidelines, or you had to let everyone in. Any lawyer had to know that.

The agents closed our informal huddle, "They sure like it loose over there (referring to the West Wing and Residence), I wonder why?" Why, indeed.

On 9/16/93, Anthony Marceca, a Special Agent from the Criminal Investigative Division of the US Army, who had been detailed to the Security Office to assist Craig Livingstone, came up and introduced himself to Dennis and I.

He explained that he had been brought in to assist Craig, and to improve the efficiency of the Security Office. Within a few minutes I wondered if he didn't have another possible assignment. He was making disparaging remarks to Dennis and I about Craig and his operation. We had just met him. Was he trying to draw us out, make us say things that he could take back to Craig? Was he trying to find out if the FBI guys were angry, the ones blabbing about the White House Counsel's mess.

I would never share such opinions with a total stranger, so if he was Craig's "undercover" agent, it was a clumsy and unsuccessful effort. Dennis and I just listened, and after he left, we laughed to think of the possibility that Craig had sent him up to "test" us. If so, how stupid did Craig think we were? On the other hand, were we now getting paranoid? I began to wonder.

Tony told us that, "The girls in the Counsel's Security Office had been loose and sloppy in their work, and were way behind - no system - disorganized." Tony said that he had found everything to be chaos, mixed up. He made no attempt to blame Craig, and I found that curious. Craig had been handed a perfectly running Security Office, and even extended one of the senior staff of the office from the Bush Administration on for about 4 months into the Clinton Administration. There was no excuse for it. It occurred to me that Counsel's Office might be trying to lay the blame on a couple of young staffers, when really, if they were not supervised, who's fault was that? Shifting the blame seemed to be no problem for those in this administration. It was dishonest, but, what the heck. Whatever works.

For much of the rest of the world, October 1, 1993 was not a significant date. For the government it was the end of the fiscal year. John McGaw and I both had new assignments! I wanted mine; I'm not sure he welcomed his. For me it meant a major positive change, but one that I certainly could not have foreseen when I took the White House assignment



Livingstone had told me that he thought bringing the FBI down on the seven employees was "stupid" because "there wasn't any evidence that they did anything wrong." Now, Dennis had testified to try to tell the truth and help Dale avoid a federal prison cell. Dennis did not believe that Dale had done "anything wrong", and neither did Livingstone, by his own words to me. What was Livingstone's reaction?

Dennis walked into the Security Office. Craig was alone; it was late in the evening. Dennis received no invitation to talk in the safe - nobody would overhear the conversation.

"Dennis, I don't appreciate what you and Gary did. It was not helpful." "Look Craig," Dennis began, "I just came down here to talk to you about this - to clear the air. I was subpoenaed, and I had to tell the truth. What did you expect me to do?"

"The truth? Dennis, truth is relative! That was your version of the truth. Dennis, truth is whatever you want it to be."

Dennis walked out in disgust after being told by Craig that he was "never to discuss anything related to the FBI or background investigations" with Livingstone, ever again.

That night, Dennis came face to face with my special kind of truth, and he heard it directly from the lips of President Clinton's own Director of Security. He heard Craig Livingstone speak "The Moose Head Truth," and he confirmed to his satisfaction that, for Bill and Hillary Clinton, their close and loyal staff, "The truth is whatever you want it to be."

Another kind of Moose Head Truth was that neither the FBI nor the Secret Service could do the job that they were supposed to do, absent the support of the President or others in the Legislative or Judicial Branches. Support is one thing. A total disregard for security is another matter altogether.

When President and Hillary Clinton made or delegated decisions regarding the suitability of their government down to subordinates, then they risked the consequences, which turned out to be very severe and far-reaching. They undermined the public's confidence in the "presidency".

When the smoke clears it will not be Hillary, nor Vince, nor Bernie or Bill Kennedy or Craig Livingstone who will be able to take the blame for the endless and outrageous staffing blunders in the Clinton Administration. The MHT is that many if not all of those blunders were predictable, based on the FBI SPIN backgrounds which were conducted for the very purpose of heading those blunders off. There were few "surprises" in the group; most of their good points, and the majority of their faults had been carefully documented before they had a chance to do their damage. At least the faults that they didn't lie to the FBI about.

It's true that at the time of the writing of this book, the president had yet to be attacked by one of his own, or by a total stranger wandering around the White House grounds. It's also true that to date, no serious breach of national security has been alleged or proven, but those kinds of matters generally take time, sometimes years to uncover and prove. By the time such security violations are discovered, the damage has been done and usually is not reversible.

It may be possible to explain how and even why a president has been attacked, injured or even killed, but no amount of explanation nor punishment of the guilty will ever bring

JUL -26' 96 (FRI) 15:36 CONG WAXMAN DC

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P. 002

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ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-0529

HENRY A. WAXMAN
29TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

July 26, 1996

COPY
from ORM

The Honorable William Clinger, Jr.
Chairman
Committee On Government Reform and Oversight
2172 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing about the Special Order you held on the House floor last night, in which you released information from Craig Livingstone's FBI file.

During your Special Order you said that former FBI agent Dennis Sculimbrene reported that Bernard Nussbaum and William H. Kennedy, III told him that the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton recommended Craig Livingstone for his job because she knew his mother. Prior to last night, at a committee hearing on June 26, 1996, Republican members repeatedly asked questions of the witnesses about a relationship between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Mr. Livingstone and his family -- although it was unclear at that time what the factual basis for those questions were.

As you know, Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Nussbaum, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Livingstone, and Mr. Livingstone's mother, Gloria Livingstone, have all provided statements that Mr. Sculimbrene's account is untrue.

In a conversation between our staffs last night, your staff conceded that you have no tangible evidence that Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Livingstone have ever met. In addition, and most surprisingly, your staff conceded that despite last night's charges you have made no attempts during the course of your long investigation to obtain any direct evidence from Gloria Livingstone about any relationship she might have with Mrs. Clinton. I understand, for example, that you and your staff have not even interviewed Mrs. Livingstone, that you have not asked your staff to obtain any relevant information to support the claim of a relationship between her and Mrs. Clinton, and that you have made no effort to discover how and under what circumstances Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Livingstone might have first met and what subsequent contacts they might have had.

518

The Honorable William Clinger, Jr.
July 26, 1996
Page 2

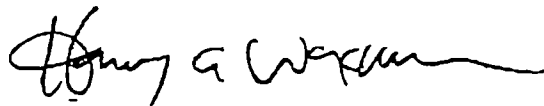
In addition, I object strongly to the refusal of my request yesterday to review the deposition Mr. Sculimbrene gave your staff last week. Early yesterday afternoon, your staff told my staff that the deposition was not available since it had not been concluded and was therefore not yet printed. Later in the day, however, indeed minutes before you began your Special Order, your staff called the Minority staff of the Government Reform and Oversight Committee from the House floor to indicate that he had been in error earlier and that a printed deposition was available.

I now understand that even though a printed copy is available to the Majority it is not being shared with Congressional Democrats or the public.

I am very troubled by this procedure. The allegations you raised last night, which have been denied by everyone with firsthand knowledge, depend on the veracity and credibility of Mr. Sculimbrene. Until we have an opportunity to review his deposition, we cannot get to the core of this matter. In addition, I request that Mr. Sculimbrene be called to testify before the committee before any other hearings are held on this matter.

I request a copy of Mr. Sculimbrene's deposition and that it also be made immediately available to the public given the seriousness of your allegations. Finally, I request that you verify by 5:00 P.M. today that you have no direct evidence of a relationship between Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Livingstone and that you have made no attempts to acquire such information.

Sincerely,



HENRY A. WAXMAN
Member of Congress

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (PHONE MESSAGE)

CREATOR:Gordon Li (LI_G) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-MAY-1995 12:51:11.24

SUBJECT:PH: Dennis Sculimbrene #67298

TO:James T. Heimbach

(HEIMBACH_J) (WHO)

READ:16-MAY-1995 12:59:55.89

TEXT:

Caller: Dennis Sculimbrene

Of: FBI

Work: 67298

Phoned.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Secret Service [partial]; [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (2 pages)	02/19/1997	b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F), b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel Office
Bridget McGovern; Brad Winter
OA/Box Number: 18582

FOLDER TITLE:

[Dennis M. Sculimbrene 1-564] [5]

2014-0469-F

jm1536

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (WAVES RECEIPT)

CREATOR:Mail Link Monitor (MAILMGT) (SYS)

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-FEB-1997 16:40:35.33

SUBJECT: CONFIRMATION: APPT. REQUEST FOR FIBICH, MARY C

TO:M. Catherine Fibich (FIBICH_M) (WHO)
READ:19-FEB-1997 16:51:07.02

TEXT:

FROM: WAVES OPERATIONS CENTER -

(b)(6), (b)(7)c, (b)(7)e, (b)(7)f

Date: 02-19-1997

Time: 16:38:52

This message serves as confirmation of an appointment for the visitors listed below.

Please note: Appointment confirmation for visitor names you requested and not listed below may be forthcoming.

Appointment With: FIBICH, MARY C
Appointment Date: 2/20/97
Appointment Time: 4:30:00 PM
Appointment Room: 474
Appointment Building: OE0B
Appointment Requested by: FIBICH M. CATHERINE
Phone Number of Requestor: 55034

Comments:

WAVES APPOINTMENT NUMBER: U98603

If you have any questions regarding this appointment, please call the WAVES Center at 456-6742 and have the appointment number listed above available to the Access Control Officer answering your call.

TOTAL NUMBER OF NAMES SUBMITTED FOR ENTRY : 30

TOTAL NUMBER OF NAMES OF CLEARED FOR ENTRY: 29

BAGOVICH, DOROTHY
DREYLINGER, JOHN
FIBICH, BRUCE
FOSS, MURRAY
HOLEN, ARLENE
JOSKOW, ANDREW
KAMINSKI, JOHN
KAMINSKI, KRISTIN
KITCHEN, JOHN
KOSTERS, MARVIN
KOWALEWSKI, KIM
LANDEFELD, STEVEN
MACHOL, MARGOT
MALLARDI, CATHERINE
MAUGHAN, RALPH
MCSWEENEY, JOHN
MILLER, AMANDA
ONEILL, JUNE
PRIZANT, JAKIE
REID, DOROTHY
REID, EARNESTINE
ROGERS, ROSEMARY
SCULIMBRENE, DENNIS
STEIN, HERBERT

NON-RESPONSIVE MATERIALS
REDACTED

(b)(6)

TROZZO, CHARLES
VANEIMEREN, ROBERT
VEENSTRA, GAIL
WILLIAMS, RICHARD
WRIGHT, GARY

(b)(6)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	FBI [partial] (1 page)	10/31/1997	b(7)(C), b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel Office
Bridget McGovern; Brad Winter
OA/Box Number: 18582

FOLDER TITLE:

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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Charles C. Easley (EASLEY_C) (OA)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 31-OCT-1997 14:06:20.66

SUBJECT: FBI Agents

TO: Sally P. Paxton

(PAXTON_S) Autoforward to: Remote Addressee

READ: NOT READ

TEXT:

Sally,

Here is the list as best as we can re-construct it:

(b)(6), (b)(7)c

[002]

The Washington Field Office is still looking at their old records
and if they come up with additional names they will let me know.
Thanks,

Chuck

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	Secret Service [partial]; [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (2 pages)	02/19/1997	b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F), b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel Office
Bridget McGovern; Brad Winter
OA/Box Number: 18582

FOLDER TITLE:

[Dennis M. Sculimbrene 1-564] [5]

2014-0469-F
jm1536

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (WAVES RECEIPT)

CREATOR:Mail Link Monitor (MAILMGT) (SYS)

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-FEB-1997 16:52:45.21

SUBJECT: CONFIRMATION: APPT. REQUEST FOR FIBICH, MARY C

TO:M. Catherine Fibich (FIBICH_M) (WHO)
READ:19-FEB-1997 17:28:12.50

TEXT:

FROM: WAVES OPERATIONS CENTER

(b)(6), (b)(7)c, (b)(7)e, (b)(7)f

Date: 02-19-1997

Time: 16:50:53

This message serves as confirmation of an appointment for the visitors listed below.

Appointment With: FIBICH, MARY C

Appointment Date: 2/20/97

Appointment Time: 4:30:00 PM

Appointment Room: 474

Appointment Building: OEOB

Appointment Requested by: FIBICH M. CATHERINE

Phone Number of Requestor: 55034

Comments: ADMIT W/O ESCORT PER SA MITCHELL*****

WAVES APPOINTMENT NUMBER: U98603

If you have any questions regarding this appointment, please call the WAVES Center at 456-6742 and have the appointment number listed above available to the Access Control Officer answering your call.

TOTAL NUMBER OF NAMES SUBMITTED FOR ENTRY : 30

TOTAL NUMBER OF NAMES OF CLEARED FOR ENTRY: 30

BAGOVICH, DOROTHY

DALE, BILLY

DREYLINGER, JOHN

FIBICH, BRUCE

FOSS, MURRAY

HOLEN, ARLENE

JOSKOW, ANDREW

KAMINSKI, JOHN

KAMINSKI, KRISTIN

KITCHEN, JOHN

KOSTERS, MARVIN

KOWALEWSKI, KIM

LANDEFELD, STEVEN

MACHOL, MARGOT

MALLARDI, CATHERINE

MAUGHAN, RALPH

MCSWEENEY, JOHN

MILLER, AMANDA

ONEILL, JUNE

PRIZANT, JAKIE

REID, DOROTHY

REID, EARNESTINE

ROGERS, ROSEMARY

SCULIMBRENE, DENNIS

STEIN, HERBERT

TROZZO, CHARLES

NON-RESPONSIVE MATERIALS

REDACTED

(b)(6)

524

VANEIMEREN, ROBERT
VEENSTRA, GAIL
WILLIAMS, RICHARD
WRIGHT, GARY

(b)(6)

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR:Clifford J. Mauton (MAUTON_C) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-MAR-1996 15:44:31.13

SUBJECT:FBI Inspector

TO:Marvin Krislov (KRISLOV_M) (WHO)
READ:14-MAR-1996 16:26:57.25

TO:Kathleen M. Whalen (WHALEN_K) (WHO)
READ:14-MAR-1996 16:06:54.69

TO:Christopher D. Cerf (CERF_C) (WHO)
READ:14-MAR-1996 18:08:13.92

TO:D. Craig Livingstone (LIVINGSTON_D) (WHO)
READ:15-MAR-1996 09:07:47.01

TEXT:

An inspector from the FBI's Washington Field Office will be in the building between 11:30am and 2:00pm tomorrow. Agent Sculimbrene, FBI Liaison to the White House, and the FBI Inspector would like to meet with representatives of the Counsel's office to discuss process and procedure as well as answering any questions we might have.

Let me know what time is best for everyone or if there are any comments or questions you would like me to pass along. Thanks.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR:valley@erols.com@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-OCT-1996 22:21:00.00

SUBJECT:Articles

TO:Phu Huynh

(huynh_p@A1@CD) (WHO)

READ: 8-OCT-1996 09:20:54.21

TEXT:

Phu, attached as text files are two articles from the WSJ of 10/4 that mention Patsy Thomasson. I did a search of the WSJ for the past 14 days. Hope one of them is what you are looking for and you can read it. Robert.

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 7-OCT-1996 22:21:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

MIME-Version: 1.0

Content-type: application/octet-stream; name=phu2.txt

Content-description: phu2.txt (Text Document)

Content-transfer-encoding: QUOTED-PRINTABLE

<Picture><Picture>

<Picture><Picture>

<Picture: refine your search>The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition =
-- October 4, 1996

Editorial

Character Questions

In a better world, the Presidential debate Sunday would plumb the great =
issues of our time: economic growth, the post-Cold War world, education, =
families and the like. In today's world such questions are a rather =
empty exercise, as public lassitude about the campaign indicates. After =
all, when we hear answers, we are forced to ask: Why should we believe? =
Do their positions have anything to do with how they would behave when =
elected?

The real issue of the day, that is to say, is manifestly an issue of =
character. This is not a matter of one aberrant personality. Lyndon =
Johnson was hounded from office over something called the "credibility =
gap," and Richard Nixon resigned not because of the Watergate break-in =
but because of the lies in its aftermath. George Bush was cashiered =
essentially for breaking his "read my lips" pledge. Political positions =
of candidates everywhere are driven by mindless polls and focus groups, =
not by any serious thought, let alone attempts at leadership. The trend =
is as deep as it is worrisome to the future of democracy.

With that having been said, Bill Clinton represents a new nadir. Putting =
aside personal peccadilloes and possible petty crimes, here is an =
incumbent President who presents himself as the opposite of what he was =
four years ago. "The era of big government is over," the architect of =
national health care tells us. Under the tutelage of the now scandalized =
Dick Morris, he has remolded himself in the image of the 1994 =
Congressional elections--in his acceptance speech even taking credit for =
point one of the GOP Contract, applying to Congress the laws that apply =
to others. But what will he actually do in a second term? The same thing =
he has done all his career, which is to please the last person who talks =
to him.

And why not; it has worked for him through Hope, Hot Springs, Oxford, =
Little Rock and Washington. His undeniable personal charm has always =
prevailed, whether with alcoholic stepfathers, draft boards, Gennifer =
and Hillary, Susan McDougal and voters in a hopeless-looking 1992 =
election. The polls now show him charming his way to re-election, =
ironically helped by the financial-market boom triggered by the 1994 =
Republican victory and now perking into the real economy. And after =
November, why should he not expect to charm his way past Paula Jones, =
Kenneth Starr, Travelgate, the FBI files and hassles over Presidential =
pardons for various factotums and perhaps his wife?

He may very well get away with it, but only at the cost of demeaning his =
office and further cheapening our politics. At least Johnson, Nixon and =
Bush were held to account for the loss of credibility. Are we as a =
nation now going to conclude merely that all politicians are rogues, =
that there's no point in trying to distinguish shades of gray? Are we =
going to give up on politics, sending a message to future politicians =
that character is irrelevant?

In Sunday's debates, Mr. Clinton will turn his charm on the television =
audience, while Bob Dole has the task of persuading people that not all =
politicians are hopeless, that he might actually carry out promises such =
as cutting tax rates 15%. But what can they say, or what can moderator =
Jim Lehrer ask, that might actually shed light on character? Mr. Dole, =
are you really less dishonest than your opponent; Mr. Clinton, in a =
second term, will you promise to be a good boy? As it happens, two =
illuminating issues are now in the news: full disclosure and the pardon =
power.

<Picture: Media>

The Clintons have a long history of stonewalling on release of =
information. They initially released their tax returns after 1980, for =
example, and later we found that the 1979 return had some \$100,000 in =
commodity profits. The Rose Law Firm billing records were under subpoena =
for two years before turning up in the White House family quarters; =
their discovery led to the recent FDIC report implicating Mrs. Clinton =

in the Castle Grande scam.

Now the stonewall has been erected around two reports on the failure of =
the Administration's drug policy, a Defense Department letter and a =
joint letter from FBI Director Louis Freeh and DEA head Thomas =
Constantine. The Freeh letter, according to Newsweek, complained of a =
lack of "any true leadership." The White House refuses to share these =
letters with the Congress, transparently to conceal politically damaging =
truths, but ostensibly on grounds of executive privilege, dubious for =
official memos. Why hide the truth?

With Susan McDougal going to jail in pursuit of a pardon on her =
Whitewater conviction in Arkansas, the Administration's mantra is that =
no consideration is being given to the issue. Since this leaves all =
options open for the future, perhaps history may be instructive. Mr. =
Clinton has issued 53 Presidential pardons, the fewest of any President =
of this century. The Washington Times has established that one of the =
lucky few is Jack Pakis, a former Hot Springs bookie.

Mr. Pakis was convicted in 1972 in an FBI sting designed to clean up the =
Arkansas gambling capital, and is now about to turn 76. Perhaps his =
pardon is unobjectionable, but it is also true that he happens to be a =
longtime betting buddy of Virginia Kelley, the President's late mother, =
whose autobiography celebrated the Hot Springs gambling culture. Mr. =
Pakis's son Michael is also a close friend of Presidential brother =
Roger.

Last Saturday, also, Senator Paul Coverdell took the Senate floor to ask =
that the White House "clarify" the pardons or offers of pardons to drug =
dealers. The Congressional Record includes his list of names: David =
Christopher Billmaier, Carl Bruce Jones, Candace Deon Leverenz, Susan =
Lauranne Prather, Patricia Anne Chapin, Jackie A. Trautman, Johnny =
Palacios--sentenced in various districts for crimes involving =
distribution of marijuana, amphetamines, LSD, cocaine and other =
controlled substances. As of yesterday, the Senator says, "We have been =
unable to obtain a statement as to the rationale for the pardons."

All of which recalls the notorious gubernatorial pardon of cocaine =
convict Dan Lasater, Roger's sometime employer, another friend of Mrs. =
Kelley, a contributor to Clinton political campaigns and recipient of =
bond contracts from Mr. Clinton's state administration. This document, =
reproduced alongside, is decidedly curious. Mr. Lasater was convicted in =
federal court, but pardoned by a state governor, pending "a federal =
removal of disabilities."

On its face, that is, this is a meaningless document. Its evident =
purpose is to give Mr. Lasater some bragging rights, as Mr. Lasater has =
for years said he was convicted of "social distribution" of cocaine, =
though the law draws no distinction between selling cocaine and giving =
it away for various favors. Earlier this year, incidentally, an Arkansas =
judge sentenced Bill McCuen, who countersigned the Lasater "pardon," to =
17 years in prison for accepting bribes and a kickback. Not so =
incidentally, Patsy Thomasson, who ran Mr. Lasater's business while he =
was in jail, remains in the Clinton White House, though relieved of =
former duties such as overseeing the drug testing programs for White =
House personnel.

Based on this history, pick your pardon question. Or make it broader: =
Mr. President, you've recently accused Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr =
in effect of trying to suborn perjury. If you think that, why don't you =
exercise your right to fire him for cause? If not, will you apologize?

These questions, and many related ones, will not go away even if Mr. =
Clinton is re-elected. Better they should be addressed during the =
campaign than after. While direct light may be elusive, in watching the =
debate we should be asking ourselves whether faulty character will once =
again give us a second term paralyzed by Constitutional crisis.

<Picture>

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===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

===== ATTACHMENT 2 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 7-OCT-1996 22:21:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

MIME-Version: 1.0

Content-type: application/octet-stream; name=phu.txt

Content-description: phu.txt (Text Document)

Content-transfer-encoding: QUOTED-PRINTABLE

<Picture><Picture>

<Picture><Picture>

<Picture: refine your search>The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition =
-- October 4, 1996

Another Agent Speaks Out

By MICAH MORRISON

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY, Va. -- For more than two years, Congress has been = trying to get straight answers from the White House on drug-related = issues. After Rep. Frank Wolf (R., Va.) complained in March 1994 that = more than 100 White House staffers had failed to get final security = clearances and permanent passes, the White House set up its own = drug-testing program. This June, news emerged from congressional = oversight hearings that the man in charge of issuing passes, White House = personnel security chief Craig Livingstone, had his own FBI clearance = held up because of past drug use.

Today "there are still many unanswered questions about the White House = drug-testing program," says Ned Lynch, a spokesman for the House Civil = Service Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. John Mica (R., Fla.), which has = been probing White House compliance with the Drug-Free Federal Workplace = order. "Evidence presented in recent testimony about the drug = experiences of White House employees continues to give us great = concern," Mr. Lynch adds.

None of this comes as a surprise to retired FBI Special Agent Dennis = Sculimbrene, who was the senior agent at the FBI's liaison office in the = White House from 1986 to April 1996. His job was to conduct the = background interviews that provide information about the suitability of = individuals to have access to the White House complex. He retired in = August, citing "unjustified changes in my professional assignments and = assaults on my career" after he appeared as a defense witness in the = 1995 trial of former Travel Office head Billy Dale and testified this = summer before House and Senate committees about White House drug use and = Travelgate. The White House and its surrogates have denounced Mr. = Sculimbrene as a mentally unbalanced liar, a man "whose hatred of the = administration is well documented, as is his ongoing employment dispute = with the FBI," in the words of White House Whitewater spokesman Mark = Fabiani. Mr. Sculimbrene, for his part, has been unflinching in his = congressional testimony, describing an atmosphere of moral squalor at = the White House and alleging serious abuses of power by the Clinton = administration and the FBI. This is his first conversation with a = reporter.

<Picture: Media>

"Drug use was an obvious problem from the beginning" of the Clinton = administration, Mr. Sculimbrene said last week at his home in a remote = stretch of the Shenandoah Valley, far from the Beltway wars he has left = behind. "Because [the Clintonites] were younger than the previous = administration, I expected we would have more people saying they used = drugs more frequently, more recently. But what I didn't expect, and what = I found personally intolerable--though I kept my mouth shut--was the = superior attitude, the attitude that there was nothing wrong with it. = Some of the people I interviewed said things like, 'Well, Bill Clinton = used marijuana himself.' One of the first young kids I interviewed said = something along the lines of, 'I can't believe you're asking me these = questions' about marijuana, because, heck, the president himself used = it.' That's a total, 180-degree opposite viewpoint from the previous = administration about the usage of drugs."

'No Big Deal'

Because of Privacy Act considerations, Mr. Sculimbrene often spoke in careful generalities and declined to identify individuals by name or specific position. But he clearly is troubled by the character of the Clinton White House. "It was not just young people who used drugs," Mr. Sculimbrene says. "There were senior people as well, senior aides and advisers to the president who used drugs recently--people in policy positions, or, say, a director of an office. Some of them had the attitude: No big deal; it should be legalized. Some senior people even said they had used drugs as recently as the Inaugural."

Mr. Sculimbrene says that around June 1993 he reviewed his case files for an informal estimate of White House drug use. "I estimated that about 25% of the incoming administration, about one out of four cases, had a problem with illegal drugs. Not just casual experimentation, but a pattern of usage, which to me indicated a lack of good judgment and a disregard for the law. And not just marijuana, but cocaine, amphetamines, amphetamine-derived 'designer drugs' such as Ecstasy, hashish, mushrooms."

In January 1994, Mr. Sculimbrene, a former pilot for the Air Force and the FBI, suffered a severe head injury while working on an airplane. The injury resulted in some vision, hearing and balance problems, which were largely corrected through physical therapy, though some deficits remained. He returned to work in October. "The FBI rallied around me at the time of my accident," Mr. Sculimbrene says, "and for that I'll always be grateful. I wasn't ready for duty as a street agent, but I could and did perform my White House duties well. Things also had improved somewhat at the White House by the time I got back, though there still were problems. It was around that time that I heard about what was being called 'the Livingstone Rule'--presumably for Craig Livingstone. "The Livingstone Rule was: Drug use of more than 50 times was now a disqualifying factor for a permanent White House pass. It was around that time, as I recall, that several people called us and said they wanted to recant their previous interview; they hadn't used drugs 100 times, only 50 times. It's public information that Craig Livingstone lied during his FBI interview about drug use, and he wasn't the only one."

Drugs weren't the only problem Mr. Sculimbrene observed at the White House. He says he began to suffer severe career repercussions from both the White House and the FBI after he became entangled in the Travel Office affair. Travel Office head Billy Dale and five other employees were fired in May 1993, and Mr. Dale was charged by the Justice Department with embezzling funds.

staff, their lifestyles and political affiliations, "only a few weeks =

into the administration," Mr. Sculimbrene says. The officials were = then-Deputy White House Counsel William Kennedy, then-Director of = Administration Patsy Thomasson and presidential aide Jeff Eller. "I told = them I thought Billy Dale was an upright, honest guy and that there was = no trouble there," Mr. Sculimbrene recalled. "Those firings were = strictly a fabrication."

During the FBI investigation of Mr. Dale, Mr. Sculimbrene says, he made = his opinion known to an FBI supervisor. But despite Mr. Sculimbrene's = familiarity with the case and the players, he was never interviewed by = the FBI. "No one ever came to see me about the case," he says.

Within the FBI, tensions began to mount over the impending trial. = "Around August of 1995, I had a shouting match with the supervising = agent on the Dale case, David Bowie," Mr. Sculimbrene says. "Bowie told = me Dale would have pled guilty long ago 'if it weren't for those rich = Republicans giving him money.' I told him that was a wrongheaded remark = and that I should have been interviewed for the investigation. Bowie = told me I had nothing relevant to say, and then threatened me with an = [FBI] Office of Professional Responsibility investigation. We were = really going at it."

Shortly after that encounter, Mr. Sculimbrene says, he was told by the = FBI that he had to take a random drug test. "I'd never had one before, = and I'd never heard of anyone in my age group having to take a drug = test--I was 51 at the time. I thought that was quite a coincidence after = my argument with Bowie."

In what Mr. Sculimbrene describes as another "coincidence," the = possibility of a prestigious job lofted his way shortly before his = testimony at the Dale trial. The incident raises questions about the = nature and timing of an offer that could be construed as an attempt to = buy his silence. Mr. Sculimbrene says that he was approached by a = mid-level member of the presidential personnel office from Arkansas and = encouraged to apply for a job as inspector general at the Department of = Veterans' Affairs. "The official told me he had talked to Patsy = [Thomasson] about the offer," Mr. Sculimbrene says. Ms. Thomasson, a = Clinton intimate and former associate of Arkansas cocaine convict Dan = Lasater, ran the personnel office. "After I testified at the Dale = trial," Mr. Sculimbrene recalls, "I ran into the official again. He told = me the job was out of the question, now that I had testified."

Mr. Sculimbrene had been subpoenaed as a defense witness at the Dale = trial; he testified in October 1995. On Nov. 16, after deliberating less = than two hours, a jury acquitted Mr. Dale of all charges. But Mr. = Sculimbrene's troubles were just beginning.

In February 1996, he was notified that the FBI's Office of Professional =

Responsibility was investigating him for alleged misuse of a government = parking pass. "I thought it was some sort of sick joke," Mr. Sculimbrene = says. Within a few weeks, he was interviewed by OPR investigators and = presented with a new notice of more serious charges: An anonymous letter = had been received charging him with making racist comments, speaking to = the media and "time and attendance fraud." Mr. Sculimbrene says the FBI = rank and file is demoralized by the FBI leadership and its misuse of = such OPR investigations. "The OPR process causes terrible injury and is = a burning issue for agents," Mr. Sculimbrene says. "It's being used as a = personal management tool to control agents. Sometimes a case can hang = over an agent for years, causing terrible stress."

Mr. Sculimbrene eventually was cleared in the OPR probe. But behind the = scenes, a dramatic clash was shaping up, one that eventually would lead = to Mr. Sculimbrene's resignation. In January, Mr. Sculimbrene's former = partner, Gary Aldrich, had submitted the manuscript of his book to the = FBI for review. The FBI general counsel, Howard Shapiro, promptly = shipped a copy to the White House, it was revealed at House oversight = hearings this summer. Mr. Sculimbrene says that he was also notified to = expect a visit from Mr. Shapiro, who in the end sent two agents to = question him about Mr. Aldrich and the FBI's White House liaison office. = "In January, I imagine right after learning of the manuscript, Director = [Louis] Freeh ordered the liaison office shut down immediately. Cooler = heads prevailed at the time, but not for long, as it turned out."

Largely True

Mr. Sculimbrene says that before the agents visited him at Mr. Shapiro's = direction, "I had no idea that Gary was writing a book about the White = House. But after reading it, I can tell you it is largely true." A = scathing critique of White House mores, "Unlimited Access: An FBI Agent = Inside the Clinton White House," became No. 1 on the bestseller lists = and created a firestorm when it was published in June. It also probably = spelled the end of Mr. Sculimbrene at the FBI.

In April, he was relieved of his responsibilities at the White House. = His White House pass was revoked in May, his work assignments were taken = away, and he was ordered to undergo a fitness-for-duty exam, prior to = reassignment to street duty. Mr. Sculimbrene filed an administrative = complaint with the FBI alleging he had been denied "reasonable = accommodation" for his disability in his job transfer and new duty = assignments. It later emerged in congressional oversight hearings that = at the same time, Mr. Livingstone, still at the White House, had ordered = Mr. Sculimbrene's FBI background file, saying it was required for a = reinvestigation of the agent.

In July, after the Aldrich book appeared and Mr. Sculimbrene testified = before House and Senate committee investigators, FBI Counsel Shapiro = sent two agents to Mr. Sculimbrene's home to question him about notes he =

had taken in a 1993 interview with then-White House Counsel Bernard =

Nussbaum that suggested that Mr. Livingstone--suddenly famous in the =
wake of Filegate revelations--had been hired at Hillary Clinton's =
urging. "I viewed that visit as highly improper," Mr. Sculimbrene says. =
"Mr. Shapiro should have been taking no action in the matter, as it had =
been turned over to the independent counsel."

In late July, expecting to resume duties after medical exams, Mr. =
Sculimbrene says he was "stunned" to learn he had been ordered to go to =
Chicago for a psychiatric examination. "This seemed to confirm all I had =
learned from White House sources about ongoing efforts to discredit me," =
he says. In August, Mr. Sculimbrene quit the FBI. A few weeks later, the =
FBI liaison office at the White House was shut down. Agents conducting =
background investigations now work out of an FBI field office in =
Washington.

"That's a damn shame," Mr. Sculimbrene says. "The public is not well =
served by such a move. It's one thing to remove me; it's another to shut =
down the whole office."

Mr. Morrison is a Journal editorial page writer.

<Picture>

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===== END ATTACHMENT 2 =====

===== ATTACHMENT 3 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 7-OCT-1996 22:21:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IADLIYQD28003YM0@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for huynh_p@al.eop.gov; Mon,
07 Oct 1996 22:20:24 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IADLIQZZU0005E0C@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
huynh_p@al.eop.gov; Mon, 07 Oct 1996 22:20:11 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from smtp1.erols.com (smtp1.erols.com)
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-7 #6879) id <01IADLFAWGGE00007K@STORM.EOP.GOV> for
huynh_p@al.eop.gov; Mon, 07 Oct 1996 22:17:25 -0700 (MST)

Received: from valley.erols.com (spg-as37sl5.erols.com [207.96.5.15])
by smtp1.erols.com (8.7.5/8.7.3) with ESMTP id WAA06566 for
<huynh_p@al.eop.gov>; Mon, 07 Oct 1996 22:20:02 -0400 (EDT)

X-Mailer: Microsoft Internet Mail 4.70.1155

X-MSMail-Priority: Normal

X-Priority: 3

===== END ATTACHMENT 3 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR:lindstrm@dsc.org@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 2-JUL-1996 10:06:00.00

SUBJECT:RNC Briefing for Monday, July 1 & RNC on Families First

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TEXT:

This week's Monday Briefing from the Republicans is a celebration of all things Dole--including the latest poll results from Kansas where, you'll be pleased to learn, he's leading. (Though he is running 13 points behind his last Senate re-election numbers.) Upcoming appearances and fundraisers by Haley Barbour in Senate states include Minnesota, Massachusetts and Oregon.

More interesting are the talking points on the Democrats' Families First agenda. The GOP does not address this agenda directly, but suggests it is part of a giant liberal conspiracy to hide the true agenda, which is to seize power in the nation and tax it to death. Based on this information, we expect Republicans in the House and Senate to hold hearings on this Democratic plot with Gary Aldrich as their star witness.

RNC TALKING POINTS

THE DEMOCRATS' "UNCONTRACT"

CAMPAIGN AGENDA OR HIDDEN AGENDA?

June 24, 1996

The campaign agenda recently unveiled by congressional Democrats is simply an election-year trick to try to conceal their unpopular liberal record and hidden agenda.

Forget the rhetoric and look at the record. Bill Clinton

and the Democrats had control of both houses of Congress and the White House for two years -- here's what they did:

- o In 1993, congressional Democrats helped Bill Clinton raise taxes \$265 billion -- the largest tax increase in American history. They raised taxes on all Americans, not just the "rich."
- o When the Democrats controlled Congress during Clinton's first two years as president, they never even held a vote on welfare reform.
- o Neither Clinton nor the congressional Democrats proposed a balanced budget. In fact, when Republicans took control of Congress in 1995, they were greeted with a Clinton budget projecting deficits of \$200 billion and more as far as the eye could see.
- o Democrats in Congress helped Bill and Hillary Clinton try to impose a costly, bureaucratic, government-run health care system.

While you would never know it from their "campaign agenda," Congressional Democrats have indicated if they regain control of Congress, they will force more of their liberalism upon families:

- o Democrats will raise your taxes -- again.

"Higher Medicare taxes as you go in, high co-payment when you get there."

--Rep. Pete Stark (D-CA), CNN, 6/5/96

"I don't think we'll do a tax increase right after we get in." (emphasis added)

--Rep. Howard Berman (D-CA), U.S. News & World Report, 6/10/96

- o Democrats will keep putting off a balanced budget.

"Next year you try and do it in seven years from then."

--Rep. Dick Gephardt (D-MO), U.S. News & World Report, 6/10/96

- o Democrats will again try to make their dream of a government-run health care system a reality.

"For one thing, providing health coverage for everybody - not a favorite topic of White House conversation since 1994 -- will be back as an issue."

--columnist E. J. Dionne, The Washington Post, 5/16/96

"Indeed, the president will try again if a more receptive Congress is ever elected, Magaziner said."

--Providence Journal, interview with Ira Magaziner, the author of Clinton's failed health care proposal, 5/7/96

The Democrats' "uncontract" is nothing more than a Trojan

Horse designed to get them back inside the halls of Congress. While the Democrats may pay lip service to certain issues before the election, the record shows that if they ever regain control of Congress, they will simply impose more of the same tax-and-spend policies that the American people rejected in 1994.

MONDAY RNC BRIEFING

July 1, 1996

Happy July 4th. This week's Briefing focuses on Bob Dole, an American hero.

FYI

No Doubts for the Cardinal

"John Cardinal O'Connor of New York offered a strong affirmation of Bob Dole's opposition to abortion yesterday and dismissed suggestions that his commitment would be diluted by the candidate's attempts to placate moderate forces in the party on the issue. ... 'I think that Senator Dole has a wonderful pro-life record, and I doubt very much that that's going to change in any significant way,' Cardinal O'Connor said."

--THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6/26/96

Bob Dole: World Leadership

"Soothing assumptions about the good faith and shared interests of antagonists are natural to democracies, as is the desire to spend money on things other than defense. Getting a democracy to do what does not come naturally requires leadership. To get that for the defense of this democracy, a different commander in chief is required."

--COLUMNIST GEORGE WILL, THE WASHINGTON POST, 6/27/96

"I believe we need consistency, clarity and conviction in U.S. foreign policy. I think he [Bob Dole] can give us leadership on a whole range of issues."

--R. JAMES WOOLSEY, FORMER CLINTON CIA DIRECTOR ENDORSING BOB DOLE FOR PRESIDENT, THE WASHINGTON TIMES, 6/27/96

"It is time to take our foreign policy out of the hands of an administration that engaged in the dreamy pursuit of an international order, that cherishes romantic illusions about the soul of a former adversary. An administration that doubts American power, questions American purpose and cannot fulfill America's promise."

--BOB DOLE, SPEECH IN PHILADELPHIA, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6/26/96

Democrats Fall Off the Bandwagon

"State Rep. Tommy Woods of Byhalia [Mississippi] has switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party. 'My

district has really turned Republican,' Woods said

Wednesday. 'I have been voting that way and I'm very conservative. I just feel it's time for me to do it.' "
--ASSOCIATED PRESS, 6/27/96

"Despite Clinton's large and early lead in polls in usually left-leaning states, a surprising number of Democratic congressional candidate in those same states are running outside the Clinton bandwagon. 'If he wants to campaign in my district he should campaign for himself,' says Washington Democratic state Sen. Adam Smith, a highly touted challenger for a House seat in a district Mr. Clinton carried easily in 1992. 'I wouldn't feel comfortable standing on a podium next to him -- with him saying he likes me.' "
--THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 7/1/96

Brick by Brick: Tearing Down Partial-Birth Abortion
"The head of the 100,000 member bricklayers' union has broken ranks with the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and rejected its endorsement of President Clinton by announcing that he will not vote for the President because he vetoed a bill that would have banned a type of late-term abortion. The president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, John T. Joyce, said the veto so outraged him that he could not support Mr. Clinton ..."
--THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6/30/96

The Ex-Files: Deja Vu All Over Again

"New documents show that a total of more than 600 FBI background files were improperly obtained by the White House, including the files of such prominent Republicans as former National Security Director Brent Scowcroft and former CIA director Robert Gates. ... In addition, the FBI last night disclosed to Congress that another 216 files appear to have been improperly requested."
--THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 6/26/96

"An FBI agent on duty at the Clinton White House in the spring of 1993 has told Senate investigators that three White House political appointees pumped him for confidential FBI background information on White House travel office employees. The agent, Dennis Sculimbrene, said he complained to a supervisor that the bureau was being 'used' and concluded that the White House aides were simply looking 'for a reason or an excuse to fire [these] people.' Weeks after he said he was asked for the information, seven career employees from the travel office were dismissed in a move criticized as an effort to make way for friends of the Clintons."
--THE WASHINGTON POST, 6/26/96

"Rep. Bill Archer, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, last week warned that the [F.B.I.] background files might contain tax information about individuals. Two disparate members of congressional investigating committees -- conservative Republican Sen. Orrin Hatch and liberal Democratic Rep. Tom Lantos -- said over the weekend that they believe the files definitely contain such information. Other well-placed government sources inform me they are sure

of it. That would be a federal felony, and FBI officials who

passed the information along would be criminally liable. Section 6103 of the Internal Revenue Code specifically requires the president himself to formally request tax information about any nongovernment official. This is serious business that may not be limited to the comedy team of Livingstone and Marceca."

--COLUMNIST ROBERT NOVAK, THE WASHINGTON POST, 6/24/96

"Democrats would do well to abandon the 'no harm, no foul' defense. To conclude, as have some Senate Democrats, that nothing was done with the FBI information is premature and wrong. ... [Craig Livingstone and Anthony Marceca] were political operatives examining confidential matters that were none of their business. Nothing less than a complete and thorough investigation of their activities and this mess is in order. This is one probe that can't be blamed on GOP partisanship."

--THE WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL, 6/24/96

"After two days of hearings before the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, the question of why hundreds of unjustifiably collected FBI reports on Republicans ended up in the Clinton White House remains unanswered. But another mystery now looms even larger. How did Craig Livingstone end up on the White House payroll? No one professes to know. ... The FBI files affair raises serious questions. They deserve and require serious answers and real ones. The Clinger committee needs to keep at it."

--THE WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL, 6/28/96

"President Clinton said today he has no idea who at the White House hired Craig Livingstone to be in charge of the security office that improperly obtained hundreds of FBI files ..."

--THE WASHINGTON POST, 6/30/96

Stephanopoulos Disses FBI

"I would say that a 30-year record in the FBI in an of itself is no proof of credibility. J. Edgar Hoover was in the FBI for over 30 years as well."

--GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS IN RESPONSE TO SAM DONALDSON'S COMMENT ON THE AUTHOR

OF UNLIMITED ACCESS, GARY ALDRICH'S, EXEMPLARY RECORD OF SERVICE WITH THE

FBI, ABC'S "THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY," 6/30/96

Democrats Agree Clinton is AWOL on Drugs

"In the war on drugs, a bipartisan chorus of critics charges President Clinton has been AWOL -- absent without leadership. 'I have never, never, never seen a president who cares less about this issue,' Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., has said. ... At a recent press conference, Rep. Maxine Water, D-Calif., decried the lack of foreign policy strategy to combat drugs. 'There's no war on drugs,' she said. Waters called Gen. McCaffrey a 'figurehead' drug czar who lacks the resources and support to do his job."

--INVESTOR'S BUSINESS DAILY, 6/26/96

Paula, Bill and the Supreme Court

"From the beginning, [Paula Corbin] Jones has been fighting an uphill battle. When she filed her suit in 1993, she, like the rest of the nation, must have been stunned to see the women's movement -- previously the strong opponent of sexual harassment -- go into hibernation over her case, popping up only long enough to complain about Republican elected officials like Bob Packwood. Granted, in the eyes of liberal feminists Jones was only a housewife and mother, compared with the well-educated, articulate law professor whom the feminists preferred to champion. But that fact in itself should have been titillating enough for the old war horses of the Anita Hill crusade -- like Rep. Pat Schroeder and National Organization for Women leaders Patricia Ireland and Molly Yard -- to sound the rallying cry. Yet the failure of those in the so-called women's movement to afford Jones the same blind, unsubstantiated support they gave Hill says more about their character and sincerity than any book written on the topic of hypocrisy."

--SUSAN CARPENTER MCMILLAN, WOMAN'S COALITION SPOKESPERSON,
LOS ANGELES TIMES, 6/25/96

Who Ya Gonna Call?

"Hillary Rodham Clinton enjoyed talking to a researcher in psychic experiences and altered consciousness to get ideas for a book and to cope with tough times, Clinton's spokesman said yesterday. ... Excerpts from the book [The Choice] published in yesterday's Post said that during a 1995 session Houston got Hillary Clinton to hold an imaginary conversation with Eleanor Roosevelt, who died in 1962. She also was led into an imaginary conversation with the Indian leader Mohandas K. Gandhi, who died in 1948, but drew the line when asked to talk to Jesus Christ, the book said."

--THE WASHINGTON POST, 6/24/96

"New York Gov. George E. Pataki failed to arrive on time for a news conference Monday, and he offered this explanation: 'Actually, I'm a little bit late because I was talking to Teddy Roosevelt.' "

--THE WASHINGTON TIMES, 6/26/96

CALENDAR

July 1 RNC Chairman Haley Barbour is making appearances for the Pennsylvania Republican Party: breakfast, Mercer; luncheon, State College; and a rally, Hershey, Pa.
Contact: Pennsylvania Republican Party (717)234-4901

3 Today is Cost of Government Day, the day on which the average American has earned enough gross income to pay off all his direct and indirect taxes.

4 GOP-TV's "Rising Tide" will feature a "Best of Rising Tide" show.

- 9 Chairman Barbour is appearing at a Victory 96 reception, Minneapolis.
Contact: Minnesota Republican Party (612) 222-0022
- 12 Chairman Barbour is appearing at a Victory 96 reception, New Haven, Conn.
Contact: Connecticut Republican Party (203) 547-0589
- 12-16 National Association of Counties annual meeting, Houston.
Contact: Brad Barondeau (202) 863-8600
- 13 Chairman Barbour is addressing the Connecticut state convention, New Haven, Conn.
Contact: Connecticut Republican Party (203) 547-0589
- 16 Chairman Barbour is appearing at a Victory 96 reception, Boston.
Contact: Massachusetts Republican Party (617) 725-1996
- 17 Chairman Barbour is appearing at a Victory 96 lunch, Burlington, Vt.
Contact: Vermont Republican Party (802) 223-3411
- 17 Chairman Barbour is appearing at a Victory 96 dinner and reception, Portland, Maine.
Contact: Maine Republican Party (207) 622-6247
- 17-21 National Conference of Lieutenant Governors annual meeting, Park City, Utah.
Contact: Brad Barondeau (202) 863-8600
- 18 RNC hosts a "Nuts & Bolts" training seminar, Jackson, Miss.
Contact: Joe Jaso (202) 863-8545
- 27-31 National Conference of State Legislatures annual meeting, Charleston, S.C.
Contact: Brad Barondeau (202) 863-8600

CAPITOL HILL WATCH

Last Week in Congress

- o House passed, 269-147, the FY97 VA-HUD Appropriations bill, which provides \$84.3 billion in new budget authority for the departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development in fiscal 1997.
- o House passed, 402-2, the Fiscal 1997 Transportation Appropriations bill which provides \$12.5 billion in new budget authority for the Department of Transportation for fiscal 1997.
- o Senate passed, 98-0, the Church Arson Prevention Act,

which makes it easier for the federal government to

prosecute those who burn churches.

This Week in Congress

- o House and Senate are in recess in observance of the Independence Day holiday.

FOCUS: Bob Dole: an American hero

Bob Dole and Americans everywhere will pause to celebrate Independence Day this Thursday. Independence Day represents every American citizen's right to freedom and justice. Bob Dole's life represents the courage and leadership America needs to preserve its freedoms. From Kansas to Italy to Washington, D.C., Dole has served his country with pride. Bob Dole's country is calling on him once again, and he will faithfully answer.

Bob Dole was raised during the Great Depression in a small town called Russell, Kansas. His father wore overalls and carried his lunch to work every day for 42 years. His mother sold sewing machines door-to-door. During the Depression, the Dole family moved into the basement of their house and rented the living quarters so they would not lose the house to foreclosure.

Bob Dole was the most popular kid in school. He was a great athlete and a good student. He was popular and handsome. According to an article by David M. Shribman of The Boston Globe Magazine, people in Russell remember how Bob Dole "was a serious conditioner [body builder] at a time when that was unusual, how he was the master of the soda blender and the wisecrack at Dawson's Drug Store."

Later, Bob Dole went to the University of Kansas, where he enjoyed the same popularity he had in Russell. He was a pre-med student who played football, basketball and almost broke the indoor track record for the quarter-mile. Bob Dole had also joined the military reserves. With World War II raging, his country called and Bob Dole dutifully answered.

In 1944, Bob Dole was sent to Italy, where he was a platoon leader in the legendary 10th Mountain Division. In April 1945, Bob Dole was wounded. In fact, he was paralyzed. He lost a kidney and he lost the use of his right arm. When he was returned to the United States to an Army hospital in Battle Creek, Michigan, it took him four months to move even one finger on his left hand and 39 months to learn to walk again.

Bob Dole eventually returned to Russell where he continued his difficult recovery. Bob Dole won a seat in the Kansas Legislature in 1950. He was elected Russell County Attorney in 1952. In 1960, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and in 1968, he was elected to the U.S. Senate.

Bob Dole became chairman of the Senate Finance Committee in 1981. In 1984, he was elected Senate Majority Leader. Bob

Dole led Senate Republicans for the next 11 years until his

retirement from the Senate this past May. Bob Dole's resignation from the Senate exemplifies his dedication to America. He sacrificed the career he had built for 46 years in order to answer his country's call one last time.

When people think about the determination, the strength, the courage, the tenacity, the perseverance and the commitment of a person who's accomplished all that Bob Dole has and then compare that to Bill Clinton, there is no other choice America can make for president. With an American hero like Bob Dole as president, America cannot lose.

MAJORITY QUIP

"God bless President Clinton standing by his wife. Turns out, he says he too has had imaginary conversations. They were about four years ago. Remember them, I think he called them campaign promises."

--JAY LENO, "TONIGHT SHOW," 6/25/96

"Bill Clinton's proposed legislation allows leave time. Clinton's definition of 'Leave Time': January 1997."

--SPEECHWRITER JENNY CHURCH, 6/29/96

"There's nothing flashy about me. I'm so dull, I hear someone fell asleep at the White House reading my FBI files."

--BOB DOLE, SPEECH IN DALLAS, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6/30/96

TALKING POINTS

Bob Dole: an American hero

Like Independence Day, Bob Dole's life represents the courage and leadership America needs and deserves to protect its freedoms.

- o Bob Dole was raised in a working-class family during the Great Depression in Russell, Kansas. His mother sold sewing machines door-to-door.
- o Bob Dole was popular and athletic at the University of Kansas. But with WWII raging, he answered his country's call to duty.
- o During WWII in Italy, Dole lost a kidney, the use of his right arm and he was paralyzed. It took Dole 39 months to learn to walk and use his left arm again.
- o When he returned to Kansas, Dole served as county attorney, state legislator, U.S. congressman and senator.

When people think of a person who's accomplished all that Bob Dole has and then compare that to Bill Clinton, there is no other choice America can make for president

SURVEY SUMMARY

Dole Numbers Rising Higher

MASON-DIXON/PMR POLL OF 827 REGISTERED KANSAS VOTERS,
RELEASED 6/28/96

Who is your choice for president?

Bob Dole	51%
Bill Clinton	38%

MASON/DIXON PMR POLL OF 807 REGISTERED FLORIDA VOTERS,
RELEASED 6/26/96

Who is your choice for president?

Bob Dole	44%
Bill Clinton	45%

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of ...

	Favorable	Unfavorable
Bob Dole	37%	29%
Bill Clinton	38%	38%

ZOGBY GROUP POLL OF 901 LIKELY VOTERS NATIONWIDE, RELEASED
6/24

Who is your choice for president?

Bob Dole	36%
Bill Clinton	39%

How would you rate Bill Clinton's job performance?

Excellent/Good	44%
Fair/Poor	55%

Just Tell the Truth

NBC/WALL STREET JOURNAL POLL OF 1,637 REGISTERED VOTERS,
RELEASED 6/27/96

Do you think Bill Clinton is telling the truth about
Whitewater?

Yes	24%
No	55%

The FBI files issue is about ...

A bureaucratic mistake	18%
A search for information about opponents	68%

NEWSWEEK POLL OF 769 ADULTS, RELEASED 6/29/96

What is the importance of the following ...

	Very Imp.	Somewhat Imp.
Whitewater financial dealings	35%	30%
Allegations Bill or Hillary	41%	27%

Clinton interfered with gov't.

investigations

FBI files controversy

41%

27%

In the FBI files controversy, the Clinton White House is ...

Telling the truth 13%

Hiding something 60%

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

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02 Jul 1996 10:08:27 -0700 (MST)

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(5.65/3.1.090690-Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee) id AA13807; Tue,
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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR:Clifford J. Mauton (MAUTON_C) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-MAR-1996 15:49:48.17

SUBJECT:FBI Visit

TO:Cheryl L Sweitzer

(SWEITZER_C) (WHO)

READ:14-MAR-1996 16:18:17.29

TEXT:

FYI. Sheri, Agent Sculimbrene wanted me to extend an invitation to Mr. Quinn for this get-together tomorrow. I don't think his attendance is necessary and we aren't even sure who, if anyone, will want to attend from over here.

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:14-MAR-1996 15:39:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:B

ATT CREATOR:Clifford J. Mauton

ATT SUBJECT:FBI Inspector

ATT TO:Marvin Krislov

(KRISLOV_M)

ATT TO:Kathleen M. Whalen

(WHALEN_K)

ATT TO:Christopher D. Cerf

(CERF_C)

ATT TO:D. Craig Livingstone

(LIVINGSTON_D)

TEXT:

An inspector from the FBI's Washington Field Office will be in the building between 11:30am and 2:00pm tomorrow. Agent Sculimbrene, FBI Liaison to the White House, and the FBI Inspector would like to meet with representatives of the Counsel's office to discuss process and procedure as well as answering any questions we might have.

Let me know what time is best for everyone or if there are any comments or questions you would like me to pass along. Thanks.

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====