

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Ruby Shamir to Virginia N Rustique at 19:46:43.00. Subject: Question. [partial] (1 page)	12/05/1999	b(6)
002. email	Virginia N Rustique to Ruby Shamir at 06:13:42.00. Subject: Re: Question [partial] (1 page)	12/06/1999	b(6)
003. email	Ruby Shamir to Virginia N Rustique at 20:49:00.00. Subject: Re: update: Question. [partial] (2 pages)	12/06/1999	b(6)
004. email	Virginia N Rustique to Ruby Shamir at 06:15:18.00 Subject: update: Question [partial] (1 page)	12/06/1999	b(6)

**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 Automated Records Management System [Email]  
 OPD ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])  
 OA/Box Number: 250000

**FOLDER TITLE:**

[09/01/1999 - 12/06/1999]

2015-0017-F  
 ab1570

**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]
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- 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 (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lisa Ferdinando ( CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-SEP-1999 15:17:36.00

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TEXT:  
FOX THE CRIER REPORT  
August 31, 1999

CATHERINE CRIER, HOST: Her tragic crash rocked the royal family and stunned the world. A look back at Princess Di's legacy on the two-year anniversary of her death. Then Newt Gingrich speaks out for the first time since leaving office. We'll tell you what he said. But first the headlines.

(NEWS BREAK)

CRIER: Two years ago today the world grieved at the news that Diana, Princess of Wales, was killed in a tragic car accident in Paris. The driver of the car, Henri Paul, has been held responsible for the crash, which killed Paul, Diana and her friend, Dodi al-Fayed. But this finding does not end the pain felt by millions of people around the world. Today flowers and poems were laid at the gates of her London home to mark the anniversary. There was no official memorial held by the royal family this year, and there are no plans to erect a public monument to remember her life.

Joining me now is Thomas Sancton, the Paris bureau chief for "Time" magazine; Barry Everingham, a royals historian; Richard Mineards with the "London Daily Express"; and Ed Vulliamy, the U.S. bureau chief for the "London Observer."

Welcome, gentlemen.

If I might, Thomas, let me start with you. Let's get an update on the investigation because I understand the prosecutors there in Paris are recommending charges be dismissed against all the photographers and the

motorcycle photographer that were potentially going to be held liable.

THOMAS SANCTON, "TIME" MAGAZINE: that's correct, Catherine. The prosecutors' report, which was issued several days ago, expressly demanded or requested that the charges be dropped. Now, the charges consisted of manslaughter, and also non-assistance to persons in danger. And on both of those charges, all 10 of the people who were formerly under investigation, according to the prosecutor, should be exonerated. So if the investigating magistrate goes along with that recommendation, then this seems to be the end of this phase of the legal case and of the investigation.

CRIER: Well, have the prosecutors come to the conclusion, then, as we just stated, that Henri Paul was solely liable for this?

SANCTON: Yes. They came down very heavily on Henri Paul, who they said was in a state of drunkenness, who was under medication. He had tranquilizers--anti-depressants in his blood. He was driving at a vastly excessive speed on a dangerous stretch of road, and the direct causes have all been traced to his conduct as the driver of that vehicle.

CRIER: OK, you mentioned the chief magistrate. This finding has to be validated, essentially, by the judge in the case before it becomes final, is that correct?

SANCTON: Well, the prosecutor basically takes the investigative dossier that was brought together by the investigating magistrate. And the prosecutor has on that--the basis of that has recommended that charges be dropped. Now the ball is back in the investigating magistrate's court, who must in the next day or two decide whether or not to accept those recommendations. He's quite likely to accept them and drop charges, but he's not obliged to.

CRIER: What about other pending litigation? Trevor Rees-Jones has got the lawsuit filed against the Ritz and the limousine company, really supported by the prosecutor's finding. Any other actions still pending out there?

SANCTON: Well, Catherine, I think you can expect a number of civil suits. Certainly, Trevor Rees-Jones is going to launch a civil suit. I think you could see possibly civil suits by other people involved in the case, civil suits by the parents and the family of Henri Paul, who could conceivably sue the Ritz Hotel and the Etoile (ph) limousine company for putting him in the driver's seat, arguing that he was not in a state to drive the vehicle, was not properly licensed, and therefore should not have been in that position. That would be, I think, a difficult case to win.

A stronger case is that of Trevor Rees-Jones, who can certainly argue that he was put in harm's way by a questionable decision to put a drunken and unlicensed man in the driver's seat. And that decision could be held to be the responsibility of the Ritz Hotel and the Etoile limousine company, which actually owned the car and rented it out to the Ritz. So these civil suits are going to be happening certainly over the next few months, and they could last quite a while.

CRIER: OK, thanks, Thomas.

Richard, what about Muhammad al-Fayed? His conspiracy theories, all of this talk about people feeding him bogus information--is he going to take this sitting down? Because it looks like...

RICHARD MINEARDS, "LONDON DAILY EXPRESS": Of course not!

CRIER: ... the Ritz is going to...

MINEARDS: He never takes anything sitting down. Quite frankly, I do think--and as I said many times on this show before, I think the idea of

the conspiracy theory was balderdash. But this man now, of course, is going to be the target of all these civil suits. And as the gentleman in Paris said, not only from Trevor Rees-Jones and Henri Paul's family, but also you've got to remember Princess Diana's family. Muhammad al-Fayed has been particularly virulent against Mrs. Shand-Kidd (ph), Diana's mother, calling her "the ultimate British snob" when they were both in Paris together because he claimed that she snubbed him. So I think you're going to have that, as Well.

Mr. al-Fayed is going to continue to perpetuate this, and I think under French law, he does have the right to appeal these findings. So this is not over, by a long stretch.

CRIER: Any sense at all, Ed, that the boys, the princes would be involved in litigation?

ED VULLIAMY, "the LONDON OBSERVER": Not at the moment. They're more worried about a lot of other tabloid things going on back in London, like who their father is and so on. That one will run a bit, I should think.

MINEARDS: But I did hear...

VULLIAMY: But I do...

MINEARDS: I was going to say I did hear from a friend of Prince Charles that, in fact, he doesn't intend to sue, even though he obviously could, because obviously, he doesn't want to traumatize the children any more and wants to let his ex-wife lie in peace, and obviously, let the children get on with their lives, as they're doing so Well admirably, as we can see from day to day.

VULLIAMY: But also let the royal family get on with the children's lives. I mean, I found the whole thing--the bereavement pretty tacky at the time, and I find it even tackier looking back at it. And one of the sort of--rather sort of sobering moments I thought was when the boys were--did their little sort of walk, you'll recall.

CRIER: Oh, yeah.

VULLIAMY: And there were these women shouting "William! William!" And it was like sort of the king goes to Blackheath in 1381. It made us look like a bunch of peasants from the Middle Ages!

CRIER: Well...

VULLIAMY: So you know, they will no doubt have their job to do to restore the kind of monarchy which is all about strutting around on cold Scottish mountains with a Tartan skirt on, that people thought Diana was about changing. And so it's very important to the sort of--to the--to the dysfunctional monarchy, to the sort of lurching creature, that those boys stay in line.

CRIER: Well, we will see how Well they're doing right after the break. Got a lot more ahead.

Tom Sancton, thanks very much, from Paris.

And we've got a lot more coming up later. The sex, the scandals, the triumphs, the tragedies: an inside look at VH-1's hottest show, "Behind the Music."

Don't go away.

(22:08)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

CRIER: We're talking about Princess Diana on the second anniversary of her death, with Barry Everingham, Richard Mineards and Ed Vulliamy.

Barry, let me start with you. We were talking just before the break about the changing perception of the royal family and whether or not they

can find the integrity maybe they've been missing the last several years. Something I read the other day--the public is up in arms about Charles never having visited Diana's grave. Will that sort of behavior, turning their backs on--on memorializing the anniversary or putting up a public monument, not going to the gravesite, continue to alienate the public from the royal family?

BARRY EVERINGHAM, ROYALS HISTORIAN: Oh, I think the British royal family's days are numbered. And let's hope they are. It's quite offensive, really, these days to have a head of state that is there purely by his or her right of birth.

But I think they're learning a lesson. You see, they're incapable of love, these people. I don't think they even love each other. Well, Charles is on record saying that his mother and father were uncaring. He now has Camilla, and he's had her for a long time. But they won't--they won't change. Diana was in the process of trying to make them change.

And something Ed said earlier about the boys being looked after by the royal family--that is the--that's the second greatest tragedy of the story. The first one is that Diana died. It would be better for the Spencers to have control of those boys. As dysfunctional as that family is, it's not nearly as dysfunctional as the British royal family.

CRIER: Oh, no offense. Flip a coin.

MINEARDS: But no, I think, clearly, the focal point now for the future of the royal family is clearly Prince William because not only is he very popular with the younger demographic, as well as the older demographic, but it's those young people now who like him for what he is, not for what he represents necessarily, who are going to be the taxpayers who support the royal family as we go into the next century. So he's very, very important. And lucky, he's been imbued with his mother's good looks, and thankfully, not his father's floppy ears. And also, he's obviously got a balanced upbringing, given his mother's idea of immersing him in what (INAUDIBLE) public, the public lifestyle, and not just royal affairs. So I think there's a more balanced outlook. And he is the only saving grace for the monarchy...

EVERINGHAM: Catherine, can I come in for...

MINEARDS: ... for the next century...

CRIER: Sure.

MINEARDS: ... otherwise...

CRIER: Sure.

MINEARDS: Otherwise, I do think it might--it might end.

EVERINGHAM: Sorry, Richard.

CRIER: Just one second. Barry? Barry?

EVERINGHAM: Yes. Thank you. Having said what I just said, let me say this, that Prince Charles, I gather, has changed. He has become a very caring, loving, supportive father, as best he can be. And it seems to me from what I watch on television and from what I hear from people who are close to them, that the boys do love him, that Diana tried to do a bit of damage, but it didn't work, and now he has taken the role of mother and father to the boys, and it's working.

CRIER: Ed?

VULLIAMY: No, I think there--this--Diana became a symbol of the changing monarchy after she died.

CRIER: Yes.

VULLIAMY: When she was alive, I'm not so sure this was the case. The paparazzi, I see, have been quite rightly acquitted of their role in this.

She was damn good at manipulating the paparazzi. When Camilla Parker Bowles appeared on the tabloid covers looking--Well, never mind how she looked--not great--Diana made absolutely sure that a huge number of photographers were in the right place to show her in her leopard-skin bikini at the right time. The funeral was in itself as bulimic as the wedding. She was quite able to play the princess. I think this idea of--that Diana was about to become Queen Beatrix of Holland riding 'round on a bicycle sort of smoking marijuana or whatever the Dutch monarchy does--not true. And we were a very long way from that. I think there's--you know, this is yet more of the sort of invention with hindsight of the life of this woman, who, although she--I mean, it--she--we're in a stage of sort of--we're just coming out of it now, but we've been a stage of sort of royal correctness in Britain. You have PC...

CRIER: Well, some of it, though, is...

VULLIAMY: ... here. We have RC. You aren't even allowed to say she had good legs, which she did.

CRIER: Yeah, Well, that's some of what Barry was saying, isn't it, and...

VULLIAMY: And this is the reinvention of Diana.

CRIER: ... and Richard, as Well, that...

VULLIAMY: After her death.

CRIER: ... it's the personality. That if people like Prince William, then they will support a continuation of the monarchy. If they do not like that human being, then the institution itself may fail. So as long as they liked Diana, then--then she represented something special and different, whether she really did or not.

VULLIAMY: People saw that she was--she got a bad date. You know, she was expected to love this man, shooting his silly sort of birds with his silly gun in Scotland. I mean, hardly a dream date. And she was a modern girl, but she wasn't a modern monarchy. That's my point.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

FORMER U.S. REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA), FORMER SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE: I'm the same age Ronald Reagan was when he became governor of California. I'll just leave it at that.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Can you see yourself ever running for president?

GINGRICH: I don't think so. I mean, I'm not going to plan on it.

I see myself developing the next generation of ideas.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CRIER: Welcome back. This week, C-SPAN is airing a three-part interview with former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, the first interview the controversial politician has given since he stepped down from his powerful post last year.

What are Washington insiders saying about the former speaker's candid comments? Joining me now, Eleanor Clift, FOX NEWS political analyst who is also a contributing editor at "Newsweek," and John Fund, editorial page writer for the "Wall Street Journal."

Welcome to you both.

ELEANOR CLIFT, FOX NEWS POLITICAL ANALYST, CONTRIBUTING EDITOR, "NEWSWEEK": Hi.

CRIER: Hello there. John, what do you think about this? I was reading some of the comments and loved it that Newt Gingrich and Henry Clay are sort of the great national figures in the last several hundred years. That seemed to be the impression I got from you.

JOHN FUND, EDITORIAL PAGE WRITER, "WALL STREET JOURNAL": Well,

Newt has never had a small opinion of himself. It is quite remarkable for the last nine months or so we've heard so little about him because he dominated the national conversation for and against him for about five years.

CRIER: Is that a comment, Eleanor, on the quality of those ideas that he keeps discussing or Newt Gingrich himself?

CLIFT: Well, I think Newt Gingrich's trademark is the grandiosity that he brought to himself and to the national scene. It took that kind of extraordinary self-image for him to dare to accomplish what he did. But the notion that he is now developing the next generation of ideas and we're going to be looking to him as a leader in the next century, I don't think so.

CRIER: What do you think he's going to do, John? Certainly when you see he's got teaching and speaking and books, I imagine, Newt Gingrich does not seem the sort that will fade into the woodwork.

FUND: Oh, no. And remember that much-maligned television series that the IRS finally cleared him of all charges on was actually full of all kinds of interesting ideas. And he's doing a lot of work on health care right now.

No, no, Newt Gingrich is not going to be the political candidate who brings these ideas forward. But in his own way, he's a one-man think tank.

CRIER: So that's what we're going to see. That's sort of interesting.

Eleanor, let me play a little soundbite. This is talking about Bill Clinton, according to Newt Gingrich. Let's listen to what he had to say.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GINGRICH: People will look back at what a tragedy it was that he had so much talent and did so little good.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: What's your favorite thing about him?

GINGRICH: He's a remarkably genial person.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CRIER: OK, Eleanor, what do you think? Are we going to evaluate Clinton that way?

CLIFT: Well, I think Newt Gingrich could have been talking about himself, except for the genial part. I think Newt Gingrich, like Bill Clinton, is an extraordinarily talented individual. And because of his own shortcomings and personality and the way he dealt with people, he was not able to fulfill all of the promise that he had.

CRIER: Are his reflections in hindsight, John, fair when he talked in the interview about Clinton's indiscretions? He said there was a clear distinction between the private act, albeit in the Oval Office, and the public act of obstruction of justice or perjury, and was saying, "I do not support the invasion of the privacy."

FUND: Well, certainly he would say that because he has recently very disappointed many of his followers by some of that private activity, which he agrees is relevant to some extent because as he says we loan power to political figures. But the real thing that I think was present there is a certain amount of envy of Clinton because Clinton took him to the cleaners during the government shutdown, in part because Gingrich believed Clinton's promises, because no one believed at the time that Clinton could be such a bold-faced liar, as he turned out to be.

Gingrich himself is a political manipulator of vast arts. But he was put into shade by Clinton.

CRIER: Eleanor, on that note, on his political legacy, one of the

things he bemoaned was the fact that he really hadn't created the next generation of leaders, that in '98, part of the failing of the Republicans were in the election was he felt there wasn't the motivation to drive forward to the year 2000. Did he have a failing in that regard?

CLIFT: Well, the Republicans were able to gain control of the Congress because Newt Gingrich had created clones of himself all across the country. And 76 of them were elected in 1994.

Those very same Gingrich clones turned against him when Gingrich moved to the center and tried to be a leader of all people. And he never could accommodate that.

So the next generation of Republicans, I don't know how he could create them. He couldn't create centrists. I mean, that would just be totally out of his ability. And true blue conservatives, the revolutionaries who man the ramparts, can't govern. And I think that was Gingrich's problem. He never made the transition from the revolutionary to somebody who could govern and compromise and accommodate the different views of different people in two political parties.

CRIER: OK, I've got to take a quick break. A lot more politics coming up, as well as, they've mixed sex, drugs and rock and roll to create one of the hottest shows on TV. We'll talk with the creators of VH1's ``Behind the Music" later in the program.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

CRIER: Welcome back. Should Attorney General Janet Reno resign in the wake of growing controversy surrounding the government's handling of the '93 standoff with Branch Davidians? Continuing now with John Fund and Eleanor Clift.

John, will people get burned by this latest investigation into the fire?

FUND: We're going to have several months of investigation. At the end of it, I think it's not going to be a pretty picture because I think it's pretty clear. And various people from Senator Tom Harkin to ``The Nation" magazine are agreeing about this.

So this crosses the political spectrum from left to right that there really was some kind of a cover-up there. There clearly are memos that were not revealed. Clearly, somebody knew they were there. We don't know how far up the chain of command it goes. But it's pretty ugly.

CRIER: Well, Eleanor, you know, it's the cover-up, stupid. We've heard that before. But is there anything that will come out of this to really raise the hackles, or will it just be the fact that things were covered up?

CLIFT: Well, first of all, should Louis Freeh resign? He wasn't even heading the FBI at that point. But if there was a cover-up that continued for six years, maybe he should have known about it.

I mean, I don't think there's any point, frankly, in calling for the resignations of either Freeh or Reno. I think there should be an outside investigation. And we should be able to find out who knew that these incendiary canisters were used, who ordered them, and where it stopped in the chain of command apparently before it reached the head of the FBI and never got to the Justice Department...

FUND: Well, Eleanor, I have been...

CLIFT: ... Those claims have to be examined. And...

FUND: ... Well, Eleanor, I do have a question.

CLIFT: ... possibly then some of the conspiracy theories can be put to rest.

FUND: I would like them to be put to rest as well. Eleanor, Janet

Reno got a lot of points for saying, "I am responsible for the actions at Waco." But it's interesting, in the last few years across several administrations, we seem to have lost the notion of accountability, which is when you screw up, when things don't go right, you might want to resign. When was the last time we had a government official actually resign when she's taking accountability as well as responsibility...

CLIFT: Well...

FUND: ... That seems to have vanished.

CLIFT: ... Well, I don't think it's a requirement in this country, as it is in Japan, when you lose face that you resign. And John, as a person who works for a newspaper, you know as well as I do that you're only as good as your information.

Right now, I take Janet Reno at face value that she didn't know about this. And I don't see why she should walk away. She should be damn angry. And she should make sure an investigation gets to the bottom...

FUND: Eleanor...

CLIFT: ... of why she was lied to for six years.

FUND: ... the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms is under the Treasury Department. Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen demanded an outside independent review six years ago.

Janet Reno could have done the same thing. She chose to have an internal whitewash review. That was her decision. No one ordered her to do that.

CRIER: And I think if you look back, whether it's Hazel O'Leary in the Energy Department, this sort of thing with Janet Reno, I am tired of hearing these high-level officials go, "I am responsible. But somebody else did it."

FUND: The buck doesn't stop there...

CRIER: That's right.

FUND: ... It's spinning so much around that you can't view it. It's like a top.

CLIFT: Well...

CRIER: And there...

CLIFT: ... she stood up and took responsibility. I don't know what you expected her to do, resign at that moment? I mean, I think she now has...

FUND: And independent, outside investigation.

CLIFT: ... Well, maybe that should be called for. But...

FUND: Well, no, six years, a lot of the evidence is gone after six years. That was the whole point of it, apparently.

CLIFT: Well, if the evidence is gone, why did this suddenly surface, John? I think there's still some evidence left. And there are some people who know what happened.

CRIER: All right, well, I think that's going to be interesting. One more topic before we run out of time. Eleanor, what do you think about Al Gore's possible shift in policy about gays in the military? This was the issue people said Bill Clinton should not have started his presidency with.

And now we're now moving into the campaign season. Al Gore is going to bring this back to the fore?

CLIFT: Well, I think some of the reports from the military have shown that the implementation of this policy has actually driven more gay

people from the military services than before. And so I think he is doing a politically-timed gesture of compassion towards gay people who do serve in the military.

And let's be realistic. The gay constituency is an important voting block in this country. And the policy as implemented leaves a lot to be desired. I think he's done the right thing in speaking up.

CRIER: What do you think, John?

FUND: Six years into the Clinton administration there is a Defense of Marriage Act and there is a Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy. Gays are actually further behind than they were six years ago.

And I'll tell you, Al Gore is going to be in trouble with this policy because all it will take is Colin Powell to come forward, as he probably will, and say, "I opposed this six years ago. And I oppose it still today."

CRIER: All right, John Fund, Eleanor Clift...

CLIFT: Thank you.

CRIER: ... thank you very much.

Coming up next, we're going to behind the scenes of "Behind the Music." Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

TOMMY LEE, DRUMMER, MOTLEY CRUE: Ozzy sees a Popsicle stick laying on the ground. And there's a long trail of ants going to it. And he gets down on his knees. And he goes...

(SOUND OF SNORTING)

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

OZZY OSBOURNE, ROCK SINGER: All this snorting ants (INAUDIBLE), drunk snorting ants (INAUDIBLE).

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CRIER: Snorting ants? Well, even if the inside scoop from Motley Crue doesn't help you hook onto it, tales of triumph, horror and the early years from all your favorite singers are bound to have you watching VH1's hit series "Behind the Music."

Joining me now with a behind-the-scenes look at the series are "Behind the Music's" executive producers George Moll and Gay Rosenthal, and creator of the show and executive vice president of VH1 programming, Jeff Gaspin.

Welcome to you all.

JEFF GASPIN, CREATOR, "BEHIND THE MUSIC", EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF VH1 PROGRAMMING: Thank you.

CRIER: Jeff, let me start with you. What in the world made you think that this would catch on? A&E "Biography" does great. Was that the sort of impetus?

GASPIN: We actually had a show on the air called "VH1 Legends" which profiled legendary musicians. And the scope of the show was a little too narrow for us. So I wanted something that we could broaden and do other artists.

And I was actually sitting at lunch with Gay, the other executive producer, one day. And we were talking out loud about different stories behind the music that were interesting, Milli Vanilli (ph), MC Hammer. And we decided that, you know, that stories behind the music was an interesting way to go, not necessarily biography.

And we just said, "Whatever happened to Milli Vanilli (ph)?" And

then Gay sort of took the ball and ran with it. And she called me up about a week-and-a-half later and said, "You know, I found them. And they have a really interesting story to tell." And that essentially became the pilot for the series.

CRIER: Gay, did you ever think the audience might not latch on, might not follow?

GAY ROSENTHAL, EXECUTIVE PRODUCER, "BEHIND THE MUSIC": I think in the beginning we weren't sure. But once we started interviewing and we were in the editing room, we saw that we were all like, "Oh, my God. We have something really special here."

And we felt that the initial stories that we were doing were very compelling and dramatic. So we were hoping that it was going to work.

CRIER: I mean, George, this is a loaded question. We'll see if you'll name any names. Anybody you decided would make a great story and then you got into it and you said, "There's nothing here."

GEORGE MOLL, EXECUTIVE PRODUCER, "BEHIND THE MUSIC": I don't think that's ever been the case. I think we've been able to find a story in just about any band or artist that we profiled. I mean, I think the very nature of trying to make it in the music business is such an insurmountable task, if you will, that it just makes for a great story.

CRIER: And it doesn't have to be, Jeff, someone who is hot on the charts today for people to be absorbed, does it?

GASPIN: No, I think what's really worked for us is this context of music history. And so it can be a story that's 30 years old, or it can be a story that's three years old.

You know, the compelling components: great music, great storytelling. And as long as we have those two, it usually resonates with the viewer.

CRIER: Is it always great music, Gay?

ROSENTHAL: Is it all...

CRIER: I'm thinking about some of the sort of '70s reflections. I don't know that I would list it as great music.

ROSENTHAL: Well, I don't know if it's always great music...

(LAUGHTER)

ROSENTHAL: ... I think a lot of it--most of it is music that has made a difference and has resonated. And you know, the people that watch, everybody has very eclectic taste. And what is interesting to somebody might not be as interesting to somebody else.

But the constant thing that we hear all the time is so many people say, "Oh, I never bought an album or a CD of that artist. But their story was so compelling that I wanted to watch." So the music, while it's so important, so integral, we've found that the stories are just as important, if not even more important.

CRIER: Well, George, not only do they watch and are compelled, but they may even go buy. I was watching the piece on Meat Loaf the other day. And as with many people, I was flipping around, caught part of it, and not only stayed for that show, that "Behind the Music," but on for several more. And I went out and bought "Bat out of Hell" when that was over.

And I thought to myself, "I love his music. Why wouldn't I go out and pick up some?" Does that happen? Do these artists actually see a resurgence when they're played out on VH1?

MOLL: Yeah, there's a tremendous correlation between "Behind the Music" and record sales, whether it be a new record release or catalog sales. Def Leppard is a great example. They had a greatest hits album that

was way down the charts. When we aired the program, it soared to number nine, or certainly in the top 10 of the charts.

And then they followed it with a new album. They debuted at number 11. So there's a tremendous response. Cher was selling about 70,000 units of her new album domestically before the "Behind the Music." It went to 120,000 units a week after the program.

CRIER: Wow. Jeff, do you ever get people calling up going, "Please do us. Please do us."

GASPIN: You know, we get it all the time now.

CRIER: I bet.

GASPIN: We didn't at first. And as soon as the reports in the press started saying "Behind the Music" sells albums, I think we became part of the marketing plan of just about every record label and artist.

CRIER: Is that a problem at all, because I think from a news perspective, certainly for some of the magazine shows, people would sort of promote themselves. But you feel uncomfortable. I'm thinking of the payola notion. Do you ever feel uncomfortable?

GASPIN: Well, I think as you're aware in news, very often you get the interviews when people have something to promote. So we're just taking advantage of the fact that they're making themselves available at a particular time. They've got something new to talk about.

And since we're part of the marketing plan, we really, we divorce ourselves from why they're doing it. We have a series where we tell the stories of behind the music of artists. And that's the main concern for us. That's the goal. So as long as we get the interviews and we get the elements that we need to tell our story, why they're doing it is really not important to us.

CRIER: Yeah. And Gay, you're probably going to get even better access if there's a little scratching of the back going on. Have there ever been any times when you put together a piece and some artist calls up and says, "Don't air that. Please don't."

ROSENTHAL: Luckily, that really hasn't happened. I mean, what we try to do when we agree to do an artist, we get on the phone with the management company, the record label, all of the inner circle, and really talk about what our agenda is. You know, if there are sensitive areas, we try to address them up front so we can figure out how we're going to navigate our way through.

So we find that if we do that, then we really run into very few problems on the back end. So that's worked for us.

CRIER: Would you ever edit, George, specifically for that if someone says, "I don't want that addiction element told or the escapade in Florence, please don't go into this." Do you edit accordingly?

MOLL: No we don't. We don't let the artists control editorial policy for "Behind the Music." I think we demonstrated over the last 80 episodes I think we have on the air now that we can handle even the most sensitive subject with respect and dignity.

So I think artists trust us with these subjects now. And we really don't turn over editorial control to anyone.

CRIER: OK, we're going to be back with more stories from "Behind the Music" right after a break. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

LEIF GARRETT, ROCK SINGER: I was off doing drugs and partying with the girls and sometimes their mothers and, you know, what-not. So I wanted

nothing to do with my let's-recapture-the-13-year-old contingency. I want nothing to do with it.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CRIER: Boy hit wonder Leif Garrett was not living the squeaky-clean kid life his music projected. You can learn more about him and other musicians on the VHI hit series ``Behind the Music."

Continuing my conversation about the series with George Moll, Gay Rosenthal and Jeff Gaspin.

Jeff, we were talking about, during the break, about Leif Garrett and what you did. Tell me about that.

GASPIN: Well, with Leif Garrett we sort of broke our own rule and the format of the show a little bit. We told his story for the first four acts. And then in the fifth act, we actually reunited him with his best friend from 20 years earlier. He had not seen his friends in 20 years, who he had paralyzed in a car accident.

And George actually produced that episode. And it was so emotionally compelling. And it so drew you in that I felt it was OK to break format a little bit and to break away from the narrative of the series and just present a moment that was incredibly emotional.

CRIER: George, because that was successful in television terms, have you seen the direction shift even more?

MOLL: I think our direction has always been pretty much the same and maintains the same direction. I mean, I think the real litmus test for whether something is going to be a good ``Behind the Music" or not is, is it a great human interest story? And I think that's the true test or the true criteria for what works and what doesn't.

CRIER: Gay, what was your favorite?

ROSENTHAL: The favorite that we did, or the favorite...

CRIER: Your own personal favorite, and why?

ROSENTHAL: I would say Milli Vanilli (ph) is still my personal favorite. And I think it's because the story--in two lines, you can say the story and everybody understands, you know, getting that carrot dangled in front of you.

And I think we were able to do something and show Fabrice (ph) and Rob (ph) in a light that nobody really had. And the response from it was so terrific because people said, ``Oh, my God. We never had the chance to hear their story."

And I think it's one of those classic stories, you know? It just had great drama to it...

CRIER: Yeah...

ROSENTHAL: ... And you know...

CRIER: ... Jeff, what about you?

GASPIN: You know, Lynyrd Skynyrd and Mamas and the Papas, I wasn't huge fans of both bands before I watched the episode. And I saw the episode several times through all its cuts and re-cuts. And afterwards, I was just blown away by their stories and really had new respect for them and their music.

CRIER: And Jeff, before we run out of time, this has really done wonders for VHI, hasn't it?

GASPIN: Absolutely.

CRIER: Really helped...

GASPIN: From the day it aired, first episode was Milli Vanilli (ph). It was the highest rated series on the channel. And it hasn't changed. And it's been on two-and-a-half years now. We just started our third season

actually a couple of weeks ago.

CRIER: Well, for people who love music and haven't discovered it yet, "Behind the Music" is brilliant.

GASPIN: 9:00 every night...

CRIER: There you go.

GASPIN: ... every single night, 9:00.

CRIER: There you go.

GASPIN: On VH1.

CRIER: Very compelling television. On VH1.

George Moll, Gay Rosenthal, Jeff Gaspin...

GASPIN: Thank you.

CRIER: ... thank you all very music.

ROSENTHAL: Thank you.

CRIER: That's it for this edition of THE CRIER REPORT. Thanks to all my guests and you for watching.

Now if you want to contact us, send us an e-mail. The address is [crierfoxnews.com](mailto:crierfoxnews.com). Or the snail mail, THE CRIER REPORT, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, Level C1, New York, New York, 10036.

And I hope you'll join me next time.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-SEP-1999 09:22:59.00

SUBJECT: more on Steve May

TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: LEAVY\_D@A1@CD@VAXGTWY@EOP ( LEAVY\_D@A1@CD@VAXGTWY@EOP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
(NSC)

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura S. Marcus ( CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN



the Legislature in 1996. He was outed by the local Log Cabin Republicans during the campaign. He lost the race but ran again in 1998, and won, this time as an openly gay candidate.

Earlier, while in college, he had served in the Navy and Army ROTC. In 1993, after graduation, he was called to active duty in the Army ) about the same time that "don't ask, don't tell" was implemented. He kept his mouth shut about his homosexuality, which up till then he'd mentioned only to a few family members and close friends. May's service ended in 1995, though he remained eligible to be called up in a military crisis.

A year later, he was outed during his campaign for the Legislature. And since his election, he has talked openly about his homosexuality. As a freshman lawmaker in Arizona's conservative Legislature ) and its first openly gay Republican ) he caused a small uproar when he put a Tinky Winky doll on his desk on the House floor. A member of the GOP leadership staff gently suggested it wasn't such a good idea to decorate that way, so May removed the doll. (Actually, it was removed for him by some snarky Democrats, who doll-napped Tinky and returned him days later, with a cigarette in his mouth. May didn't bother to put the doll back on his desk.)

Sort of "don't ask, don't tell," civilian-style.

Earlier this year he took a leading role fighting social conservatives who were trying to outlaw health benefits to same-sex partners, with arguments comparing homosexuality to cannibalism, and declaring that the life expectancy of a gay man is 42. May called their efforts "an attack on my family, an attack on my freedom. This Legislature takes my gay tax dollars and my gay tax dollars spend the same as your straight tax dollars."

Shortly after that impassioned speech, May got a letter in the mail. The crisis in the Balkans was escalating, and Uncle Sam wanted him back.

The same week in April that I published a profile of him in the Phoenix New Times, May reported for his first weekend of duty as a reservist. He saw soldiers passing the article around, but didn't hear from Army brass until July, when he was told the article had been sent to his commander with a complaint. (An Army Reserve investigator confirms this.) A formal investigation was launched in August.

May readily admits he's likely violated the basic tenets of "don't ask, don't tell." That's not the issue, he says.

"I don't know that there's a legal case at all," says May. "I'm just saying the policy's wrong. I should be allowed to live my life openly, honestly and with integrity ... Integrity has consequences ... I'm willing to suffer the consequences of living my life with integrity."

May says his soldiers treat him with respect, and he's been getting encouraging e-mail from men he served with in the early 1990s when he was still in the closet. He's been told, he says, to pretend the investigation isn't happening and to continue to lead his troops. He is up for a promotion to captain this fall.

"This could take forever, because they only take action one weekend a month, because everyone who's involved is a reservist," he says.

Talking to the press probably constitutes a violation of the "don't ask, don't tell policy," says May.

"But that's not the point," he says. "My point is that the policy is wrong."

About the writer: Amy Silverman is a staff writer for Phoenix New Times.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-SEP-1999 09:21:46.00

SUBJECT: NC10955: Winchell murder update

TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: LEAVY\_D@A1@CD@VAXGTWY@EOP ( LEAVY\_D@A1@CD@VAXGTWY@EOP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
(NSC)  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura S. Marcus ( CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN



Winchell, 21, at a July 3 party at Fort Campbell.

Members of Glover's defense counsel say much of the Army's case against their client rests on Fisher's accusatory testimony against Glover.

Earlier this month, a two-day investigative hearing was held for Glover, 18, of Sulphur, Okla. No decision has been made about whether the case will go to a general court-martial.

The trial counsel, or prosecutor, in Glover's hearing said that revenge was the motive behind Winchell's killing. Capt. Gregg Engler argued that Glover attacked Winchell because Glover recently had lost a fight to him at a party.

Neither the Army nor Winchell's family have commented on the dead soldier's sexuality. Witnesses at Glover's hearing testified that Winchell was ridiculed in his unit about being homosexual.

Weeks after Winchell's death, the Pentagon updated its "don't ask, don't tell" policy for gays in the military, requiring mandatory training on anti-harassment guidelines for all troops, beginning with boot camp.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-SEP-1999 10:04:19.00

SUBJECT: Re:

TO: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Nope -haven't seen it

Richard Socarides 09/08/99 10:01:57 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject:

Has anyone seen the letter to the President refereed to in the highlighted paragraph?

AZ Rep A Foil for "Don't Ask"

Mark R. Kerr, Tucson Weekly Observer  
& NewsPlanet Staff

Tuesday, September 7, 1999 / 09:48 PM

SUMMARY: Arizona legislator Steve May says his case pushes the U.S. military's policy against lesbians & gays to the level of absurdity, and some Congressmembers are asking Clinton to admit it.

A total of 4,429 individuals have been booted out of the U.S. armed services since the implementation of the so-called "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) policy by President Bill Clinton in 1993. Then the president called DADT a "just and fair compromise," but now an Arizona lawmaker and Army reservist says he's showing how "unfair and unjust" the policy is -- and he's bringing national attention to its inconsistencies. That attention has prompted two U.S. Congressmembers to demand action from the White House.

"It was not a choice I made at all," according to Arizona state Representative Steve May (R-Phoenix). "I did choose to serve my constituents in the legislature. I did choose to serve my country in uniform. And I also made a choice to live my life with integrity, and that's what's caused this conflict." May, a first-lieutenant and second-in-command of his 348th Transportation Company Army reserve unit, is being investigated based on statements he made during the past session of the Arizona Legislature, possibly in violation of DADT.

May had delivered testimony in February before the House Government Reform Committee regarding HB 2524. The bill, sponsored by state Representative Karen Johnson (R-Mesa), would have prohibited government entities in the state from extending benefits to the domestic partners of their employees. May took his turn before the committee only after Johnson had testified -- and made many homophobic remarks.

At the time of the testimony, May was "a civilian" he said, on inactive duty since serving in the Army until 1995. In April, he was called back to active duty during the crisis in Kosovo. After the emergency had passed and May was returned to inactive status, an anonymous complaint was filed and the investigation into his committee testimony was initiated. "The story is really absurd," May said, "and I think my case does show uniquely how absurd the policy is. 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' simply doesn't work."

Stacey Sobel of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN), the national group that has assisted 1,900 individuals in the armed services being investigated under DADT, said May's case is most unique since the remarks made were in a public context as an elected official. "Most investigations under 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' are over remarks made in a private context," Sobel explained.

May told NewsPlanet that he was formally charged and notified of the investigation on August 8. The Army asked May if he would waive his right to counsel, but he respectfully declined and "requested the assistance of a military attorney." He added that he was going on a training session with his unit on

September 11 and 12, and had some concerns about what might happen while he is on duty again. However, Sobel said that with the investigation just starting, a formal hearing would not take place so soon.

The soldiers and other officers in the 348th, May said, have called and sent many letters of support.

In addition to the support from his fellow servicemembers, May has received support in editorials and op-ed pieces ranging from such major national newspapers as the "New York Times," "Boston Globe," and "Washington Post," to his "hometown" publications, like the Arizona Daily Star and the Arizona Republic, the latter a conservative publication not known for pro-gay and lesbian stances.

Two openly-gay elected Arizona officials added their voices of support as well: Neil Giuliano, the Republican mayor of Tempe, said May, "puts a face on the issue of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' and points out the absurdity of it." State Representative Ken Chevront (D-Phoenix) said his colleague in the legislature "does a wonderful job articulating the problems of the policy and the need to fix them."

Kevin Ivers of the Log Cabin Republicans commented that "May is the perfect example of how wrong the policy is."

May has been making the rounds, speaking out against DADT on CNN, MSNBC and Fox News Channel (where he was hosted by the U.S. House's former head-homophobe, "B-1" Bob Dornan), doing interviews for radio talk shows and magazines such as Time and People. Several network television news magazines are also vying for an exclusive interview with the Arizona politico; a book deal may also be in the works.

It was May's appearance on CNN's Larry King Live that caught the attention of U.S. Representative Tom Campbell. Suhail Khan, press secretary for Congressman Campbell, said the California Republican saw it as "an issue of free speech." Campbell, along with openly gay U.S. Representative Barney Frank (D-MA), sent a letter to President Clinton on

September 2, urging him to instruct the Defense Department to drop its investigation of May. The letter was circulated in Congress on September 7.

Frank and Campbell emphasize in their letter that it would be contrary to the American tradition of unfettered legislative debate to penalize an elected legislator for comments made in the legislative body in which s/he serves. They say that they "are writing because we as elected representatives believe strongly in that principle embodied in the 'speech and debate' clause of the American Constitution which seeks to extend full protection to members of legislative bodies from any sanction for comments they legitimately make in the course of legislative debate ... [O]nly when elected legislators are confident of their ability to speak out freely without any fear of external sanction from outside the legislative body can the process of representative government flourish." While acknowledging that the Constitution doesn't technically cover legislative bodies other than the U.S. Congress, Frank and Campbell argue that the same principle ought to apply to debate in state legislative bodies. Kevin Ivers of the Log Cabin Republicans said his group, along with other national gay and lesbian organizations, have started the lobbying effort to get members of Congress to sign on to the letter.

With the pending Army investigation and the national media spotlight on him, May says his life "been under control by other people and groups," but he plans to "lead his life as he has, being himself." Still, storm clouds may be on the political horizon. John Mills, who lost to May in the 1998 GOP Primary for the District 26 House, has taken out papers to run against May again in 2000. Rumors abound that Tom Liddy, son of anti-gay radio talk show host and Watergate "plumber" G. Gordon Liddy, has been persuaded to challenge May as well. Liddy's candidacy is being pushed forward by the radical-right in the Arizona GOP.

All these developments haven't missed the eye of the homophobic Rev. Fred Phelps of Topeka, Kansas and his "flock." Phelps, who gets the lion's share of his publicity through the bluff of the press release rather than actual appearances, sent out a fax stating he will hold

a demonstration with 15 of his followers (mostly family members) on the steps of the state capitol September 26 to burn an Arizona flag in protest against May. Of course, it is illegal to have open burns within the Phoenix city limits and the Arizona Capitol Police haven't been notified of any demonstration by Phelps for that day, but there may be a bigger obstacle: Phelps protestors targeting the Canadian Supreme Court recently had to get flag-burning instructions from an Ottawa police officer.

Message Sent

To:

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Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Laura S. Marcus/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Mara E. Rudman/NSC/EOP@EOP  
Edward W. Correia/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Thomas L. Freedman/OPD/EOP@EOP  
Caroline R. Fredrickson/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Mary E. Cahill/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Mary L. Smith/OPD/EOP@EOP  
David C. Leavy/NSC/EOP@EOP  
Philip G Dufour/OVP@OVP  
Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP@OVP  
Monica M. Dixon/OVP@OVP  
Leon S. Fuerth/OVP@OVP  
Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-SEP-1999 12:20:52.00

SUBJECT: Frank, Campbell ask Clinton to stop May investigation

TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David C. Leavy ( CN=David C. Leavy/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura S. Marcus ( CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 09/12/99  
12:20 PM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu  
09/10/99 11:02:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: Frank, Campbell ask Clinton to stop May investigation

Bay Area Reporter  
September 9, 1999  
<http://www.ebar.com>

Frank, Campbell ask Clinton to stop May investigation

by Bob Roehr

Steve May, under investigation for violation of the Pentagon's policy of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT), is getting some assistance from Capitol Hill. Congressmen Barney Frank (D-Massachusetts) and Tom Campbell (R-California) sent a letter to President Bill Clinton asking that the investigation be called off. The September 2 letter will be circulated for additional congressional signatures when members return after Labor Day.

May is a lieutenant in the Army Reserve and a Republican representing east Phoenix in the Arizona Legislature. He acknowledged he was gay during past elections and in February during chamber debate on anti-gay legislation. The debate was front-page news in Arizona.

The lieutenant was on inactive status with the Army at the time. He was called up to active status shortly after the debate, when the situation in Kosovo began heating up. He has been serving as a "weekend warrior" ever since. The investigation began on August 7.

The congressional letter asks the president "to honor the tradition of full and unfettered legislative debate in America by instructing the Defense Department to drop charges" against May.

"We are writing because we as elected representatives believe strongly in that principle embodied in the 'speech and debate clause' of the American Constitution which seeks to extend full protection to members of legislative bodies from any sanction for comments they legitimately make in the course of legislative debate."

It went on to offer a brief history lesson of why the clause came to be and how it has been observed. And it concluded: "If Representative May is to be subjected to the severe sanction of expulsion from the military æ the principle that legislators must be free from having to answer in any other place for comments they choose to make in public debate will have been more

seriously eroded than in any other single instance that we can recall in recent times."

They also explicitly stated, "We do not write this letter as a commentary on that policy" of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

May said he "appreciates any effort to resolve my situation." But at the same time, he clearly was hesitant about this "special right for a legislator."

"My situation is obviously about me, but there is more to it than that. The problem that I'm in is because of the policy." He worries that the focus on the policy might become lost.

May has spoken with Jim Kolbe, the openly gay Congressman from Arizona, but he has not asked Kolbe for help.

The legislator says he talks "all the time" with John McCain the Senator from Arizona who is running for the Republican presidential nomination. But a call on this matter has not been returned. McCain was campaigning by bus in New Hampshire.

"His office is treading lightly," May said with a hearty laugh. "McCain can say he supports me personally and opposes discrimination but he also supports 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell.' They're stuck, no matter what they say they can't win."

Stacey Sobel, an attorney with the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, is counseling May on the investigation. She was cautious about any impact the letter might have. "Just because this letter is out there doesn't guarantee any results." She expects the case to drag on into next year as the reservists conducting the investigation work only one weekend a month.

To Sobel, this "highlights the failing of the policy. Here is a service member with an excellent record, who has demonstrated his ability. And the military, during a time of personnel shortages, is kicking out some of its best people. This is ludicrous."

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-SEP-1999 12:38:08.00

SUBJECT: NC11014: details from Andy Humm's Army Sec story

TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David C. Leavy ( CN=David C. Leavy/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura S. Marcus ( CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 09/12/99  
12:38 PM -----

rwockner@netcom.com

09/10/99 02:31:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: NC11014: details from Andy Humm's Army Sec story

Subject: Re: NC11001: Army Secretary compares gays to adulterers

Date: Thu, 9 Sep 1999 23:07:32 EDT

From: Andyhumm@aol.com

To: rwockner@netcom.com

Brothers and sisters:

The full extent of Army Secretary Louis Caldera's remarks to my questions to him about the exclusion of out gays in the military (given after a ceremony rededicating the Times Square recruiting station) were as follows:

"You can serve if you are a homosexual, but you can't make it a political issue. You cannot be an active homosexual in the military any more than you can be an adulterer. The Army is a very conservative institution. Three-quarters of our people are married. Enforcing the regulation is fair to all concerned. Our national defense is imperative. You wouldn't have the freedom you have to ask these questions if it weren't for the great men and women who have served."

I hope this provides the context [one recipient of Wockner's Newsclips list] was seeking.

Andy

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-SEP-1999 12:36:37.00

SUBJECT: Army Secretary compares gays to adulterers

TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David C. Leavy ( CN=David C. Leavy/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura S. Marcus ( CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 09/12/99  
12:36 PM -----

Doug.Case@SDSU.edu

09/10/99 12:32:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: Army Secretary compares gays to adulterers

ARMY LEADER COMPARES GAYS TO "ADULTERERS" AT TIMES SQ. CEREMONY

Andy Humm

There wasn't much of a protest as the Times Square Armed Forces Recruiting Station was rededicated on September 7, but given the anti-gay attitudes of the city and military brass on hand there should have been. An invited audience of several hundred occupied Broadway for the 10 AM event that attracted little interest from passers by.

Secretary of the Army Louis Caldera, representing Secretary of Defense William Cohen, told LGNY, "You can serve as a homosexual, but you can't make it a political issue" and went on to compare gay people to "adulterers" in justifying our exclusion.

Deputy Mayor Rudy Washington, who led the project to make sure that the city continued to let this bigoted organization occupy such prime real estate rent free, refused to say what he felt about the policy of expelling gays and lesbians from the military. "Every institution has its rules and regulations," he said.

Mike Handy, Director of the Mayor's Office for Veterans Affairs and a former member of the board of the Gay Veterans Association, was also asked if he believed that the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy should be repealed. "I don't know," he said, "it's the best thing that they could come up with."

When then-Council Member (now State Senator) Tom Duane (D-Chelsea) raised objections in 1998 to the city's cooperation with a discriminatory organization, Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Speaker Peter Vallone scoffed at the idea of using the city's power to show its displeasure. Giuliani was absent from this ceremony due to jury duty. His press office did not return LGNY's call seeking his position on the anti-gay policy of the military nor the city's reasons for donating land to a group that violates city law banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Just one gay activist thought that this outrage was important enough to protest. Kenny Weinberg stood in a police pen on the corner of 7th Av. and 44th St. holding a bright yellow sign against the military and the mayor. "'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' is immoral and dangerous," he said, "has ruined thousands of lives, and has taken lives in the name of pandering to the prejudices of the majority." Weinberg cited the recent brutal murder of PFC Barry Winchell in Kentucky by an anti-gay servicemember and the similarly vicious killing of Navy Seaman Allen Schindler by his "mates" several years ago.

Weinberg called and e-mailed several gay rights organizations the

week prior to the event to join his protest. None produced any demonstrators. A spokesperson for one of the groups said that he was not aware if they had a position on the rightness of the city's rent-free policy toward the military. An out lesbian from the local community board actually attended the ceremony on behalf of her group. "If only one voice is going to speak out," Weinberg said, "let it be me."

Schuyler Chapin, the courtly Commissioner of Cultural Affairs for the city, was also on hand. He served in World War II for four years in China, Burma, and India and "flew the hump." His service is the kind that gives people warm feelings towards the military and makes them overlook its bigotry. But Chapin himself, when asked about the exclusion of gay people, said, "I would hope to God they would get over all this and come to their senses" about the gay issue.

Andy Humm  
LGNY  
445 West 23rd Street, #4-F  
New York, NY 10011  
212-675-0584

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Harndc@aol.com@INET@LNGTWY ( Harndc@aol.com@INET@LNGTWY [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:17-SEP-1999 16:20:01.00

SUBJECT: Fwd: Bradley Supports Gays in Military

TO: Daniel C. Montoya@eop ( Daniel C. Montoya@eop [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

From: AOLNews@aol.com@INET@EOPMRX@LNGTWY

Date: 9/16/99 5:09pm

Subject: Bradley Supports Gays in Military

Bradley Supports Gays in Military

.c The Associated Press

By SANDRA SOBIERAJ

WASHINGTON (AP) - Gays should be protected by the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act and allowed to serve openly in the military, Bill Bradley said in a magazine interview released Thursday.

On the question of a California anti-gay-marriage ballot initiative, Bradley also aligned himself more closely with the gay community's legislative agenda than Vice President Al Gore. Both Democratic presidential candidates are dueling for the influential gay and lesbian vote.

"If I was a voter in California, I would not support the Knight initiative," Bradley told The Advocate, a gay and lesbian newsmagazine, in a published interview due on newsstands Sept. 28.

"I think it's divisive and ... I don't think a referendum is the place for this kind of an initiative."

The former New Jersey senator said he still opposes same-sex marriage because of "the religious nature of marriage and respect for the diversity of views on that subject."

In a separate interview published last month, Gore told The Advocate he needed to "educate myself" on the so-called Knight measure on California's March 2000 ballot, which would define marriage as between a man and woman only.

Both Bradley and Gore support legal protections for "domestic partners."

Going further than Gore's support for a pending anti-job-discrimination bill, B

Bradley said he would add sexual orientation to the 1964 act broadly outlawing racial, religious and sex discrimination in employment, housing, lending and public accommodations

Bradley said homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly in the U.S. Armed Forces, but admitted that he has not determined "the timing and method" of such a change to military policy.

In 1993, before President Clinton signed into law the "don't ask, don't tell" policy allowing gays to serve as long as their sexuality remained a secret, Bradley voted for a Senate amendment to lift outright the military's ban on gays.

Gore, in this campaign season, has said only that "don't ask, don't tell" should be implemented with "more compassion."

Bradley's position "clearly represents a different, more positive thinking than the vice president's," said David Smith, spokesman for Human Rights Campaign, the nation's largest gay rights group.

On the full menu of gay issues, Bradley and Gore have virtually identical records, but Gore has trumped Bradley in "energy and commitment," Smith said.

"Senator Bradley comes off as ambivalent at best. But these statements in this article certainly send the right message and I'm sure it will cause several potential voters to perhaps look more closely at his candidacy."

In 1996 exit polls, self-identified gay voters accounted for 5 percent of the total voting public, and 7 percent of Clinton's support.

Bradley campaign spokesman Eric Hauser said Bradley gave the interview because the magazine requested it and not to court gay voters.

"He spoke from his heart," Hauser said.

Telling the magazine that he has gay friends but no gay family, Bradley said homosexuality "happens to be an attribute about as meaningful as having blond hair."

AP-NY-09-16-99 1708EDT

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To edit your profile, go to keyword <A HREF="aol://1722:NewsProfiles">NewsProfiles</A>.

For all of today's news, go to keyword <A HREF="aol://1722:News">News</A>.

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jenni R. Engebretsen ( CN=Jenni R. Engebretsen/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:20-SEP-1999 02:41:30.00

SUBJECT: ABC This Week, September 19, 1999

TO: Beth Nolan ( CN=Beth Nolan/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christine L. Anderson ( CN=Christine L. Anderson/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Nicole L. Davison ( CN=Nicole L. Davison/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jenni R. Engebretsen ( CN=Jenni R. Engebretsen/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Natalie S. Wozniak ( CN=Natalie S. Wozniak/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Dawn M. Chirwa ( CN=Dawn M. Chirwa/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David Vandivier ( CN=David Vandivier/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lindsey E. Huff ( CN=Lindsey E. Huff/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Steven Reich ( CN=Steven Reich/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kimberly S. Anderson ( CN=Kimberly S. Anderson/OU=OA/O=EOP@EOP [ OA ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. O'Shea ( CN=Sean P. O'Shea/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura J. Lewis ( CN=Laura J. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: James E. Kennedy ( CN=James E. Kennedy/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Katharine Button ( CN=Katharine Button/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Alejandro G. Cabrera ( CN=Alejandro G. Cabrera/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Melissa J. Prober ( CN=Melissa J. Prober/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sarah E. Gegenheimer ( CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Rochester M. Johnson ( CN=Rochester M. Johnson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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ABC THIS WEEK  
Aired on SEPTEMBER 19, 1999

ANNOUNCER: From ABC News in Washington, This Week with Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts, featuring George Will, and our roundtable with George Stephanopoulos and Bill Kristol.

COKIE ROBERTS, ABC News: (voice-over) Presidential candidate Bill Bradley poses a serious threat to Vice President Al Gore in the polls.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY, (D), Presidential Candidate: One of the reasons that I'm running for president is to restore trust in public service and confidence in our collective wealth.

COKIE ROBERTS: (voice-over) Does Bradley have a realistic chance to be the Democratic Party candidate? We'll ask him in an exclusive Sunday morning interview.

SAM DONALDSON, ABC News: (voice-over) And this week.

RICHARD PASTORELLA, Bomb Victim: On that particular day, I lost all the fingers of my right hand. I lost the sight of both eyes.

SAM DONALDSON: (voice-over) Fallout from the Puerto Rican clemency controversy, as the White House asserts executive privilege and refuses to turn over many key documents in the case. How will this affect Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign? We'll talk to two key New Yorkers, Republican Vito Fossella and Democrat Charles Rangel.

COKIE ROBERTS: (voice-over) Also on our roundtable, Pat Buchanan

threatens to leave the Republican Party. We'll talk Reform Party politics.

SAM DONALDSON: (voice-over) And there she is.

UNKNOWN FEMALE: Heather Renee French, Miss America 2000.

SAM DONALDSON: (voice-over) The controversy over the Miss America Pageant.

COKIE ROBERTS: (voice-over) President candidate Bill Bradley, clemency and executive privilege, Buchanan and the Reform Party, the Miss America controversy, all here this Sunday morning.

SAM DONALDSON: Welcome to our program. Vice Presidents Mondale and Bush had very little trouble winning their party's presidential nomination, although only one went on to success. But Vice President Al Gore is having an increasingly tough time. Former Senator Bill Bradley, I think it's safe to say, is not only nipping at his heels, Cokie, he's climbing up his entire backside.

COKIE ROBERTS: That's certainly been the case in a couple of polls that have come out this week. Senator Bradley, neck and neck with Vice President Gore and beating George W. Bush in one poll, with Bush beating Al Gore in the same poll.

And Senator Bradley is here with us this morning. Thank you very much for coming in.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Good to be with all of you.

COKIE ROBERTS: And with the questioning as always, George Will.

We just saw in that clip Senator Bradley, you saying that you're running to restore confidence in public service. Has this administration lost confidence?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well I think what I meant by that was an administration that I would run would be pushing for things that I think are necessary to restore that confidence. And I think campaign finance reform is one of those. I think broadening the franchise so more people can vote is another. And I think having a president as well as a candidate who speaks from his convictions and just tells people what he believes and doesn't simply speak from polls, are a key part of that.

COKIE ROBERTS: And is that what Al Gore does, speak from polls?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I don't know. I don't know what inner workings go on in that campaign.

COKIE ROBERTS: But it implies that there is something that you are trying to correct. Does that exist now?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: What I'm saying, Cokie, is that when I left the Senate a couple years ago, I said I thought that politics was broken. And by that I meant that there was way too much money in politics, that the media was too superficial and that not enough politicians spoke from their core convictions. And so, reentering politics, running for the presidency, is my attempt to remedy those areas. I can't handle the media, but I can speak from my convictions and I can push for campaign finance reform.

SAM DONALDSON: Well, Senator, on your convictions, had you been in the Senate last January, how would you have voted on articles one and two of impeachment against President Clinton?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I would have voted against the articles of impeachment. I didn't think that the punishment was proportionate with the--with what he did. However, I think any time a president lies, he undermines his own authority and squanders the people's trust.

SAM DONALDSON: Do you have any doubts about it?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I'm so glad--no, I don't. I said that then, and I say it now.

SAM DONALDSON: But you didn't think he committed perjury?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I didn't think that impeachment was proportionate to what he did.

SAM DONALDSON: How do you stand on the death penalty. You voted for it in a number of ways when you were in the Senate.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I support the death penalty for certain heinous crimes.

SAM DONALDSON: All right. The F-22, the House has voted against continuing the billions of dollars for this new fighter. Is that wise? How would you vote?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I would vote against it.

SAM DONALDSON: You don't think the F-22 is necessary?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: No.

SAM DONALDSON: Senator, you have been a free trade man. I know you support the North American Free Trade Act and the like. Of course, the unions whose vote you court are violently opposed to that particular act and to others. What do you say to them?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, I tell them why I think it's important. I--the North American Free Trade Agreement was for me a very important part of my life in the Senate. I raised it with the Mexicans before they proposed it. I raised it with the Bush administration, with candidate Clinton. I participated in the negotiation of the agreement. And I also thought that when it passed, that it would have a long-lasting impact on the United States. In fact, I think that it's in the category of the Louisiana Purchase, in terms of a point in time where the country makes a decision. And when we make a decision, we become a different country in the long run. And I think that's what the North American Free Trade Agreement is about. I also think, though, that there are some winners and there are some winners and there are some losers. And those...

SAM DONALDSON: Well the unions think they're the losers.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well there are people who've lost their jobs in this country because of NAFTA. And I think we have to be sensitive to that and we try to have to help them in terms of health care, in terms of education benefits, in terms of understanding that they're, in many cases, making less money now. But I don't the answer to that is to repeal NAFTA.

SAM DONALDSON: I'm going to turn you over to George Will. But I take it you're for China's entry in the World Trade Organization?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: If China abides by all the rules, gets no special benefits, then I think it's better to have China in the World Trade Organization subject to multinational rules and subject to dispute settlement mechanisms that everybody has to be subjected to, than it is to have China outside the world trading system cutting bilateral deals with this country or that country, playing the United States off against Europe, off against Japan. So it depends on what the agreement says. But I think that--well, we'll have to see what it says.

SAM DONALDSON: But basically you're for it?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Basically, if they meet all the conditions, yes.

GEORGE WILL, ABC News: Just two further questions on the impeachment matter. On the day the President was impeached, on a White House lawn pep rally, the Vice President said President Clinton would be remembered as one of our greatest presidents. Do you think he will be?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, personally, George, I'd pick Lincoln.

GEORGE WILL: Anyone else?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Pick FDR.

GEORGE WILL: OK.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I'd pick Woodrow Wilson.

GEORGE WILL: And others. OK.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I'd pick Teddy Roosevelt.

GEORGE WILL: Judge Richard...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I'd pick Harry Truman,

SAM DONALDSON: Let him finish.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Thomas Jefferson, and I'd pick James K. Polk.

SAM DONALDSON: He might pick 40 people.

GEORGE WILL: Time forbids. Judge Richard Posner (ph), the chief judge of the 7th Circuit in a recent and well reviewed book, says, assessing the impeachment imbroglio, says Clinton's violations of federal criminal law were felonious numerous and non-technical. Do you agree with that?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I'm not a federal judge. And I think ultimately the impeachment trial and judgment is a political judgment as much as it is a legal judgment. And that's why I said I didn't--I wouldn't vote for it because I don't think it's proportionate.

GEORGE WILL: This week you have said several things pertaining to gay rights. One is that homosexuals should be able to serve openly in the military and also that the 1964 Civil Rights Act should be amended to add sexual orientation as an illicit form of discrimination. Yet you say you're still against same sex marriage. And you give the following two reasons; because of the religious nature of marriage and respect for the diversity of views on the subject. Now there were a diversity of views on the subject of civil rights when the '64 act was passed. And two atheists who go to City Hall and get married, that's not a religious thing, that's a civil acknowledgment of marriage. Why is it not a denial of equal protection for there not to be same sex marriages?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, I think that--first of all, I do support adding sexual orientation, as you say, and I do support allowing gays to serve in the military. The reason I think that I don't support gay marriage is because, as I said to you, and as I said in my statement on the floor, I felt that marriage is not simply a legal state. But it is a sacrament, for example in certain Christian faith. And that there are many leaders who are opposed to it and therefore in a world where you're weighing constantly the relative merits and balances of right and wrong, on this issue, I tilted toward the religious faith.

On gays in the military, you know there have been gays in the military as long as there's been a military. They've only had to hide. And we've had since 1993 a policy of don't ask, don't tell. And nobody says that it's worked, everybody says it hasn't worked. And I asked, why can a gay American serve openly in the U.S. Department of Treasury, in the U.S. State Department, in the office of the Attorney General, in the White House, in Congress and in the federal courts and not serve in the military.

GEORGE WILL: Did you consult with some senior military officials as to why they might think it's different in the military than in HHS?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I didn't say HHS.

GEORGE WILL: Well, any of the others.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: No. I didn't. Why, tell my why?

GEORGE WILL: Well because they argue that there are matters of unit cohesion and all the rest that are...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: What does that mean?

GEORGE WILL: Well, maybe what they would tell you that it is whether or

not...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well what does it mean?

GEORGE WILL: It means the ability to, under fire and under stress, to have unit cohesion that's important in combat. That's what you'll get, that I hear from military officials.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, you know, I think that if gay Americans can be policeman, nuclear scientists, bricklayers, football players...

GEORGE WILL: But you're not consulting...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY:...doctors and lawyers...

GEORGE WILL: You did not consult with military people?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: No, no I did not. This is a statement of my personal views, my personal belief that gays should be allowed to serve openly in the military.

SAM DONALDSON: We want to get more of your personal views, Senator.

And when we come back, we will have more with candidate Bill Bradley.

(Commercial Break)

COKIE ROBERTS: We're back with Senator Bill Bradley.

Senator Bradley, in answering Sam's question about NAFTA, you said, have to provide health and education for the people who are affected by it. Let me ask you a couple of questions about health and education.

Education, vouchers. In the Senate you voted for an experimental voucher program. Now it's unclear to me where you stand on the subject of vouchers.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, my views haven't changed, Cokie. I don't now nor have I ever believed that vouchers were the answer to the problems with public education.

COKIE ROBERTS: But that's not the question. The question is, are vouchers useful for schools that are failing and kids that aren't getting a good public education.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: What I supported in the Senate was an experiment for vouchers in six urban areas of America. And the reason I did that was, I represented New Jersey, has the second highest per capita income in the country and yet five of the poorest places in America. And I would go into urban areas and have town meetings and parents would come up to me and they would say how can you help me with my child? He's in a school where there're drugs, where there's violence. It closes at three in the afternoon and there's no extra curricular activities. And for 13 years what I said to that parent was what we need to do is get on the school board. And they'd look at me as if I'd just dropped from Mars. Because say we go to work at 6:00 a.m. in the morning, we get home at 9:00 at night, we can't do that. What are you going to do to help me? And so on several occasions I voted for experiments to give those parents an option. And also to test the hypothesis of the school choice people which is that if you had vouchers, that the competition would improve the public school system.

COKIE ROBERTS: And do you think that's the case?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: The jury is still out. That's why you need the experiments. They're are now...

COKIE ROBERTS: So you would still vote for experiments like that?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: No. There are now experiments going on in Milwaukee and in Cleveland, and we'll see how they turn out. And the constitutional issue will be framed there...

COKIE ROBERTS: But you would still support that?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I support the experiments that are going on in

Milwaukee and in Cleveland because I think that we can't leave anything unturned if what we're going to do is try to help the public schools of urban America. And I think that that is a--that's the key point here. Because, you know, I've lived with this issue in and around it for 30 years. And urban public schools in many places are in very bad shape.

COKIE ROBERTS: You were quoted in a New Hampshire newspaper as saying that you used to think competition would improve public schools, but now you think you were wrong. Is that the case?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, I think the jury's still out. I haven't seen anything to say that it would. I haven't seen any information to say that it would. But that's why you have experiments. I'm not going to back away.

Look, when FDR was president of the United States, he said in the middle of the Depression, I'm going to try this, I'm going to try that, I'm going to try something else. But we're going to find a way to get out of the Depression. The way my attitude is toward urban public schools, I'm going to try this, I'm going to try that, I'm going to try something else, but we are going to improve these public schools.

GEORGE WILL: A final question on that. The Cleveland case may get to the Supreme Court, where the question will be, does it violate the establishment clause to give vouchers for parents to choose to use as they wish at sectarian or secular schools. Do--would President Bradley, solicitor general, argue as a friend of the court for or against the constitutionality of such a program?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I haven't decided that.

GEORGE WILL: OK. In 1996, you said that welfare reform was a disaster. There'd been a 40 percent drop in welfare rolls, obviously the economy gets some share of the credit for that.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Good, I'm glad you said that.

GEORGE WILL: I thought I'd save you the trouble. The question is, however, you said it would be a disaster, and may still be, I gather is your view, when we'll find out when the time limits kick in and we see who's thrown off the welfare rolls and the burden it places on. Do you think it's likely that President Bradley would want to restore, in a sense, a lifetime entitlement to welfare, ending the time limits?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, I agreed with Pat Moynihan on this issue who I think knows more about welfare than anybody else in the country. The welfare system that we now have isn't the welfare system that passed in 1996 that I voted against. I voted against it saying the next four years this administration will be making changes to make it palatable. They've made changes in terms of food stamps, in terms of Medicaid, in terms of a number of other things. There are other things that need to be done.

And so what I am going to suggest in the course of the campaign is ways to improve the existing welfare system. I think that the economy is more responsible than the Welfare Reform Bill, I think, for our current drop in the rolls.

GEORGE WILL: Look overseas for just a moment. In 1991, then Senator Gore voted to authorize the use of force in the Gulf, you voted against. If your view had prevailed and we did not use force in the Gulf, and we'd relied on sanctions to get Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait, do you think they would have?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, we don't know because we didn't do that.

GEORGE WILL: Do you think it's plausible. We've seen the effect of sanctions since then and they've been negligible.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Right. I think that it is plausible, but we don't

know.

GEORGE WILL: Plausible that they would have worked?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Yes. I said at the time that I would prefer to have some sanctions longer, at which time I would consider the use of force. I did not say I would never use force and we only have to use sanctions. The question is, the timing that you would use force. And...

GEORGE WILL: One other question on foreign policy. In the Senate you supported a resolution saying we should move our embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the capital of Israel. It is said that the final status of the city should be negotiated between the two parties. Would you as president promptly order the movement of our embassy?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I support moving the embassy to Jerusalem.

GEORGE WILL: Independent of...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: But I would do nothing that would jeopardize the negotiations that are taking place. I mean, that, you know, that's a consultation process with the state of Israel.

SAM DONALDSON: Well, let's talk again about President Bradley, if you'd been president the past few weeks.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I like that, thank you very much.

SAM DONALDSON: Would you have offered clemency to the Puerto Ricans who now left jail?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: No, I would not have. I believe that--only the President has all the information. And based on what I knew at the time, I would not have offered clemency. I agree with Senator Moynihan and former Mayor Koch.

SAM DONALDSON: And Hillary Clinton.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well I suppose so if she wanted to withdraw it.

SAM DONALDSON: What is her position as you understand it?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Pardon.

SAM DONALDSON: What is Mrs. Clinton's position, as you understand it?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I think she said that she wanted to have the offer withdrawn. That's what I think she said. And, you know, only the President has this information; however, he is the only one who has the clemency report.

SAM DONALDSON: Should he...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Maybe he knows something that I didn't know at the time. But that's how I felt at the time.

SAM DONALDSON: Should he be required to explain it? Members of Congress want him to do so.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Yes, I think he should.

SAM DONALDSON: Send up all the papers?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I think he should.

SAM DONALDSON: Gerald Ford went up himself to explain his pardon of Richard Nixon. Should President Clinton go up to the Hill?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I think that's the only way that this is going to be put to rest.

SAM DONALDSON: Changing the subject. The threshold question these days, at least in some quarters, is use of cocaine. Does it matter if a presidential candidate has used cocaine, an illegal drug?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Every presidential candidate has to decide where they're going to draw the line of privacy in their life.

SAM DONALDSON: It's a felony.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Wait a minute. I've always believed that people have a right to know if you're a crook, but not if you're a sinner, since we

all are. And therefore, in answer to that question specifically, yes.

COKIE ROBERTS: Yes, what?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Yes, I do think that if someone violated the law, they should state whether they did or not.

SAM DONALDSON: Well, I--you took the words, of course, out of my mouth. As I understand it, the use of cocaine is a felony in this country.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I did take them out of your mouth, Sam. See, it's this rare communication.

SAM DONALDSON: You haven't a chance for the presidency if--very serious about (inaudible) nail that down. Obviously, we're talking about George W. Bush. He is the one is being inquired of. So you think that if he in fact used it, he should say so.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, look, I've given you my opinion. George W. Bush is going to do what he feels he's going to do to live with himself in the course of this process.

SAM DONALDSON: You have not used any illegal drugs like that?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: I have used marijuana several times in my life, but never cocaine.

COKIE ROBERTS: Senator, on guns and violence.

SAM DONALDSON: Excuse me, Cokie. Recently in your life?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: No.

SAM DONALDSON: When you were a kid?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well, yes, right. Have you?

SAM DONALDSON: I think a couple of times I've tried it. And I inhaled.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Have you, Cokie?

COKIE ROBERTS: Oh listen, I was so pregnant during those years. The senator...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: George? Who wants to know?

GEORGE WILL: No.

SAM DONALDSON: How come you give George a pass?

GEORGE WILL: No. I'm from the Falstaff generation.

COKIE ROBERTS: Can we get to guns and violence?

GEORGE WILL: That's my Shakespeare...

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Shakespeare, that's right.

COKIE ROBERTS: The--you wrote an op-ed on guns.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Yes.

COKIE ROBERTS: Why not ban all hand guns? Why just leave it to Saturday night specials?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well I would ban Saturday night specials.

COKIE ROBERTS: I know.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: And ever since I saw Robert Kennedy in a pool of blood on the floor of the Ambassador Hotel, the picture of it, in 1968, I thought any president should ban Saturday night specials.

I think that with regard to all handguns, we should have system of registration and licensing, just like we do for automobiles. If we can do it for automobiles, we ought to be able to do it to handguns.

We ought to take gun dealers out of residential neighborhoods. We ought to make it a felony, not a misdemeanor, if you sell a gun to somebody who is underage or who is a felon himself. And I think that we ought to put trigger locks on guns. And I think, finally, that we ought to have background checks for people who buy guns at the gun shows.

COKIE ROBERTS: But why not just get rid of them?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Get rid of all guns? I think that getting rid of all guns...

COKIE ROBERTS: Handguns.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Getting rid of all handguns. Well, I mean, what are we going to with the pentathlon team in the Olympics? They've got to have handguns. That's an event in the Olympics. There are several other exceptions. So I believe that we can have commonsense...

COKIE ROBERTS: England got rid of handguns after the shootings in Scotland, and they participate in the Olympics.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well the point is, then they haven't gotten rid of all the handguns, have they?

SAM DONALDSON: How many angels can dance on the head of a pin, Senator?

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Well enough to answer this question the way I want to answer it.

COKIE ROBERTS: All right. Thank you, Senator Bradley.

Sen. BILL BRADLEY: Thank you.

COKIE ROBERTS: When we come back, the Puerto Rican clemency controversy. We'll talk to two key New York Congressmen, Republican Vito Fosella and Democrat Charles Rangel.

(Commercial Break)

SAM DONALDSON: Joining us now, Republican Representative Vito Fosella and Democratic Representative Charles Rangel.

Welcome gentlemen. We're going to talk about the clemency that the President offered and several members of the FALN took him up on and are now out of jail. Mr. Fosella, Article II of the Constitution. I quote, "The president shall have the power to grant reviews and pardons, reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment."

Why do you think, since he has this sole power, that you can demand that he come up and explain it?

Rep. VITO FOSELLA, (R), New York: Well first of all, I haven't done that. I think we need to back up a step and talk about what this issue is all about. We're talking about the FALN, which was the most efficient and deadly terrorist organization to set foot on our soil in the '70s and '80s, claiming responsibility for 130 bombings, killing innocent people, maiming innocent people. For example, Frank Connor, who was having lunch in Fraunces Tavern, his two boys, nine and 11, have been fatherless because of FALN activities.

And I don't think that we're sending the right signal to anybody contemplating terrorism on our soil, that we are going to let terrorists out of jail free. That's what the President has done with this clemency offer. And I do believe that the President, in a way, owes a responsibility, at least to the victims, either through the Justice Department or through his Office of General Counsel, to explain to these victims how he reached this conclusion.

Nobody's asserting that the President does not have the right to invoke executive privilege, but I do think...

SAM DONALDSON: So you don't think he can be required to send up papers or himself?

Rep. VITO FOSELLA: Well I think, on the surface, he's within his legal grounds. But, however, it does raise questions as it relates to our policy towards terrorism. For example, our policy is crystal clear, no concessions to terrorists. In this clemency offer, the terrorists themselves negotiated the terms and conditions of their release with the White House.

SAM DONALDSON: We'll come back to you. Let me give Mr. Rangel a chance.

Mr. Rangel, you were for the clemency.

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL, (D ), New York: Yes.

SAM DONALDSON: You asked the President to do this before he did it. Why? And do you think he needs to explain it now?

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: As well as the cardinal asked the President to review it, considering clemency, which of course is pretty close to what I was saying.

First of all, there's a double standard used with our citizens in Puerto Rico. We superimpose citizenship on them when we took it away from Spain. And it just seems to me that you can be against terrorism and crime and violent acts, but to give life sentences, and that's what consecutive sentences are when it amounts to 90 years. When everyone agrees that under our existing federal sentencing statute, that this would have been completely excessive. That the timing may not have appeared to be politically expedient, but certainly, if you just look at the facts without any backup material, it warranted a review. And I think, in my view, I think it warranted clemency.

Rep. VITO FOSELLA: Yes, but, if I may, we'll talk about a life sentence. There's a police officer who responded to a bomb threat who's blinded for life and lost all of his fingers on one hand. Ms. Diana Burger (ph), who is six months pregnant with her first child...

COKIE ROBERTS: But congressman, as we understand, these particular people who were released were not responsible for the actual placing of the bombs. And there was this request by the cardinal, by former President Carter, Archbishop Tutu, do you think it did not merit the review that they all asked for?

Rep. VITO FOSELLA: I don't care about the review. The act itself was wrong, as so many people have now claimed, a wide range of law enforcement agencies among them, the FBI, the Bureau of Prisons, the U.S. Attorney's Office in Chicago and Connecticut that prosecuted these individuals. There are some who advocate that these people are a bunch of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. Two of them were videotaped making bombs. That wasn't for science class, they were going to be used to kill or maim innocent people. Some of them have indicated, possibly through Bureau of Prison tapes, that if they were to be released they would engage of acts of violence again. Is this the right signal we want to send to anybody out there?

For example, Terry Nichols, who was nowhere near the bombing in Oklahoma City, if in 10 or 15 years a then president steps forward and wants to release Terry Nichols, don't you think there'd be outrage across this country?

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: I think you're missing the point when you say commit acts of violence again. I truly believe if you join an association and you knew that they were involved in violent acts, that you have to assume some of the responsibility. But I hope that you understand that they were not convicted for doing anything that was violent. They were convicted for joining a conspiracy and technically they would be guilty, but not to do 90 years.

GEORGE WILL: But Congressman Rangel, to repeat this, we have the letter in the "Wall Street Journal" from Debra Devaney, former assistant U.S. attorney in Chicago, saying that three of these petitioners were caught on video tape in safe houses making bombs that were to be planted at military institutions.

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: Under our system of government, you are not sentenced for anything that is not an issue that was in the court. The

sentence was done for what evidence was there, what they plead guilty to. Now you cannot come in and say, yes, but I have video, yes, but someone told me. That is not what we do in the United States.

However, in treating the citizens in Puerto Rico, where they have some status which is very unclear and where the Congress and the Senate, Republican controlled I might add, refuses to take it up, you can do what you want, they can't vote about it, they can't do anything at all about it.

GEORGE WILL: Congressman, we understand that the President has the right to do this without Congress searching through the decision-making process. But what about the Bureau of Prison tapes that supposedly have the--some of these people who got clemency, talking about going back to violence? Should they be made public?

Rep. VITO FOSELLA: I think they should. Frankly, I've--you know we talked about let's keep the train on the tracks here. These individuals been released have expressed no remorse, have offered no apologies, no contrition for the acts of violence they were part of during the '70s and '80s. These are the people that are now free. So I do think some of these records should be released.

COKIE ROBERTS: Congressman.

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: Quite frankly, the only think that the Republican-controlled House and Senate knows how to do well is investigate. They've had 50 investigations of the President and if Dan Burton wants to take this one on, hey, I'm with you.

COKIE ROBERTS: Congressman, as long as you're moving into politics, let me ask you about the First Lady and this issue. Is she consulting anybody in New York politics when she makes these decisions, makes these pronouncements?

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: Of course not. She didn't. And I think that she said she made one heck of a big mistake. And for anyone to think that the President's dumb enough to think that this clemency thing would be helping her, then he'd have to take a course in political science 101.

She made a mistake because she is in this exploratory, question asking mode, which I don't understand, as opposed to having a campaign with staff that reaches out to people. Unlike Mayor Giuliani who has a staff, she doesn't have it.

COKIE ROBERTS: And do you think there's any chance she might not run?

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: Heck no, of course she's going to run and she's going to win.

SAM DONALDSON: We've got to run. But Bill Bradley just said a few moments ago on our program that he thought the President ought to go up, even though constitutionally he's not required to, to Congress and explain this. Do you think he should?

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: Of course not. He'd be opening the door to every clemency plea if we did this and then we could go into some of the others that perhaps Republican presidents have done.

SAM DONALDSON: Congressman, do you think?

Rep. VITO FOSELLA: Well, you know, I appreciate the executive privilege he invoked, but I really think at a minimum, either he, or through a spokesperson, should explain and give some courtesy to the victims who have heard nothing from the White House concerning this clemency in the last couple of years.

SAM DONALDSON: Gentlemen, thank you very much for being with us. Please come back.

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL: Thank you, I will.

Rep. VITO FOSELLA: Thank you.

SAM DONALDSON: When we come back, our roundtable with Bill Kristol and George Stephanopoulos, in just a moment.

(Commercial Break)

COKIE ROBERTS: Well as we said earlier in the program, this race between Bill Bradley and Al Gore is getting very tight indeed. This week, yesterday a poll came out in New York among New York voters that shows Bush beating Gore in New York or basically tying. But that's significant because New York is a Democratic state and Gore's been winning in the earlier polls. And look at this, Bradley/Bush, Bradley beats Bush in New York. That is also significant because he has been nowhere before. This has got Democrats talking.

George Stephanopoulos, Bill Kristol, we really have an interesting race. You've been predicting, Bill, Bradley all along. Now what are you hearing?

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS, ABC News Analyst: Well the same thing. I mean it's unbelievable. So far Bradley has been getting a lot of support from independents, more moderates and Republicans. These kind of numbers, they cut into the electability of Vice President Gore, might make Democrats, core Democrats start to rethink the race.

COKIE ROBERTS: Not to mention donors.

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: And we're going to--exactly. And we're going to see the first head to head matchup of Bradley/Gore just next week. DNC meeting. Next Saturday, they're both going to give speeches and there's been a lot of juggling of the schedule. In fact, it looks like the White House is now moving President Clinton's speech so he can wrap up and not give Bradley the last word. And that shows how worried the White House is.

SAM DONALDSON: Everybody loves a winner. I mean they're for their man or their women until it looks like that he or she is going to lose and then they discover they're not for them. And that's what's happening to Al Gore. I think Al Gore still has strength. I think Al Gore still is and would be a formidable candidate, but if the party begins to fall away and our executive producer, I think, won't mind my saying what he--I agree with him, that's why I'm going to repeat it, that some other Democrats now might say well we're not just going to concede this to Bill Bradley, let's us get in there and see if we can get a piece of Al Gore.

COKIE ROBERTS: No.

BILL KRISTOL, ABC News Analyst: Too late, they had their chance.

SAM DONALDSON: OK. You see what you're...

COKIE ROBERTS: How about a rich Democrat or a Democrat with a rich wife who could...

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: Who you thinking of?

SAM DONALDSON: Are you thinking Massachusetts and we aren't talking Ted?

BILL KRISTOL: Too late. They had their chance. They're all sitting their watching TV chewing up their--chewing the carpet. But Bill Bradley had the courage...

SAM DONALDSON: This is September in the year before the election and you say too late?

BILL KRISTOL: Bill Bradley had the courage to get in. He saw early on that Clinton would peak on the day of his acquittal from the Senate. The Democrats would feel bad about having rallied to Clinton that they would be open to a not Clinton candidacy. And interestingly, the state which

Bradley's doing best is New York. All right, he's beating Bush in New York where Gore's losing...

COKIE ROBERTS: Now, of course, let's stipulate, he played basketball in New York...

BILL KRISTOL: He did.

COKIE ROBERTS: And he does have ...

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator from New Jersey.

COKIE ROBERTS: And he's the Senator from New Jersey. Had lots of ads on in New York, lots of New York appearances and a lot of people know him in New York.

BILL KRISTOL: Right, right. But what else has been happening in the last six months in New York? Hillary Clinton's Senate candidacy. Hillary Clinton's candidacy has hurt Al Gore badly, I think. Not only in New York. Because if Clinton fatigue is what's hurting Gore, it'd be one thing if Gore just--if the Clinton's were to go away and Gore could step out in his own right. But Hillary Clinton being on the scene for the next 14 months is terrible.

COKIE ROBERTS: There was one poll this week that showed that the more time she spends in the state, the worse it is for Al Gore.

George, where are you on all this?

GEORGE WILL: Well, Al Gore's problems are incurable. First of all, Bill Clinton is there and he's done what he's done and he is stuck to Mr. Gore incurably.

Second, Al Gore is a very polarizing figure, particularly among Republicans, in a way that Bill Bradley just isn't. I mean Republicans are horrified by--well I think what we've seen from Bill Bradley so far is that he can take positions slightly, and you really need a micrometer to measure it, slightly to the left of Al Gore without similarly alarming people in the way that Al Gore does.

But beyond that, there is the fact that to an enormous number of people Al Gore is just an implausible presenter, on the presentational side of the presidency. The man who came out and said that no controlling legal authority, the automaton, the bionic vice president just doesn't look good.

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: It's not incurable. It's not good, but it's not incurable at all. And the Vice President has to deal with a couple of things. First of all, he has to try to turn his office into a virtue. He's the only person in the race who has been there for all of the decisions of the last seven years. Number two, and...

GEORGE WILL: George, can I just interrupt for a minute. One of the things they'll say, yes you were there serving on that commission that oversaw the Russian bailout.

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: That's right, but I was also there making the economic decisions that lead to this unprecedented prosperity. At least he's got to engage the debate.

Secondly, he's got to engage Bill Bradley. They wanted to put it off for a long time, it was probably smart to try to put it off. That's not an option anymore.

COKIE ROBERTS: Well, I think they were convinced that the more people saw of Bradley, the less they'd like him. And that's simply not the case.

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: So far.

COKIE ROBERTS: That he was equally boring and that he was vague on his positions. And I think that he's worked on being more engaging.

SAM DONALDSON: Well both of you have touched, I think, on the key here,

he is a likable man. And television and the way you come across, a presenter, as you said, is very, very important.

Gore, if he can't, you say it's not incurable--if Gore can't come across more like someone that you want to like and that you want to listen to, I think he may be cooked. But I'm not prepared to write him off yet either. I think it's much too early. And I think Gore has too many strengths to say that.

COKIE ROBERTS: Of course you can't write him off. That would be--you know, he's got the entire Democratic establishment behind him.

SAM DONALDSON: As I say, they're flaking off rapidly. I never knew--what's his name again?

BILL KRISTOL: The one who's going to flake off this week is Pat Moynihan, who I think will announce his support for Bradley this week. Which makes this week, even though it's early, a pretty important week. If Moynihan endorses Bradley, they both speak Saturday morning to the Democratic National Committee. I mean it could be--right now there's worry in the Gore camp, it could be panic a week from now.

COKIE ROBERTS: Well speaking of flaking off, Pat Buchanan seems to be flaking off the Republican Party. Probably going for the Reform Party nod, but there's some disagreement inside that party. Jesse Ventura doesn't seem to like Pat Buchanan. Does that matter?

GEORGE WILL: Well, sure it matters. But Pat Buchanan's very skillful. And the way the rules are set up for getting that nomination, I should think Pat with his network and his rhetorical gifts and his experience out there, has a good chance of getting it.

Let's assume he gets it. A successful third party candidate in our country usually has one or more of three things, a vivid personality. Pat's got that. A burning social issue, I don't think so, or a regional base. George Wallace had all three. Buchanan has one.

He can still be a problem, particularly for Republicans when they set about picking their vice presidential choice. Because if they want to take a moderate on abortion, the fact that Buchanan's out there threatening to make hay with this, giving the right to life people an option of where to go on election day, that will inhibit...

SAM DONALDSON: Well, George, it may be somewhat of a problem. But I think--I mean, Harry Truman could win without the Dixiecrats and John Anderson didn't keep Ronald Reagan from becoming president. And in 1992 I think the record shows that Ross Perot was sort of a wash in that. So I think Pat Buchanan leaving the Republican Party will not doom the Republicans. If I were the Republican chairman, I would say, Pat, close the door on your way out, good luck...

COKIE ROBERTS: Turn out the lights.

SAM DONALDSON: And that it's OK.

BILL KRISTOL: I think they should say that. They haven't been saying that so far. And I think that one way Republicans could be hurt is if they plead with Buchanan, if they kowtow to Buchanan over the next week or two and if they adjust their positions to take up some of the fairly disreputable views that Buchanan has expressed. They should say, good-bye.

You know, you mentioned 1948. It wasn't only the Dixiecrats who deserted Harry Truman.

COKIE ROBERTS: Right. It was Henry Wallace. From both sides.

BILL KRISTOL: And Henry Wallace was a substantial figure. He was Vice President of the United States just four years before. He commanded the left-wing of the Democratic Party, which was terribly powerful then.

Truman didn't just ignore him. Truman attacked him. Truman said, I don't want your support. I don't want the support of fellow-travelers with the Communists. I think the Republicans actually might be better off saying to Pat Buchanan, with all due respect, we don't want your views in this party.

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: But they can't afford to have him up on the stage. Who knows if he'll be in the debates. They can't afford to have him up there next fall. And neither can Jesse Ventura. Because if Pat Buchanan gets the money, gets \$12 million, gets 10 or 12 percent in next year's vote, he's not going to stop. He'll be running again in 2004. And that's Jesse Ventura's worst nightmare.

SAM DONALDSON: No, that's Harold Stassen.

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: That's why it's not impossible that Ventura might get back in this race.

COKIE ROBERTS: We have more politics to talk about and Miss America when we come back.

(Commercial Break)

COKIE ROBERTS: Another horrendous shooting this week, this one in a church in Texas, where, of course, George W. Bush is the governor. Governor Bush canceled his campaign appearances, came home to Texas and made a statement about whether laws should be changed--gun laws, to deal with incidents like this. Here's what Bush had to say.

GEORGE W. BUSH, Republican Presidential Candidate: I don't know the law, a governmental law, that would put love in people's heart.

COKIE ROBERTS: And that is his answer. Is that going to work?

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: No, because the problem is that he signed a law in the State of Texas and the Gore campaign, was quick to fax this all around Washington this week that would allow people to bring concealed weapons into a church. And that's what--this is the most direct connection people have seen so far.

What he has going for him, though, is that even though people seem to care about gun control, they never put it and they want more gun control. They don't put it at the top of their list of what a president can deal with.

COKIE ROBERTS: No, in fact it was very much toward the bottom of a list of issues that ABC asked voters about. But the gun control folk are trying to gin it up, and there is a new advertisement about to be shown all around the country which is including all of these shooting incidents. Let's take a look at that.

(Clip from TV Commercial)

ANNOUNCER: One killed, four children, one adult wounded. Four children, one adult killed. Twelve children wounded. Twelve children, one adult killed. Twenty-three children wounded. Enough is enough. No more excuses. Call Congress and tell them to close the loopholes that give children and criminals easy access to firearms.

COKIE ROBERTS: Now, the traditional wisdom has always been that the pro-gun control people are not as ardent in their views as the pro-gun people. Do things like this make a difference?

GEORGE WILL: Sure, they'll make a difference. On the politics of it, this is a problem for George Bush and the Republicans generally. On the facts and the substance, the policy of it, I don't get it. I mean, what is the Gore campaign saying that if Bush hadn't signed that law, that man would have said, oh, it's illegal to take in there. I'm not going to shoot those people.

I mean, the hubris of the political class in assuming that for every eruption of evil on this planet, they can draft some clever statute that will stop it is itself a problem.

SAM DONALDSON: Well, guns are a problem also, as we've just seen there.

GEORGE WILL: Sure.

SAM DONALDSON: I mean, George Bush says there's an evil in the land. I agree with him if he means there's something going on out there, that we don't understand and guns didn't cause. But if this guy walks in the church and has nothing but a toothbrush and pulls the bristles, everybody lives. And so the question of why people act this way--it's very important, but if they don't have a gun, George, they don't kill anybody.

COKIE ROBERTS: There's something less evil than craziness to me.

SAM DONALDSON: So, they're crazies maybe, but without a gun, they don't kill anyone.

BILL KRISTOL: Two things, that ad, it's deeply dishonest. ``The Washington Post'' this morning has a front page story, no bill currently before Congress would have stopped any of these killings in the last year. Period. It's just factually the case that all these rules and regulations that they're fighting about on the Hill right now could have been passed and it wouldn't have stopped any of these killings.

Fine, if you want make a more liberal case, but to say that the Congressional legislation, which Vice President Gore supports, and he hasn't proposed going further. He's vice president of the United States...

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: Yes he has, he proposed for licensing of hand guns.

BILL KRISTOL: He's vice president of the United States. He should introduce legislation to that effect, so the Congressional argument is phony.

On the conceal-to-carry issue, I live in Virginia. We have concealed carry of hand guns. You have to have a background check and you have to have training. I'm not more scared to go to my synagogue in Virginia because we have the conceal carry law. And I would say that in bad neighborhoods in Virginia, people who work in the 7-11 late at night, I think they should have the right to carry a handgun against criminals.

COKIE ROBERTS: Well, we're going to keep debating this issue, but there's a new injustice week, and we don't have much time, but last night, we have a new Miss America, the first Miss Kentucky. And they are now trying to or talking about changing the rules in the Miss America contest. Somebody who has had an abortion, been married, can be Miss America.

Sam?

SAM DONALDSON: Yes. right, because--put on this. Miss means miss, and you said, well if she was Mrs. but now she's Miss and if she was pregnant, now she's not. I don't think it matters.

The thing that struck me about it, they cut down from the 10 finalists doing their act to only five because the television ratings are going down. So I do not believe that it matters whether Miss has been married before or not. Well it's repugnant to the English language in a sense, to say it doesn't.

COKIE ROBERTS: What about our ideal?

GEORGE WILL: She better not smoke.

(Laughter)

That would push them over the edge. Look, it used to be they'd come out and that Bert Parks would say to some woman usually from Mississippi who

was the winner every year, say, what do you want to be when you grow up? She'd say chief justice. Who's your hero? Albert Schweitzer. What's your favorite book, "Green Eggs and Ham," or something like that, and they'd go down these lists and it was perfectly harmless and we didn't have--didn't take that seriously, the ideal stuff. It was a bathing beauty contest--can't we get back to that?

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS: Good riddance, let's get rid of it all. I mean, there's some concern by the traditionalists that this is going to ruin the pageant. Fine. Let's do away with it, we shouldn't be holding this up. It is just a bathing beauty contest. Is that the ideal we want to be setting up for young women of America?

GEORGE WILL: It's a free society.

(Laughter)

BILL KRISTOL: It is however, somewhat revealing. You can't be married...

(Laughter)

Look, they have to say they are not married--it's better to be divorced than married by the new rules and it's better to have had an abortion than to bring a child to term, which is a little weird when you think about it.

COKIE ROBERTS: Yes, it's basically none of their business. But I'm not forgetting this. I like Miss America and Sam and I will be back in a moment.

(Commercial Break)

SAM DONALDSON: Here's a look at what's coming up on ABC News.

(ABC News clips)

COKIE ROBERTS: Well, that's all for us today. Until next week, that's This Week.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:20-SEP-1999 10:29:12.00

SUBJECT: Bradley Didn't Consult Army on Gays

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TO: Thomas M. Rosshirt ( CN=Thomas M. Rosshirt/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael B. Feldman ( CN=Michael B. Feldman/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

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READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Ron Klain ( CN=Ron Klain/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Charles W. Burson ( CN=Charles W. Burson/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Alejandro G. Cabrera ( CN=Alejandro G. Cabrera/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura M. Quinn ( CN=Laura M. Quinn/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lisa M. Brown ( CN=Lisa M. Brown/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura S. Marcus ( CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 09/20/99  
10:28 AM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu  
09/19/99 05:05:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Bradley Didn't Consult Army on Gays

Associated Press  
September 19, 1999

Bradley Didn't Consult Army on Gays

By DARLENE SUPERVILLE

WASHINGTON (AP) - Bill Bradley said Sunday he did not consult with military officials prior to telling a gay and lesbian magazine that homosexuals should be permitted to serve openly in the military.

``This is a statement of my personal views, my personal belief that gays should be allowed to serve openly in the military," the Democratic presidential candidate said on ABC's ``This Week."

In an interview with The Advocate, released last week, the former New Jersey senator said gays also should be protected under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Bradley also said he would not support a California ballot question that seeks to outlaw same-sex marriages, although he said he remains opposed to such unions.

He was asked in the wide-ranging ABC interview whether he consulted with senior military officials about why they view the armed services differently from other areas of government where gays serve openly. Bradley said he did not and did not see a need to.

Bradley said that gay Americans should be allowed to serve in the military if they can serve the country as policemen, nuclear scientists, doctors and lawyers.

``There have been gays in the military as long as there's been a military. They've only had to hide," he said.

Bradley, who is challenging Vice President Al Gore for the Democratic nomination, described the Clinton's administration ``don't ask, don't tell," policy on gays in the military as a near failure. The 1993 policy allows homosexuals to serve in the military as long as they do not discuss their sexual orientation openly. Military superiors also cannot inquire about the sexual orientation of their troops.

On other topics, Bradley said:

Illegal drug use by a presidential candidate mattered. ``I do think that if someone violated the law, they should state whether they did or not," said Bradley, who has used marijuana ``but never cocaine." Questions about possible past illegal drug use hounded GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush last month until he acknowledged - without further elaboration - that he had not used illegal drugs within the past 25 years.

The booming economy was more responsible for substantial drops in the number of people on welfare than a 1996 reform law. Bradley said he would suggest further improvements to the system later on in the campaign.

He would have voted against the two articles of impeachment against President Clinton stemming from the Monica Lewinsky investigation. ``I didn't think that the punishment was proportionate with ... what he did.

-----  
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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: John H. Corcoran III ( CN=John H. Corcoran III/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:28-SEP-1999 16:58:15.00

SUBJECT: Re: Tom Henderson/HIV letter

TO: Todd A. Summers ( CN=Todd A. Summers/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Here's an email i got from Richard Socarides in OPL today. I haven't heard from Daniel Montoya. Let me know your thoughts...

----- Forwarded by John H. Corcoran III/WHO/EOP on 09/28/99 04:57 PM -----

Richard Socarides 09/28/99 01:25:30 PM

Record Type: Record

To: John H. Corcoran III/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: Tom Henderson/HIV letter

Daniel Montoya from our AIDS office will call you. apparently the topic is don't ask, don't tell.

John H. Corcoran III  
09/22/99 10:51:03 AM  
Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Tom Henderson/HIV letter

Richard-- We have a letter (in PLM) from Tom Henderson to the President which I'd like to ask you about. I can fax it to you, but it's very short. It just says:

"Dear Mr. President,  
You've still got time to attempt to rectify the worst political decision of your Presidency. I hope you'll find some way to at least put yourself on the right side of history.

Best regards,  
Tom"

Do you know what he's talking about? Are you familiar with him? Any guidance would be greatly appreciated. Much thanks.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lisa Ferdinando ( CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:29-SEP-1999 10:48:04.00

SUBJECT: CNN Larry King Live, September 28, 1999

TO: Rebecca J. Salay ( CN=Rebecca J. Salay/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kristina Wolfe ( CN=Kristina Wolfe/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lisa Ferdinando ( CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Anne W. Bovaird ( CN=Anne W. Bovaird/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael K. Gehrke ( CN=Michael K. Gehrke/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michele Ballantyne ( CN=Michele Ballantyne/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Ruby Shamir ( CN=Ruby Shamir/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Aprill N. Springfield ( CN=Aprill N. Springfield/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Ann C. Hertelendy ( CN=Ann C. Hertelendy/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Erica S. Lepping ( CN=Erica S. Lepping/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas D. Janenda ( CN=Thomas D. Janenda/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Toby C. Graff ( CN=Toby C. Graff/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael A. Hammer ( CN=Michael A. Hammer/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Victoria L. Valentine ( CN=Victoria L. Valentine/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Rebecca L. Walldorff ( CN=Rebecca L. Walldorff/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

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TO: Heather M. Riley ( CN=Heather M. Riley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan M. Prince ( CN=Jonathan M. Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Steve Ricchetti ( CN=Steve Ricchetti/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Rachael E. Sullivan ( CN=Rachael E. Sullivan/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol ( CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mark A. Kitchens ( CN=Mark A. Kitchens/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Gordon Li ( CN=Gordon Li/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Steven J. Naplan ( CN=Steven J. Naplan/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Paul K. Engskov ( CN=Paul K. Engskov/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Anne M. Edwards ( CN=Anne M. Edwards/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Melissa M. Murray ( CN=Melissa M. Murray/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Nanda Chitre ( CN=Nanda Chitre/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jennifer Ferguson ( CN=Jennifer Ferguson/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan A. Kaplan ( CN=Jonathan A. Kaplan/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jeffrey M. Smith ( CN=Jeffrey M. Smith/OU=OSTP/O=EOP@EOP [ OSTP ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth R. Newman ( CN=Elizabeth R. Newman/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Megan C. Moloney ( CN=Megan C. Moloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Brenda M. Anders ( CN=Brenda M. Anders/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Dominique L. Cano ( CN=Dominique L. Cano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Leslie Bernstein ( CN=Leslie Bernstein/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Anthony R. Bernal ( CN=Anthony R. Bernal/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Joseph P. Lockhart ( CN=Joseph P. Lockhart/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Irma L. Martinez ( CN=Irma L. Martinez/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Beth Nolan ( CN=Beth Nolan/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christine L. Anderson ( CN=Christine L. Anderson/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Nicole L. Davison ( CN=Nicole L. Davison/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jenni R. Engebretsen ( CN=Jenni R. Engebretsen/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Natalie S. Wozniak ( CN=Natalie S. Wozniak/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Dawn M. Chirwa ( CN=Dawn M. Chirwa/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David Vandivier ( CN=David Vandivier/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lindsey E. Huff ( CN=Lindsey E. Huff/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Steven Reich ( CN=Steven Reich/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kimberly S. Anderson ( CN=Kimberly S. Anderson/OU=OA/O=EOP@EOP [ OA ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. O'Shea ( CN=Sean P. O'Shea/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura J. Lewis ( CN=Laura J. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: James E. Kennedy ( CN=James E. Kennedy/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Katharine Button ( CN=Katharine Button/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Alejandro G. Cabrera ( CN=Alejandro G. Cabrera/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Melissa J. Prober ( CN=Melissa J. Prober/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Sarah E. Gegenheimer ( CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Rochester M. Johnson ( CN=Rochester M. Johnson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: June Shih ( CN=June Shih/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Jason H. Schechter ( CN=Jason H. Schechter/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Alison Muscatine ( CN=Alison Muscatine/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Laura D. Schwartz ( CN=Laura D. Schwartz/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Gene B. Sperling ( CN=Gene B. Sperling/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
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TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sara M. Latham ( CN=Sara M. Latham/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: William A. Halter ( CN=William A. Halter/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mark D. Neschis ( CN=Mark D. Neschis/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thurgood Marshall Jr ( CN=Thurgood Marshall Jr/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lowell A. Weiss ( CN=Lowell A. Weiss/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Julia M. Payne ( CN=Julia M. Payne/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Richard L. Siewert ( CN=Richard L. Siewert/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: gamble-bennett@dol.gov ( gamble-bennett@dol.gov @ inet [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Dag Vega ( CN=Dag Vega/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Robin M. Roland ( CN=Robin M. Roland/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Melissa G. Green ( CN=Melissa G. Green/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
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TO: Jennifer M. Palmieri ( CN=Jennifer M. Palmieri/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TO: Douglas B. Sosnik ( CN=Douglas B. Sosnik/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
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TEXT:  
CNN Larry King Live  
Aired September 28, 1999 - 9:00 p.m. ET

Bill Bradley Gives His Prescription for America's  
Problems

LARRY KING, HOST: Tonight, he's pulling campaign money  
in, putting  
policy statements out, and going up in the polls. Does  
this player turned  
politico have the game to beat Al Gore? I'm nervous.

Joining us in Los Angeles, an old friend, Democratic  
presidential candidate  
Bill Bradley. And for more perspective on campaign 2000,  
we'll talk with  
the new general chairman of the DNC, Ed Rendell; William  
Bennett,  
co-director of Empower America; and Bob Woodward of The  
Washington  
Post.

They're later. We're all next on LARRY KING LIVE.

Player turned politico -- I love that.

Senator Bill Bradley is with us: former great star of  
the Knicks, former  
member of the United States Senate, now candidate for

president. Ed

Rendell will be on later. He had previously announced for Gore. Now he's the general chairman of the Democratic Party. He's got to be neutral.

What are your thoughts on his being selected?

BILL BRADLEY (D), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, I think he'll do a good job and I hope he will be neutral.

KING: Do you think he'll be neutral?

BRADLEY: I have no reason not to doubt it.

KING: Do you know Ed a long time?

BRADLEY: I know Ed a long time. Good mayor of Philadelphia, done a good job. I'm from New Jersey. It's across the river. In fact, I helped him get an empowerment zone.

KING: Oh, so he owes you.

(LAUGHTER)

BRADLEY: Well...

KING: Were you glad he was selected?

BRADLEY: Sure. I mean, I didn't have anything to say. So whoever's selected, I think the person should be fair and I think Ed Rendell will be fair.

KING: Do you think people -- we want to touch a lot of bases, and you know...

BRADLEY: Sure.

KING: ... Bill, you'll be on often as we go into this campaign.

BRADLEY: Maybe every week you think I can get on?

KING: If you play your cards right, if you do something really crazy tonight, there's a good chance you'll come right back tomorrow. You know, we're hungry for this.

What do you make of the latest poll in New Hampshire?  
You're ahead.

BRADLEY: Well, I'm very pleased that's where we are, but it's only a snapshot in time. I think it's saying that what we're doing is right. I'm out there respecting people, reaching out to them. I've been doing that since January.

About a month ago, we had over 400 people who came from 14 different states and knocked on 35,000 doors in eight days in New Hampshire and made contact with 10,000 New Hampshire residents. And I think that's really the reason that the polls have moved up, because we have such tremendous volunteer support out there working on my behalf in New Hampshire, Iowa and other places.

KING: You're not surprised that nationally, though, you're still down west of New Hampshire?

BRADLEY: No. I mean, the issue is most people don't know who I am. And I think if you reach out to them, tell them what you believe, let them know where you've come from, what your life is, what you'd like to do as president, then you have a chance of increasing those numbers nationally.

KING: Who would not know who you are?

BRADLEY: You'd be surprised. You'd be surprised.

KING: I mean, you were a basketball star in college. You were a major figure on the American sports scene. You've been in the Senate a long time.

BRADLEY: And I -- you know, and I also -- you know, people know me from basketball. They know me from the U.S. senate. Some of them know me from the books I've written, not as many as I'd like to. In fact, the last time we were here on the program we were talking about one of those books.

But I think that you have to deal with the reality, and the reality is that, you know, 45 percent of the people don't know me. So you're out there telling them what you believe and who you are. You know, Larry, I'm letting them know that I grew up in a small town in Missouri on the banks of the Mississippi River. It had 96 in my high school graduating class and one stoplight. And it was a factory town, a multiracial town -- talked about how that town shaped me.

My parents: small-town banker, a former schoolteacher.

And I'm also talking about how representing New Jersey for the equivalent amount of time, 18 years, was important to me: sharing with them what I believe about what we can do as a country together, how the American people are basically good. And we need to recognize that and call them forth. And if we do, we can basically do anything we'd like in this country.

KING: Are you -- are you a little -- let's say this week's "Time" has you on the cover, a striking portrait like you're on the roll. Are you surprised, frankly -- there's the cover -- at how well you're doing?

BRADLEY: Larry, I wouldn't have gotten into this race if I couldn't see my way through to 270, which is the number of electoral votes that you need to become president. So obviously, you have to see your way through to how you get the nomination.

Plan -- doing politics at the presidential level at this stage of the game is a little bit like playing basketball without a scoreboard. You can't look up and see how you're doing. But we had a plan we laid out in January. We met every checkpoint along the road. And I think we're moving forward.

KING: How much money have you raised?

BRADLEY: Well, in -- at the end -- on June 30th, we reported \$11.8 million that we raised. We had about 7.5 million on hand.

KING: Are you continuing to take in lots of money?

BRADLEY: We're continuing to raise money. It's a difficult process. I mean, we're up against entrenched power in my opponent. And all of the power that can be brought to bear is being brought to bear. So my only hope -- and we're actually succeeding -- is reaching out to people where they are and asking them to help me.

I have drawn lot of people into the process as contributors and otherwise who have never been involved in a political campaign before. And to me, that's important.

BRADLEY: By the way, do you support McCain-Feingold for campaign finance reform?

BRADLEY: I strongly support McCain-Feingold as the first step. But I think we should go further. I think we should have public financing of general elections and free TV time for six weeks prior to the election.

KING: No contributions?

BRADLEY: No. No contributions with public finance. And here's a point, Larry. We spend about \$900 million every year in this country promoting democracy abroad. And for about the same amount of money we could totally take special interests out of the democratic process. If you want to know what's a good investment for the American people, that is a good investment.

KING: All right. Let's touch some bases -- these are kind of extraneous one, but they have come forward. Pat Buchanan is threatening to leave his party because of difficulties with the -- by the way, if you disagreed with the

Party? concept of your party, would you leave the Democratic

BRADLEY: If I disagreed with the concept? I felt the...

KING: Yes, yes. He says the party has left him. He's thinking of leaving. If you thought the party was leaving you, would you leave?

BRADLEY: I think you have to stand up for your convictions, whatever they are. If I felt the party was leaving, sure. I would try to bring it back is what I would try to do, although Pat Buchanan, I mean, you know, Pat Buchanan as the Reform Party candidate has a special ring.

KING: Has a special...

BRADLEY: Ring.

KING: For you? You like it?

BRADLEY: Well, not bad.

KING: You think it helps you politically?

BRADLEY: Well, probably.

KING: So you're open enough to say you would be happy to see him seek that nomination?

BRADLEY: Of the Reform Party?

KING: Yes.

BRADLEY: Sure.

KING: How about Warren Beatty seeking the candidacy of your party?

BRADLEY: Well, you know, when I got into this race, there were six or seven people who were running for president. It boiled down to two. I said at the time, I'll play it as it lays. If somebody else gets in, I'll play it as it lays.

KING: Sort of like if the Knicks play Boston one night. Philly comes out...

BRADLEY: Got to go out and play whoever you've got on the schedule.

KING: Would you welcome Mr. Beatty into the race?

BRADLEY: Well, I think it's a free country and I think that we actually share a lot of the things that we think the country should be doing. And therefore, it's his decision.

KING: He's disappointed, though, or has said that the liberal viewpoint is really not being expressed to his liking thus far, the two principal candidates. How would you respond to that? Do you consider yourself liberal?

BRADLEY: I think -- I think everybody's is going to make their judgment about whether, for example, providing health care for all children, as I proposed today, helping 95 percent of the Americans get health care in this country, as I proposed today, is a good thing to do for the country's future. I personally think it is. I personally think, Larry, that we're at a time in our economic development where the combination of globalization and technological change has created this tremendous economic growth machine, and it's not likely to decrease. It's likely to continue, which means we now have an unprecedented prosperity. And the issue is what do we do with that prosperity.

And I believe that what we should do with it is strengthen our social foundation: increase the number of people in America with health insurance and decrease the number of children who live in poverty. If we can't do those things at this time in this kind of prosperity, when can we do them?

KING: Is that concept liberal, in your opinion?

BRADLEY: I think it's common sense. I think it's common sense.

KING: We'll get a break, and we'll be right back with Senator Bill Bradley.  
This is LARRY KING LIVE. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: We're touching lots of bases with Senator Bill Bradley in the first of what will be many appearances, as we talk to all the candidates.

By the way, concerning that health plan today, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Jim Nicholson, said today about your health plan, "Senator Bradley likes to talk about big ideas, but when it comes to health care, his big ideas always come down to the same prescription: a huge dose of new and higher taxes."

BRADLEY: No way.

KING: Untrue?

BRADLEY: Untrue.

KING: This all comes from the surplus?

BRADLEY: The money that will be able to finance this will come out of a surplus that is non-Social Security. It's about a trillion dollars. Or the money will come out of savings that we'll get out of the health-care system.

Larry, we're on the brink of a technological revolution that will create tremendous savings in our health care system. If we simply took all the paper out of that system now and put it on the Internet instead, I've seen estimates that would say that we'd save anywhere from \$45 billion to \$200 billion.

KING: So it's there?

BRADLEY: It's there.

KING: OK. The switch on ethanol, which you once called highway robbery, was this political for Iowa?

BRADLEY: You know, I represented New Jersey, tried to do the best job I could. The ethanol subsidy meant New Jersey taxpayers paid higher tax for their gasoline. It also meant that it was more difficult

for us to meet our clean  
air standards. That's why I oppose it. I also didn't  
like the fact that  
two-thirds of the benefit went to one corporation. I  
didn't support corporate  
welfare.

And that was when I was a United States senator from New  
Jersey. I am  
now running for president of the United States. Part of  
running for president  
of the United States is getting to know the country in a  
depth that you didn't  
before. Agricultural economics I didn't know much about.

I spent a lot of time talking to Iowa farmers since  
January. And the problem  
and crisis in the family farm is real. And I sat with  
enough of them to know  
that the ethanol part of their overall cost statement  
was an important part,  
and therefore, I believe that it was a reasonable thing  
to do.

KING: Were you wrong when you went that way as a New  
Jersey senator?

BRADLEY: I was not wrong as a New Jersey senator, and  
I'm not wrong  
as a presidential candidate. When you run for president,  
you've got to think  
of the whole country, not just your own state.

KING: One observer said today you talk a lot about  
prosperity. Should you  
be talking more about justice?

BRADLEY: Well, I think the issue of justice is  
enormously important. It's  
why I became a Democrat. I mean, back in 1964, I  
happened to be in the  
Senate chamber the night the 1964 Civil Rights Act  
passed, and that was the  
act that desegregated public accommodations in America.  
When I saw that  
passed, and I saw Barry Goldwater cast the vote no  
against that act, I know  
what I was. There was no doubt in my mind I was a  
Democrat.

I believe that justice is what the Democratic Party  
stands for. And I think it's  
justice, quite frankly, to make sure every child in  
America has health

insurance. It's justice to help working families be able to get health insurance in America. And the people we're talking about, Larry, are waiters and waitresses. I mean, they're cabdrivers. I mean, they're, you know, department store clerks.

KING: They're black and Hispanic and...

BRADLEY: They're people that we know, and they don't have health insurance. And when their kids get sick, they don't have a doctor, which means they get sicker longer. And I think we can do something about that.

KING: What would you say, Bill, is the biggest difference between you and Vice President Gore?

BRADLEY: I think...

KING: A big issue difference, or any difference? What would be the central difference between the two of you?

BRADLEY: I think we would be very different presidents, and I think...

KING: How so?

BRADLEY: ... today on health care is a good example of that.

KING: He's very much for health care.

BRADLEY: Well, but there's quite a difference. I propose getting to 95 percent of the people in America with health coverage. I've said that I think government should do fewer things, bigger and more thoroughly.

I propose getting to 95 percent of the people in America with health coverage. I have said that I think government should do fewer things, bigger and more thoroughly.

KING: And he says?

BRADLEY: And he's an advocate of incrementalism, do a little bit here, a

little bit there. That's a fundamental difference between us. There are other differences. For example, on guns, I support a national system of registration of all handguns. He does not. But the issue differences aren't really the thing, Larry.

KING: What, essentially, kind of different president would you be?

BRADLEY: Well, you know, I think that if you look at our life experiences, you see that they're quite different. I grew up in that small town in Missouri that I was talking about; 18 years there, it shaped my life. KING: But he shouldn't be cursed because he was born in the Senate or of privilege.

BRADLEY: Pardon?

KING: His father was in the Senate, and he had maybe more money than you had when he was born.

BRADLEY: Well, that's true. I'm not saying -- I'm saying only I had a different experience. I grew up in that small town. I, for 10 years, traveled with a multiracial group and saw America through the eyes of my teammates. I represented New Jersey for 18 years in the U.S. Senate. I left the Senate, returned to the private sector. I'm simply saying that I have gone to work many years in my life and never thought of the federal government. I think that makes me like millions of other Americans.

KING: What did you make of Senator Moynihan's statement the day he endorsed you, that he thought Vice President Gore was not electable? What did you think of that?

BRADLEY: I was surprised when he said it, because obviously, if you're running a campaign where you're open and you're spontaneous, you don't have any idea what someone who is your good friend is going to say. I think that what he said was what he felt.

KING: What do you feel?

BRADLEY: As I said before, I wouldn't get into this race if I didn't think that I...

KING: But do you think he is not electable?

BRADLEY: I think that I'd have a better chance to win in the fall against a Republican candidate. That's the only reason -- you know, that is the reason I'm in the race. But the real reason I'm in the race is because I think that my leadership would improve the quality of life.

KING: Were you surprised, though, that he said it that bluntly? Not electable, that's pretty strong words.

BRADLEY: I am never surprised by anything Pat Moynihan does. I've seen him in too many situations be original, insightful and forceful.

KING: If the nominee, would you tour New York in support of the candidacy of senator Clinton -- would-be senator Clinton?

BRADLEY: I would certainly support the Democratic nominee, and I think she'll be the Democratic nominee. And I presume it would go both ways.

KING: That she support you?

BRADLEY: Sure. KING: Well...

BRADLEY: I mean, if you're the Democratic nominee.

KING: More with Bill Bradley. Our panel later.

Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: He's funny.

We're back with Bill Bradley.

Let's touch some other bases.

Would you recognize Cuba?

BRADLEY: No.

KING: Flat no? As long as Castro is there, no? Or am I putting words in your mouth?

BRADLEY: No, you're not putting words in my mouth. I think -- you know, I represented New Jersey for 18 years, the highest number of Cuban Americans outside of Florida. I think I've seen the regime and what it's done to people's lives, and I support the embargo.

KING: We recently eased sanctions against North Korea in exchange for no nuclear testing. Did you agree with that decision?

BRADLEY: Yes. I think that that was a bit of creative diplomacy by the former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry, and I think that it's an interesting and possibly an effective solution to the problem of North Korean nuclear development.

KING: Aid to Russia in view of the money-laundering stories?

BRADLEY: Well, not only in view of the money laundering stories, but there's so much else that has gone wrong. The problem is that America, to the Russian people, has become the Yeltsin government, and the really irony is that for 50 years, what we did was try to communicate with the Russian people, who in the Cold War, we stopped trying to communicate to the Russian people and we communicated only to their leaders.

KING: What do you do?

BRADLEY: And so we, to the Russians, are nothing more than the Yeltsin government. And if you're in an economy where you lost 50 percent of your GDP, as they have in the last eight years, they look at the United States, and at best, they think we're irrelevant; at worst, they think we're the cause of their economic stress. And I think that's the world we

have to deal with.

KING: You would have to reappraise the whole situation as we're handling it?

BRADLEY: Well, I think that we needed to move much stronger at the end of the Cold War to reduce their nuclear weapons, to move quickly to much deeper cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. We needed to reduce their fission material, make sure their nuclear scientists weren't going to the highest bidder. We needed to try to help replace their Chernobyl-style nuclear reactors, and begin a massive exchange program between our two peoples that really had no contact ever. I mean, that was acting in our national interests. And instead, what we did was expand NATO.

KING: Is your private life my business?

BRADLEY: I think that every candidate has to draw the line where that candidate feels comfortable. It's not up to the press. It's up to the candidate.

KING: So if George Bush says, I don't want to discuss this, that's his decision. We can make our own decision based on...

BRADLEY: Absolutely. I mean, I've always said -- I've drawn the line the following...

KING: Where?

BRADLEY: I think that you have a right to know if I'm a crook, but you don't have the right to know if I'm a sinner, since we all are. And that's the basic formulation.

KING: If you have -- and your lovely wife is here, and she's a great woman. But if you have a girlfriend, you have a girlfriend, we don't have the right to know that, and that has no affect on our decision to judge your character?

BRADLEY: Larry, it's what I just said. You have a right to know if I'm a

crook but not if I'm a sinner, since we all are, because we all know there are things that, you know, it's not -- if you look at the seven cardinal sins -- there are seven cardinal sins, and it's not just for happenstance. And so I think what you have to do, is you have to be open with the people about who you are; if you have ever violated the law, you have to say that you've violated the law and how, and let the people make that judgment. But if there are no places where individuals can go to regenerate that belongs to them and not to the public, then we're going to have, I think, less refreshed elected officials and candidates.

KING: How important is character?

BRADLEY: I think that every presidential race is in some way about character, because I believe that what the people ask themselves who are thinking of voting for president is, who do I trust? Who do I trust with my life? Who do I trust with my job? And who do I trust has a view of life that's remotely similar to my own? And the people make that decision in a variety of ways. Issues are only one of them. And they come to that decision after watching carefully, listening carefully and making their assessment. It's sometimes a matter of how somebody is, as well as what somebody says, and that's a very difficult thing for people who assess other candidates only from an intellectual standpoint to understand.

KING: We'll be back with more of Senator Bradley on  
LARRY KING  
LIVE. Take some calls, too.

Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: We're back with "Dollar Bill." That's what they used to call him with the Knicks. Senator Bradley.

Henryville, Indiana, hello.

CALLER: Hello.

KING: Hello.

CALLER: Senator Bradley...

BRADLEY: Yes, sir.

CALLER: ... are you willing to rethink your stand on homosexuals in the military. I am retired military. I am Democratic. This is Bill II that you have...

KING: What is your stand, gays in the military?

BRADLEY: Well, gays have always been in the military. They've just had to hide. We've, since 1993, had a policy that doesn't work. It's called "don't ask, don't tell."

And what I can't understand is how is it possible that gays can serve openly and with distinction in the Department of Justice, in the State Department, in the Treasury Department, in the federal courts, in the Congress, in the White House and not in the military. Why can gays be policemen, brick layers, football players, lawyers, nuclear scientists, but can't be staff sergeants or lieutenants?

I believe that we have to reach out to everybody. I think that, you know, you do it, as I said. The method and timing of this would be my own. Of course, I would be in consultation with many different people in this process.

But what I've stated is my belief that...

KING: That's the exact believe Bill Clinton stated and then changed it to don't ask, don't tell after conferring with chiefs of staff and others.

BRADLEY: Well, all I can say is that's what I believe.

KING: And you won't change?

BRADLEY: I said...

KING: I mean, you're not going to change your mind.

BRADLEY: Method and timing will be what I choose.

KING: Katy, Texas for Bill Bradley, hello.

CALLER: Hi, I would like to ask Senator Bradley two questions. The first one is what would you do to control the flow of drugs into the United States and the second one is are you open to closing our borders for an extended period of time until it gets cleared up.

BRADLEY: I don't really think that the answer to the problems of drugs is trying to stop supply. I think our country has too long a border with Mexico. We have too long a borders with oceans. There are too many open spaces in America that planes can land in.

I think the answer is to reduce demand. And I'd begin in the second grade when you had a book that talked about food groups; one of the chapters would be "Why Drugs Are Not Good for You."

I think that there ought to be a massive television campaign aimed at young people, telling them that their life is shorter if they use drugs. If we can do it with cigarettes, we could -- ought to be able to do it with drugs. And from 1987 to '92, when there was a concentrated effort on public service announcements, on drug use in America aimed at young people, drug use among young people dropped dramatically.

I think that we have to make treatment more available. And I think that we ultimately have to be very tough on those who would profit from essentially destroying our young people.

For example, if a drug kingpin murders, I would support the death penalty for that person.

But I think the idea is to reduce demand and not that we can't do some things on supply, but the ultimate answer rests on demand.

KING: And you think it's not working now?

BRADLEY: Well...

KING: The current policy?

BRADLEY: You know, as I travel around the country, I think that people haven't told me that this is no longer a problem. They have told me it is a problem. And the answer to that problem begins in our homes and in our own individual lives. It begins with communities.

And unless we take responsibility for ourselves here, we can't expect some distant answer that takes place in a foreign country to solve a problem that's been created in this country.

KING: We'll be back with our remaining moments with Senator Bradley, and then Ed Rendell, William Bennett and Bob Woodward will join us. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: We're back with Bill Bradley. Would you have pardoned the terrorists, the Puerto Rican terrorists?

BRADLEY: No.

KING: Would not have pardoned them?

Let's get a call, San Francisco, hello.

CALLER: Senator Bradley, congratulations on proposing comprehensive health care reform. It's about time. I would like to know, though, how you plan to deal with Harry and Louise part two in your administration?

BRADLEY: I think...

KING: Those are the people who did the commercials, right?

BRADLEY: Sure. I think the important thing is to lay out a specific program in the campaign and then you have, if you succeed, a mandate from the

people to achieve a specific objective. I think the second thing is begin a process of consultation that is real consultation, that brings everybody in.

What I proposed today is a starting point, not a final plan. There are a lot of voices out there that know more than I do about it. My suggestion was we do this in order to get to coverage for 95 percent of the American people.

And we also do something very special for senior citizens, Larry. I think that we know as we're getting older, life is longer, it becomes more difficult.

Seniors are pushed into institutional settings, into nursing homes. What we have to do is recognize those medical plans that are not only taking care of people's health but are also trying to keep them in their homes a longer period of time. I think that this plan does what -- allocates responsibility to the private sector to produce the insurance plans, to government to make sure that people have the money to pay for the plans and to our community institutions to be the major advocates of healthy lifestyles.

KING: A few other things, will you debate Al Gore?

BRADLEY: Sure.

KING: Are you going to start planning any series of debates? Do you intend to contact his campaign and say, let's set something up?

BRADLEY: Well, I think that we have a joint appearance on the 9th of October in Iowa, and then we have another town meeting in New Hampshire toward the end of October.

KING: Together being questioned -- you can question each other, a regular kind of debate?

BRADLEY: I don't know what the format is. I think it's a town meeting where people ask questions. KING: You would be happy, though, to debate him?

BRADLEY: I am all for having contact and having a debate

on the issues.

KING: Have you thought about a vice president?

BRADLEY: Well...

KING: President Reagan once long ago when he lost the nomination fighting Gerald Ford made a selection, thought the public ought to know who his vice president would be.

BRADLEY: Well, I think that you're getting the cart before the horse here. I have to get the nomination. So I'll be thinking about that if I am successful in getting the nomination.

KING: Miami, last call, quickly, hello. Is this Miami? What line is it on?

CALLER: Yes, it is.

KING: Go ahead.

CALLER: Hi. When elected how will you tackle racial injustice and tensions entering the new millennium?

BRADLEY: There's no issue that I care more deeply about than racial justice. When Ronald Reagan was president and you wanted to please the boss you talked about increasing defense spending and fighting communism.

If I'm president and you want to please the boss then I think you're going to have to show how in your life, your business, your department you promoted racial understanding. Appointments that are diverse are another way to that. I think President Clinton has done a good job in that area.

I think that also we're at a time in our history where I think there's an opportunity for a new multiracial coalition aimed at a particular issue. In the 1960s there were clear injustices: segregation, lack of voting for blacks, voting rights. There were clear remedies to those injustices: voting rights guaranteed and desegregation. Now I think there's another clear injustice in

our society, and that's the number of children living in poverty, 14 million. I

think that can bring a multiracial coalition together to reduce the number of children in poverty and strengthen America for the long term.

KING: One other thing -- you'll be back many times. The people who say that you lack boldness, that you're not -- that we need to see more of that Bill Bradley that we saw on the court.

BRADLEY: So what would I do to demonstrate that?

KING: Yes. What would you do? What -- give us that -- is there a new Bradley?

BRADLEY: Well, let me -- here -- I'll show some boldness, Larry. I have always wanted to see you without glasses.

KING: This is boldness. Thanks, Bill.

BRADLEY: Thank you, Larry.

KING: Senator -- how I do look? Senator Bill Bradley. We'll be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: We now welcome to LARRY KING LIVE, in Philadelphia, Ed Rendell, the mayor of Philadelphia and the new general chairman of the Democratic National Committee, elected this past weekend; in Washington, William Bennett, the best-selling author and co-director of Empower America; and also in Washington, my pretty much co-host here at the scene, Bob Woodward, the assistant managing editor of The Washington Post.

We'll start with Ed Rendell. First, before we talk about Bradley, you're going to host the Republican National Convention next year as the Democratic National Chairman. Is that going to be a little difficult?

MAYOR ED RENDELL, PHILADELPHIA, DNC CHAIRMAN: Well, we were excited in Philadelphia when we got the

Republican National

Convention. We're going to show them the best time they've ever had.

There's not going to be any conflict. I talked to Jim Nicholson before I took the job. He's a great guy. And I said, Jim, I'm going to live up to every commitment I made to you to raise the type of money we need to raise and to put on a great show, and we're going to do that.

KING: What about being chairman and mayor at the same time?

RENDELL: Well, that's a little tougher, Larry. It's going to be a tough three months for me, because I have got five or six major things I want to accomplish. And just tonight, for example, to be on with you, I have had to delay a meeting with some of our flood victims. We had a small segment of the city that was hit pretty hard in the flood.

KING: So that's still your No. 1 job, right, mayor?

RENDELL: No question. And I talked to Governor Romer, and he said, you can do this job by being a good governor and a chairman as well.

Fortunately, as you know, I have got a lot of energy and I think I'll be able to do it.

KING: Before we talk to our other two gentlemen and bring you into that conversation, why did you take this job?

RENDELL: Well, I took it, one, because I believe the election next year is important. I think the most vulnerable people in this country, working people, very much need a Democratic president and a Democratic Congress. And two, Larry, the view from Philadelphia of what goes on in Washington is there's too much negativity. There's too much involvement in personal issues, not enough talk about the things that are important to us, like what type of buildings do our kids go to school in? What rights do we have in terms of picking doctors and picking treatments? Those things are

ignored, it seems to me, and I'd like to get the dynamic back to issues. I don't know if I can do it, but I certainly think the American people deserve that.

KING: William Bennett, we know you're a prominent Republican, but you speak your mind. So we're going to discuss this maybe philosophically. What do you think, generally, of Bill Bradley as a candidate?

WILLIAM BENNETT, EMPOWER AMERICA: I think he's good. By the way, Dick Riordan is, last time I looked, Republican mayor of L.A., and he's going to host the Democratic so. But I understand he's going to short sheet about 19,000 beds in the hotels.

RENDELL: Not a chance.

KING: Two good-guy mayors.

BENNETT: I think Bradley is very good. You know, we'd rather run against Gore than Bradley.

KING: Why?

BENNETT: He's attractive. He's relaxed. He played in the NBA. He's a cool guy, as people saw. He's comfortable with himself. He doesn't have that Gore stiffness. He's not a dud. People like the idea of Bill Bradley. And the reality of Bill Bradley seems to me to be getting better and stronger. He's liberal. I think he's more liberal than Al Gore, but he doesn't carry all of that Clinton baggage. I mean, he hung around with John Havlicek. I think that's probably better for your reputation.

KING: Bob Woodward, what's your appraisal of Bradley, now, the candidate, as you saw him tonight?

BOB WOODWARD, "WASHINGTON POST": Well, I listened to him very carefully and wrote down some words. adult, seemingly very principled, certainly relaxed. And I think if you look at who the next

president might be, one of the factors is going to be clearly a reaction to Clinton and the Clinton presidency, whether you like it or whether you don't like it.

And I think many people would agree, Democrats and Republicans, if you were to say this is what the Clinton presidency was to react against, it's that it's the tactical presidency, operating on polls, putting your finger in the wind frequently, not having three or four very strong convictions. The candidate who can come forth next year and say, look, these are the three things, the old Reagan model, that I really believe in, and convince people it's going to have a good chance. KING: Ed Rendell, you had endorsed Gore. You had to take that back now because of to be impartial. What did you make of Bradley, tonight, the candidate?

RENDELL: Bill Bradley was impressive. I wish you had all been with us on Saturday at the DNC meeting. Bill Bradley and Al Gore gave terrific speeches back to back.

And Bill Bennett, you must not have been watching LARRY KING a week ago when Al Gore was on. Al Gore was anything but stiff. Ask Ross Perot if Al Gore is stiff. Ask Jack Kemp if Al Gore is stiff.

BENNETT: He's stiff.

RENDELL: He slaughtered both of them. He slaughtered both of them.

BENNETT: He's still stiff.

RENDELL: Al Gore is a fighter...

BENNETT: He's a fighter, he's effective, he's smart, but he's stiff.

RENDELL: And the best vice president in this country's history, the most effective vice president we've ever had.

BENNETT: Well...

RENDELL: Bill Bradley, great senator, who I agree with Bill Bennett, Bill Bradley would make a great candidate, but so will Al Gore, if he's our nominee.

KING: Bill, I'm sorry, Mr. Bennett, you can respond, and then I have a question for you.

BENNETT: No, I mean, the argument that they're both equally terrific guys one expects from the DNC chairman, that's his job. But it turns out that when you look at match-ups, Bradley seems to be shaping up a lot better. And there's an incredible drag on Al Gore from Bill Clinton. That's not necessarily Al Gore's fault, although Al Gore, you know, did think Bill Clinton was one of the greatest presidents in American history.

Now that's fact; whether Ed Rendell wants to admit it or not, it's a fact that there is a drag on...

KING: By the way, as a president, Bill, a lot of Americans think that.

BENNETT: Think what?

RENDELL: Bill, I saw a recent poll...

BENNETT: Think what?

KING: That he was a pretty good president?

RENDELL: Sixty-seven percent...

BENNETT: I understand that. But take a look at the polls, and when you see the match-ups, you will see that Al Gore is suffering because of his association with Bill...

(CROSSTALK)

BENNETT: Run Gore, please. Please run Gore. Bring him on.

RENDELL: I want to respond to that. No. 1, I saw a recent poll in Pennsylvania: 67 percent of Pennsylvanians, 82 percent

of Philadelphians

approve of the job that Bill Clinton is doing as president, No. 1.

And No. 2, Bill Bennett and a lot of you all get it wrong. You think that the American people can't make basic decisions. They understand that Al Gore was Bill Clinton's vice president. He was a very good vice president. But they're going to judge him on his own when the campaign really gets under way. They're going to judge him against Bill Bradley. And if he's the nominee, they're going to judge him on whoever the nominee on the Republican side is.

KING: Let me get a break, and we'll get (ph) other areas. I've got to get a break.

We'll be right back with our panel. Mr. Woodward will come in. And we'll ask about whether a person, if the party -- if he doesn't believe in the concept, the party should leave the part. That after this.

Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: Bob Woodward, we were there in San Diego a couple of years back when Bob Dole, the candidate, stood up and said: Anyone in this room who is bigoted and who thinks that people are less than other people, get out of the hall, I don't want your vote.

Should Buchanan get out of the party? And I don't mean to say he's a bigot, but if he disagrees with the concept, should the party members want him to be in?

WOODWARD: Well, you know, it's up to the party and it's up to Buchanan. I mean, he is really a footnote to what's going on, and because there is a lot of noise and controversy about his book. What fascinates me, having looked at his book a little bit, why he puts this

stuff in about

Germany, and World War II and Hitler and so forth, and it has nothing to do

-- he is not running for the office of historical interpreter of the world, but he throws this gratuitous stuff in that just is a magnet for controversy, and rightly so. That's going to work itself out and I think will not be a big issue next year.

KING: Bill Bennett, Senator McCain I think is the only Republican who said he should leave. Do you think he should leave?

BENNETT: No, I said he should go, too. I'm not running for anything.

KING: You did?

BENNETT: But you know, John McCain made a very strong statement.

Yes, let him go. This party should have no traffic with anybody who believes they're preferred Americans. You don't have to go back to this revisionist history of World War II. Pat Buchanan says there should be a 75 percent quota at Harvard for non-Jewish whites. That's ridiculous. That's outrageous. That's not what we believe.

We don't believe it if Jesse Jackson says it on the other side; we don't believe it if Buchanan says it. Be gone. I mean, that's just not what we believe, and I wish the other candidates had been as strong McCain.

KING: But your candidate Governor Bush said we need...

BENNETT: I don't have a candidate.

KING: You're not support -- I'm sorry.

BENNETT: No, no.

KING: My mistake.

BENNETT: I'm for Bradley, remember? The Democratic -- I actually hope they run Gore, but I think Bradley is a better...

KING: Ed Rendell, if you disagree with your party's

principles, should you  
leave your party?

RENDELL: Absolutely. And let me say that that's the Bill  
Bennett that I  
admired for so many years in government, someone who  
speaks his mind.

And I admire Senator McCain for what he said. But  
understand, George  
Bush said he wanted to keep Pat Buchanan. What Pat  
Buchanan has said  
and Bill Bennett said it loud and clear: George Bush is  
wrong if he would  
want to keep someone like that in his political party.  
Senator McCain, Bill  
Bennett, they're right.

KING: Bob Woodward, is...

BENNETT: Can I make a comment? I'm sorry.

KING: I'm sorry, you want to say -- all right, well  
let's go -- I want to...

BENNETT: I can't let that compliment stand without a  
response. I mean, Ed  
likes me when I give my view of Pat Buchanan, maybe not  
when I give my  
view of Al Gore.

(CROSSTALK)

BENNETT: It was a missed opportunity and I think George  
W. Bush has to  
make it plain that the kind of stuff that Buchanan is  
talking about is something  
he absolutely stands against.

RENDELL: Absolutely.

KING: Bob Woodward, back to Mr. Bradley, can you see him  
getting even  
closer, can you see a real knock-down, drag-out  
Democratic race?

WOODWARD: Surely. Of course it depends on the issues.  
And one of the  
things you witnessed tonight was his answer and his  
explanation on his shift  
on the ethanol subsidy issue. Looking at it, it seems to  
me it was one of the  
best explanations I have ever heard of somebody changing  
their mind. Bill  
Bennett disagrees, but for Bradley to say, look, I was

representing New Jersey, and this was the point of view and these were my constituent interests, now I'm running for president, and in fact, he actually said he learned something by talking to farmers.

KING: Would you agree, Bill, that that was a pretty honest answer or not?

BENNETT: I think it's a good try -- a try at an obvious inconsistency. No. I disagree with Bob, as I told Bob at the break.

First of all, a senator's job is not the same as a representative's job. You know, the Federalist Papers said those senators supposed to take the national interests into account. Second, Bill Bradley is running on a record that he has been a kind of independent-minded guy, not, you know, not narrow interests but trying to think of the good as a whole. So that didn't jive with me, that didn't ring true to me.

KING: We'll be back with some final moments. Some final thoughts from all of our guests right after this.

This week on LARRY KING LIVE, Thursday night, a rare interview with Virginia S. Harris, chairman of the board of directors of the Church of Christian Science, and on Friday, the author of a controversial new book about President Reagan, Edmund Morris is the guest. He'll be taking your calls. That's LARRY KING LIVE, 9:00 Eastern on CNN.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: Ed Rendell, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is there any doubt in your mind that George W. Bush will be your opponent next year?

RENDELL: Yes, substantial doubt. I think the things that...

KING: Really?

RENDELL: I think the things that John McCain is talking

about really are

going to hit a responsive chord, and I think there's going to be a tremendous backlash to all the money that has been raised, particularly when the Republican Party, except for Senator McCain has basically uniformly said no to ending soft money and to real campaign finance reform. KING: Do you think McCain could be the nominee of that party?

RENDELL: I believe the people will speak. If it's up to the politicians in the Republican Party, no. But the people vote in our primary system, and John McCain is going to be an attractive candidate.

KING: William Bennett, do you see anyone other than Governor Bush?

BENNETT: Well, it could be, sure. But he's very strong, and I'd point out that a lot of people -- the people -- are sending their checks in. It's not just, you know, checks from the chiefs, the big shots. But it's lots of small checks, as far as I know, all from Americans. I don't think there's any Chinese money. This is American taxpayers, American citizens sending their money in support of George Bush. McCain is very strong.

KING: You do think McCain will be the principal challenger?

BENNETT: It looks that way now. That's also -- you know, a lot of people are saying that's a interesting -- that's a very interesting ticket, Bush-McCain.

KING: And Bob Woodward, what's your read on both races, the Republicans first? Can anyone beat George W. Bush?

WOODWARD: Happily, we know no more than we did last week: in other words that -- there are little bumps in the road, something happens, now McCain is the visible alternative to George W. Bush. Six weeks ago, it was Elizabeth Dole. In six weeks, it will be somebody else. You just don't know what's going to happen at all.

And I think what's interesting about the Bill Bradley interview tonight that you did, he said 45 percent of the people don't know who he is, interesting admission. It's true for a politician, and you get to know him in these extended interviews. People are going to -- my newspaper will probably run an exhaustive examination of him. All of these candidates are going to be out there. They're going to be doing the kinds of things that let people perhaps in this era when there is no major issue, really say, who do we want sitting in the Oval Office? What sort of character do we want there?

KING: Ed Rendell, do you expect a knock-down, drag-out 2000?

RENDELL: Yes, I think Vice President Gore and Bill Bradley will have a terrific race, but I can't believe someone who is as intelligent as Bob Woodward said there are no issues. The difference on things like gun control, on health care, on how to spend the surplus, those are megaissues which the American people are going to want to hear a lot more about.

WOODWARD: Yes, but I'm not saying they aren't there. I'm saying they haven't registered with the voters yet in a way where people are saying, hey, I'm going to go with this candidate or I'm going to be led around because of that, or it will determine my vote. Indeed, there are issues there.

KING: Final word to William Bennett. Do you see any big surprise around the corner, or then it wouldn't be a surprise, I guess.

BENNETT: I think -- my guess is the four people we're talking about are what you're going to see in the finals. This is the final four -- maybe. But you -- I agree with Rendell, Ed Rendell. There are big differences on missile defense, on partial-birth abortion, on school choice, on taxes, on a host of things. And I think you're -- one of the interesting things about Bill Bradley,

as attractive as he is, one of the questions I have is  
he going to bring -- move  
that party to the left? Bill Clinton has moved it a  
great degree to the center.

Bradley is nudging it back to the left, and that'll be  
interesting, because Bush  
is the center-right candidate.

KING: We're out of time, guys. Thanks a lot. Stay tuned  
for -- thanks to all

of you and thanks to Bill Bradley. Stay tuned for CNN  
"NEWSSTAND."

Natalie Allen and Stephen Frazier are the co-hosts, and  
they're next.

Good-night.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:29-SEP-1999 09:29:06.00

SUBJECT: dadt

TO: Beth Nolan ( CN=Beth Nolan/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David C. Leavy ( CN=David C. Leavy/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lisa M. Brown ( CN=Lisa M. Brown/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN



to be gay, like me. That's the absurdity of the situation."

That, and the fact that the U.S. Military will spend almost a year investigating something May already has admitted FOUR TIMES within this article. And has said as much on national television and in newspapers throughout the United States, including the New York Times.

Lashes out at comments

May is a Republican member of the Arizona State Legislature. Last February, during a debate on barring counties from offering domestic-partner benefits to gay couples, May lashed out at insulting comments by another representative.

"It is an attack on my family, and attack on my freedom," he said.

"My gay tax dollars are the same as your straight tax dollars. If you are not going to treat me fairly, stop taking my tax dollars."

(Note to any Army investigator reading this: That's FIVE.)

That outburst got the investigation against him rolling.

"What the Far Right hates more than anything else is a positive portrayal of an openly gay man (SIX)," May says. "To them, I'm the greatest evil there is. I'm not what they want other people to believe a gay person is. It frustrates them."

May has been an Eagle Scout, a member of student government, an ROTC member in college and an active duty soldier. He's now a state legislator, a reservist, a conservative, a Republican, a lightning rod.

"People are using the military to impose their social agenda on the country," he says. "They're afraid of treating gay people fairly at the risk of normalizing homosexuality. The reality is, gays are in the military, and always have been. That's not the issue. The issue is letting us live our lives honestly." (SEVEN).

'Opportunity to do good'

It isn't always easy. May lives in a state where legislators of his own party have said homosexuality is "undermining the natural family" and even compared it to "bestiality, human sacrifice and cannibalism."

"There are days when I wonder what I've gotten myself into," he says.

"But I've always felt compelled to contribute. I feel I have an opportunity to do good."

Like pointing out the insanity of dropping qualified people from the military when recruitment is so low experts believe we may have to reinstitute the draft. Or wasting time and resources investigating a 27-year-old reservist who performs his duties with integrity and wishes only to continue.

"I believe attitudes are changing," May says. "There's too much work to be done to worry about something as stupid as sexual orientation. I believe most people agree with that -- except those who think I'm evil simply because I'm homosexual." (EIGHT).

E.J. Montini can be reached at [ed.montini@pni.com](mailto:ed.montini@pni.com) via e-mail or at 1-602-444-8978.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-SEP-1999 10:14:02.00

SUBJECT: Larry King Live transcript: Bradley on gays in the military

TO: Beth Nolan ( CN=Beth Nolan/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Leon S. Fuerth ( CN=Leon S. Fuerth/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth J. Potter ( CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David C. Leavy ( CN=David C. Leavy/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mara E. Rudman ( CN=Mara E. Rudman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sean P. Maloney ( CN=Sean P. Maloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lisa M. Brown ( CN=Lisa M. Brown/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip G Dufour ( CN=Philip G Dufour/O=OVP@OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary L. Smith ( CN=Mary L. Smith/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Caroline R. Fredrickson ( CN=Caroline R. Fredrickson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Edward W. Correia ( CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura S. Marcus ( CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 09/30/99  
10:13 AM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu  
09/30/99 01:24:00 AM  
Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Larry King Live transcript: Bradley on gays in the military

CNN, September 29, 1999

Transcript of "Larry King Live" with Bill Bradley (excerpt)  
<http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/9909/28/lkl.00.html>

[Contributor's Note: Bill Bradley appeared on "Larry King Live" last night (9/29) and his very first telephone question was from someone who claimed to be ex-military who objected to Bradley's stand on gays in the military and asked him to reconsider his position. Bradley didn't budge. Here is the transcript from that portion:

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: We're back with "Dollar Bill." That's what they used to call him

with the Knicks. Senator Bradley. Henryville, Indiana, hello.

CALLER: Hello.

KING: Hello.

CALLER: Senator Bradley...

BRADLEY: Yes, sir.

CALLER: ... are you willing to rethink your stand on homosexuals in the military. I am retired military. I am Democratic. This is Bill II (two) that you have...

KING: What is your stand, gays in the military?

BRADLEY: Well, gays have always been in the military. They've just had

to hide. We've, since 1993, had a policy that doesn't work. It's called "don't ask, don't tell."

And what I can't understand is how is it possible that gays can serve openly and with distinction in the Department of Justice, in the State Department, in the Treasury Department, in the federal courts, in the Congress, in the White House and not in the military. Why can gays be policemen, brick layers, football players, lawyers, nuclear scientists, but can't be staff sergeants or lieutenants?

I believe that we have to reach out to everybody. I think that, you know, you do it, as I said. The method and timing of this would be my own. Of course, I would be in consultation with many different people in this

process.

But what I've stated is my belief that...

KING: That's the exact believe [sic] Bill Clinton stated and then changed it to don't ask, don't tell after conferring with chiefs of staff and others.

BRADLEY: Well, all I can say is that's what I believe.

KING: And you won't change?

BRADLEY: I said...

KING: I mean, you're not going to change your mind.

BRADLEY: Method and timing will be what I choose.

KING: Katy, Texas for Bill Bradley, hello. . . . [cut]

---

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sabrina.Sojourner@worldnet.att.net@INET@LNGTWY ( Sabrina.Sojourner@worldnet.att.net@INET@LNGTWY [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 4-NOV-1999 13:27:43.00

SUBJECT: Re: Southern Voice: Why we asked and why she should tell

TO: Daniel C. Montoya@eop ( Daniel C. Montoya@eop [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I find this editorial ironic. Like most mainstream gay and lesbian press, you seem to confuse concern and support for lesbian and gay issues with being lesbian and gay.

Donna Brazile has been a tremendous ally to and for the lesbian and gay community. In part her work stemmed from her role as Chief of Staff for Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton and because she has friends, including myself, who are in the community. Another other part of her commitment stems from her being an African American woman with extensive experience with discrimination and bigotry.

If only lesbians and gay men can effectively present lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues, then it is no wonder that our allies in the straight community are in short supply.

One of the tenets of this movement is respect for how one identifies. Seeking clarification for how Brazile (or anyone else) identifies disrespects that very tenet.

No where in your editorial do you mention that she is an African American woman. Therefore, you fail to consider how her cultural identity may impact on her decision not to speak about her sexual orientation. And, you fail to recognize the courageousness of her stance as an African American.

If she is a lesbian or bisexual or a sexually active heterosexual, as an African American woman, regardless of her position with the Gore campaign, how she handles her sexuality has to be different.

Ultimately, her sexual orientation does not matter. What does matter is that we have a highly placed strong ally in the Gore campaign.

Sabrina Sojourner  
Sabrina.Sojourner@worldnet.att.net  
1216 Michigan Avenue, NE  
Washington, DC 20017  
202.526.4442 Voice Mail

202.526.0554 Fax

----- Original Message -----

From: LGBT Activists List <Doug.Case@sdsu.edu>

To: <LGBT Political Activists>; <queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu>

Sent: Wednesday, November 03, 1999 5:15 PM

Subject: Southern Voice: Why we asked and why she should tell

> Southern Voice - November 4, 1999 - Page 14

>

> EDITORIAL

>

> Why we asked and she should tell

>

> When Al Gore named his new national campaign manager last month, gay  
> rights activists were privately thrilled with his selection.

>

> Throughout a high-profile professional and personal life, Donna Brazile  
> had devoted countless hours to gay and lesbian rights, even taking a  
> thankless position on the embattled board organizing the Millennium March  
> on Washington.

>

> The announcement seemed proof not only of Al Gore's comfort level with  
> gay rights as a national campaign issue, but it appeared to signal yet  
> again the arrival of openly gay professionals on the national political  
> scene.

>

> There was only one problem--Donna Brazile isn't openly gay. In fact, she  
> isn't openly anything. Since her appointment as Gore campaign manager,  
> the media (both gay-specific and general circulation) have side-stepped  
> Brazile's gay rights background and sexual orientation.

>

> The Gore campaign, for its part, issued a detailed press release on  
> Brazile that despite repeated references to her "grassroots" connections,  
> neglected entirely to mention her involvement in the gay rights cause.  
> As a result, most press outlets missed that aspect of the story. A number  
> of gay publications, familiar with Brazile's ties to the movement,  
> reported her selection, called her a "gay rights activist" and made no  
> mention one way or another of her sexual orientation.

>

> At least one national newsmagazine, U.S. News & World Report, took note  
> of the connection and the "oddly silent" reaction from our national lobby  
> groups.

>

> Locally, ETC magazine took note of the U.S. News story, read between the  
> lines and reported without citing a source that Brazile "is a lesbian who  
> serves on the Millennium March on Washington board."

>

> But it appears that no one in the media took the time to ask Brazile, on  
> the record, whether or not she is a lesbian, and report her response.  
> It's not hard to imagine why. For years, "asking the question" has been  
> considered out-of-bounds. Unlike almost any other aspect of a public  
> figure's life, information about sexual orientation is left entirely up  
> to the individual to decide whether to disclose.

- >
- > The motivation, no doubt, is primarily a benevolent one. In a world where
- > the media shows precious little respect for anyone's privacy, the
- > unwritten rule that says not to ask about sexual orientation is a rare
- > exception.
- >
- > Still, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" is an antiquated notion, as much for the
- > media as for the military, and it's time we give it serious
- > reconsideration.
- >
- > The world today isn't one where sexual orientation is a horrible, hidden
- > secret. Openly gay people hold positions in every walk of life, as Gore's
- > primary opponent, Bill Bradley, argued so eloquently in a debate between
- > the two candidates in New Hampshire last week.
- >
- > "If a gay American can be a bricklayer, a doctor, an athlete, a lawyer, a
- > painter, why can't a gay American be a sergeant and a lieutenant
- > colonel?" Bradley asked.
- >
- > It's worth noting that Bradley was advocating repeal of another "Don't
- > Ask, Don't Tell" rule, this one for the military. Brazile's candidate, in
- > an ironically George W. Bush-esque turn of phrase, has argued for more
- > "compassionate enforcement" of DADT.
- >
- > Keep in mind that repealing the media's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" rule
- > doesn't mean that public figures now have a duty to state, on the record,
- > whether or not they're gay. But changing the rules would be a healthy
- > sign that the time has come to at least feel comfortable asking the
- > question.
- >
- > Asking the question, after all, isn't the same as "outing" the person
- > asked. Control of the issue remains in the hands of the public figure,
- > who can choose either to answer the question by identifying a sexual
- > orientation, or by declining comment.
- >
- > And whatever the answer, it ought to be reported as fact, with
- > conclusions left as they should be to the reader or viewer.
- > That's exactly what this newspaper did in its cover story last week on
- > Brazile's appointment. We asked; she deflected; and we told--not her
- > sexual orientation, mind you, but her answer to the question.
- >
- > Brazile acknowledged the question was a "fair one" but said she wasn't
- > the candidate and would prefer to discuss Al Gore's commitment to gay and
- > lesbian rights.
- >
- > Fair enough, if somewhat ironic. Three presidential elections ago,
- > Brazile got herself fired from Michael Dukakis' presidential campaign
- > staff for asking the press to look into whether George Bush (Sr.) was
- > sleeping with someone other than his wife. She clearly regrets being
- > fired, but she hasn't gone on record about whether she was wrong to ask
- > the press to ask.
- >
- > Of course, reporting a public figure's sexual orientation isn't nearly so
- > personal as reporting with whom they sleep. We already know the sexual

- > orientation of almost every public figure on the scene today.
- > The question is an especially fair one to put to Brazile. She has spent a
- > goodly portion of her professional life fighting for gay rights. Surely
- > she doesn't view sexual orientation a "dirty little secret" not to be
- > broached in conversation.
- >
- > Neither should the Human Rights Campaign, the gay political group that
- > organizes "National Coming Out Day" every year and yet has insisted "it
- > isn't news" that a lesbian may have been appointed campaign manager for a
- > sitting vice president and leading presidential candidate.
- > (HRC Communications Director David Smith even went so far as to say, "We
- > have no information about Donna Brazile's sexual orientation." As a
- > statement on behalf of HRC, it's false; if not an intentional lie.)
- >
- > The fact that Brazile's not the candidate isn't enough, either, to
- > justify not asking. She's managing the campaign of one of two men most
- > likely to be leader of the free world in 2001. Campaign managers have
- > unique influence over the candidates, helping to mold their policy
- > positions, and the often find themselves appointed to high political
- > office after election day.
- >
- > How ironic, then, that one of Brazile's first decisions as campaign
- > manager appears to have been to excise her own gay rights background from
- > the press release on her appointment. Is this her idea of "compassionate
- > enforcement" of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"?
- >
- > Even for truly private citizens, the "Don't Ask" rule doesn't make much
- > sense. Soft feature stories often tell us a little about their subjects,
- > and reporters ought to at least ask about sexual orientation, even if it
- > comes in the form of a gender-free inquiry into the existence of a
- > significant other.
- >
- > The decision to "tell" the private citizen's answer should, like most
- > information gleaned from their lives, rest much more on the individual's
- > comfort zone.
- >
- > But it shouldn't depend on the reporter's comfort zone, or own
- > internalized homophobia.
- >
- > The time has come, at the end of this century, to declare an official end
- > to the days of nudge-nudge, wink-wink. Open the closet doors or not, but
- > expect to be asked the question.
- >
- > =====
- >
- > PHOTO CAP: Donna Brazile (in the brown jacket), was among those attending
- > the Lesbian Rights Summit in April, but the new Gore national campaign
- > manager won't answer questions about her sexual orientation.
- >

-----

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- > as "opposition research."

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: DMixner@aol.com ( DMixner@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-NOV-1999 06:18:27.00

SUBJECT: Fwd: Articles 11.8.99.2

TO: winnie.stachelberg@hrc.org ( winnie.stachelberg@hrc.org [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: AndSul@aol.com ( AndSul@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sandra Thurman ( CN=Sandra Thurman/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: jtrammel@hillandknowlton.com ( jtrammel@hillandknowlton.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: JWSTOLLER@aol.com ( JWSTOLLER@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: MTabankin@aol.com ( MTabankin@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: ATobias@aol.com ( ATobias@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: jtrandahl@email.msn.com ( jtrandahl@email.msn.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: BVilanch@aol.com ( BVilanch@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

In a message dated 11/8/99 7:12:56 AM Pacific Standard Time, Fenceberry writes:

<< Eugene Register-Guard, November 7, 1999  
P. O. Box 10188, Eugene, OR, 97401  
(Fax 541-683-7631 ) (E-MAIL: rgletters@guardnet.com )  
( <http://www.registerguard.com> )

Statistics on gay and lesbian youths

[Note: This item accompanied the two articles from the Register-Guard included in Articles 11.8.99]

In 1984, 45 percent of young gay men and 20 percent of young lesbians surveyed said they had experienced verbal harassment and/or physical violence

while in high school because of their sexual orientation.

??? National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 1984

This year, 69 percent of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered

youths surveyed said they had experienced verbal, physical or sexual harassment and/or assault while at school.

??? Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network, 1999

Twenty-eight percent of gay and lesbian youths drop out of high school each year, about three times the national average.

??? U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989

Ninety-seven percent of students surveyed in Massachusetts public schools reported hearing homophobic remarks from their peers on a regular basis, and

53 percent reported hearing such comments from school staff.

??? Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth, 1993

Fifty-one percent of middle and high school students surveyed in the Bethel School District said they regularly witness harassment based on sexual orientation.

??? Bethel School District, 1999

Just more than 40 percent of boys surveyed at Willamette High School said

it's important that the school work on preventing harassment against gays and

lesbians.

??? Bethel School District, 1999

Gay and lesbian youths surveyed in Massachusetts were four times more likely than heterosexual students to have missed school for a day or more because they felt unsafe either at or on the way to school.

??? Massachusetts Department of Education, 1995

In one-third of a reported 92 incidents of anti-gay harassment of students in Washington state schools, adults witnessed the harassment but did

nothing to help. Of the students victimized in those incidents, 10

attempted

suicide, two successfully.

??? Safe Schools Coalition of Washington State, 1999

One in four gay and lesbian youths said they were forced to leave home due to conflicts with their families about their sexual orientation.

??? Hetrick-Martin Institute, 1992

Gay and lesbian youths account for 30 percent of teen suicides each year.

??? U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989 >>

Return-path: Fenceberry@aol.com

Date: Mon, 8 Nov 1999 10:12:56 EST

From: Fenceberry@aol.com

Subject: Articles 11.8.99.2

To: undisclosed-recipients::

Message-id: <0.44360f58.25584278@aol.com>

MIME-version: 1.0

X-Mailer: AOL 4.0 for Windows 95 sub 27

Content-type: text/plain; charset=us-ascii

Content-transfer-encoding: quoted-printable

Full-name: Fenceberry

1. EUGENE REGISTER-GUARD Statistics on gay and lesbian youths
2. USA TODAY Vicious hate crime ends with surprise reprieve
3. DETROIT NEWS Deb Price: Court must tread carefully in custody case
4. LOS ANGELES TIMES The Case Against the Notion of 'Homosexual Panic'
5. NEW YORK TIMES Tinkering at the Margins of Anti-Gay Bigotry (Military)

Eugene Register-Guard, November 7, 1999

P. O. Box 10188, Eugene, OR, 97401

(Fax 541-683-7631 ) (E-MAIL: rgletters@guardnet.com )

( <http://www.registerguard.com> )

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Gay and lesbian youths account for 30 percent of teen suicides each year.

? U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989

USA Today, November 8, 1999

1000 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, VA, 22229

(Fax 703-247-3108 ) (E-MAIL: Editor@usatoday.com )

( <http://www.usatoday.com> )

Vicious hate crime ends with surprise reprieve

By DeWayne Wickham

Just when it was thought that lawyers for Aaron McKinney would make a desperate appeal to bigotry, the parents of Matthew Shepard offered up a selfless act of forgiveness ? one that may help deter future crimes.

McKinney is one of two men convicted of tying Shepard to a post in a rural section of Wyoming and then fatally beating the gay college student.

During his trial, McKinney's lawyers sought to convince the jury that their client flew into an uncontrollable ? and understandable ? rage after Shepard made a homosexual advance on him. They claimed the momentary rage was triggered by McKinney's memories of traumatic homosexual encounters as

a youth.

Their attempt to mount this "gay panic" defense fizzled when the judge ruled that it couldn't be used to influence the jury's finding of guilt or innocence, but might be relevant in the sentencing phase, if McKinney were convicted.

When a jury in Laramie found McKinney guilty of kidnapping, robbing and killing Shepard, the stage was set for his lawyers to revive the defense in an attempt to avoid the death penalty. But before they could do so, Shepard's parents did the unexpected: They agreed to a deal that spared the

life of the man who killed their son.

Parents spurn revenge

Instead of pressing for the death penalty, Shepard's parents accepted a

plea-bargain agreement that sends McKinney to prison for life without the chance for parole or appeal. Rather than seek revenge, they showed an extraordinary degree of compassion for a brutal killer.

"They could have taken an eye for an eye, but instead they turned the other cheek," said Wayne Besen, a spokesman for the Human Rights Campaign, an advocacy group for gay men and lesbians. "I think what they did was unbelievable."

Unbelievable, indeed. Dennis and Judy Shepard had every right to demand that prosecutors ask jurors to condemn McKinney to die. That they didn't is a testament to their willingness to get beyond hate and to embrace tolerance ? even in the face of such an awful act of gay-bashing intolerance.

"My son, Matthew, paid a terrible price to open the eyes of all of us to the unjust and unnecessary fears, discrimination and intolerance that members of the gay community face every day," Dennis Shepard said in a courtroom statement after the deal was announced.

Voicing their support

Today, he and his wife come to Washington to add their voice to those who seek to win passage of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, a bill that would make attacks on people based on their "sexual orientation, gender and disability" crimes subject to federal prosecution.

Last month, President Clinton vetoed the fiscal year 2000 budget for the Commerce, Justice and State departments after Congress failed to make the hate-crime bill part of that legislation.

Opponents of the measure argue that homosexuals should not be given special legal status. But as overall crime continues to fall in this country, attacks on gay men and lesbians are on the rise. Since they are singled out for persecution, it makes sense to design a special penalty for those who attack them violently.

With the White House in a tug of war with congressional conservatives over this issue, the Shepards' willingness to spare McKinney's life may help

to soften resistance to the bill's passage. Their act of mercy came just days after the Rev. Jerry Falwell, once a rabid critic of homosexuality, convened a meeting between a group of evangelical Christians and gay activists to build a bridge of understanding between the two old enemies.

While Falwell's meeting was an important breakthrough, the Shepard family's act of forgiveness may be the catalyst needed to produce a corresponding act of compassion among members of Congress who thus far have shown little for the victims of homophobic assaults.

DeWayne Wickham writes weekly for USA TODAY.

By Deb Price / The Detroit News

## Court must tread carefully in custody case

The U.S. Supreme Court rarely ventures into the messy, complicated realm of family law. Disputes over domestic matters such as child custody and visitation rights are normally left to the states. But gay-rights attorneys weren't just shocked when the Supreme Court recently agreed to decide the constitutionality of Washington state's visitation law. They were alarmed.

Superficially, the case involves a question of grandparents' rights rather than anything gay. After their unmarried son, Brad, committed suicide in 1993, Jenifer and Gary Troxel petitioned for the right to continue seeing their son's two daughters more regularly than the mother wanted to allow. Under Washington law, anyone could petition for visitation rights at any time and be granted them if that was in the child's best interests.

However, the Washington state Supreme Court struck down that law last December, ruling it violated parents' constitutional right to privacy. (All states have grandparent-visitation laws, some of which cover other so-called third parties. Washington's law was far broader than most.) The Troxels appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Oral arguments in *Troxel v. Granville* are expected early next year and a final decision by June.

In accepting the case, the U.S. Supreme Court has charged — perhaps blundered — into a field filled with land mines: What's a family? Who's a parent? Does biology give grandparents special rights? How should the overlapping rights of children, parents and grandparents be sorted out? When

may a state overrule a fit parent's decisions?

“The Supreme Court doesn't understand family law. They might have thought this was a relatively simple case about grandparents' rights. This is not a simple case they've gotten themselves into,” warns Nancy Polikoff, a national expert on gay family law.

The danger is that the court — whose nine justices include six grandparents — is so unfamiliar with the territory that it will inadvertently cause a great deal of harm to a great many children. One misstep by the court in almost any direction could be particularly damaging to children whose parents are gay.

Upholding Washington's unusually broad visitation law could undercut lesbian mothers trying to fend off attacks by homophobic relatives. On the other hand, language striking down the law might put new obstacles in the path of gay people seeking to maintain a parental bond with an ex-partner's biological or adopted child.

Although gay-rights attorneys are divided on the wisdom and constitutionality of the disputed law, they're united in seeing huge potential hazards in a Supreme Court ruling.

“We're, as a movement, in the process of convincing states that they should rethink their idea of what family is,” notes Matt Coles, the

American

Civil Liberties Union's chief gay-rights litigator. It would certainly be very damaging to us if the U.S. Supreme Court said, "Well, for constitutional purposes, you're only family if you're related by blood, marriage or court decree." ?

The best outcome might be for the court to take the rare step of saying the justices won't decide the case because accepting it was a mistake. Otherwise, the shorter the decision, the better. A single ill-chosen word or phrase could have devastating consequences.

Arthur Leonard, author of *Sexuality and the Law*, suspects the Supreme Court accepted *Troxel v. Granville* because it thinks the Washington court seriously misinterpreted the U.S. Constitution and granted parents too much power.

"I'm assuming that they reached out to take this case because at least four members of the court think it should be reversed. I hope I'm right," he says.

If the Supreme Court doesn't tread carefully, it will trample the rights of our littlest citizens as well as those of countless adults.

Deb Price's column is published on Monday. Write letters to *The News* at 615 W. Lafayette, Detroit, MI 48226, or fax to (313) 222-6417 or send e-mail to [letters@detnews.com](mailto:letters@detnews.com)

LOS ANGELES TIMES, November 8, 1999

Times Mirror Square, Los Angeles, CA, 90053

(Fax 213-237-7679 or 213-237-5319) (E-MAIL: [letters@latimes.com](mailto:letters@latimes.com))

( <http://www.latimes.com> )

The Case Against the Notion of 'Homosexual Panic'

By KATHLEEN KELLEHER, Special to The Times

Everyone knows what it feels like to be approached by Mr. or Miss Wrong, the one person in the room to whom you are most definitely not attracted. Such a come-on could make someone cringe or even slightly sick, sure, but could it actually drive a person to murder?

The notion that an unwanted sexual advance, particularly by a gay person toward a straight one, might spark "sex panic" and result in an uncontrollable, murderous rage has been raised in courtrooms as a defense tactic in the last few years.

Most recently, the issue swirled at the edges of the trial of the second man convicted of murdering Wyoming college freshman Matthew Shepard. Defendant Aaron McKinney's attorneys wanted to argue their client lost control after Shepard, who was gay, propositioned McKinney in October 1998. But state District Judge Barton Voigt prohibited the use of the controversial strategy, reasoning that it was not allowed under state law.

Still, the question lingers: Is there such a thing as "homosexual panic"?

In a word, no, according to those who study human behavior. The notion of "homosexual panic" seems to be based on the Freudian theory that buried motivations and fears can be triggered by events or thoughts, and lead to aberrant behavior. The phrase is believed to have been coined in 1920.

(Indeed, McKinney's lawyers argued that an advance by Shepard triggered memories of a childhood homosexual assault, setting off "five minutes of emotional rage and chaos," during which McKinney pistol-whipped Shepard into a coma from which he never recovered.)

As a legal defense, the theory was explored in a 1989 Harvard Law Review article. "Homosexual panic" defense, said the piece, is based "on the theory that a person with latent homosexual tendencies will have an extreme and uncontrollably violent reaction when confronted with a homosexual proposition."

But a year earlier, in 1988, two Canadian psychiatrists reviewed literature on the subject dating back to 1920 and concluded in the Canadian Journal of Psychiatry that the term "should be permanently assigned to the junkyard of obsolete psychiatric terminology."

"Homosexual panic" is not a mental disorder, they said; rather it is a culmination of our culture's homophobic attitudes.

Although psychologists and psychiatrists discount the theory, some researchers are probing the links between homophobic attitudes and antigay violence.

A psychology professor in Georgia says his research demonstrates that denied homosexual urges may indeed drive some people to violence. Henry E. Adams of the University of Georgia in Athens tested the theory by administering an "Index of Homophobia" test to 64 men between the ages of 18 and 31. The men were then shown explicit erotic videos of heterosexual, homosexual and lesbian sex while hooked up to a device that measures arousal by tracking changes in penile circumference.

Those identified as homophobic were more aroused by the homosexual videos than by the heterosexual videos. Those identified as nonhomophobic were more aroused by the heterosexual videos. (It will come as no surprise to anyone who watched last week's "Ally McBeal" that lesbian sex was a hit with both groups.)

"The body doesn't lie," said Adams. "The homophobes despise the fact that they get aroused by men and they deny it." In a yet-to-be-published study, Adams will report that homophobes grew anxious, hostile and aggressive after watching gay erotica. (The nonhomophobes did not.)

After the initial tests, he introduced another designed to determine whether those identified as homophobic would actually inflict pain on gays if given the chance.

His subjects competed with opponents identified as gay or straight. The winner got to deliver a minor shock to the loser.

"Sure enough," said Adams, "homophobics shocked the hell out of the

person they were told was gay and they didn't to the guy they were told was heterosexual. I am not sure what it means, but when homophobics get aroused, they do get angry, hostile and violent."

Adams thinks that this link between sexual arousal and aggression is what distinguishes those he calls "homo-negative" (people who for religious, social or moral reasons disapprove of gays) from "homophobic" (someone who may want to do harm).

And, he said, panic is probably not an operative part of that aggressiveness. "Panic is something that happens immediately, almost like fight or flight," said Adams. "Antigay crimes are more planned than a heat-of-passion crime. There is a plan and instigation to get these victims out somewhere to beat them up and kill them."

Gay activists and others say the term "homosexual panic" has survived so long because it reflects an antigay culture. "It is culturally acceptable to respond violently to a homosexual proposition. . . . The idea is you have the right to defend your masculinity," says Karen Franklin, an El Cerrito forensic psychologist who studies antigay behaviors and attitudes. "Of course what is a proposition and what is a flirtation is in the eye of the beholder. If a man allows another man to flirt with him, he is viewed as no longer masculine in our culture, where there is a tremendous fear of losing masculinity."

NEW YORK TIMES, November 8, 1999  
229 W. 43rd Street, New York, NY, 10036  
(Fax 212-556-3622 ) (E-MAIL: letters@nytimes.com )  
( <http://www.nytimes.com> )  
Tinkering at the Margins of Anti-Gay Bigotry  
By BRENT STAPLES

The integration of the American military stands as this country's most striking transformation of the century. Harry Truman issued the executive order ending segregation in 1948, and by 1956, white recruits from the most bigoted reaches of the South were being ordered around by black drill sergeants at boot camp. Under the edict, known racists were no longer allowed to hold positions of authority and were eventually weeded out. Within a few decades, the military had more black managers by far than the civilian sector, which still has not caught up. As the military sociologist Charles Moskos wrote: "Today, one is more likely to hear racial jokes at the university faculty club than in the officers' club. And in the officers' club, one will surely see more blacks."

The integration of the military was vital to national security and yielded an enormous benefit for the country as a whole. But it would have taken substantially longer had Truman yielded to the military's desire to tinker at the margins of bigotry instead of rooting it out. Not long before Truman's order, a military panel suggested that white soldiers would never accept blacks as commanders or comrades in arms. The panel proposed keeping

black numbers down through a quota system and limiting black troops to support units, where they would build roads or off-load ships. By rejecting this approach, Truman delegitimized segregation in one, swift movement.

The perils of tinkering at the margins have become especially clear with "don't ask, don't tell," the policy that governs the military's dealings with gay soldiers. The policy was billed as a way to permit gay Americans to serve without fear of harassment or expulsion -- as long as they kept sexual preferences to themselves. But since the policy was put in place in 1994, the number of soldiers being dismissed for reasons related to homosexuality has risen dramatically. These losses present a reduction in military readiness, given the difficulties in meeting recruitment targets. In addition, the policy seems to have made circumstances worse for gay soldiers under the guise of bringing them into the fold.

Data from the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network shows that dismissals under "don't ask, don't tell" have risen from 617 in 1994 to 1,163 in 1998. The Air Force had the most discharges of any branch last year with 415 -- an astonishing 65 percent of which came at a single Air Force base in Lackland, Tex. The Air Force says recruits were claiming to be gay to escape service when the going got tough.

But given that Air Force training is relatively mild and that the recruits are volunteers, deception to escape the service seems less than the full story.

Lawyers from the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network visited Lackland this fall and filed a report with the Air Force describing several problems with how "don't ask, don't tell" was being administered. The core issue was that briefings describing the policy to new recruits were indirect and ambiguous. Network investigators say they could not find a single recruit who understood the policy or what it entitled service members to do or not do.

In addition, the material bearing on "don't ask, don't tell" was tacked on to a discussion of the military code of justice, leading some recruits to think that they would be expelled for being gay with or without incriminating revelations. Other new soldiers got the impression that the Air Force honor code obligated them to confess sexual preferences -- and that they could face imprisonment if they withheld the truth and were later found out.

The network report says that even the base inspector general misunderstood the policy, and felt it his duty to report anything he heard. In a striking disregard for doctor-patient confidentiality, a post psychologist told Network investigators that it was his "duty" to inform on gay patients -- even though none of the services require doctors to break confidence in this fashion. In other words, recruits who had questions about a poorly presented policy were risking self-incrimination and dismissal if

they spoke to anyone at all.

The Air Force says it has reduced the number of dismissals at Lackland by allowing recruits to recant self-incriminating statements and reworked the instructional package to make the policy clearer. Air Force officials have also instructed recruits with questions to seek out service defense lawyers,

who are obligated by law to preserve lawyer-client privilege.

Unfortunately,

including lawyers in this equation deepens the impression that gay soldiers are criminals by virtue of sexual preference. As a rule, jiggering with a

bad

policy is likely to make it worse.

Bill Clinton could have avoided this nightmare by issuing a Trumanesque directive banning anti-gay discrimination in the armed services back in 1994.

The Pentagon would have grumbled at first, but would also have done what it was told. By tinkering at the margins, Congress and the President have ensured that the military will be divided over this issue long after the civilian world has put it to rest. The fatal mistake was compromising with bigotry in the first place.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Ruby Shamir to Virginia N Rustique at 19:46:43.00. Subject: Question. [partial] (1 page)	12/05/1999	b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Automated Records Management System [Email]  
OPD ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])  
OA/Box Number: 250000

### FOLDER TITLE:

[09/01/1999 - 12/06/1999]

2015-0017-F

ab1570

### 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]

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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]
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- 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 (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Ruby Shamir ( CN=Ruby Shamir/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-DEC-1999 19:46:43.00

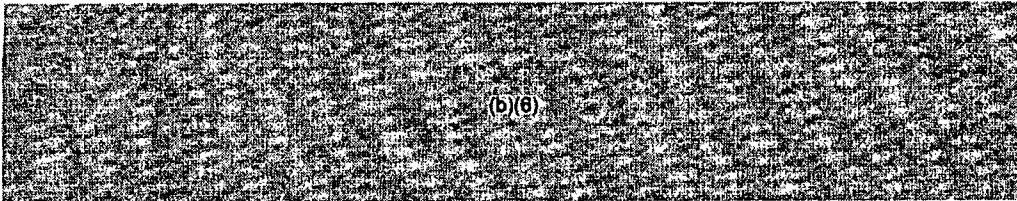
SUBJECT: Question

TO: "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> ( "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Hi Virginia,



[001]

So, I have a random question, and was wondering if you could help me figure it out, or direct me to the person that might know the answer. Apparently, Britain recently changed its rules about gays in the military. Do you have any information on this, specifically, what the policy was and how/why it changed? Your help is greatly appreciated!!

Thanks.

Ruby

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Virginia N Rustique to Ruby Shamir at 06:13:42.00. Subject: Re: Question [partial] (1 page)	12/06/1999	b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Automated Records Management System [Email]  
OPD ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])  
OA/Box Number: 250000

### FOLDER TITLE:

[09/01/1999 - 12/06/1999]

2015-0017-F  
ab1570

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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.

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> ( "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-DEC-1999 06:13:42.00

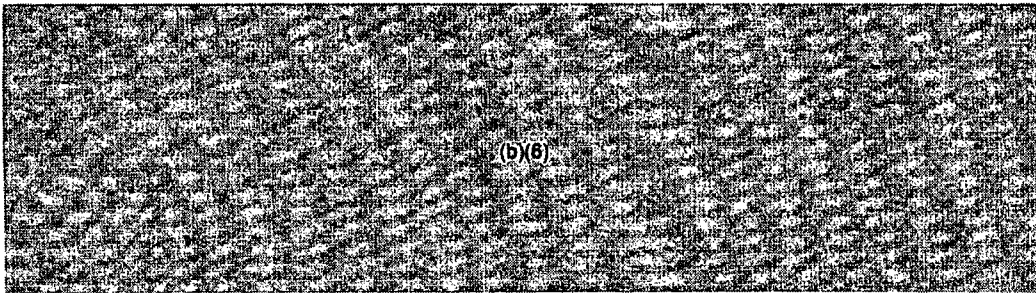
SUBJECT: RE: Question

TO: Ruby Shamir ( CN=Ruby Shamir/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Rubes-



[002]

Anyway, let me do some checking on the best/most helpful Embassy person you should talk with. I'll email you back later today.

So happy to hear from you...

V

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Ruby\_Shamir@opd.eop.gov [SMTP:Ruby\_Shamir@opd.eop.gov]

> Sent: Monday, December 06, 1999 12:46 AM

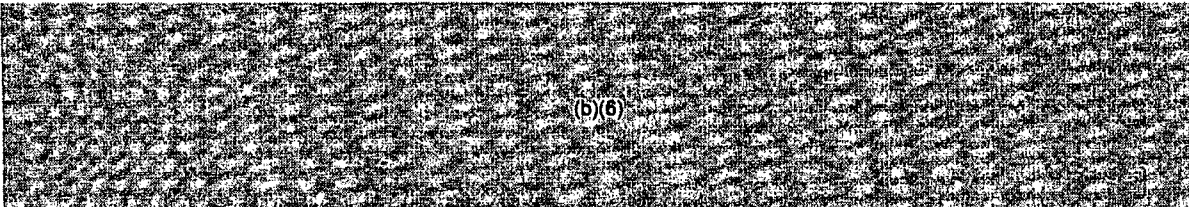
> To: Rustique, Virginia N

> Subject: Question

>

> Hi Virginia,

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> have

> any information on this, specifically, what the policy was and how/why it

> changed? Your help is greatly appreciated!!

>  
> Thanks.  
>  
> Ruby  
>

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	Ruby Shamir to Virginia N Rustique at 20:49:00.00. Subject: Re: update: Question. [partial] (2 pages)	12/06/1999	b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Automated Records Management System [Email]  
OPD ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])  
OA/Box Number: 250000

### FOLDER TITLE:

[09/01/1999 - 12/06/1999]

2015-0017-F  
ab1570

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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.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Ruby Shamir ( CN=Ruby Shamir/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-DEC-1999 20:49:00.00

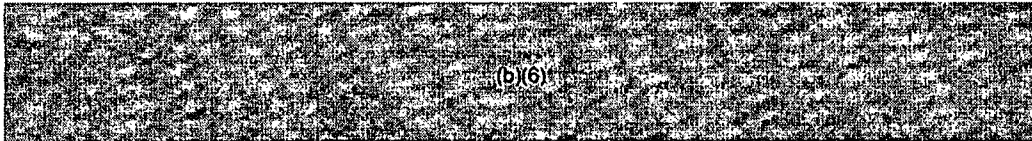
SUBJECT: Re: update: Question

TO: "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> ( "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Hey there,



[003]

Thank you for this info. I called the captain, and he hasn't called me back. Could you finagle the info out of him? I need the info by COB tomorrow and am a little concerned. Your help is greatly appreciated!!

Ruby

"Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov>

12/06/99 05:51:19 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Ruby Shamir/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: update: Question

Ruby --

I just spoke to the head of our Defense Attache office, Capt. Stewart Barnett. I gave him your name and told him you had some questions. He has your number. Here's his: 44-171-894-0766.

He's good. If you need to look in another direction, let me know. I'm happy to help.

V

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Ruby\_Shamir@opd.eop.gov [SMTP:Ruby\_Shamir@opd.eop.gov]

> Sent: Monday, December 06, 1999 12:46 AM

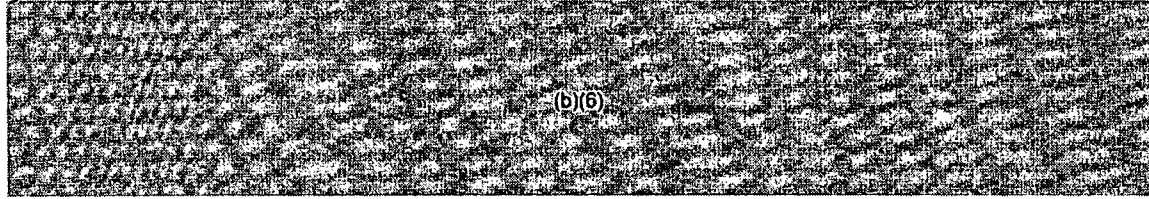
> To: Rustique, Virginia N

> Subject: Question

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[003 cont]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Virginia N Rustique to Ruby Shamir at 06:15:18.00 Subject: update: Question [partial] (1 page)	12/06/1999	b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
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OPD ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])  
OA/Box Number: 250000

### FOLDER TITLE:

[09/01/1999 - 12/06/1999]

2015-0017-F  
ab1570

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- 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 (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> ( "Rustique, Virginia N" <RustiqueVN@state.gov> [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-DEC-1999 06:15:18.00

SUBJECT: update: Question

TO: Ruby Shamir ( CN=Ruby Shamir/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Ruby --

I just spoke to the head of our Defense Attache office, Capt. Stewart Barnett. I gave him your name and told him you had some questions. He has your number. Here's his: 44-171-894-0766.

He's good. If you need to look in another direction, let me know. I'm happy to help.

V

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Ruby\_Shamir@opd.eop.gov [SMTP:Ruby\_Shamir@opd.eop.gov]

> Sent: Monday, December 06, 1999 12:46 AM

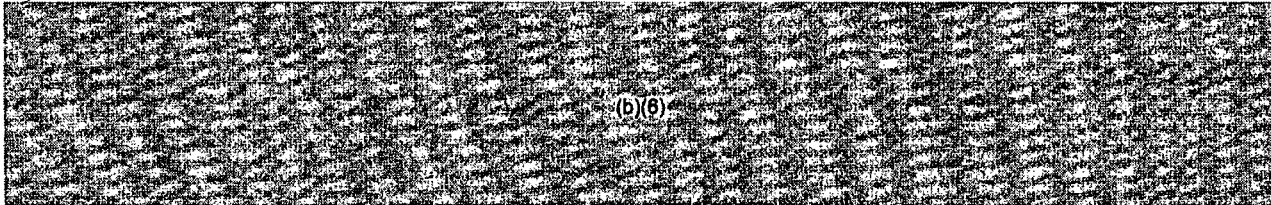
> To: Rustique, Virginia N

> Subject: Question

>

> Hi Virginia,

>



[ 0041 ]

> So, I have a random question, and was wondering if you could help me

> figure

> it out, or direct me to the person that might know the answer.

> Apparently,

> Britain recently changed its rules about gays in the military. Do you

> have

> any information on this, specifically, what the policy was and how/why it

> changed? Your help is greatly appreciated!!

>

> Thanks.

>

> Ruby

>