

Military: After a high rate of forced departures at Lackland base, officials are now permitting recruits to take back their statements on homosexuality.

By PAUL RICHTER, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON -- The Air Force has adopted a new approach to handling declarations of homosexuality that appears to be reversing a five-year surge in discharges of gay recruits.

Alarmed about a high rate of forced departures at the service's basic training center at Lackland Air Force Base in Texas, Air Force officials have begun permitting recruits to recant statements that they are homosexual.

Under the "don't ask, don't tell" policy adopted five years ago, recruits who publicly declare themselves to be gay must leave the service, while homosexuals who keep their orientation concealed may continue their careers.

Now, under a procedure put into effect in March, Air Force recruits may take back statements that they are gay as long as they do so within a few days of declaring their homosexuality.

They are also given an opportunity to explore the details of the "don't ask" policy with Air Force lawyers in confidential discussions that cannot legally be used against them. Air Force officials are then giving them a few more days to reconsider their statements before beginning formal discharge procedures.

The change grows out of concern that some recruits might be declaring they are homosexual because of misunderstandings about the "don't ask" policy and in response to the stresses of basic training.

In the first seven months since the new approach was adopted, the number of discharges of Lackland recruits went from 195 to 31.

The change is dramatic, said Jim Wolffe, special assistant to Air Force Secretary F. Whitten Peters. Now, "almost no one is being discharged for being gay at Lackland."

The Air Force has had a higher rate of such discharges than the other services because of the relatively large number of cases at Lackland.

The number of discharges for homosexuality from other Air Force bases has been flat or declining since the "don't ask" policy was instituted in November 1994, officials said.

Wolffe insisted that the changes at Lackland are procedural in nature and are consistent with the restrictions contained in the "don't ask" policy.

"There's no intention of having openly gay people serve at Lackland, or anywhere in the Air Force," he said.

He said that recruits are allowed to recant only in circumstances where they have made statements in private settings to individual training instructors or officers. The policy is not meant to apply to cases where recruits have made their declarations in a more public way -- by holding hands with a member of the same sex, for example.

Officials of Service Members Legal Defense Fund, a gay-rights advocacy group in Washington, praised the initiative.

"This process appears to be a genuine effort to reduce the number of gay discharges," the group said in a letter sent Monday to Secretary Peters.

At the same time, the group said that it had found in a study of Lackland several shortcomings that could explain the training base's high numbers of discharges.

It faulted the base, which handles 30,000 recruits a year, for failing to explain the "don't ask" policy fully, allowing harassment of recruits for supposed homosexuality, neglecting to provide safe ways to resolve problems arising from the policy and for fashioning a system that had resulted in "virtually automatic discharges."

The new changes may come under critical scrutiny on Capitol Hill.

Rep. Stephen E. Buyer (R-Ind.), chairman of the House Armed Services personnel subcommittee, said that he will withhold judgment on the changes while he awaits an Air Force briefing.

But he said he is "almost dumbfounded" that the Air Force seems to be counseling recruits who say they are gay to lie subsequently about their orientation "so that the discharge numbers look better in the eyes of the gay community."

News of the Air Force's policy change comes as the Clinton administration is making several moves to improve the treatment of gays in the military.

Amid an outcry over the murder of a soldier in Kentucky believed to be gay, the Pentagon is instituting new procedures that place additional restrictions on investigations of suspected gay service members.

Only this month, President Clinton signed an executive order amending the military criminal code to add stiffer penalties to crimes motivated by hatred caused by the victim's sexual orientation, race, religion or ethnicity.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-OCT-1999 09:22:44.00

SUBJECT:

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

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USAF Ousters

NewsPlanet Staff

Thursday, October 14, 1999 / 11:18 PM

SUMMARY: A new approach to "don't ask, don't tell," which includes counseling for servicemembers who "tell" in error, has dramatically cut discharges at Lackland Air Force Base.

Lackland Air Force Base stood out like a sore thumb in 1998 statistics for U.S. military discharges on grounds of homosexuality, with 65% of all Air Force discharges and nearly one-fourth of the total for all the service branches. However new figures released October 10 show a dramatic drop in Lackland discharges, attributed to a new Air Force policy that actually gives those trainees who make declarations that they're lesbian or gay the chance to recant them. The improvement came even before the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN) had offered its recommendations following an investigation of Lackland, but an Air Force spokesperson says those suggestions will be given serious consideration.

From March through September 1998, Lackland booted 195 personnel for homosexuality; during the same period in 1999, that number was down to 31. Since March, Lackland has been operating under a new Air Force approach to the so-called "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy. Trainees who make declarations are referred to defense counsel who advise them of their rights in a confidential meeting. If they recant their declarations within a few days of making

them, they are allowed to continue in the Air Force. The letter referring them to counsel does not remain in their permanent records.

This approach responds in part to one of SLDN's greatest continuing concerns about "Don't Ask, Don't Tell": a widespread misunderstanding among servicemembers as to what the policy actually is or means. Based on their March visit to Lackland, SLDN staff described the training recruits receive on the policy as "a brief script that a lawyer would have difficulty understanding, let alone a 20-year-old trainee." The script was not clear as to what kinds of activities might lead to discharge. Key information not appearing in the script at all included the right to talk with an attorney and a military policy against homophobic harassment.

Trainees were not the only ones confused about the policy. A psychologist and an inspector general were among those who erroneously believed that they were required to report servicemembers who made statements regarding their sexual orientation. One trainee was discharged after asking a superior if he would be jailed for being gay, even though it was never clarified if he was actually gay or not. Some presumed lesbian trainees also believed they would be jailed if they did not come out.

Trainees' problems with "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" ranged from the most idealistic to the most basic -- physical fear -- according to SLDN's report. The Air Force cherishes a core value of integrity, yet lesbian recruits must "hide, dissemble and lie"; Jim Wolffe, assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force, told the "San Antonio Express-News" that it should be made clear for them that, "not telling under 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' is not a violation of Air Force core values."

At the other end of the spectrum, SLDN identified a "hostile climate" in which slurs were used against suspected gays by their colleagues; one trainee told SLDN he'd overheard three servicemembers discussing how they would attack a gay. While Wolffe held firmly that anti-gay slurs should not be tolerated, just as racist and other remarks would not be, he viewed the situation of a

servicemember wanting to report anti-gay harassment as legally challenging. In theory, such a report should lead to investigation of the harassment rather than of the sexual orientation of the victim, but Wolfe admitted there was a risk of discharge involved for a victims who were not extremely careful about their statements.

Overall, SLDN found the situation at Lackland last year to be much more complex than it may have appeared superficially to either the watchdog group or the Air Force itself, and offered 14 recommendations for improvement. Wolfe, who had participated in their investigation, described SLDN's comments as thorough and thoughtful. SLDN in turn sent a letter of praise for the turnaround at Lackland to Air Force Secretary Whitten Peters on October 11 -- National Coming Out Day.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-OCT-1999 13:04:43.00

SUBJECT: Washington Post Magazine Profiles Richard Socarides

TO: rsocarides@rlmnet.com (rsocarides@rlmnet.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 10/16/99

01:04 PM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu

07/12/99 02:11:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: Washington Post Magazine Profiles Richard Socarides

Washington Post Magazine, July 11, 1999

His Public Domain, His Private Pain

Richard Socarides is the White House gay rights advocate, an insider for a movement that hasn't had one. It's as if he were trying to counter his father's life's work

By Chris Bull

One by one, they strode to a microphone in the stately Senate chamber. Peering into the faces of civil rights leaders and a gallery of cameras, they said it was time to pass a federal law covering hate crimes.

"The silence in Congress . . . has been deafening," Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts rebuked his colleagues. House Minority Leader Dick

Gephardt reeled off a list of recent slayings linked to prejudice: those of

James Byrd Jr., a black man in Texas, and of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming and Billy Jack Gaither in Alabama, both of whom were gay.

"Hatred is the most ignoble emotion in the human heart," intoned Sen. Gordon Smith, Republican of Oregon. The spate of violence was a "stain on the nation," said Ron Wyden, his Democratic counterpart. New York Democrat

Charles Schumer said that "even the most devout social conservative will tell

you that the quote-unquote sin of homosexuality pales compared to the sin of

violence." Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, said the killings

were
"too hot to handle on the local level."

But then he added, "This is a tough bill to get my colleagues to support."

Brows immediately furrowed. One belonged to Richard Socarides, a diminutive man standing, arms folded, along one wall of the wood-paneled room. President Clinton's liaison to the gay and lesbian community, he had carefully stage-managed this news conference in March to announce the introduction of the 1999 version of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, which would increase penalties and expand federal jurisdiction in crimes motivated by bias.

After Shepard was killed last October, Socarides had spent months trying to reassure gay rights activists. The Clinton administration "was doing all it could" to ensure passage of federal anti-bias protections, he had said. The news coverage of the Wyoming murder, he had explained in dozens of phone conversations and meetings, provided the best opportunity for gains in gay rights since 1993, when Clinton backed away from his pledge to lift the military's ban on gay service members.

Since taking the liaison job in May 1996, Socarides had worked feverishly to repair frayed relations between the White House and the gay community. In 1995, uniformed Secret Service officers had greeted gay rights activists arriving for a meeting with rubber gloves. Shortly after Socarides started his job, the president touted his signing of an anti-gay marriage bill in advertisements taped for Christian radio. Gay men and lesbians had voted for the president by overwhelming proportions, but many still remembered the snubs.

Now, Socarides needed to deliver. Surely, he thought, Schumer was right: Even the most vocal gay rights opponents would see the need for legislation protecting homosexuals from violence. Shepard had been pistol-whipped, tied to a fence and left for dead; Gaither had been bludgeoned with an ax handle and thrown onto a pyre of burning tires; polls indicated that at least 60 percent of Americans supported the legislation. Yet just when momentum seemed to be building, here was a crucial Republican putting on the brakes.

Socarides felt his back against the wall.

It wasn't the first time, nor is it likely to be the last. From hate crimes to same-sex marriage to AIDS, Richard Socarides is caught between an angry constituency looking for a glimmer of progress at the federal level and a cautious administration repeatedly burned by the right wing on gay issues.

Though his portfolio of responsibilities includes the president's initiatives on race and other civil rights issues, he has become the embodiment of the bridge between principle and pragmatism that has come to define gay politics at the end of the century. He is the Washington insider for a political

movement that has never had one. By virtue of his job, he is the man in the middle.

In a way, it's a circumstance he was born to: His father, Charles W. Socarides, is the champion of an obscure psychiatric movement known as "reparative therapy," which sees homosexuality as a mental illness that can be treated. In a nutshell, the elder Socarides, a professor of psychiatry at Albert Einstein College of Medicine in the Bronx, believes that male homosexuality is caused in early childhood development by a smothering mother and an abdicating father, which produces narcissism in the child. He has described his relationship with his first-born son in these terms.

In a career roughly spanning the life of his 44-year-old son, Charles Socarides has written dozens of journal articles and books describing homosexuality as a pathology. In *Homosexuality: A Freedom Too Far* (1995), he also attacked the gay rights movement. "First, it takes deadly aim on the primary unit in society, the family," he wrote. "Second, it is eliminating one of the very obvious, but very key factors in the making of a civilization: the fact that one generation succeeds another generation. Third, the very fact of AIDS is the same-sex movement's terrifying contribution to this terrific century."

In one of the great subplots of Washington politics, one of the country's most visible gay rights advocates is seemingly attempting to undo his father's life's work. It's as if Bob Dornan had fathered Bob Dylan.

Physically, Richard Socarides is a chip off the old man's block: boot-polish black hair, cherubic features, olive complexion. His liberal politics were also handed down from his father, a Democrat who revered Robert F. Kennedy and the civil rights movement (even if, as the nation's tolerance toward homosexuals has grown, Charles has aligned with the right wing in his opposition to homosexuality).

Father and son have spoken only sporadically since Richard became the Clinton administration's gay rights advocate, but it wasn't always this way. Charles Socarides did not respond to requests for an interview; his son, agreeing to speak freely about his father without restrictions, says the two were once exceptionally close.

Richard's parents divorced in 1960, when he was 6. Richard moved in with his mother, Veronica, just blocks away from his father's home on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. The separation was rough on young Richard, and he fell behind in school. To remedy the situation, Richard moved back in with his father at the age of 13 and enrolled in a private high school. "Unconsciously, I had decided to stop learning to protest their separation," he says. "I know it may seem strange to say, but I have nothing but good things to say about Charles as a father. He made sure I got the help I needed to get up to speed in my classes."

In high school, he became aware of the contradiction between his

sexual orientation and his father's professional life. At the end of ninth grade, Richard fell in love with a popular boy at his school, an experience he found both "exhilarating and terrifying." While his father was away for weekends in the country with girlfriends, Richard and his beau would spend time alone in his father's home. "He was very precocious, more than a little crazy, and he continued to date girls," Richard recalls of his boyfriend. "But I was madly, deeply in love with him. I still am to this day."

Richard hid his romance, and father and son studiously avoided the topic of his sexuality. "I think it was easy for us to compartmentalize," he explains. "Here I was just having a great time in high school. I was in love with this guy, and Charles was over here talking to people about the pathology of homosexuality. I was not going to let my dad's work jeopardize my life."

Richard occasionally was confronted with the implications of his desire.

On a sunny June morning in 1970, he and his boyfriend were walking through Central Park when they happened across the first gay pride parade winding its way through Manhattan to Greenwich Village. The event coincided with the first anniversary of the Stonewall riots, which marked the stirring of the modern gay rights movement. "It was a moment frozen in time," Richard says.

"I said something like, 'Don't you think it's interesting that we are having this experience with each other and here's this gay march?' He looked at me like, 'I don't want to go there.' But I knew I did."

Though Socarides gravitated to politics at a young age, he kept a safe distance from the rough-and-tumble of movement politics. He served as a gofer for John Lindsay's New York mayoral campaign in 1965 and Eugene McCarthy's 1968 presidential bid.

Partly because Socarides knew that a political career inevitably would lead to conflict with his father, he set his sights instead on a legal career. After graduating from Antioch College in Ohio in 1976 and Hofstra Law School in 1979, he became an associate at the prominent Manhattan firm of Squadron, Ellenoff, Plesent & Lehrer, quickly making partner. By the late 1980s, he was living in the fast lane, driving a shiny black BMW convertible, spending weekends at his boyfriend's beachfront home in the Hamptons and jetting off on Caribbean vacations.

The "don't ask, don't tell" arrangement between him and his father couldn't last forever. In 1986, Richard says, they had the long-avoided confrontation. "I was so nervous I have no idea what either of us said," he recalls. "It lasted just a few seconds, but I got out what I had to get out.

I told him I was gay, and that I had a boyfriend." Charles reacted

angrily,
Richard says, and he left shaken, fearing their relationship had suffered a permanent rupture. Six months later, a letter arrived in the mail.

"Charles
had written saying, 'If being gay is what makes you happy, then it's okay with me. That's all I can ask.' It was a classy thing to do."

Socarides soon took his next step out of the closet, joining the board of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, a national gay rights group based in New York. In a Friday-night traffic jam on the Long Island Expressway on the way to the Hamptons, Socarides had an epiphany. "I was all

worked up about something that had happened at the office," he says. "I thought there had to be something more to life than long hours and weekend commutes . . . I realized if I wanted to go into public service, it was now

or never. The more I got into the life of fancy cars, big money and Hamptons parties, the harder it would be to get out."

Two years later, Richard's sister, Dede, a Los Angeles therapist with whom he was close, became gravely ill with cancer; the same disease had killed their mother 10 years earlier. Dede's illness (and eventual death) made Richard more determined than ever to imbue his life with a sense of purpose. He took a huge pay cut to enter politics.

He signed on as manager of an ill-fated state legislative campaign in the Hamptons in 1990. Then he served briefly as a fund-raiser for Geraldine

Ferraro's campaign for the Senate and became New York director of Tom Harkin's presidential bid.

After the 1992 election, Socarides came to Washington to serve as political director for Harkin before accepting an assignment with then-Labor Secretary Robert Reich. By 1996, he was thoroughly ensconced inside the Beltway.

Throughout this period, his relationship with Charles deteriorated, and the suffering it caused did not go unnoticed by those close to him. "I have detected a great sadness in Richard," says Harkin. "Even before I knew about his father, I felt there was a great estrangement in his life."

The strain of his father's rejection, however, taught Socarides valuable lessons that he brought with him to Washington: Progress comes in small increments, and don't waste time on arguments you can't win.

When he took over the liaison job from Clinton confidante Marsha Scott, in May 1996, Socarides knew he was reporting for grim duty.

Before Scott, the White House's idea of outreach on gay issues was to have George Stephanopoulos make a weekly phone call to Rep. Barney Frank. The White House was in disarray. Gays, representing about 4 percent of the electorate, had donated more than \$3 million to the Clinton-Gore campaign. After weathering 12 years of consecutive hostile Republican administrations, they were eager for, as Clinton had put it during the campaign, a "place at

the table."

Instead of access, they had been rewarded with the "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" policy on gays in military service, which was arguably worse than the complete ban that had preceded it. When Clinton, under intense pressure from the Pentagon and his own party, suggested the compromise, gay rights activists went ballistic. Los Angeles fund-raiser David Mixner, a Friend of Bill, appeared on national television to call the move a "betrayal" and was arrested during a protest on Pennsylvania Avenue.

The bad feelings were mutual: The White House, attributing the 1994 Republican takeover of Congress in part to the gays-in-the-military backlash, viewed gay-related issues as poison.

Shortly after Socarides entered the picture, the relationship went from bad to worse. After a Hawaii court issued a ruling sympathetic to legal recognition of same-sex marriages, Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act prohibiting states from recognizing same-sex marriage. The president, boxed in, signed the bill into law in a midnight session. When gay activists learned that the White House had authorized an ad blitz on Christian radio touting the president's support for the bill, Socarides was deluged with angry phone calls.

He quickly assembled a tense conference call between gay activists and administration officials, and the White House withdrew the ads. Eager to retain gay dollars and votes in the 1996 election, the administration agreed to be more attentive.

At a Cabinet meeting about the president's "One America" multicultural initiative, Socarides argued for the inclusion of gay issues by appealing to the president's legacy. The White House declined, but he had caught the president's attention. "I talked about how this was the opportunity to do something for which he would be remembered," he says. "With a Republican Congress, it's been hard to get a lot done. But this was something that would be recorded in the history books, speaking out for the rights of a community of people."

That's an appeal Socarides has made inside the White House repeatedly.

Within the gay community, he has preached a message of accommodation, bringing expectations in line with what he sees as the political reality of the day. It's a pragmatic, incremental approach tailored to the times.

"The fact is all politics is based on personal connection," says Socarides. "If you don't have people on the inside, it's hard to get anything done. But once you have cultivated a relationship of trust, you can call in favors."

This approach has its logic, and it has won Socarides respect within the White House. But it has come at a cost. "Richard has absorbed body blows from the gay community," says Mike McCurry, the former White House communications director, who worked closely with Socarides in shaping the White House's strategy on gay issues. "And he's taught us all a lot about what it means to be gay in America today."

Adds former Clinton aide Harold Ickes, who has known Socarides since

the

Lindsay campaign: "Gay issues are some of the thorniest we had to deal with.

He's the rarest of birds: a power broker with principles."

Still, he has had to navigate treacherous waters between his wary employer and the constituency he is paid to court.

Socarides' office in the Old Executive Office Building is cavernous, and

filled with mementos of his six years in Washington. There are autographed photos of him with the Clintons, the Gores and Robert Reich. A Herblock cartoon depicts Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott standing next to Matthew Shepard's tombstone over the caption, "Would you explain to me again how a young man like this might have cured himself of his 'sin'?" On a television

monitor in the middle of the room, CNN flickers continuously.

Honed by early-morning workouts at Results, a U Street gym heavily patronized by gay men, Socarides has the bearing and energy of an irrepressible teenager. The phone, which he seems incapable of ignoring, rings constantly; to answer it, he leaps rather than walks from a couch to his desk, piled high with neat stacks of paper.

On this spring day, he has been expanding his portfolio: In addition to his liaison duties, he was named chief operating officer of the 50th anniversary NATO Summit in April. He has just returned from trips to New York City and Philadelphia to attend fund-raising dinners for gay rights groups. Back in Washington, there have been a cocktail party for AIDS Action, a lobbying group, and a speech on hate crimes legislation at Gallaudet University. He has just briefed a Newsweek reporter on gay issues over lunch.

Yet with Republican leaders keeping a tight rein on gay rights legislation, these are not exactly heady days for gay politics. Most of Socarides' work centers on White House communications) on organizing events, drafting statements, lobbying for mentions in speeches) with the idea that educating the public on gay concerns will someday lead to legislative gains.

After a two-year lobbying campaign by Socarides, the president declared that "violence because of . . . sexual orientation is wrong" in the 1999 State of the Union address. A White House press release later used the word "innocent" to describe the recent victims of gay-bashing. ("And I didn't even need to tell them," Socarides says with a smile.) Two weeks later, at another hate crimes event featuring law enforcement officials and religious leaders, Clinton, with Socarides looking on, compared hate crimes in America to ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

However, the only gay rights bill that hasn't flat-lined is the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, and that is showing few signs of life. The House leadership has vowed not to let the Employment Non-Discrimination Act out of committee. Despite the Pentagon's own statistics indicating that honorable discharges under "don't ask, don't tell" have skyrocketed since the policy

was implemented in 1993, there is little resolve to revisit the policy.

When James Hormel, the gay philanthropist and meat company heir, was nominated in October 1997 as U.S. ambassador to Luxembourg, three conservative senators placed a hold on the nomination; the administration finally pried it loose this year, with a recess appointment during Congress's

Memorial Day break. Socarides helped craft White House spokesman Joe Lockhart's statement: "It came down to a couple of senators who thought [Hormel] shouldn't be ambassador because he's gay. The president thinks that's wrong and discriminatory." Still, the move sparked protests from Lott

and Sen. James Inhofe of Oklahoma, who threatened to block all civilian presidential nominations.

So far, the gay community seems to have accepted Socarides' incremental strategy with only a murmur of complaint. Until Clinton's election, the movement was more accustomed to street demonstrations than back-room deals. Compromise meant not getting arrested during some angry protest. During the Bush years, the executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force had even tried to shout down the president.

David Mixner says both the gay rights movement and the White House have matured. "The incremental approach is more comfortable for the president, and we have gained from it as well because he can get more done," he says. "But it's our job to make it clear that we have not given anyone permission to balance their political convenience with our civil rights. If you asked African Americans if JFK was doing enough to end discrimination, they would have said no as well. But we have learned to articulate that position without becoming anti-Clinton, which simply feeds into the right wing."

It's often been said that Bill Clinton's worst enemies are his best friends. Nowhere is that more clear than when it comes to gay politics. While he has been burned on the issue at times by anti-gay forces, Clinton, with little investment of political capital, looks tolerant and compassionate in light of their stridency. In a series of small favors last year, Clinton issued an executive order barring discrimination based on sexual orientation in the federal work force and helped defeat an August attempt by GOP House members to overturn it. White House lobbying also turned back appropriations riders that would have banned gay adoptions in the District of Columbia and barred San Francisco from using federal funds to implement its domestic partnership ordinance. Socarides is facing another barrage of anti-gay riders again this year.

"There's no question the right wing of the Republican Party has been enormously helpful to our efforts," Socarides concedes. "They have become more homophobic at precisely the same time the president has hit his stride on gay politics. They may have won some of these battles, but we came out smelling like roses."

He has won over the president, the White House and, largely, the

community he set out to serve. He is resigned to the idea that he won't win over his father. ("It's the political equivalent of Ralph Reed becoming a progressive. It may simply be too much to ask a man to change his life's work.") There may be a metaphor there for the standing of gays and lesbians generally, but Socarides is focused more on the future) his future, the incremental future. "You're lucky if on the last day of your job, there are three things you have done that mattered," he says. "You're not going to change the world overnight."

Chris Bull is editor of Witness to Revolution: The Advocate Reports on Gay and Lesbian Politics, 1967-1999 (Alyson Publications).

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY (Doug.Case@sdsu.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-OCT-1999 11:21:39.00

SUBJECT: Oh, What a Night!

TO: Richard Socarides@EOP (Richard Socarides@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Frontiers Newsmagazine

October 15, 1999

<http://www.frontiersweb.com>

Oh, What a Night!

Activists Toast Triumphs, Ponder Past and Brace for Battle at "Take Back"

Congress Fund-Raising Bash

Not since 1991 has there been such enthusiasm within the gay community over politics.

Of course, it's hard not to become a little excited when you're suddenly transformed from wallflower to belle of the ball. Not only have Democratic presidential contenders Vice President Al Gore and former U.S. Sen. Bill Bradley requested a spot on the gay community's dance card, a few Republican presidential candidates have even nodded in its direction.

But no one can two-step and spin like "the one that brung you," to the party. For the gay community, that "fella" is Bill Clinton. He's the guy activists fell for eight years ago, who they later felt betrayed by and who returned to the Los Angeles gay community on Oct. 2 to ask for one last dance before his party ends.

Clinton was the keynote speaker at the Oct. 2 Access Now for Gay and Lesbian Equality (ANGLE) "Take Back the House" bash, an event that will go down in history. Not only did it raise \$850,000 for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC)-the most ever by any group for any Democratic committee, but it was also where California Gov. Gray Davis announced that he had signed three landmark gay civil rights bills.

For many present, however, the emotional highlight of the evening was watching Clinton return to publicly heal his ruptured relationship with Mixner, the gay political consultant who introduced Clinton to ANGLE at a fund-raiser during his first presidential campaign. The Oct. 2 return engagement was touted as the first time a sitting president has appeared at a gay function outside of Washington.

"I'm profoundly moved," Clinton said after the two-minute standing ovation that followed Mixner's introduction. Clinton recalled how, as a student, he

let Mixner sleep on his floor 30 years ago in England. "I thought I had never met a person whose heart burned with the fire of social justice so strongly," he said.

The president also reminisced about a 1991 ANGLE meeting at the house of Dr. Scott Hitt, who later became the founding chairman of Clinton's Presidential Advisory Council on AIDS. "I told you that I had a vision of America and you were part of it; that we were all part of the same community," Clinton said. "Well, tonight, I thank you for helping to make that happen."

There is "evidence" now that "pulling things together and moving forward actually works," Clinton said, citing a stream of statistics indicating the overall health of the country. But "don't you think it interesting that here we are on the verge of this new millennium with all these absolutely breathtaking technological breakthroughs and the biggest problem we've got is the primitive, age-old fear and hatred and dehumanization of the Other, people who aren't like us."

Clinton cited a litany of horrific acts of violence, from "those kids [who] got shot at that Jewish school and that Filipino postal worker [who] was murdered here" to "that guy who said he belonged to a church that didn't believe in God, but did believe in white supremacy [and] killed all those people of color and wounded others in Illinois and Indiana"; to "Matthew Shepard [who] was murdered and James Byrd [who] was torn apart" to "the tribal slaughters of Rwanda, and the persecution of the Kosovar Albanians or the Bosnian Muslims, or fights in Northern Ireland, or the continued agonies of the Middle East."

"I'm going to do everything I can every day that I have to remind people of that, that we have to be one America," Clinton said. "We can have honest differences over issues, but we can't have honest differences about whether we share a common humanity. And we cannot be under the illusion that either material prosperity or technological breakthroughs alone can purge the darkness in our hearts."

Clinton also offered what appeared to be an apology for his handling of the military's policy on gay servicemembers. "I wish I could have done better," he said. But overall, he added, "We've done pretty well and we're a long way from where we were." He pleaded for those in the room to "stay the course" and support the Democratic Party in 2000. "We need you," he said. "America needs you. I still believe in the future of America and you are a part of it."

The president offered an even more specific apology for the military debacle a few days later during an Oct. 7 speech to Empire Pride in New York. He called the gays-in-the-military debate "that awful battle that I waged and didn't win." It was that failure that led to the rift with Mixner, who was arrested protesting outside the White House shortly after Clinton agreed to the "don't ask, don't tell" policy in 1993. In an interview before the Oct. 2 event, Mixner told Frontiers that it's time to move beyond that disagreement.

"I think it's important that we understand that there's a time to fight and

be angry, to raise our voices-and there's a time to pause, to celebrate our victories," Mixner said. "Because by understanding our victories we can use it as a yardstick of progress and it serves as a directional signal to where we have to go."

Where ANGLE wants to go was clear in the theme of the Oct. 2 dinner: "Take Back the House."

House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., U.S. Rep. Patrick Kennedy, D-R.I., and openly lesbian U.S. Rep. Tammy Baldwin, D-Wis., expounded on that theme with inspired gusto.

Listening intently was a crowd of more than 1,000 people, including California Congressmen Henry Waxman, Xavier Becerra, and Brad Sherman, as well as celebrities like Ellen DeGeneres, Anne Heche, Eric McCormack, Julia Louis-Dreyfus, producer Bruce Cohen and Emmy-winning director Paris Barclay.

Kennedy, head of the DCCC, told the crowd that only five seats are needed to win back the House and that, with the self-identified gay vote at 5 percent, "the gay and lesbian community can make a difference in dislodging the Radical Right leadership in this country."

He said the DCCC "will put money in our best prospects," such as California state Assemblyman Adam Schiff, D-Glendale, who is running against U.S. Rep. James Rogan, one of the Republican House managers who lead the impeachment effort against Clinton. Kennedy said the money raised would also go toward helping "defeat the kind of radical right-wing, anti-gay, homophobic leadership in this country that we have seen for the last five and a half years in the Congress of the United States."

Baldwin told the audience that if her election last November "was about anything, it was about standing up to the many messages of cynicism and negativity out there and reclaiming our democracy. Our biggest challenge wasn't my opponent, it wasn't even the other Party. Our biggest challenge was overcoming feelings of hopelessness. Our biggest challenge was defeating those who I call the naysayers, the cynics, the keepers of the status quo. These are the people who said to me from the very first days that I ever thought of running for office, 'You can't win, you're too young. You can't win, you're a woman. You can't win, you're too progressive. And you certainly can't win, you're a lesbian.' They said you can't. They said you shouldn't. They said you won't. Well, guess what? We did!"

After a rousing, at times painfully funny, commentary on losing the House to the Republicans and the anti-gay repercussions, Gephardt articulated his vision of what could be accomplished if the Democrats recapture the House and he regains the speakership. For one, there would be more money for AIDS research, treatment, and innovative programs such as that offered by San Franciscan Nancy Pelosi to expand Medicaid to people with HIV before they get really sick. "I can't imagine what we're going through in this country and in this world with AIDS-how many people have died? æ It's a horror! We know that we can prevent its spread. We know one of the ways to do that is needle exchange. We know that it's a little bit hard to explain sometimes

to people-we can do this."

Hate crimes would be another area of change. "Sounds like a no-brainer," said Gephardt, noting how some in the audience stood with him on the steps of the Capitol after Matthew Shepard's death a year ago and asked for the House leadership to vote on the Hate Crimes Prevention Act. "Still it doesn't come up. We can do this. It will be one of the first bills that I would put on the floor," along with the long-stalled Employment Nondiscrimination Act, he said-if, Gephardt qualified, the Democrats win back the House.

How good the chances for that to occur are unclear. Deciding factors include whether the Democratic nominee will be strengthened or weakened by what is shaping up to be a hotly contested primary battle, and whether presumptive GOP nominee George W. Bush will maintain his wide lead in the polls. And, if so, will Bush's popularity have any "coattail" effect for the Republican presidential candidate?

Republican pollster Frank Luntz, in a report in the Oct. 4 issue of U.S. News and World Report, cast doubt on the latter possibility. The survey noted that backing for House Republicans lags 10 percent behind support for Bush, who has himself been critical of House leader's strident conservatism on social issues. Some GOP Party officials anticipate, however, that once Bush is nominated and Republicans unified behind him, support for congressional candidates will pick up.

The contests will be interesting on the LGBT front as well. The non-partisan national Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund recently released a report indicating that the political climate has improved slightly for gay candidates. It has already endorsed 17 openly gay candidates, three of whom are running for Congress. Rep. Baldwin is running for re-election, as is Rep. Jim Kolbe, R-Ariz., while Vermont Democrat state auditor Ed Flanagan is attempting to become the first openly gay U.S. senator.

On Oct. 23, the Victory Fund is hosting a Los Angeles fund-raiser for Flanagan. For more information, call 323/467-1600.

The Human Rights Campaign, meanwhile, is already steeped in Campaign 2000. At the ANGLE event, HRC Political Director Winnie Stachelberg gave Kennedy a \$50,000 check for HRC's contribution to the "Take Back the House" fund.

"As I told Patrick that night, it's a down payment on his effort," Stachelberg said on Oct. 12. "It's clear to us that the House Republican leadership needs to be changed to fair-minded Democrats who are far better on gay and lesbian issues."

HRC, however, is non-partisan and will continue to support "good Republicans" as well as good Democrats, she said. After the controversy over last year's endorsement of Republican incumbent Sen. Alfonse D'Amato over U.S. Rep. Charles Schumer in New York, HRC revised its endorsement policy to include more input from local community leaders. So far this year, HRC has endorsed 100 congressional candidates in 38 states.

Three big Senate races in HRC's sights are: Virginia Sen. Chuck Robb vs.

right wing former Gov. George Allen; Michigan challenger Debby Stabenow vs. U.S. Rep. Spencer Abraham; and California's "tremendous voice for fairness," Sen. Dianne Feinstein in her re-election bid against probable GOP challenger Ron Unz, the anti-gay millionaire and architect of several divisive state ballot measures.

The number of congressional incumbents who are either retiring or running for higher office "gives us an incredible opportunity to elect fair-minded candidates and to educate them, and incumbents and the community on our issues," Stachelberg said.

-Karen Ocamb

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 16-OCT-1999 12:36:33.00

SUBJECT: HRC commends Clinton for Executive Order

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

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 10/16/99

12:36 PM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu

10/08/99 01:16:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: HRC commends Clinton for Executive Order

NEWS from the
Human Rights Campaign

919 18th Street, NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006
email: hrc@hrc.org
<http://www.hrc.org>

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Thursday, Oct. 7, 1999

HRC COMMENDS CLINTON FOR EXECUTIVE ORDER INCREASING PENALTIES FOR
MILITARY
HATE CRIMES

While Executive Order Helps, It Is No Solution For Failed Discriminatory
Policy,
Says HRC

WASHINGTON □ President Clinton today signed an Executive Order that
increased
penalties for bias crimes motivated by religion, race or sexual
orientation.

While the action will improve the climate for gay and lesbian service
members,
it does not address the failed "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy that has led

to a
record numbers of discharges for gay and lesbian service members,
according to
HRC.

"We welcome Clinton's Executive Order which sends the unmistakable
message
that hate motivated violence against anyone will not be tolerated," said
HRC
Political Director Winnie Stachelberg. "However, the current 'Don't Ask,
Don't
Tell' policy helps foster anti-gay attitudes that can lead to the very hate
crimes that this Executive Order is aiming to stop. It is a positive
step, but
it does not go nearly far enough."

In addition to stiffening penalties in the Military Code for Bias
Crimes
based on race, religion and sexual orientation, the measure allows gay or
lesbian service members to confidentially talk to a psychotherapist in
criminal
matters. However, the new rule does not extend this confidentiality to
administrative actions, which are the usual channel for discharging gay and
lesbian service members.

"When a service member has a problem, a therapist's office should be a
safe
place to discuss personal issues," said Stachelberg. "But the way the
rules are
now, gay and lesbian service members are taken from the couch to the
courtroom
and ultimately discharged. The confidentiality privilege ought to extend
to all
cases whether criminal or administrative."

The Defense Department made the changes after consulting with the
Service
Members Legal Defense Network (SLDN). The move was also spurred by the
recent
murder of Fort Campbell stationed Pfc. Barry Winchell, who was beaten to
death
because he was gay by a private in his army unit.

In January, the Defense Department released a report that showed
discharges
for gay and lesbian service members increasing 14 percent to 1,145 in the
past
year. The Air Force led all services with 414 discharges. The Navy came in
second with 345. The Army had 310 discharges. The Marine Corps had the
lowest
number of discharges with 78.

The Human Rights Campaign is the largest national lesbian and gay political
organization, with members throughout the country. It effectively lobbies
Congress, provides campaign support and educates the public to ensure that
lesbian and gay Americans can be open, honest and safe at home, at work
and in
the community.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-OCT-1999 13:04:58.00

SUBJECT: Socarides leaving White House

TO: rsocarides@rlmnet.com (rsocarides@rlmnet.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 10/16/99
01:04 PM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu

09/24/99 10:03:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: Socarides leaving White House

WASHINGTON BLADE

September 24, 1999

<http://www.washblade.com>

Socarides leaving White House

Clinton's liaison credited with building unprecedented ties

by Lou Chibbaro Jr.

Richard Socarides, an attorney and Gay civil rights advocate who has served as the White House liaison to the Gay community since 1996, announced this week he will leave his current post October 15 to become a senior vice president for a communications consulting firm in New York City.

Gay civil rights leaders in Washington have credited Socarides with playing a pivotal role in helping the Clinton administration build unprecedented ties to the Gay community. While acknowledging that Socarides's job requires that his principal loyalty be with the president, activists have said Socarides demonstrated an extensive knowledge of Gay and AIDS issues and emerged as a champion for those issues within the administration.

Socarides said he had planned to remain in his White House job until near the end of the president's tenure in office in January 2001. But he said the opportunity associated with his new job "presented itself sooner than I expected" and it was "too good to pass up."

His new employer, the Manhattan-based firm Robinson Lerer & Montgomery, provides strategic communications consulting work for Fortune 500 media

companies, including television networks, as well as for Internet startup companies. Socarides said his duties will include providing direct consulting services to clients and will not include the practice of law.

During his off-duty hours, Socarides said he will work as a volunteer for Vice President Al Gore's presidential campaign. He said he also plans to do volunteer work for First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign for the U.S. Senate from New York.

The president has yet to appoint someone to replace Socarides. According to Socarides, White House officials are hopeful Clinton will name his replacement before he departs on Oct. 15.

While many of the nation's leading Gay activists have praised Socarides for serving as a firm voice for the Gay community within the White House, critics have accused him of serving as the administration's apologist for a president that some activists say has not been aggressive enough in pushing for Gay and AIDS issues.

Among those who have praised him is Kevin Ivers, an official with Log Cabin Republicans, a national Gay group.

"He reached out and built bridges to a number of groups and constituencies other than the Gay Democrats," Ivers said. "It was in contrast to so many others in the administration who were extremely partisan," said Ivers.

Winnie Stachelberg, political director of the Human Rights Campaign, a national, bipartisan Gay political group, called Socarides's job one of the hardest in town because, said Stachelberg, he had to walk a thin line between serving both the president and the Gay community at a time when some in the White House feared that Gay issues would hurt Clinton politically.

"He has done an excellent job," she said. "He will be missed."

Clinton first created the position of Gay liaison at the White House in 1994 in the wake of his controversial policy on Gays in the military known as "don't ask, don't tell." Clinton introduced the policy in 1993 after leaders of Congress forced him to cancel his earlier plan - a campaign promise to Gays - to fully lift the ban on Gays in the military. The controversial "don't ask, don't tell" policy outraged most Gay activists, who noted that it forced Gays in the military to remain in the closet and subjected them to the same threats of exposure and discharge as the old policy.

Tension between the White House and the Gay community increased in the fall of 1994 when Republicans won control of Congress in an election that everyone viewed as a disaster for the Clinton White House. Exit poll data indicated that many Gays did not turn out to vote. And some White House staffers cited the Gays in the military issue and Clinton's image among some voters as a pro-Gay liberal as a contributing factor in the GOP takeover of Congress.

"Some in the White House were calling Gays the 'third rail' of U.S.

politics," said Gay and AIDS activist Daniel Zingale, referring to the electrified third rail of subway tracks that can kill anyone who touches it.

With these developments as a backdrop, Clinton named Marsha Scott, a high-level White House aide and Clinton troubleshooter, as his first official White House liaison to the Gay community. Scott's appointment marked the first time any U.S. president had created such a position, though Scott retained other White House duties. She quickly met with a number of the nation's Gay civil rights leaders and arranged a series of follow-up meetings between Gays and top White House officials and cabinet members.

Socarides, meanwhile, had been working as the Labor Department's liaison to the White House since Clinton took office in 1993. By 1995, Socarides began assisting Scott with Gay liaison duties while remaining at Labor. Clinton named Socarides as Scott's replacement as the Gay liaison in the spring of 1996. With the exception of a three-month assignment to the Clinton-Gore re-election committee, from September to December 1996, Socarides has remained in his White House job since that time. His title is special assistant to the president and senior adviser for public liaison.

Gay activists have said that, while Scott opened the door to improve White House relations with the Gay community, Socarides set a precedent by turning the position into an in-house operation to enable Gays to present their views to the administration. On the heels of Clinton's election to a second term, Socarides took the lead in coordinating a number of Clinton's initiatives on Gay civil rights. Among them were Clinton's more aggressive support for the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, a national Gay civil rights bill; the president's decision to issue an executive order banning discrimination against Gay federal workers; and his decision to hold a White House conference on hate crimes. Socarides is said to have played the lead role in persuading Clinton to push for support for a Gay civil rights bill and the Hate Crimes Prevention Act in his State of the Union address before Congress last January.

Similar to Scott, Socarides has performed non-Gay-related duties. Among them has been his role as White House coordinator of the international NATO conference held in Washington earlier this year.

Stachelberg and Zingale said Gays will need a strong figure for Socarides's replacement to help push for a number of key Gay civil rights proposals between now and the end of Clinton's term. Among them, the two said, is the Gay civil rights measure known as ENDA.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 17-OCT-1999 11:33:38.00

SUBJECT: Washington Post Magazine Profiles Richard Socarides

TO: Melissa G. Green (CN=Melissa G. Green/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Gene asked me to send this to you; can you print it for him. thanks.

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 10/17/99

11:32 AM -----

Richard Socarides 10/16/99 01:04:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: rsocarides@rlmnet.com @ inet

cc:

Subject: Washington Post Magazine Profiles Richard Socarides

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 10/16/99

01:04 PM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu

07/12/99 02:11:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: Washington Post Magazine Profiles Richard Socarides

Washington Post Magazine, July 11, 1999

His Public Domain, His Private Pain

Richard Socarides is the White House gay rights advocate, an insider for a movement that hasn't had one. It's as if he were trying to counter his father's life's work

By Chris Bull

One by one, they strode to a microphone in the stately Senate chamber. Peering into the faces of civil rights leaders and a gallery of cameras, they said it was time to pass a federal law covering hate crimes.

"The silence in Congress . . . has been deafening," Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts rebuked his colleagues. House Minority Leader

Dick

Gephardt reeled off a list of recent slayings linked to prejudice: those of

James Byrd Jr., a black man in Texas, and of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming and Billy Jack Gaither in Alabama, both of whom were gay.

"Hatred is the most ignoble emotion in the human heart," intoned Sen. Gordon Smith, Republican of Oregon. The spate of violence was a "stain on the nation," said Ron Wyden, his Democratic counterpart. New York Democrat

Charles Schumer said that "even the most devout social conservative will tell

you that the quote-unquote sin of homosexuality pales compared to the sin of

violence." Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, said the killings were

"too hot to handle on the local level."

But then he added, "This is a tough bill to get my colleagues to support."

Brows immediately furrowed. One belonged to Richard Socarides, a diminutive man standing, arms folded, along one wall of the wood-paneled room. President Clinton's liaison to the gay and lesbian community, he had carefully stage-managed this news conference in March to announce the introduction of the 1999 version of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, which would increase penalties and expand federal jurisdiction in crimes motivated by bias.

After Shepard was killed last October, Socarides had spent months trying

to reassure gay rights activists. The Clinton administration "was doing all

it could" to ensure passage of federal anti-bias protections, he had said.

The news coverage of the Wyoming murder, he had explained in dozens of phone

conversations and meetings, provided the best opportunity for gains in gay rights since 1993, when Clinton backed away from his pledge to lift the military's ban on gay service members.

Since taking the liaison job in May 1996, Socarides had worked feverishly to repair frayed relations between the White House and the gay community. In 1995, uniformed Secret Service officers had greeted gay rights

activists arriving for a meeting with rubber gloves. Shortly after Socarides

started his job, the president touted his signing of an anti-gay marriage bill in advertisements taped for Christian radio. Gay men and lesbians had voted for the president by overwhelming proportions, but many still remembered the snubs.

Now, Socarides needed to deliver. Surely, he thought, Schumer was right: Even the most vocal gay rights opponents would see the need for legislation protecting homosexuals from violence. Shepard had been pistol-whipped, tied to a fence and left for dead; Gaither had been bludgeoned with an ax handle and thrown onto a pyre of burning tires; polls

indicated that at least 60 percent of Americans supported the legislation.

Yet just when momentum seemed to be building, here was a crucial Republican

putting on the brakes.

Socarides felt his back against the wall.

It wasn't the first time, nor is it likely to be the last. From hate crimes to same-sex marriage to AIDS, Richard Socarides is caught between an angry constituency looking for a glimmer of progress at the federal level and

a cautious administration repeatedly burned by the right wing on gay issues.

Though his portfolio of responsibilities includes the president's initiatives

on race and other civil rights issues, he has become the embodiment of the bridge between principle and pragmatism that has come to define gay politics

at the end of the century. He is the Washington insider for a political movement that has never had one. By virtue of his job, he is the man in the middle.

In a way, it's a circumstance he was born to: His father, Charles W. Socarides, is the champion of an obscure psychiatric movement known as "reparative therapy," which sees homosexuality as a mental illness that can be treated. In a nutshell, the elder Socarides, a professor of psychiatry at

Albert Einstein College of Medicine in the Bronx, believes that male homosexuality is caused in early childhood development by a smothering mother

and an abdicating father, which produces narcissism in the child. He has described his relationship with his first-born son in these terms.

In a career roughly spanning the life of his 44-year-old son, Charles Socarides has written dozens of journal articles and books describing homosexuality as a pathology. In *Homosexuality: A Freedom Too Far* (1995), he

also attacked the gay rights movement. "First, it takes deadly aim on the primary unit in society, the family," he wrote. "Second, it is eliminating one of the very obvious, but very key factors in the making of a civilization: the fact that one generation succeeds another generation. Third, the very fact of AIDS is the same-sex movement's terrifying contribution to this terrific century."

In one of the great subplots of Washington politics, one of the country's most visible gay rights advocates is seemingly attempting to undo his father's life's work. It's as if Bob Dornan had fathered Bob Dylan.

Physically, Richard Socarides is a chip off the old man's block: boot-polish black hair, cherubic features, olive complexion. His liberal politics were also handed down from his father, a Democrat who revered Robert

F. Kennedy and the civil rights movement (even if, as the nation's tolerance

toward homosexuals has grown, Charles has aligned with the right wing in his opposition to homosexuality).

Father and son have spoken only sporadically since Richard became the Clinton administration's gay rights advocate, but it wasn't always this way.

Charles Socarides did not respond to requests for an interview; his son, agreeing to speak freely about his father without restrictions, says the

two
were once exceptionally close.

Richard's parents divorced in 1960, when he was 6. Richard moved in with his mother, Veronica, just blocks away from his father's home on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. The separation was rough on young Richard, and he fell behind in school. To remedy the situation, Richard moved back in with his father at the age of 13 and enrolled in a private high school. "Unconsciously, I had decided to stop learning to protest their separation," he says. "I know it may seem strange to say, but I have nothing but good things to say about Charles as a father. He made sure I got the help I needed to get up to speed in my classes."

In high school, he became aware of the contradiction between his sexual orientation and his father's professional life. At the end of ninth grade, Richard fell in love with a popular boy at his school, an experience he found both "exhilarating and terrifying." While his father was away for weekends in the country with girlfriends, Richard and his beau would spend time alone in his father's home. "He was very precocious, more than a little crazy, and he continued to date girls," Richard recalls of his boyfriend. "But I was madly, deeply in love with him. I still am to this day."

Richard hid his romance, and father and son studiously avoided the topic of his sexuality. "I think it was easy for us to compartmentalize," he explains. "Here I was just having a great time in high school. I was in love with this guy, and Charles was over here talking to people about the pathology of homosexuality. I was not going to let my dad's work jeopardize my life."

Richard occasionally was confronted with the implications of his desire.

On a sunny June morning in 1970, he and his boyfriend were walking through Central Park when they happened across the first gay pride parade winding its way through Manhattan to Greenwich Village. The event coincided with the first anniversary of the Stonewall riots, which marked the stirring of the modern gay rights movement. "It was a moment frozen in time," Richard says.

"I said something like, 'Don't you think it's interesting that we are having this experience with each other and here's this gay march?' He looked at me like, 'I don't want to go there.' But I knew I did."

Though Socarides gravitated to politics at a young age, he kept a safe distance from the rough-and-tumble of movement politics. He served as a gofer for John Lindsay's New York mayoral campaign in 1965 and Eugene McCarthy's 1968 presidential bid.

Partly because Socarides knew that a political career inevitably would lead to conflict with his father, he set his sights instead on a legal career. After graduating from Antioch College in Ohio in 1976 and Hofstra

Law School in 1979, he became an associate at the prominent Manhattan firm of Squadron, Ellenoff, Plesent & Lehrer, quickly making partner. By the late 1980s, he was living in the fast lane, driving a shiny black BMW convertible, spending weekends at his boyfriend's beachfront home in the Hamptons and jetting off on Caribbean vacations.

The "don't ask, don't tell" arrangement between him and his father couldn't last forever. In 1986, Richard says, they had the long-avoided confrontation. "I was so nervous I have no idea what either of us said," he recalls. "It lasted just a few seconds, but I got out what I had to get out.

I told him I was gay, and that I had a boyfriend." Charles reacted angrily, Richard says, and he left shaken, fearing their relationship had suffered a permanent rupture. Six months later, a letter arrived in the mail.

"Charles had written saying, 'If being gay is what makes you happy, then it's okay with me. That's all I can ask.' It was a classy thing to do."

Socarides soon took his next step out of the closet, joining the board of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, a national gay rights group based in New York. In a Friday-night traffic jam on the Long Island Expressway on the way to the Hamptons, Socarides had an epiphany. "I was all

worked up about something that had happened at the office," he says. "I thought there had to be something more to life than long hours and weekend commutes . . . I realized if I wanted to go into public service, it was now

or never. The more I got into the life of fancy cars, big money and Hamptons parties, the harder it would be to get out."

Two years later, Richard's sister, Dede, a Los Angeles therapist with whom he was close, became gravely ill with cancer; the same disease had killed their mother 10 years earlier. Dede's illness (and eventual death) made Richard more determined than ever to imbue his life with a sense of purpose. He took a huge pay cut to enter politics.

He signed on as manager of an ill-fated state legislative campaign in the Hamptons in 1990. Then he served briefly as a fund-raiser for Geraldine

Ferraro's campaign for the Senate and became New York director of Tom Harkin's presidential bid.

After the 1992 election, Socarides came to Washington to serve as political director for Harkin before accepting an assignment with then-Labor Secretary Robert Reich. By 1996, he was thoroughly ensconced inside the Beltway.

Throughout this period, his relationship with Charles deteriorated, and the suffering it caused did not go unnoticed by those close to him. "I have detected a great sadness in Richard," says Harkin. "Even before I knew about his father, I felt there was a great estrangement in his life."

The strain of his father's rejection, however, taught Socarides valuable lessons that he brought with him to Washington: Progress comes in small increments, and don't waste time on arguments you can't win.

When he took over the liaison job from Clinton confidante Marsha Scott, in May 1996, Socarides knew he was reporting for grim duty.

Before Scott, the White House's idea of outreach on gay issues was to have George Stephanopoulos make a weekly phone call to Rep. Barney Frank. The White House was in disarray. Gays, representing about 4 percent of the electorate, had donated more than \$3 million to the Clinton-Gore campaign. After weathering 12 years of consecutive hostile Republican administrations, they were eager for, as Clinton had put it during the campaign, a "place at the table."

Instead of access, they had been rewarded with the "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" policy on gays in military service, which was arguably worse than the complete ban that had preceded it. When Clinton, under intense pressure from the Pentagon and his own party, suggested the compromise, gay rights activists went ballistic. Los Angeles fund-raiser David Mixner, a Friend of Bill, appeared on national television to call the move a "betrayal" and was arrested during a protest on Pennsylvania Avenue.

The bad feelings were mutual: The White House, attributing the 1994 Republican takeover of Congress in part to the gays-in-the-military backlash, viewed gay-related issues as poison.

Shortly after Socarides entered the picture, the relationship went from bad to worse. After a Hawaii court issued a ruling sympathetic to legal recognition of same-sex marriages, Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act prohibiting states from recognizing same-sex marriage. The president, boxed in, signed the bill into law in a midnight session. When gay activists learned that the White House had authorized an ad blitz on Christian radio touting the president's support for the bill, Socarides was deluged with angry phone calls.

He quickly assembled a tense conference call between gay activists and administration officials, and the White House withdrew the ads. Eager to retain gay dollars and votes in the 1996 election, the administration agreed to be more attentive.

At a Cabinet meeting about the president's "One America" multicultural initiative, Socarides argued for the inclusion of gay issues by appealing to the president's legacy. The White House declined, but he had caught the president's attention. "I talked about how this was the opportunity to do something for which he would be remembered," he says. "With a Republican Congress, it's been hard to get a lot done. But this was something that would be recorded in the history books, speaking out for the rights of a community of people."

That's an appeal Socarides has made inside the White House repeatedly. Within the gay community, he has preached a message of accommodation,

bringing expectations in line with what he sees as the political reality of the day. It's a pragmatic, incremental approach tailored to the times.

"The fact is all politics is based on personal connection," says Socarides. "If you don't have people on the inside, it's hard to get anything done. But once you have cultivated a relationship of trust, you can call in favors."

This approach has its logic, and it has won Socarides respect within the White House. But it has come at a cost. "Richard has absorbed body blows from the gay community," says Mike McCurry, the former White House communications director, who worked closely with Socarides in shaping the White House's strategy on gay issues. "And he's taught us all a lot about what it means to be gay in America today."

Adds former Clinton aide Harold Ickes, who has known Socarides since the Lindsay campaign: "Gay issues are some of the thorniest we had to deal with.

He's the rarest of birds: a power broker with principles."

Still, he has had to navigate treacherous waters between his wary employer and the constituency he is paid to court.

Socarides' office in the Old Executive Office Building is cavernous, and filled with mementos of his six years in Washington. There are autographed photos of him with the Clintons, the Gores and Robert Reich. A Herblock cartoon depicts Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott standing next to Matthew Shepard's tombstone over the caption, "Would you explain to me again how a young man like this might have cured himself of his 'sin'?" On a television monitor in the middle of the room, CNN flickers continuously.

Honed by early-morning workouts at Results, a U Street gym heavily patronized by gay men, Socarides has the bearing and energy of an irrepressible teenager. The phone, which he seems incapable of ignoring, rings constantly; to answer it, he leaps rather than walks from a couch to his desk, piled high with neat stacks of paper.

On this spring day, he has been expanding his portfolio: In addition to his liaison duties, he was named chief operating officer of the 50th anniversary NATO Summit in April. He has just returned from trips to New York City and Philadelphia to attend fund-raising dinners for gay rights groups. Back in Washington, there have been a cocktail party for AIDS Action, a lobbying group, and a speech on hate crimes legislation at Gallaudet University. He has just briefed a Newsweek reporter on gay issues over lunch.

Yet with Republican leaders keeping a tight rein on gay rights legislation, these are not exactly heady days for gay politics. Most of Socarides' work centers on White House communications) on organizing events, drafting statements, lobbying for mentions in speeches) with the idea that educating the public on gay concerns will someday lead to legislative gains.

After a two-year lobbying campaign by Socarides, the president declared that "violence because of . . . sexual orientation is wrong" in the 1999

State of the Union address. A White House press release later used the word

"innocent" to describe the recent victims of gay-bashing. ("And I didn't even need to tell them," Socarides says with a smile.) Two weeks later, at another hate crimes event featuring law enforcement officials and religious leaders, Clinton, with Socarides looking on, compared hate crimes in America to ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

However, the only gay rights bill that hasn't flat-lined is the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, and that is showing few signs of life. The House leadership has vowed not to let the Employment Non-Discrimination Act out of

committee. Despite the Pentagon's own statistics indicating that honorable discharges under "don't ask, don't tell" have skyrocketed since the policy was implemented in 1993, there is little resolve to revisit the policy.

When James Hormel, the gay philanthropist and meat company heir, was nominated in October 1997 as U.S. ambassador to Luxembourg, three conservative senators placed a hold on the nomination; the administration finally pried it loose this year, with a recess appointment during Congress's

Memorial Day break. Socarides helped craft White House spokesman Joe Lockhart's statement: "It came down to a couple of senators who thought [Hormel] shouldn't be ambassador because he's gay. The president thinks that's wrong and discriminatory." Still, the move sparked protests from Lott

and Sen. James Inhofe of Oklahoma, who threatened to block all civilian presidential nominations.

So far, the gay community seems to have accepted Socarides' incremental

strategy with only a murmur of complaint. Until Clinton's election, the movement was more accustomed to street demonstrations than back-room deals. Compromise meant not getting arrested during some angry protest. During the

Bush years, the executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

had even tried to shout down the president.

David Mixner says both the gay rights movement and the White House have

matured. "The incremental approach is more comfortable for the president, and we have gained from it as well because he can get more done," he says. "But it's our job to make it clear that we have not given anyone permission to balance their political convenience with our civil rights. If you asked African Americans if JFK was doing enough to end discrimination, they would have said no as well. But we have learned to articulate that position without becoming anti-Clinton, which simply feeds into the right wing."

It's often been said that Bill Clinton's worst enemies are his best friends. Nowhere is that more clear than when it comes to gay politics. While he has been burned on the issue at times by anti-gay forces, Clinton, with little investment of political capital, looks tolerant and compassionate in light of their stridency. In a series of small favors last year, Clinton

issued an executive order barring discrimination based on sexual orientation

in the federal work force and helped defeat an August attempt by GOP House members to overturn it. White House lobbying also turned back appropriations riders that would have banned gay adoptions in the District of Columbia and barred San Francisco from using federal funds to implement its domestic partnership ordinance. Socarides is facing another barrage of anti-gay riders again this year.

"There's no question the right wing of the Republican Party has been enormously helpful to our efforts," Socarides concedes. "They have become more homophobic at precisely the same time the president has hit his stride on gay politics. They may have won some of these battles, but we came out smelling like roses."

He has won over the president, the White House and, largely, the community he set out to serve. He is resigned to the idea that he won't win over his father. ("It's the political equivalent of Ralph Reed becoming a progressive. It may simply be too much to ask a man to change his life's work.") There may be a metaphor there for the standing of gays and lesbians generally, but Socarides is focused more on the future) his future, the incremental future. "You're lucky if on the last day of your job, there are three things you have done that mattered," he says. "You're not going to change the world overnight."

Chris Bull is editor of Witness to Revolution: The Advocate Reports on Gay and Lesbian Politics, 1967-1999 (Alyson Publications).

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Socarides <RSocarides@rlmnet.com> (Richard Socarides <RSocarides@rlmnet.com> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:22-OCT-1999 15:49:41.00

SUBJECT: FW: Ban on homosexuals in British Armed Forces to go next year

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

TEXT:

-----Original Message-----From: LGBT Activists List [mailto:Doug.Case@sdsu.edu]
Sent: Saturday, October 16, 1999 6:43 PM
To: queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu
Subject: Ban on homosexuals in British Armed Forces to go next year

London Times, October 15 1999
(<http://www.the-times.co.uk>)

Ban on homosexuals in Forces to go next year
BY MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE EDITOR

The blanket ban on homosexuals serving in the Armed Forces could be lifted within months. Geoff Hoon devoted his first public comment since being appointed Defence Secretary to promising a change of policy, and ministry sources said that it would come as quickly as possible.

The European Court of Human Rights ruled last month that the sacking of four former Service personnel for being homosexual was a breach of their privacy rights, and yesterday Mr Hoon made clear that a new policy would be implemented. The only question was the best way to do so and Service chiefs

are being consulted on that. Speaking at the tri-Service Permanent Joint Headquarters at Northwood in northwest London, Mr Hoon said that the European court had made its judgment and "we will implement it." He also underlined his personal determination to "modernise" the Armed Forces, another indication that he is keen to end the ban on homosexuality. But there is no question, it seems, of following the American "don't ask, don't tell" approach.

Mr Hoon is likely to want a clear-cut policy that leaves no room for confusion. While it is expected to rule out disciplining individuals for their sexual orientation, any "unacceptable" social behaviour □ homosexual or heterosexual □ could lead to action.

If Mr Hoon decides to introduce the policy by changing the Queen's Regulations, it could be enshrined in law when MPs carry out the five-yearly review of the Armed Forces Bill in 2001.-----

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- att1.htm===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

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<META NAME="Generator" CONTENT="MS Exchange Server version 5.5.2650.12">

<TITLE>FW: Ban on homosexuals in British Armed Forces to go next year</TITLE>

</HEAD>

<BODY>

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-OCT-1999 19:14:32.00

SUBJECT: supporters list revised

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
SUPPORTERS

Vice President Gore

Secretary Andrew Cuomo

National Associations

Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund Bond (National G/L PAC) Dir.	Brian Executive
--	------------------------

Service Members Legal Defense Network Benecke (Gays in the Military)	Michele Dixon Osborne Co-Chairs
--	---

Gay and Lesbian Task Force ED (Grassroots Advocacy)	Kerry Lobel, Rebecca Issacs Ginny Appuzo
---	--

Stonewall Federation Lee (40 Local Democratic Clubs) Perez	Roger Michael
---	----------------------

DNC: Rendell	Chairman G/L Liaison: Mark
Spangler	G/L Caucus: Gene O ,Leary

Human Rights Campaign ED	Elizabeth Birch, Winnie
Stachleberg	

New York

Vice Chair Democratic Party	Emily
Giske	
Nat G/L Taskforce Policy Institute	Ginny
Appuzo	
Democratic Fundraiser	Jeff Soref
Gay Lesbian Taskforce	Ginny Appuzo
NY State Senate	Tom
Duane	
NY State Assembly	Deborah
Glick	
NYC Council	Christine
Quinn	
NY State Pride Agenda	Matt
Foreman	
NYState Democratic Clubs	

California

Democratic Fundraiser	David
Mixner	
Democratic Fundraiser	Jeremy
Bernard	
SF Chamber of Commerce	Roberta
Achtenberg	

New Hampshire: New Research
2000 poll (#13)
shows Bush dropping 23pts over challenger
McCain sin

ce the firm's August survey (see Hotline
8/9).

National: New Newswee
k poll of all adults (#40)
shows Bush losing double-digit lead -- now in a

dead heat with Bradley and nearly tied with Gore.
Latest Pew also sh
ows dead heats (Hotline 10/19).

But Fox pollsters keep Bush ahead by doubl
e-digits
(among reg. voters) (#39)

Buchanan Factor: Latest Fox News
poll shows
Buchanan pulling Bush down 5-6pts against Dems
(#39).

"I just can't imagine that anybody can
take him seriousl
y."

-- Donald Trump on Pat Buchanan. "Meet the
Press
," NBC, 10/24.

ee Dies
RI Sen.
Sen. Chaf
Senate Mourns Death of
(#27)

Two For The Road
Pat (#1) and The Donald (#2)
join the Reform Party field.

Look For The Liberal
Label
dup to debate, Gore labels
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Bra

dley a "left-of-center

insurge

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Georgia on My Mi

nd

Tony and Hugh Rodham in

Trouble in Former Soviet

Republic?(#23)

Getting Ugly Early

40 year-old picture of Carnahan

(D-MO) in blackface

resurfaces.(#20)

Reasons To Watch

Today's Tal

king Heads reminds

us why prim

ary debates

sometimes matter.

Wait! I Can Explain!

Local GA candidate arrested 26

times.(#49)

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8 KEYES: Opens NH Headquarter

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Media Monitor

For Hotline's presidential campaign web pages, go to WH 2000 Quickclicks (www.cloakroom.com/pubs/hotline/extra/wh2000). For help using The Hotline on the web, call Diana West at (703) 518-8743.

During last night's "60 Minutes" bio of Bill Bradley, the network did not disclose the fact that Bradley was an on-air employee of CBS right after his senate retirement.

WHITE HOUSE
SE 2000

1
BUCHANAN: Rides To The Sound Of The Money
?

Pat Buchanan this a.m. announced his decision to leave the GOP and run for the presidential nomination of the Reform Party. After experiencing audio difficulties, Buchanan told assembled reporters: "Today I am ending my lifelong membership in the Republican party and my campaign for its nomination, and I am declaring my intention to seek the nomination of the Reform party for the presidency of the United States of America. This decision was not made without anguish and regret. I will forever cherish the memory of having been perhaps the only Goldwaterite in the graduating class of the graduate school of journalism at Columbia, New York in 1961."

Buchanan, on the GOP: "The Republican party has been good to me, and I have tried to be loyal to it. But as John F. Kennedy said, sometimes party loyalty asks too much. And today it asks too much of us. Today candor compels us to admit that our

... two-party system is a snare and a delusion, a fraud upon the nation."

Buchanan, on the established parties: "They have rearranged the party schedules and rigged the game to protect the party favorites. Candidates of ideas need not apply. As both parties seek out the hollow men, the malleable men, willing to read from teleprompters, speeches scripted by consultants and pollsters, to whom the latest revelation from the focus group is sacred text. And we choose not to play our assigned, walk-on role in their sham election. ... Only the Reform party offers the hope of a real debate and a real choice of destiny for our country. ... So let me say to the money boys and the Beltway elites, who think that at long last they have pulled up the drawbridge and locked us out forever, you don't know this peasant army. We have not yet begun to fight" (10/25).

FNC's Cameron, on Buchanan's technical difficulties: "Unfortunately some of the humor ... was not able to go out onto the airwaves. Talking about how, given a hand-held microphone and a wireless, he was going to have to do his Elizabeth Dole imitation and stroll the stage with a wireless mic. ... There will be immediate corrections and metaphors drawn. Here we have a candidacy in the Reform party that starts off on the wrong foot because of technical problems" (FNC, 10/25).

CNN's Crowley, on Buchanan's announcement: "He had some harsh words for George Bush on education, some harsh words for Bill Clinton on a variety of things. ... Here in this room, he's a hit" (CNN, 10/25).

n released the following statement this morning: "I have said from the

beginning that Pat Buchanan left the Republican Party the day he questioned America's

involvement in defeating Nazi Germany. Unlike so many others, I have made no

attempts to convince him to stay in the Republican Party and I do not mourn his

departure. Too many of my party's leaders made the mistake of trying to appease

Buchanan. His actions today prove that their efforts were wrong. Running for president should not

imply be about polls and political calculation. That is Clintonism. Our party

must stand on principle, and on principle, Pat Buchanan is clearly wrong" (release, 10/25).

Bush adviser Ralph Reed, on Buchanan's defection to Reform: "The fact of the matter is that Pat Buchanan is leaving a party that has 31 governors, control of both House

s of Congress, and right now, it's ... frontrunner for its nomination, for the presidential nomination is leading Vice President Al Gore by 17 and 24 points. He's

leaving that party for a party that has one state-wide elected official, no members of

Congress, and is about 8% in the polls. I think it's a big mistake, I'm sorry he's doing it but, it's a free

country and he's obviously -- he's an intelligent guy, he's made his

decision" ("Late Edition," CNN, 10/24).

McCain 2000 nat'l co-chair Warren Rudman, on whether he thinks Buchanan "is a factor and

more": "I do not. And as a matter of fact, I think he has greatly forfeited

much of what he says he stood for during the last campaign. ... I'm sorry to say this on

national television, but many people are starting to believe that if he is not an

anti-Semite, he certainly is doing a wonderful imitation. ... We have no room in [the GOP] ... for someone

who writes the things that he's written in the last year. Now that is

not just my opinion. That is John McCain's opinion. And he is the one Republican

who has stood up and said so" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 10/24).

Pat Robertson, on Buchanan's expected GOP departure: "I oppose what he's

doing. I think it's wrong for somebody to run a couple times in the primary of his own party, then jump ship just because he can't win" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 10/24).

NY Indies Not Impressed

New York Post's Dicker reports, Jack Essenberg, who heads NY's Reform-affiliated Independence Party, said he "might resign" if Buchanan is the Reform candidate. Essenberg is concerned about Buchanan's "right wing stands" and his "alignment" with Lenora Fulani. Essenberg: "Of course, there is a precedent for such an alliance: At one time Hitler and Stalin got together in an accord" (10/25). MN Reform Party founder Phil Madsen and Gov. Jesse Ventura have both at least "hinted" they will leave if Buchanan is the party's nominee. Former independent presidential candidate John Anderson cautioned Buchanan's candidacy would send the party "traveling to obscurity" (Hamburger, McClatchy Newspapers, 10/24).

Who Cares?

McClatchy Newspapers' Dobbin reports, "The ultimate question" about Buchanan's Reform run is "whether anybody cares." Dobbin cites a Marist Institute poll showing 44% of GOPers "have an unfavorable impression" of Buchanan and 44% "shrug off" his candidacy. Still, "some pundits" say the party switch could lead Buchanan to "develop a new lease on political life." Hotline founder Doug Bailey: "Call him a rabble-rouser if you like, but always keep in mind that Buchanan has the capacity to arouse his troops, and that can make him a major player" (10/24). Buchanan could be successful in places like Weirton, WV, where "many residents," disgruntled by layoffs at a steel mill, back him as the only candidate "standing up with them" against free trade. Towns like this "could make him the wildest of wild cards on the ballot" (Puzzanghera, San Jose Mercury-News, 10/25).

Pitchforking Pat

Winston S. Churchill writes in the Boston Globe, the "nonsense advanced" in Buchanan's book A Republic, Not An Empire should be of no concern to the GOP-turned-Reform candidate. Churchill: "Why an Irish-American should be so concerned by Britain's loss of its empire, I am at a loss to understand" (10/23). For former RNC Chair Rich Bond also criticizes Buchanan, saying his defection to the

Reform Party is "a total act of war." Bond: "I will do everything in my power to raise his negatives, using his own words and actions against him." More Bond: "Buchanan has alienated so many groups of Americans that all he has left is some white men. The only way he could make things worse is if he makes David Duke his running mate" (Hohler, Boston Globe, 10/25).

The Wall Street Journal's Podhoretz writes, Buchanan is "being unrepentant and pugnacious as ever," even fueling arguments that he is anti-Semitic by continuing to advance his revisionist view of WWII. Buchanan has previously "lent his weight" to the

theory that the Holocaust never happened or was exaggerated. It was his positions on policy toward Israel over which Podhoretz "first reached the conclusion that Mr. Buchanan had become an anti-Semite" (10/25).

Conspiring Against Reformers

AP's Olson reports, Ventura "knows he should be" the Reform candidate for president. Ventura told The New York Times "he does not want the job" and has a commitment to finish his term as MN gov. Ventura: "See, that's the tearing that I have

inside myself. I know I should be the candidate. But what do I do? I'm between a rock and a hard place." The former wrestler thinks Buchanan is "a 'sacrificial lamb'" sent by Dems and GOPers to destroy the Reform Party (10/25).

From One Who Knows
Ex-Pres
ident George Bush, on Buchanan: "I don't want to be too forgiving, but I
have some very pleasant memories of Pat even though he blistered me in 1992
. But I
have no animosity towards Pat. You can't help but like the gu
y. I just hope he doesn't
get all over my boys" ("FOX News Sunday," 1
0/24).
(Back to Contents)

2
TRUMP: "M
eet" The Donald
Donald Trump yesterday announced that he is l
eaving the GOP for the Reform
Party. Trump, on why he's joining the R
eform party: "I really believe the Republicans
are just too crazy 'ri
ght.' I mean, just, what's going on is just nuts. And I'm seeing the
Democrats ... Bradley and Gore are so liberal, it's just too liberal for me. An
d I really
think [the Reform party has] hit a chord, they've hit a re
ally good chord, and I guess
I'm very popular in that party. And it c
ertainly looks that way."
More Trump: "I am certainly controve
rsial, but I also am ... a great businessman.
I'd make the greatest t
reaties that this country's seen in a long time. Other countries
woul
dn't be ripping us off like they're doing. ... And things would happen."

Trump, explaining to NBC's Russert what he meant in suggesting in hi
s new book
that smart women "act very feminine and needy, but inside
they are real killers": "Well,
you know that. I mean, you're married
to an incredible woman and I'm sure she
manipulates you beautifully."
Russert: "When women see or hear that on the screen,
however, don't
they say, 'Donald Trump, isn't that a little bit over the line?'" Trump: "I
think they respect it. I'm saying women may be beyond us. ... They're sm
art, they're
cunning, they're killers in many respects."

Trump, on ex-wife Marla Maples' recent critical statements: "Hell hath no fury

like a woman scorned. I feel badly for Marla. I thought we were getting along OK.

But when you leave someone, that sort of is the reaction. I think she'll change. We

have a great daughter. ... I felt badly that she'd say some negative things, but it put her back into the

limelight for another day, and maybe she's happy with that. I don't know.

I'm very surprised that she said anything negative."

Trump, on the book "Trumped!" and its author -- who quotes Trump as saying

that "laziness is a trait in Blacks" that they can't "control": "I never said it. ... I hardly

know this guy. He was running one of my casinos for a short period of time. ... He was

fired. We fired him because he wasn't doing a very good job. He wrote this nasty

book, he made up stuff. ... He made up this quote. I've heard the quote before, and it's

nonsense.

No Pat Punches Pulled

Trump on Buchanan

on his expected Reform party run: "He's a Hitler-lover. I guess he's an

anti-Semite. He doesn't like the Blacks. He doesn't like the gays. It's just

incredible that anybody could embrace this guy. And maybe he'll get four or five

percent of the vote and it will be a really staunch, right, wacko vote. I'm not even sure

if it's right. It's just a wacko vote. And I just can't imagine that anybody can take him

seriously" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 10/24).

Buchanan "brushed aside" Trump's comments: "To get in a slanging match with

someone is not why I'm doing this. We don't run negative campaigns. I'm not in this

because I dislike other people" (Cline, New York Times, 10/25).

Ex-Reform party VP cand. Pat Choate, on Trump's statements that Pat Buchanan is a

"Hitler-lover" who would just "get the wacko vote": "I think Donald Trump needs

to learn not to delegate his reading and thinking, because Pat Buchanan's never said that, or doesn't hold those positions. I do look forward to some debates with Donald Trump." More Choate, on charges that Buchanan was anti-Semitic: "What has happened here is a degree of pandit bigotry about Pat Buchanan, where you've had large numbers of people go to print, they cannot find the quotes in Pat Buchanan's book that they want to attack. So they concoct, make up positions."

Choate, on whether Donald Trump is serious about a WH 2000 run: "I don't know. I've talked with Roger Stone, his political consultant. And one can see that he's thinking about it. ... I think it would actually be good for the country if would do it, because it means the Reform party would hold a series of debates on the issues" ("Face The Nation," CBS , 10/24).

"Donald, Hey, Man, Cool It"
Ex-Pres. George Bush, on the political advice he'd give to Donald Trump: "If I want to give you the answer that's in my heart, I'd say let me figure out what effect this might have on my candidate, and if Trump running is good for my candidate for president, 'Hey, go off and start a fourth party or fifth party.' ... If it's going to hurt my candidate, I'd say, 'Donald, hey, man, cool it. Don't do it'" ("FOX News Sunday," FNC, 10/24).

House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL), on Trump's defection to the Reform party: "I would say to Donald Trump and to Pat Buchanan , if you want reform, stick with the Republican Party" ("FOX News Sunday," FNC, 10/23).

Washington Post's Juan Williams, on the potential fight for the Reform party nod: "I don't think Trump has a real chance to beat Pat Buchanan, but I think that it's more likely ... that you have Ross Perot get back in it or maybe -- you know, Jesse Ventura is not exactly thrilled with Pat Buchanan -- Maybe Jesse Ventura stands

up and says,

'No this is going to be my party'" ("FOX News Sunday," F NC, 10/24).

Steve Forbes, on Donald Trump's statement that he's leaving the GOP because it

is "too crazy right": "The Donald is The Donald. He's always entertaining. And if he wishes to go the Reform

party, he's free to do so" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 10/24).

Reform Party Is Cable Ready, Willing And Able

New York Times' Benne
t writes: "[Pat] Buchanan , who travels with his own television earpi

ece, understands the news media as well as any candidate. Rather than

merely shaking hands, he has always campaigned more by snatching "free media"

--

showing up at dawn at local television stations, for example, to offer himself to

content-starved morning shows. That is part of his attraction for the Reform Party,

where publicity has substituted for the traditional work of grass-roots organizing.

Reformers like to call their outfit a 'cyberparty,' since it lacks a bricks-and-mortar national headquarters. But it is even more of a cable party. Just as the Reform Party

was trying to squeeze in between the Democrats and Republicans, cable news was

coming of age as a competitor to the networks. The needs of cable and the party were

reciprocal, and they have complemented each other ever since [Ross] Perot chose

the CNN show 'Larry King Live' to announce his first Presidential candidacy. This

year, a compliant news media stands ready to embrace anyone who might enliven the

Presidential race, as Buchanan certainly would" (10/24).

Hartford
Courant's Daley reports that television has replaced retail politicking: "It

used to be the way to get elected president was to spend years slopping pigs in Iowa

and shoveling snow in New Hampshire. Now it makes more sense just to ride the

elevators at 400 N. Capitol St. in Washington.

The vivid Capitol views that provide the backdrop for CNBC's 'Hardba

ll With Chris Matthews,' Fox's 'The Beltway
 Boys,' MSNBC's 'Equal Tim
 e' and C-SPAN's 'Washington Journal' all originate from
 the same nond
 escript D.C. office that headquarters almost every political show in
 town. The lobbies, elevators and green rooms resemble the state fairs of old, w
 here
 the flesh-pressing efforts of long shots and hopefuls once colli
 ded. 'Traveling around
 Iowa honing your message and practicing retail
 politics was once the way to run. Now
 it's all about the cable chann
 els,' said Fred Barnes, editor of influential conservative
 magazine T
 he Weekly Standard and co-host of 'The Beltway Boys.'" Oliver North
 n
 oted: "'Look at Jesse Ventura. He's been on ["Equal Time"] five times now. He
 loves it. And people take notice. That is what you're going to see wi
 th the next
 generation of political leaders in this country" (10/25).

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3

BRADLEY: Lands
 Sixth Hill Endorsement

Denver Rocky Mountain News' Romano rep
 orts, Rep. Diana DeGette (D)
 10/22 became the sixth member of Congres
 s to endorse Bill Bradley. The move
 surprised "many close political a
 llies" (10/23). Other Denver Dems "scoffed" at
 DeGette's statement th
 at her endorsement would have no political consequences. Jim
 Martinez
 , aide to Denver mayor Wellington Webb, said the decision "will hurt
 DeGette 'in the long run.'" Lobbyist Larry Martinez said Al Gore supporters had
 worked hard "trying to win her support for the vice president" (McAl
 lister, Denver
 Post, 10/23). The endorsement was the most obvious res
 ult of Bradley's 10/22
 meeting with the House Progressive Caucus. Bra
 dley met in person while gore "held a
 conference call with lawmakers,
 civil rights activists and religious leaders" (Connolly,
 Washington
 Post, 10/23).

"Laughs" Off Gore, Or Does He?

New

York Post's Orin reports, Bradley, addressing Gore's "attacks" that he

abandoned the Dems, said "he's laughing off" the incidents. Bradley said "right now is

certainly not the time" to retaliate (10/24). At a campaign stop in upstate NY, Bradley

"warned" of Gore's attacks that "you can only take the elbows so many times." He also wished Pat Buchanan "very well" in Buchanan's possible Reform Party bid (Humbert,

AP, 10/23). In a Boston Herald interview, Bradley "contrasted Gore's lack of

leadership on key issues with the vice president's new slashing, attack-dog

campaigning style." Bradley "set a sharp tone" for the Dem candidates' TV appearance

10/27 at Dartmouth College (Miga, 10/25). Bradley said "it's possible" his battle with

Gore "won't be over until next year's national convention." His speech to "a packed room at the SUNY" won him endorsements from former Albany Cnty state Sen. Neil

Breslin and former state Dem Chairman William Hennessy (Hughes, Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, 10/24).

Comparing Bradley with Gore, Time's Gibbs reports, Bradley "talks more about government responsibility and justice." While Gore speaks "about personal responsibility and standards," appealing "to the party's sense of loyalty." This "is exactly where Bradley puts Gore in a box" by "dismissing" Gore's "caution" (11/1

issue).

Bill And Ed's Excellent Adventure

Brad

ley, in an interview with CBS's Ed Bradley for "60 Minutes", on political

media: "Sometimes I think in terms of this invasion of privacy that it's like a fever. And

maybe the fever's broken, and we'll go back to covering public figures in public life the way they were once covered in terms of what they said and what they would mean and do for the country

y." Bradley, explaining his "politics is broken" speech: "When I said I thought politics was broken in America, what I meant was I thought that there was way too much money in politics. I thought the media was too superficial and sensational, and I thought that not enough politicians spoke from their core convictions."

Bradley, on Gore's self-described "underdog status": "That's what a lot of politicians try to say. But let's face the fact. You know, he's got the support of the

President of the United States. He's got the support of the Democratic National

Committee. He arrives on Air Force Two, and he's 15 points in the national polls. I'd say we were running against entrenched power

. And we are." More Bradley, contrasting himself with Gore: "He's been more cautious. ... And he has been much more timid. I mean, when I was in the Senate I could take issues that were considered volatile I

like race. And every time I did that somebody would come to me and they

would say, 'This is a real political risk.' And I would say, 'Yeah. But that's the risk of leadership.'"

Bradley, on Gore's charges that Bradley "abandoned" the Senate: "I don't agree with that at a

II. And only in Washington is giving up a Senate seat viewed as abandon

ment. I mean, I made sure I campaigned for Democrats in 1996. I made sure

that a Democrat succeeded me in the United States Senate."

Bradley, on whether he's trying to capitalize on his associations with fellow NBA

players: "No, these are my friends. This is a moment of real competition. They

understand competition. They're on my team. I would have to be stupid to say, 'Oh,

no. Everybody else can help me. But you guys? Sorry, you can't help.' It's ridiculous."

Ed Bradley: "I mean, Al Gore can't round up a bunch of basketball players and raise a million

dollars." Bradley: "Well, what can I say? Life is full of inequities."

CBS' Bradley, sizing up a Gore-Bradley debate: "Gore is known as a formidable

debater. But at six-feet, five inches tall, Bradley may have history on his side. ... We looked at some of the presidential elections over the last few generations. And usually the tall guy wins."

Bradley, on the trend of taller candidates faring better in presidential elections:

"That's a good omen. Maybe we ought to put that as a slogan for the campaign -- 'The tall guy always wins'" ("60 Minutes," CBS, 10/24).

What Would A Bradley WH Bring?

Bradley on how his presidency would change a "broken" system: "I don't think that

it is a matter of one person. I think it's a matter of the relationship you establish with the people. Clearly, campaign finance reform would be an enormous step in the right direction. I think what the Senate did this week is just outrageous. ... We all know money

is at the root of a lot of the problems in our democratic process. ... So that is a

specific thing that we can do and that we should do in order to restore trust in our

political system. But what I'm talking about is the relationship that you establish with people. You go out and respect people, you pay respect to them, you listen to them, and out of that

engagement comes a kind of mutual confidence that allows them to find

through the political process a sense of fulfillment."

PBS

' Warner: "Vice-President Gore has taken your record and ... said, es

entially, 'He's not a good Democrat, he's not a loyal Democrat.' ... You thought of

running as an independent for President. Do you think those two issues are legitimate issues to raise?"

Bradley: "I think anybody can raise any issue they want."

Warner: "I guess what I'm asking is, what's your response to that?"

Bradley:

"Well, my response to that is -- I don't know, sometimes when I hear it, I

actually laugh a little bit, because it's so off the mark." Bradley conti

nues: "My view is,
look, I'm running a positive campaign. That's how
I intend to run. I want somebody to
decide they want to vote for me,
not that they want to vote against an opponent"
("NewsHour," PBS, 10/
22).

Another Yankee Fan Stumps In NY

On his swin
g through upstate NY, Bradley "touched the hearts of" followers "with
his analysis of America as a country of good people needing him." Still, Bradl
ey failed
"to detail" his position on "key policies" that affect New
Yorkers. Throughout the trip
"he appeared at ease with the extremely
enthusiastic crowds" (Odat, Albany
Times-Union, 10/24). In Syracuse
10/23, Bradley was "projecting a Jimmy
Stewart-like charm" when he sp
oke to a "standing-room only crowd at the Hamilton
Street Boys and Gi
rls Club." Later he attended a fund-raiser at the home of Gwyn and
Pa
trick Mannion, president and CEO of Unity Mutual Life Insurance. The
\$250/person event was expected to bring in about \$50,000 (Gonzalez, Syracuse

Herald-American, 10/24). The Syracuse visit featured an appearance with
Syracuse
University men's basketball coach Jim Boeheim and former Sy
racuse Mayor Tom
Young (AP, 10/23). Also while in NY, Bradley said he
"wanted the New York
Yankees to win the World Series" (AP, 10/23).

Corporate Candidate

The New York Times' Broder re
ports, Bradley's success as a fund-raiser "should
come as no surprise
." While in the Senate, Bradley "was a legendary fund-raiser." In
one
campaign against now-Gov. Christie Whitman, Bradley outspent her 15 to 1. He
also "was one of the top Congressional recipients" of corporate PAC mo
ney. After
leaving the Senate in '96, he made \$300,000 "as a consulta
nt for J.P. Morgan" and
made another \$1M from speaking engagements. S

o, it's no surprise that his presidential campaign is "backed by numerous corporate titans" (10/24). Bradley's successful fund-raising can be explained by "a network of friendships with the rich, famous and often politically uninvolved." While he has advocated campaign finance reform, Bradley "has excelled at the game he has so publicly abhorred" (Glasser, The Washington Post, 10/25).

Would-Be Fist Ladies "Dueling" In CT
Tipper Gore and Ernestine Bradley made "dueling campaign stops" in CT 10/22, where Ernestine Bradley spoke to the American Association of University Women, "toured a health clinic, met supporters at the Polish National Home in Hartford and at the Gay and Lesbian Community Center in New Haven." Tipper visited Wilbur L. Cross High School in New Haven (Greenberg, AP, 10/23). Six Democrats in CT endorsed Bradley last week, bringing his total in CT to 16. Gore has 28 state leg. and "most of the state's congressional delegation and constitutional officers" (The Hartford Courant, 10/22).

Providence Journal's Bakst profiles Ernestine Bradley, who "is so bubbly in a stump speech you half expect her to bounce off the stool she uses to be seen over the podium." Ernestine is 8 years older than Bradley and a survivor of breast cancer. She was born in Germany in 1935, where her father was in the German Air Force. Speaking at a campaign event in RI 10/22, she "wowed an eclectic crowd with her enthusiasm and whetted her insights into her celebrity husband" (10/24).

"Mobilizing" In Michigan
In MI, GOP and Dem leaders are "rolling out the big guns for" Gore and George W. Bush, but "there are opposition stirrings." There is "accelerating mobilization" for

Bradley. "High profile
e Detroit" Dems have put together a 11/9 fund-raiser for Bradley
at t
he home of former Detroit Pistons star Dave Bing (Weeks, Detroit News, 10/24).

Bradley will make his second appearance this year on NBC's "Today Show"

10/26. Katie Couric will speak with Bradley from 7 a.m. to
7:30 a.m., the first
half-hour of the show (Bradley Release, 10/22).

The Iowa Surge

The Des Moines Register's Yepsen
reports, Gore "is still the favorite statewide"
but Bradley is "within
striking distance" in some parts of the state. Woodbury Cnty
Dem Chairman
Richard Mullin said his county is "a toss-up." In Iowa's largest
county, Polk Cnty Dem co-Chairman Tom Henderson says "the odds favor Gore

because Gore has attracted almost all the union support." But Linn Cnty
Chairman Jim

Benz said "while the endorsements are Gore's, the excitement
is with Bradley"
(10/24).

Maine Money

Portland Press Herald's Campbell writes, Bradley "has pulled ahead of Gore
in

fund-raising" in ME, bringing in about \$35,000 to Gore's \$24,000
. Among Bradley's
contributors is L.L. Bean president Leon Gorman (10/24).

Child Poverty And Strategy

The Washington
Post's Edsall reports, Bradley's strategy to "establish a larger
purpose" is a "high risk strategy" that "depends on reawakening" the issues of child

poverty and health care. While it "remains to be seen" whether the
strategy will work,

Bradley is attempting to "revive the liberal spirit
it" of the "1960s civil rights movement"
(10/25). An editorial in The

Washington Post calls Bradley's plan to pull millions of children out of poverty "the most ambitious on this subject by any presidential candidate in the past 30 years." While Bradley "stands out for his bold goals," details "are not substantially different" from Gore (10/25).

The New Yorker's Klein reports Bradley's "artful languor" deserves attention but may need a shift as the race with Gore heats up. History has shown "senators do not make good presidential candidates." But Bradley's effort "has been strikingly un-senatorial" (11/1 issue). Burns writes in The Washington Post, strategy-wise, Bradley can't compete with Gore on centrist views. Gore "went to school in it." He could as FDR said of the New Deal, "position himself a little left of center," but would run the risk of being pushed further to the left (10/24).

Tax Credit Confusion
Bradley has "made expansion" of a "tax rebate program" known as the Earned Income Tax Credit the "centerpiece of his domestic anti-poverty agenda." The Wall Street Journal's "Review & Outlook" points out "it wouldn't be a bad thing if someone explained what the thing is, where it came from." The issue has also been discussed by Gore and Bush (10/25).
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Gore: Calls Bradley "Left-Of-Center Insurgent"

Al Gore, "strongest attack yet" on Bill Bradley, attacked his rival's health care plan as too costly, for being riddled with "big mistakes" and as a political "step backwards." Gore's "sharply worded assault" in an interview with the Baltimore Sun "closely tracks a recent analysis" of the Bradley plan by Martin Feldstein, who chaired the P

res. Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers. Gore: "To use up the entire

surplus for your first campaign proposal and do it in a way that squanders tens of

billions of dollars in subsidies for wealthy people, who already have health insurance, I

was genuinely surprised. ... The debate's long since moved beyond where we can just cast fiscal responsibility

to the winds." Gore when asked "if he was trying to portray

Bradley as an old-fashioned, free-spending liberal": "I'm not using that label." Bradley

spokesperson Eric Hauser: "It is clear that attacking has become the staple of the

Gore campaign. Our proposal is an excellent balance of the public and private sectors

and would be a significant accomplishment in addressing a problem that's been with us all decade" (West,

10/23).

Gore also offered a "preview of campaign speech and debate rhetoric to come" in

a 10/22 mtg with AP editors, calling Bradley a "left-of-center insurgent" and calling his

health plan a "'throwback to an earlier generation' of free-spending liberals." Gore defend

ed his attacks on Bradley as a quitter, saying that while other Dem Sens. retired

that they "are not running for President and they're not saying that they're left-of-center

insurgents that represent the true spirit of the Democratic Party." Bradley on the

attacks: "I'm also a competitor and been in enough games and competition to know you can take the

elbows only so many times" (Sobieraj, AP/New York Daily News, 10/24).

Gore's attacks "marked a slight change in tactics," moving from questioning

Bradley's loyalty to suggesting "Bradley leans too far to the left" (Los Angeles Times, 10/24).

In an interview with Time's Tumulty, Gore: "When people have the time to analyze

what he is actually proposing, they are in for a real surprise. ... The cost of his plan

exceeds the entire surplus and therefore takes away any chance to fix Medicare." On

Bradley's criticism of welfare reform and his recent anti-poverty plan: "He didn't

propose to repeal it, did he
? It tells me that upon closer examination, he belatedly
came to the
conclusion that most every other American has come to, that welfare
reform is working." On whether Bradley is "looking to refight some of the battles"
fought in the Dem party in the '90s, Gore: "Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah
. Fought and won --
without his participation" (11/1 issue).

Playing Leapfrog
New York Times' Seelye reports, Gore's
campaign "all but admits it is engaged in
what can only be called pre-emptive scheduling," planning speeches on issues days
before Bradley
holds his own on the same issues. Gore spokesperson Chris Lehane:
"We're not going to allow anyone, even if they just decided to run for President,
to
jump onto an issue that we've been working on for a long time. This campaign is not
going to stand for officious intermeddlers when it
comes to an agenda that we've been
working on for years." Bradley spokesperson Hauser "said the Gore camp was
nervous because Bradley was
more thoughtful and bolder than Gore." Hauser also
pointed out that
Bradley worked on many of the issues, like poverty, race and gun control, during his time in the Senate. Hauser: "This is not a coincidence. They are
seeing the appeal of what we're doing" (10/23).

NOW What?
NOW has warned members in an e-mail to its members, "urging them to lobby
against" Gore's anti-poverty plan. The group is concerned Gore's plan may fund
"right-wing 'father's rights' groups." Gore aides 10/20 said some of Gore's ideas
"mirror proposals" in a House bill called "The Fathers Count Act." NOW told
members the plan is "bad for women and children," suggesting it might pull money
away from

custodial parents and direct it to absent fathers. Gore adviser Elaine

Kamarck "said the group may be misreading" the Gore plan: "This proposal would only be a plus for custodial parents" (Connolly, Washington Post, 10/23).

The Remake Talks To Seniors
CNN's Crowley
, on Gore in NH: "Medicare, Social Security, prescription drug prices
, the future of their grandchildren: Walking the walk amidst a group of senior citizens in Nashua, New Hampshire Al Gore, a card-carrying member of the AARP,
talked the talk. They liked that. ... Seniors are a hugely important audience. They vote,
~~they are politically active, and some~~
of them have the time to listen to a candidate for two and a half hours during a workday. Trailing Bill Bradley in this first primary state,

Al Gore was only too happy to serve the time, focusing on senior issues, legislative and
otherwise. For his lengthy effort, Gore seemed to register with this group. ... Gore's
reasonably freewheeling session with seniors was his second town-hall style meeting in less than 24 hours.
Thursday evening's event also topped the two hour mark.
Apparently when the Gore campaign reinvented itself, promising a more grassroots approach, it wasn't kidding" ("IP," 10/22).
The "new" Gore spoke to an AARP forum on 10/22, hoping his more casual look will help attract the bulwark of the Democratic Party, including seniors, blue-collar

workers and people with lower incomes." Seniors at the event "said Gore was anything but stiff" (Reese, Manchester Union Leader, 10/23).

Los Angeles Times' Gerstenzang on the new Gore at a 10/21 event: "In high-water khakis revealing three inches of ultra-shiny black cowboy boots, his ever present Palm Pilot strapped, gunslinger style, to his waist, Al Gore was ready" (10/23).
Baltimore Sun's West reports, heading into his 10/27 debate with Bradley, "the 'new Al Gore remains a work in progress. The changes are evolutionary, not drastic,

like the shift of seasons that has switched the New England landscape to crims
on, gold

and tangerine" (10/24).

Portsmouth Herald's

Trodson: "A candidate in the national spotlight such as Gore
can't c

hange his wardrobe, he went from wearing suits to more casual clothes, without
making headlines" (10/24).

The Los Angeles Times' Ch

en interviews Tipper Gore. T. Gore, asked if her
husband is a "new Al

Gore": "It's not new. No ... He's a determined and very
hard-working

, scrappy fighter." More T. Gore, asked if "we focus too much on
pers

onality": "Right. I think it's time to focus on ideas" (10/24).

Clinton advisor James Carville on the new Gore: "I feel more encouraged about

Gore's campaign than I did six weeks ago. Let's face it, Gore had th
ree bad months.

But he changed his campaign, and that's hard. I think
the fact that Gore and his people

said, 'This isn't working. Let's t
ry something else' shows courage" (Pittsburgh
Post-Gazette, 10/24).

Weekly Standard's Rees: "Gore seems to understand he can no lon
ger afford to

be timid. The question now is whether he can avoid look
ing desperate" (11/1 issue).

Less Than Drilling

Pennsacola News Journal editorial on Gore's pledge to oppose off-shore oil

drilling despite his reluctance to weigh in on Chevron USA's widely-oppos
ed efforts to

start drilling for natural gas off the coast of FL: "Go
re's more recent statement specified

oil drilling. What about drillin
g for gas, which is what Chevron wants to do? A

president has the pow
er to issue an executive order to block drilling. Would Gore do
that?

Stay tuned for further clarifications. Gore's belated support for some kind of

drilling ban may help repair the damage to his environmental credent
ials. But his

attempted recovery is hardly reassuring after a serious
stumble on an issue he should
have been able to handle in his sleep.

... After trying to calm his environmentally troubled waters, Gore still appears to have a softer position on drilling than Jeb Bush. For a presidential candidate who needs every Florida vote he can get, that's not good enough" (10/23). Gore's CTBT ad, meanwhile, likely will have a mixed effect on his NH campaign. A recent Pew poll on the Senate vote found that only 49% of those questioned heard anything about the vote and only 21% of those heard "a lot." Of those, only 38% heard reporting about the rationale behind the vote. However, 56% described a candidates stand on the issue as "very important" (Kurtz/White, Washington Post, 10/24).

Help From His Friends

Some Gore supporters worry his spending caps may leave Gore little room to campaign against George W. Bush, but "sources say he has a secret weapon." Special interest groups like NARAL, Handgun Control Inc. and some enviro groups plan their own anti-Bush spots. Gore advisors note Gore is "abiding by the rules, which bar the campaign from coordinating with the groups" (Bedard, "Washington Whispers," U.S. News, 11/1 issue).

NH AFL-CIO Endorses
NH AFL-CIO Pres. Mark MacKenzie announced the union group's endorsement of Gore, saying the group plans to launch a grassroots effort to educate its members on the issues (AP, 10/22).

Moseley-Braun
Gore "stepped up the pressure" 10/22 on Senate GOPers, urging them to hold "immediate and fair" confirmation hearings on ex-Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun's

nomination to be Amb. to New Zealand. Gore also "demanded" the entire Senate give Moseley-Braun an up-or-down vote. Gore, in a conference call that included minority activists and reporters, said: "This is a very important issue, and I know that all of you are as angry and upset as I am" (Dorning, Chicago Tribune, 10/23).

A Man In Uniform

New York Times' Bruni reports, though Gore's been a politician for decades, "there is much that many voters still do not know about him, and he has recently been drawing attention to one of those blind spots: his military service in Vietnam." Gore's bio ads in NH and IA are highlighting that service and he "gave hours of interviews on his decision to go to war" for an article in the current issue of Talk magazine.

Historians and pol. analysts "say there is no simple answer" to the impact military experience can have on a candidacy, but suggest that it "holds less sway than before." Dem strategist David Doak, however, pointed to polling done when he worked on CA Gov. Gray Davis's '98 campaign that showed Davis gained ground with voters when they learned about his Vietnam service. Doak said Gore's experience could help soften his stiff image and secure his image as a moderate with some voters. Doak: "I

think military service helps Democrats in particular. ... It sends a signal that they're not run-of-the-mill ultra-liberals" (10/24).

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5

BAUER: Remains Devoted
ly "Rock Ribbed"

Gary Bauer, "perhaps the religious right's most potent acolyte, is finding it difficult to gather a political flock." He is locked in single digits in the polls, and despite raising

\$5.5M, his fundraising pales in comparison to that of George W. Bush, John

McCain and Steve Forbes. But Bauer's outlasting of Elizabeth Dole, Lamar Alexander, Dan Quayle and Bob Smith leaves him "fighting the big boys and he

exhibits no sign of abandoning the field any time soon." Bauer: "There's a winnowing going on. I really think there will be myself and maybe one or two others at the end."

While others seek a more "compassionate" conservatism, Bauer remains devotedly "rock ribbed": "I

'm the only one who can genuinely claim to be a Reaganite. I'm the only one who supported him when he ran for president in 1976. All the other

competitors lined up behind Gerald Ford." But Bauer's conservative vision has

attracted support. Tammy Pettersen of Litchfield, NH, noted: "If enough people in

America believe in all the things he stands for and just align themselves with him, he can get elected, no doubt. He's willing to step up for what he believes in" (Straub,

Scripps Howard/Knoxville News Sentinel, 10/22).

In NH 10/21, Bauer said his campaign positions calling for a ban on soft money contributions and opposing the idea of using the stock market to fund private Social Security accounts would protect individual freedoms rather than diminish them. On his

advocacy of a soft money ban, Bauer noted: "I think when you can write a \$5 million

check, that inevitably is going to give you a leg up over the average American

taxpayer." Bauer also called for raising the \$1K individual federal campaign donation limit on what anyone can give a candidate. He called the limit "unrealistic." Bauer said

his proposal for a 20% Social Security payroll tax cut would allow young workers to

spend that money any way they wish, a plan in contrast to that of Steve Forbes.

Bauer says Forbes' scheme would amount to "a mandatory investment plan for

Forbes' friends on Wall Street" (Hastings, Manchester Union Leader, 10/22).

Confident He'll Get A Shot

Bauer, on how he hopes to compete against the Bush and Forbes war chests: "We

are really doing very well. We are third in fund-raising. ... We've enough in the bank to

go all the way to Philadelphia and get the party's nomination. Steve Forbes, by the way, has spent about \$65 million from 1996 up until now, and he's tied with me in the national polls.

You know, money can't buy the presidency. Obviously it's an entry fee,

it's important. But if money was the only thing that mattered, we would be finishing up

Ross Perot's second term. I think it is ideas that matter, and I think when people find out Steve Forbes's economic ideas, his hostility to Social Security -- his Social Security plan is going to end up destroying Social Security. So I think when these debates take place we are going to do better and better" ("Late Edition," CNN, 10/24).

More Bauer, on Bush's continued lead: "Well, keep in mind that we've got a

frontrunner right now who is the son of a former president. And the name Bush is one of the most well-known names in the Republican Party. But in Iowa and New Hampshire where most of us are spending most of our time, George Bush is now under 40% in both of those states. And I think the reason is that in his case and in Steve

Forbes' case, voters are beginning to find out details of what they believe. ... So

I think we are going to beat both of those guys and I can't wait for a debate where both of them are there" ("Late Edition," CNN, 10/24).

More Bauer, on Buchanan: "I hate to see Pat leave. I think it's better for

conservatives to stay in the Republican Party, but he is obviously made his decision, and I'm hoping that a lot of his support will come my way. And we are already beginning to see signs of that in Iowa and Louisiana and New Hampshire" ("Late Edition," CNN, 10/24).

More Bauer, on whether Bush's debate no-show will impact his campaign: "Well, I tell you, it is going to have an impact. T

here's a great resentment building in these early
states. These voter
s take their assignments seriously and they don't like it in New
Hamp
shire when they see a candidate trying to buy the presidency, either with money

they've raised or money that they've inherited. You know, he was in
the state this

week on the day we were going to debate, and before th
at night came, he high-tailed it
out of the state. I think that went
over like a lead balloon. You can't run from the
American people and
we are going to get those debates, and I think I'll continue to do
we
ll" ("Late Edition," CNN, 10/24).
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6

BUSH: Joins The Air War Today

George W. Bus
h's campaign unveils-its first TV ads of the campaign today in NH
and
IA. Washington Post's Kurtz reports the ads "won't use the usual
can
didate-growing-up-and-hugging-his-children approach," and instead will "focus o
n
issues." A Bush aide: "One of the assets we have is that the Bush n
ame is well known
and a gold standard in American politics. We'll tal
k about the kind of campaign he
wants to run, optimistic and positive
. We'll talk a little about his record ... and more
about what his vi
sion is for the country" (10/24).

Granite Grumblings

"Calling himself 'a uniter, not a divider,'" Bush toured NH Friday and "pr
omised

that, if elected, he would do his best to usher in an era of r
esponsibility in which

compassionate Americans reach out and lift up
those around them in need of help"

(Montgomery, Manchester Union Lead
er, 10/23).

"Though he has spent less time" in NH than "almost
any other candidate," Bush

"insisted" that he is not taking the prim

ary "for granted." Campaigning in the state,
Bush: "This is an incredibly important state that ... sends messages all the time, and I understand and I'm going to work hard so it doesn't send a message to me" (Zuckman,

Boston Globe, 10/23).
Stumping in NH, Bush tried to "turn questions about why he is not spending more time here into an attack on his priorities as a family man." Bush repeated his contention

that he's not attending next week's NH forum because his wife is being honored by her alma mater in TX, SMU. Bush: "My family is my priority, and if it costs me votes for honoring my wife, then so be it." Asked "repeatedly" why he hasn't spent more time in the state, Bush: "The important question is, How many hands have I shaken?" (Henneberger, New York Times, 10/23).

CNN's Morton, on Bush in NH: "If you follow Bush around you meet people who used to be in the Dole campaign, who used to be with Lamar Alexander, and they all think this time they've signed on with a winner. ... Bush's people, in this state, think he is going to win pretty comfortably here, unless something very major happens." More Morton, on the campaign: "This is as well-organized a primary campaign as I've ever seen. The advance people know what they're doing, the candidate is usually on time, all of those sort of mechanical things go well. He greets reporters by name, he's obviously been told who's going to be along that day. It's very, very professional. I think the only thing that can unglue this is some real enormous blunder by Bush himself" ("IP," 10/22).

Details Detail, From Taxes To Baseball
Bush "has been delaying his tax-cut proposals" and his top advisers "continue to debate" details. When Bush launched his bid, he said "lowering income-tax rates would be one of the most important proposals" as a candidate. But the original

September "rollout was pushed back to November, and then to December and could get postponed again" if budget battles are "still being waged" between Pres. Clinton

and Hill Republicans (Lambro, Washington Times, 10/25).

Under header, "Bush criticized over handling of minority contracts for Ballpark"

Fort Worth Star-Telegram's Nix examines Bush's record as owner of the Texas

Rangers. Nix reports that when awarding contracts for the team's stadium,

"minority-or women-owned businesses bid on \$20 million worth of contracts on the

\$193 million project and won \$9 million" -- a total of about 5 percent (12/23).

Under header, "Compassion Collides With the Bottom Line," Washington Post's

Lardner and Walsh examine Bush's position on TX's Children's Health Insurance

Program: "As the front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination, Bush has

made 'compassionate conservatism' the centerpiece of his campaign. To his

Democratic critics here, his tight-fisted approach to the children's health insurance

program illustrates the inherent contradictions of social policy that professes to be

caring but is driven, the critics say, by the bottom line" (10/24).

Where's A Good Trial Lawyer When You Need One?

George Bush, Sr., on J.H. Hatfield's biography: "You know, I debated whether to say anything. But frankly ... that book accused me of being anti-Semitic. It accused me of obstructing the justice system. ... It's a lie. It was a vicious lie. And I'll tell you.

It's one of the things that makes a lot of people stay out of public service. Who wants

to have books written that are totally false?" More Bush: "You had a company who went forward with this book. And I was so outraged, I did something I seldom do, and I asked our attorney to talk to the man, and they just brushed us off. They may not be finished with this yet, even though I'm a public figure. It's outrageous" ("Special

Report," FNC, 10/22)

Media Outrage

USA Today

's Water Shapiro, on the Bush cocaine story: "We are about to hit the

primaries, where we're going to have a primary every two minutes in the front-loaded

schedule, and I am panicked at the fact that one of these stories, maliciously false, will

get into the mainstream press on the eve of an important primary and large numbers of voters will vote on the basis of it" ("Reliable Sources," CNN, 10/23).

Columnist Geor

ge Will, on the-Hatfield book: "It's a scandal. I mean, the ethic of

the tabloid supermarket press has taken over at at least one [publishing] house we

know of, St. Martin's. They went out and perpetrated a fraud, and I hope they take a financial bath" ("This Week," ABC, 10/24).

ABC's Stephanopoulos, on the Hatfield book: "Most of the press did pretty well

with this story, but [it's] another shameful chapter in the life of the online magazine

Salon. Last year they put out all this scandal on Henry Hyde, a Republican; this time they uncritically repr

int the charges on George W. Bush, and it's bad journalism" ("This Week," ABC, 10/24).

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FORBES: Warns NH About Income Tax

Steve Forbes mixed pres.

and NH state politics 10/22, warning that the Granite State should st

ay away from implementing an income tax to help finance schools.

Forb

es told a crowd in Goffstown that his home state of NJ went through an

education-funding crisis similar to what NH is experiencing right now. He said state

officials then pledged that an income tax would reduce property taxes, although that

later proved to be untrue. Forbes: "Don't fall into that same trap." He also spoke about scrapping the federal tax code, calling the code "the black hole of the universe." On other issues, Forbes told the crowd that the UN is "an international porkbarrel

operation" that should stop asking the US to back dues: "With all the peacekeeping we've been doing, I figure they owe us" (AP/Fosters Democrat, 10/24).

A Keene Sense
Forbes was in Keene, NH, 10/23, where he mingled with supporters and attended a pumpkin festival. He said he backed term limits: "We need term limits that allow you to participate in public office for a couple of years, and then let someone else have a chance. We need more citizen-involvement" (Keene Sentinel, 10/24).

The Choice Is His
Under the header of "What Good Can Steve Forbes Do?" Tony Snow writes: "[Forbes] can behave like the political version of the Taxi Driver, whirling back each day to glare at the mirror and bark, 'You Talkin' to Me?' This would cause his opponents to tremble in horror but wouldn't do much to make him appear more cuddly and avuncular. He can run a professorial campaign and continue peddling policies the GOP ought to adopt -- in which case, he would remain the Nowhere man in the polls but have the satisfaction of knowing that he will, over time, have reshaped party dogma. Whatever the case, he must decide whether to serve as a constructive or destructive nuisance" (New York Post, 10/23).
Forbes on whether he's "willing to spend what it takes" on his campaign: "We're going to devote the resources, I'm also raising resources."
Forbes, on whether his upcoming campaign ads will criticize George W. Bush: "I've

e made it very clear, mine is a campaign of issues and ideas." CBS' Borger: "You
u
said that last time [with Bob Dole in '96] though, too, and people
said you went
negative." Forbes: "Well, if you -- I've never gone per
sonal. I've always gone on issues
and ideas. And that's why I've put
out a challenge to Governor [Bush] for a series of
in-depth debates.
... He insulted the people of New Hampshire just this week by
skippin
g a debate where the other major candidates were there. He's skipping one
next week" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 10/24).

Author And Coach

Wherever Forbes appears, his staff places stacks of his new book, "A New Birth
of Freedom" so that audiences may take a copy with
them. Some people are actually
prepared to pay for the book, but are
delighted when they learn that they don't have to
pay, and they often
receive the author's autograph. The procedure is the reverse of
what
typically occurs. Campaign books are "a staple of the political process," but most
authors go through the motions of trying to sell their tomes.

In Atlanta last week, a Forbes fundraising dinner drew 200 people
, and guests
included Univ. of GA's Vince Dooley, Georgia Tech's Homer Rice and Atlanta City
Council pres. Robb Pitts (Sherman, Cox News/Atlanta Journal Constitution,
10/24).

Lands Support Of N
ofziger And Ex-Dole Advisor
Ex-Elizabeth Dole IA Senior Advisor
r Darryl Kearney endorsed Forbes 10/22
(release, 10/22).

Longtime Ronald Reagan aide Lyn Nofziger won't stick with Pat Buchanan
when makes his impending switch to the Reform Party but will instead back
Forbes.
Also supporting Forbes will be '92 CA Senate nominee Bruce
Herschensohn

(Novak, Chicago Sun-Times, 10/24).

Unveils Economic Plan

The New York Times' Wayne reports, Forbes unvei
led his New Economy Plan

10/24 in Concord, NH, "spending his own mone
y lavishly to promote his view that the

Government should have less a
nd spend less." The plan's details include: "shrinking

Government, sh
rinking taxes, shrinking the Federal deficit and increasing individual

wealth" (10/25). A Manchester Union Leader editorial called the plan "full of
good

ideas," adding Forbes has produced the "most innovative and sen
sible economic-ideas

of the 1990s." More: "Let's hope the message is
not rejected because of who the
messenger is" (10/25).

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KEYES: Opens NH Headquarters

Alan Keyes opened his NH headquarters in Manchester 10/23. His
office is in

the same building that houses the NH headquarters of bo
th Al Gore and Gary Bauer

(Manchester Union Leader, 10/23).

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McCAIN: Will Announce Vou cher Plan

On 10/27, McCain "will take his first stab, challen
ging" his GOP foes on the eve of

the NH debate to "support a plan to
fund an education voucher program by eliminating
subsidies for oil, s

ugar, gas, and ethanol." McCain comm dir Dan Schnur: "The plan is
to

ask each Republican to stand with the children of America rather than corporate

America" (Mayes, Arizona Republic, 10/25).

Conflict Of Interest

 Eyebrows are being raised over an apparent conflict of interest when McCain steered a telecommunications bill through his Senate Commerce Cmte and then collected \$47K at a fund-raiser hosted by EchoStar Communications founder Charlie Ergen, who lobbied for the Senate bill. McCain says if he "didn't collect" cash from companies with business before his cmte, "he couldn't compete with his better-funded" GOP foes (Isikoff, Newsweek, 11/1 issue).

Two-Man Race

 McCain, on whether Dole's withdrawal makes it a two-person race: "I don't know. I think that there are other viable candidates in the race and I don't think it's necessarily a two-person race. I haven't been focusing much on Governor Bush's race. We've been focusing on our own. I'm very happy with the traction that we're getting in New Hampshire. The crowds are larger, there's a lot more enthusiasm and it's a lesson in politics in the state of New Hampshire. ... And I think that what we've been doing has been paying off both there and in South Carolina." More McCain, on whether he thinks Bush's refusal of matching funds is "unseemly": "No, no. Not in any way. I'm just saying ... from now on, it's hard for me to believe that any frontrunner that has access

to a lot of money will restrain those campaign contributions in return for matching funds. So I, in fact, I not only don't think it's unseemly, I understand it. He's facing Mr. Forbes who has unlimited amounts of money. I regret that it's now again lurched out of control" ("This Week", ABC, 10/24).

 McCain, on the across-the-board budget cut: "I can identify \$20 billion of wasteful and unnecessary spending, including airplanes that we don't need or want, including an aircraft carrier of half a billion dollars that the Navy neither wants nor needs. We can

identify \$10-, 15-, 20 billion in unnecessary and wasteful spending that are in

appropriations bills. Before we cut Meals on Wheels, why don't we cut our pay raise?

I think it's not appropriate for us to cut programs that are necessary, even if those are small cuts, while we're -- while pork barrel spending and wasteful spending is an all-time hi

gh. By the way, as the result of special interest money" ("This Week," ABC, 10/24).

John McCain, asked whether he will play in IA:

"We're looking at it and continue

to look at it. It requires an enormous amount of time, not to mention money, and so

we're looking at it again but we haven't made a decision. ... I can't say that [it's unli

kely] because we are going through a constant reevaluation of it" ("Evans, Novak,

Hunt and Shields," CNN, 10/23). McCain, on how he converts the GOP majority to

McCain 2000: "I'm not going to change their minds. This is a system that is built on

money and exists on money and will collapse because it's only money. I'm talking to

Republicans -- I talked to 400 of them this morning in Dartmouth, New Hampshire, and then I ta

lked to 200 more students, who greeted me with enthusiasm. They know

that there's a disconnect between Washington and them. I would never have these

numbers if they were relying on Senator Gregg and former governors and others in the

state of New Hampshire. I'm getting the message out, and the message is that we've

got to reform government, we've got to reform the system. And also, we've got to do

something for the people, and inspire them, rather than have money and big names run the political system."

McCain, on why he's supported by so many left-leaning journalists: "I'm not sure,

except that perhaps they believe, like many Republicans in New Hampshire and around the country, they

disagree with me on a specific issue but they think that I stand for

principle. And that's really what I'm all about, is I have a clear set of principles and

positions [and] I'll stand by 'em. I'll stand on 'em and by
'em, and if you disagree, fine,
and if you agree, fine, but at least
you know where I'm coming from. And I think
Americans and journalist
s, and Liberals and Republicans and Independents, are tired
of all th
is spinning and maneuvering and obfuscating of their message."

McCain on Bradley: "I've spent a lot of time in New Hampshire [and] he's gaini
ng
a lot of traction in New Hampshire. I think he's surprised all of
the political pundits in
America. It's not clear how far he's going o
r how well he's doing, but it's a very
interesting campaign he's runn
ing. And again, I think he's running because he's giving a
message th
at ...people can trust him" ("Evans, Novak, Hunt and Shields," CNN,
10/23).

McCain V. Bush Takes
Wall Street Journal
's Al Hunt: "If John McCain can get George Bush
one-on-one, I think h
e's got a heck of a shot at beating him in New Hampshire"
("Evans, No
vak, Hunt and Shields," CNN, 10/23).
The Standard's William Kr
istol: "The latest New Hampshire poll has Bush at 39,
McCain at 27. T
hat's pretty good for McCain. It was 45-10 two months ago. I think
th
ey'll be even in New Hampshire by the end of the year. And we look at these
national polls and it's 60 for Bush and 10 for McCain, but we forget it'
s not a national
primary. It goes state by state. ... McCain has a ch
ance to beat Bush in New
Hampshire, and we may have a real race in Fe
bruary for a few weeks. Is Bush likely
to win? Sure, but I think it's
going to be a race" ("This Week," ABC, 10/24).
George Will, o
n Bush and McCain in the primaries: "It is state by state, but it's
s
tate by state just like ... a gattling gun by March 7th. The time was, you coul
d do well
in Iowa and surprise people, raise a little money on the ba
sis of that and and do well in
New Hampshire, raise money down the ro

ad. You've got to have the money in the bank now. John McCain, using his assets skillfully, is fighting, really, in three states out of the first ten. George Bush is fighting in ten of the first ten. Advantage Bush" ("This Week," ABC, 10/24).

Dole Departure's Effect

Wall Street Journal's Al Hunt, on the Dole withdrawal: "I think clearly John McCain is the beneficiary. He now gets a much clearer direct shot at George W. Bush in the New Hampshire primary. A new poll's out [and] he's only 12 points behind" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 10/23).

Dem consultant Bob Shrum, on Dole withdrawal: "The most important effect of Elizabeth Dole getting out in my view, is that ... it permits a real contest for the Republican nomination with John McCain obviously gaining and gaining in New Hampshire, which I think will be the decisive event in the Republican presidential primary process. And with Gary Bauer I think having some chance in Iowa, and maybe Steve Forbes having some chance, although I think he has a lot of problems"

("Late Edition," CNN, 10/24).

Washington Post's Juan Williams, on the effect of Dole's drop-out: "Forbes is kind of off to the right there, hoping that he can somehow energize the true conservative base. But in terms of people who could possibly win this election, I think

McCain's the big winner as a result of Dole's departure, with independent voters"

("FOX News Sunday," 10/24).

NPR'

s Mara Liasson: "The people who get Elizabeth Dole's votes are George

W. Bush. I mean, she was a moderate, middle-of-the-road Republican. George W. Bush is a kinder, gentler compassionate conservative. If you want to shake up the

race, if you're an independent-minded person, then you go for John McCain. And I

think he is picking up in New Hampshire among those voters, not Elizabeth Dole's

4). voters" ("FOX News Sunday," 10/2

McCain Continues To Picking Up Steam
McCain
announced the formation of "independents for McCain" 10/21 at a
Conco
rd, NH, news conference (Hastings, Manchester Union Leader, 10/22).
M
cCain also picked up the endorsement from Students 4 Dole leaders in SC and NH
10/22. Students 4 Dole pres. Jason Accola: "His attempts to inspire s
tudents to
causes greater than their own self interests really struck
a chord with us" (release,
10/22).
Columbia State's
Bandy writes, SC "will either end or begin" the GOP race, with
McCai
n the "determining factor." Bandy: "Bush's once-surging poll numbers, while sti
ll
impressive, have begun to level off at a time when McCain is emerg
ing as Bush's
closest rival" (10/24).

Withering Cactus
Flower?
New York Times' Berke reports McCain is "struggling to
prevent" his WH 2000
campaign from "collapsing in the most unlikely
of places," AZ. McCain was "easily"
re-elected to the Senate three ti
mes, "his flaring temper and sometimes prickly
personality - which ra
rely surface in public - may complicate his climb to the
nomination."
Gov. Jane Hull (R) has already endorsed George W. Bush and
describes
her relations with McCain as "not particularly warm." Some AZ politicians say
the "very attributes that many voters admired - stubborn to the point o
f rude,
temperamental and cocksure in his maverick military way - wor
ked against him with
other politicians" (10/25).
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ch Other

First, Bush Later

Manchester Unio

n Leader's Kerr and Miller write on the NH GOP debate:

"While a forum

for most of the Republican candidates for President last night was

c

ongenial, that didn't carry over into interviews held afterward. One large targ
et: the

absent George W. Bush" (10/23). New York Times's Berke: "Mr.

Bush's name was

not even uttered until more than 50 minutes into the

program when the moderator,"

ABC's Cokie Roberts asked the candidates

about remarks by Bush on abortion

(10/23).

The Field,

On Bush

Steve Forbes: "Governor Bush is the big loser here ton

ight. I hope he learns the

lesson and comes back for future forums. I

f he doesn't, he'll pay the price."

Sen. Orrin Hatch: "He was

only an hour away. This is not an anointing."

Gary Bauer: "It'

s an incredible insult he's not here. The election will not be

decide

d by the amount of money raised. It will depend on what we have as a vision for

the nation."

Alan Keyes: "His attitude is money wil

I elect him, so if he is elected he won't serve

the people, he'll ser

ve the money. That arrogance is going to hurt him."

Sen. John

McCain: "I'm sure he'll be here. I'm sure we'll have a lot of fun" (Mult.,

10/23).

How'd It Play?

Bauer "came across

as the most aggressive, directing barbs" at Forbes' tax plan:

"We nee

d to repeal (Chinese) free trade status, and Steve needs to remind his

corporate friends they're American companies" (Hayward, Manchester Union

Leader, 10/23).

Washington Times's McCool: "The biggest surprise of the night was the few mentions of Texas Gov. George W. Bush." Keyes "was both eloquent and assertive" (10/23).

Chicago Tribune's Davey: "Bauer tried to engage Steve Forbes...Bauer's toughest competition for the most conservative segment of voters." Keyes was "the most passionate speaker" (10/23).

AP's Johnson: "The sharpest line was drawn by conservative Gary Bauer in repeated slaps at Steve Forbes, his self-financed rival for backing on the GOP right."

More Johnson: "Keyes was the most talkative and confrontational of the lot" (10/23).

Washington Post's Neal: the debate, "revealed few major ideological divisions." "The biggest difference came on trade issues, with Bauer and Keyes arguing against normal trade status for China and Hatch and McCain arguing for it" (10/23).

Los Angeles Times's Mehren on Keyes: "by far the most impassioned in anotherwise staid, hourlong encounter." Mehren, on Forbes: "as wooden as Keyes was animated" (10/23).

Boston Herald's Miga: "Some of the sharpest rhetoric came in Arizona Sen. John McCain's attacks on Washington's cozy ties to special interests." More Miga: "Keyes, with his forceful, scolding style, was a vibrant debate presence" (10/23).

Slate's Weisberg: "The first of the 2000 Republican debates ... was a little like a production of Hamlet without Hamlet. If you tuned in to C-Span, you got to see what all the remaining minor characters were up to. But absent the central reference point of the GOP contest - George W. Bush - it was a performance of dubious value" (10/22).

Foreign Affairs

Washington Times's McCool writes on the GOP debate and foreign policy: "Five Republican White House hopefuls st

ood united last night in attacking the Clinton
administration's forei
gn policy at a nationally televised forum in New Hampshire. The
candi
dates cited military and diplomatic woes from Russia and China to military

families on public assistance."

Bauer: "Reagan had to sp
end a lot of time rebuilding the American military because
of the neg
lect of previous presidents. And I'm afraid the next president is going to have

to do the same thing because of the neglect of Bill Clinton and Al G
ore."

Forbes: Clinton and Gore have been "promiscuous in terms
of putting our troops
all around the world," and they have pandered
to "kleptocrats in the Kremlin."

⌘Bauer: "Reagan had to spend a
lot of time rebuilding the American military because
of the neglect
of previous presidents. And I'm afraid the next president is going to have

to do the same thing because of the neglect of Bill Clinton and Al Gore."

Hatch: "What are our vital interests, what are our critical i
nterests and what are just
interests? I suppose we could have done mo
re in Rwanda, but it was not a critical
interest."

K
eyes: "What we're seeing is a bunch of free traders up here, what they're actua
lly
doing is introducing socialism to America through the back door."

McCain: "Our military men and women are more overtaxed, more
overworked
than at any other time in our history. They need our help"
(10/23).

Will Bush's Absence Matter?

Columnist

George Will, on whether Bush should've taken part in the NH debate:

"
I don't think it's important at this point. He has a very long-headed view of t
his. His

campaign is trying to make the transition to a national camp
aign early. Maybe too
early, but in fact he has done what you're supp
osed to do, which is plot a continental
campaign, to raise the money.

This is not a moral failing on his part, it's a sign of the

capacity
to put together a government" ("This Week," ABC, 10/24).

Bush
adviser Ralph Reed, on whether skipping the debate will have any impact

on Bush: "He's going to be at a debate in New Hampshire December 2. He's going to

be in the Des Moines Register debate on January 15. I think he's going to be in three

or four debates, with the other candidates. But the key is, is that we have to

remember, that for all the speculation about the fall of 2000, we haven't had the first vote cast in a

caucus or primary. And right now George W. Bush is focused where he's

ought to be, and that's winning the honor of being the nominee of his party" ("Late

Edition," CNN, 10/24).

CNBC's Matthews, on Bush and the GOP field: "Even if George W. Bush got into real trouble over

a personal matter or something he said, and was basically disqualified

and, none of these fellas that debated tonight would probably be the nominee.

What would happen is that that huge Bush organization he inherited from his father and

from all the regular Republicans across the country, the governors especially, would

regroup, select another candidate -- perhaps Pataki of New York, perhaps [Tom]

Ridge of Pennsylvania, Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin or John Engler of

Michigan. They'd pick a governor, probably, to replace him, and that person'd be the

nominee" ("The News," MSNBC, 10/22).

Cokie's Take

ABC's Roberts, on the Saturday night debate she moderated: "It was all the Republicans except George Bush, so of course there was this sense of the missing

person. And there was a tremendous amount of agreement on most subjects

. There

was some slight disagreement on education, but not much. And it was really as though

this question of 'Where is George?' that was the real underlying theme of the debate"

("This Week," ABC, 10/24).

Forbes To Attend 12/2 Debate
Friday's Hotline omi
ttd Forbes from the 12/2 WMUR-TV. He will attend the
event.

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DEM DEBATE: Gore Hop
es Debate Will Heal
"Woes"

Al Gore is hopi
ng his "first head-to-head" debate with Bill Bradley 10/27 in NH
- will
resuscitate a campaign "wacked with woes." One top adviser to Pres. Clinton

quipped, "Gore has to establish in people's minds that he has real lead
ership qualities.
... That's where he's failing right now. People kno
w Clinton can lead. They don't think
Gore can." Aides to Bill Bradley
say he will "not seek a direct confrontation" with
Gore, but "predic
ted" Gore "will try to confront Bradley." Gore aides "hinted" that
Go
re "may be less confrontational and more focused on his platform than people

expect" (Goldschlag and DeFrank, New York Post, 10/24). "The first hint
that Gore
intends to leave tire tracks" on Bradley "came during nego
tiations last week when
Gore aides insisted that moderators not inter
rupt if the two candidates should start
mixing it up" (Simon, U.S. Ne
ws, 11/1 issue).

Newsweek's Alter writes the Gore-Bradley deba
tes "may be underwhelming"
because as George Wallace "used to say the
re's not a dime's worth of difference
between Democrats and Republica
ns. As it happens, this is a trendy argument once
again" (11/1 issue)

Boston Herald's Sciacca on Bradley calling Gore "Timid.": "M
r. Vice President ...
if you let Bradley off that mat for two seconds
at your big debate at Dartmouth this
week, you deserve to lose" (10/
25).

Bradley Cool To Gore Calls For Weekly Debates

Gore called for "weekly debates" throughout the WH 2000 race: "I will make the same challenge to the Republican nominee." Thus far, Bradley is not accepting Gore's challenge (Mears, AP, 10/23).

Which Way Will He Go?

ABC's Stephanopoulos, on Gore and the upcoming debates: "I think Gore's in a little bit of trouble in these debates. He's been attacking Bradley a lot, but his attacks are incoherent. On the one hand he says Bradley's too far to the left, on the other hand

that he's not a real Democrat. It's very reminiscent of what Bob Dole's campaign tried to do to Clinton in 1996. 'Too liberal' or 'unprincipled' -- you can't be both. ... I think Gore's got to be careful in this debate. He should instead try to kill Bradley with kindness. ... Look who Gore's debated against: Quayle, Perot and Kemp. Bill Bradley is not Ross Perot. That kind of mean attack politics will not work" ("This Week," ABC, 10/24).
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PRIMARY CALENDAR: WA and MI Denied Earlier Date

Seattle Post Intelligencer's Gavin reports the DNC 10/22 rejected WA's bid to hold an earlier pres. primary, a move to "greatly diminish" the state's role in choosing the Dem nominee. The primary will still be held 2/29, but the Dems' vote will be reduced to "a beauty contest," with no delegates at stake. WA Dem Party chair Paul Berendt said the delegates to the convention will likely be chosen at precinct caucuses 3/7. The GOP primary is unaffected. WA officials had hoped to expand

the state's
influence by holding the primary the week before the "critical" Super Tuesday contests.
Berendt: "Quite frankly, it's bad news
. I'm terribly disappointed that they rejected this,
but this tradition
on of giving special privileges to Iowa and New Hampshire (to be first
contests) runs deep" (10/23).

AP's George: "Washington state
's presidential primary will go on as planned Feb.
29, but it may be
a smaller, meaningless beauty contest for Democrats." WA
Sec/State Ralph Munro feels the new primary date has already been a success
because
several presidential candidates from both parties have spent "a lot of time" in WA in recent
months,

--according to Munro spokesman David Brine, who added that Munro feels
this is a federal
solution to states' leapfrogging primary dates is "long
overdue." The other states that
were denied early primary requests were
re AZ and SC. (Seattle Times, 10/24).

The DNC 10/22 also rejected
ed MI's request to make that state the first major
industrial state to
hold a presidential runoff. Dems wanted to hold a caucus on 2/19, three
weeks
earlier than the 3/11 date set now and three days prior to the MI GOP's

presidential primary. MI Dem spokesman Dennis Denno: "It's disappointing. We
were
looking forward to having it earlier. But we're still going to have
a good healthy caucus,
and we're looking forward to having the candidates in the state" (Barks Hoffman,
AP/Nashua Telegraph, 10/24).

Western Primaries Losing Steam
Washington Times'
Richardson reports the Western presidential primary, "the Rocky
Mountain region's
bid for political clout in the 2000 election, is looking more like

"Forgotten Friday than Super Tuesday." Despite the Western Governors Assoc.'
s push
for an eight-state regional vote, only three states -- CO, UT and
WY -- have agreed to
hold their presidential primary 3/10, with ID, MT, NV and
NM not participating. The likely
result from this is that voters in

n the interior West will once again "watch for the
sidelines" as cand
idates devote their time and money to "big-ticket states" like CA and
reg. elections like Super Tuesday, the 3/14 primary that includes much of the
South.
Denver pollster Floyd Ciruli: "These are three very modest sta
tes. Most likely, they're
going to be brief stops for people fighting
it out in California and New York and trying
to end it March 14." Ev
en so, backers of a reg. primary say the West is still better off
wit
h a three-state roundup than with nothing at all. Gov. Mike Leavitt's (R-UT) De
p.
CoS Vicki Varela: "Obviously, we had hoped we would have as many a
s eight
Western states. But all three states are positioned dramatica
lly better than they've ever
been because of their numbers. This stil
l creates an interest and attention to Western
issues that we haven't
had in the past." The Western contest is squeezed between the
3/7 CA
and NY primaries and Super Tuesday. Analysts are divided on whether that
will help or hurt the Western states' bid for campaign attention (10/25).

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NEW HAMPSHIRE
E: McCain W/In 12; Bradley Up In
Two Polls

A Research 2000 poll, conducted 10/20-21 for KPNX-TV Phoenix, surveyed
602 regular voters; margin of error +/- 4%. Subsamples (including party prim
ary
oversamples): 413 GOPers; +/- 5% and 401 Dems; +/- 5% (release, 1
0/23).

	GOP Primary			All Men			Wom			Dem Primary			All Men			Wom		
George W. Bush	39%	37%	41%	Bill Bradley	40%	44%	36%											
John Mc																		
Cain	27	30	24	Al Gore	37	34	40											
Steve Forbes				9	1													
0 8	Undec.			23	22	24												
Pat Buchanan				5	7	3												

Alan Keyes 1 1 1

Gary Bauer	1	1	1
Orr			
in Hatch	1	1	1
Undec.	17	13	21

General Election Matchups

	All Men	Wom		All Men	Wom
--	---------	-----	--	---------	-----

Bush	50%	54%	46%	Bush	45%	49%	41%
Gore	40	37	43				
Bradley	44	40	48				
Undec.	10	9	11	Undec.	11	11	11

Bush	45%	47%	43%	Bradley	45%	44%	46%
Gore	40	37					
43 Bush	41	43	39				
Buchanan	6	10	2	Buchanan	5	8	2
Undec.	9	6	12	Undec.	9	5	13

Globe Poll

A Boston Globe poll, conducted 10/17-19 by KRC Communications, surveyed 400 likely Dem primary voters; margin of error +/- 5% (10/24)

Dem Primary Now 9/99
Bill Bradley 45% 36%

Al Gore	42	40
Undec.	9	19

Boston
Globe's Robinson notes that Bradley "drew particularly well among independents, besting" Gore 48-38%. "But underscoring the volatility that

independents could bring to this race" -- and to the GOP primary -- the poll also

found that John McCain, "finds many admirers among registered independents who

now plan to vote" in the Dem contest. McCain had a favorable/unfavorable ratio of 2-1 in this

group, "a hint that as the 2/1 primary approaches, "some may find the GOP primary a more attractive option."

Despite the "deadlock" between Bradley and Gore, "underlying sentiment

t ... has shifted in small but detectable ways that contain little
so
lace" for Gore. For instance, among the "most attentive voters in the sample --
those
who could name both candidates without prompting -- Bradley's
edge over is larger,"
at 48-40. And since the last poll, Gore's 10-po
int edge among Dems and women "has
evaporated, while Bradley has lost
some of the commanding edge he had held among"
indies. Perhaps "most
worrisome for Gore" in the new poll is the so-called "Clinton
fatigu
e" factor. "As voters focus on the coming election, and as both candidates
increase the time they spend" in NH, just 21% now say that Gore's support
for
Clinton during impeachment "makes them more likely to vote for h
im." In late 8/99,
29% expressed that view. And back then, just 21% s
aid Gore's "stance made them
less likely to support him. That number
is now up markedly," to 34%. Also in this poll,
Clinton had a fav/unf
av among Dem primary voters of 42%/35%. In late 8/99, those
figures w
ere 71%/24%. Although Clinton's "positive" rating has fallen way off, most of
the loss has been to the "no opinion" category (10/24).
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ack to Contents)

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TENNESSEE: Gore On Top Of
Bush In Homestate

A Mason-Dixon poll, conducted 10/19-21, sur
veyed 625 regular voters; margin
of error +/- 4%. Subsamples: n/a as
of deadline (Nashville Tennessean, 10/24).

GOP Primary			
Dem Primary			
George W. Bush		70%	Al Gore 79%
John McCain		8	Bill Bradley 15
Steve Forbes			
5	Undec.		6
Elizabeth Dole		4	
Alan Keyes			
2			
Gary Bauer		1	
Orrin Hatch		--	

Und
ec. 10

General Election Matchups
Gore 49%

Bush 42
Undec. 9

Gore 48%

Bush 41
Buchanan 3
Undec. 8

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WH 2000 SCHEDULES: For The Lates
t, Click Here!

Highlights from today's candidate schedules:

STANDING PAT ON PRINCIPLES? Pat Buchanan announces switch to

Reform Party in Falls Church, VA.

TWIN CITIES TRIP:

Gary Bauer travels to MN today to attend the Pro-Life
Action Mi

nistries Banquet.

LEADOFF STATES: Al Gore visits Manchester and
Nashua, NH today.

Steve Forbes topped 20 days spent in NH; Tuesd
ay brings George W. Bush
to IA and Bill Bradley to NH.

For complete candidate schedules click here! We also are tallying the n
umber of

days spent by each candidate in all 50 states. Click here fo
r the latest totals.

WH 2000 Quickclicks!

Click

Quickclicks to view all of The Hotline's WH 2000 web pages, including our

Electoral Scoreboard and our Primary Calendar.

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ts)

SENATE/GOVERNOR/HOUSE 2000

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CALIFORNIA SENATE: Campbell To Start Exploring

Rep. Tom Campbell (R-15) "expects to go public today with his intention to form" a Senate exploratory cmte. Campbell advised fellow GOPers of his intentions in a meeting held 10/14, one week before businessman/proposition pusher Ron Unz (R) went to DC for a closed-door session with GOP lawmakers. Rep. George Radanovich (R-19): "Tom is the only top-tier candidate in the race. ... He's more moderate than I am, but I like him. He's managed to get himself endeared to just about everybody." Unz "didn't do as well" at his 10/21 meeting. One CA House member

present "said Unz was challenged on his integrity, while Radanovich said another

lawmaker demanded to know why Unz 'double-crossed us'" on a dispute over the

states' reapportionment. Unz spokesperson Sheri Annis: "There was definitely some doubt about the redistricting issues. .

.. But he thinks things went generally well. There are obviously issues

they are going to disagree on." A recent Field Poll, (see Hotline

10/21), "showed Campbell being supported by nearly four times as many Republicans

as Unz." The same poll showed Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D) "handily leading both

men," along with state Sen. Ray Haynes, San Diego County Super Bill Horn and businessman J.P. Gough (Doyle, Sacramento Bee, 10/24).

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DELAWARE
GOVERNOR: Lee -- The Gov that Fits?

AP's Thorne reports, Superior Court Judge William Swain Lee, "who gained recognition for his handling of the Capano murder trial, will be allowed to immediately

retire and collect a pension, setting the stage for a possible run for governor." A law that kept Lee from switching out of the pension plan he had originally chosen was overturned by the DE Supreme Ct. Friday.

Lee, who would run as a GOPer, "soared to prominence in the region with his handling of the sensational trial of Thomas Capano, a politically connected Wilmington lawyer convicted of murdering his lover, Anne Marie Fahey. "The case gave him a name recognition that would put him in the running with other major candidates," including LG Ruth Ann Minner (D) and House Speaker Terry Spence (R) (10/25).
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MASSACHUSETTS SENATE: So, What'll It Be Sully?

"It's almost Halloween, and still no word from" Plymouth County DA Michael Sullivan (R) on whether he will challenge Sen. Ted Kennedy (D) in 2000. In August, Sullivan said that a decision was weeks away. But he still hasn't announced his

decision. And, as of 10/25, Sullivan had not "filed the necessary paperwork to open

an exploratory committee, according to the Secretary of the Senate." Sullivan has "said

he's most concerned about how a campaign

-- and possible career in DC -- "would

affect his family. Sullivan and

his wife have four school-age children. Then there's

money." Kennedy

had \$2.4M as of 6/30/99. Sullivan estimates he'll need \$3.5M. MA

GO

Chair/State Rep. Brian Cresta: "Mike is absolutely still in the picture. ...

I know

he's strongly considering this." Cresta said there are a few other

interested GOPers,

but they are waiting on Sullivan. Cresta: "If

Mike decides that 2000 isn't a race for him
this year, I fully expect
the Ted Kennedy seat will be opposed" (Robinson, AP,
10/22).

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MISSOURI GOVERNOR:
Engler -- Race Is Tops For
RGA

In an interview before a fundraiser for Rep. Jim Talent (R-02), MI Gov. John
Engler (R) told St. Louis Post-Dispatch's Mannies: "The Republican Governors

Association has identified the Missouri governor's race as the top race in
the country."

Talent, who faces Trenton, MO mayor Tim Whitaker (R)
in the primary, received
\$300,000 from the RNC last month (10/23). De
m: Treasurer Bob Holden
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MISSOURI SENATE: The Race Race

MO GOPers "are rep
lying to accusations of racism against Sen. John Ashcroft
(R) by circulating a 1960 photo" of Gov. Mel Carnahan (D), performing in a
black
face minstrel quartet. MO GOP exec. dir. John Hancock says the photo proves

Carnahan is "a phony" when he talks about his long commitment to civil
rights: "A

minstrel show is demeaning and mocking a whole race of people. ... This is disgusting."

Carnahan, a southern MO native, acknowledges that he grew up as "part of a culture
that wasn't very sensitive

"to racism, said MO Dem exec. dir. Roy Temple: "But Mel
Carnahan was

among the first to catch on." Carnahan's Dem allies "say it's Ashcroft

who is the phony, on civil rights and on his claim he has no ties to the
photo's release"

to AP. Temple: "John Ashcroft had to go back 40 years to
to find any evidence of Mel

Carnahan's insensitivity. ... You only need

d to go back days to find an example of John

Ashcroft's insensitivity

-- his vote against Ronnie White" (Mannies, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
10/25).

GOPers "are howling over repeated allegations of raci
sm stemming from

Ashcroft's successful drive to defeat the" federal c
ourt nomination of White, MO's first
black Supreme Court judge. Hanco
ck said-research turned up the Carnahan
photograph months ago. The pi
cture "shows Carnahan, then 26, and his brother, Bob,
singing in a wh

ite minstrel quartet, wearing blackface makeup." A glossy print of the

photo and the clipping were provided to the AP by a GOP source on condition o
f

anonymity (Quaid, AP, 10/24).

Black Congressmen Targe
t Ashcroft

Retiring Rep. William Clay (D-01) and Rep. Maxine W
aters (D-CA) have
called Ashcroft, and fellow MO Sen. Kit Bond (R), "
racist" for their work in defeating

White's-nomination. Clay said 10/
21, that Ashcroft and Bond "both committed racist
acts in denying thi
s individual (White) a chance to respond." On 10/22 Waters echoed
Cla

y and accused the senators of an "evil, racist act." Ashcroft statement: "Today

,
these smears have gone too far. ... An accusation of prejudice or r
acism is meant to

hurt, and it does hurt. Every person is a special c
reation of God. I believe that the
same God who judges all of us by t
he contents of our characters, not the colors of our
skins, calls on
me to do no less" (Kraske/Canon/Goldstein, Kansas City Star, 10/23).

Ashcroft "said Friday that he deserves an apology from black lawmakers w
ho

accused him of racism." Ashcroft: "Name-calling and accusations wi
thout evidence

debase our nation and poison our spirits. ... I hope t
hat, upon reflection, those who
attack my integrity and deepest belie
fs will see fit to apologize for their words." In a

statement to the
media last week, Clay wrote: "Ashcroft's and Bond's attempts to

cloak
their racist and political motives for preventing a black American from becoming

a federal judge is patently apparent in the feeble alibis advanced
for their biased

actions." Waters added late Friday: "I see no reason to apologize. ... I did indeed call

him a racist. I do believe he is one, and I think he's acted in a racist manner. More

Waters: "I think he should apologize to Judge Ronnie White for undermining his efforts

to be confirmed to the federal bench" (Quaid, AP, 10/22).

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NEW JERSEY SENATE: GOP's Answer To Corzine

Newark Star Ledger's Wald writes on the fallout
from ex-Rep. Dick Zimmer's

(R) decision not to run. "A wide-open" GOP
primary fight is likely should Zimmer's

"good friend," investment
banker Lewis Eisenberg (R), "step into the race. On his
way out of a

Senate race he was never really in, Zimmer said he wished Eisenberg
would run." Eisenberg "has gained notice in the last several years as a fund-raiser" for

the GOP and as a "fiscally conservative, socially inclusive"
GOPer like Gov. Christie

Whitman (R) and Zimmer. "He's also provided
significant help for some not so

socially liberal types" like Bob Doyle. "But he has no real political profile among the
GOP's rank-and-file."

Eisenberg is a "pro-choice" GOPer, which -- "much to his
dismay

-- tags him as a liberal on the GOP ideological spectrum. He isn't, but he did
work at Goldman Sachs," the same Wall Street firm that has brought NJ
Dems its

ex-CEO Jon Corzine, "the unabashed liberal who calls himself
a progressive." Now

both parties "could lay claim to a rich guy, but
the political playing fields are completely

different." Corzine, "who has been making up for lost time by handing out tens of
thousands of

dollars" to NJ Dems this fall, "has been welcomed by a significant
portion" of the Dem establishment as a "newly minted candidate who might be able

e to
head off" ex-Gov. Jim Florio (D) at the pass. The Dem field is "
chiefly, at the
moment, a two-person race," with ex-NJ Dem Chair Tom
Byrne "still punching away
at the edges." The GOP field, however, "wa
s never at a loss for candidates" once
Whitman and ex-Gov. Tom Kean (
R) said no. Rep. Bob Franks (R-07), state Sen.
William Gormley (R), E
ssex Co. Exec. Jim Treffinger (R) and '97 Libertarian gov.
candidate
Murray Sabrin are all in. Eisenberg "has his close friends and encouragers."

His bankroll is "big enough" to interest NRSC Chair Mitch McConnell. An
d
Whitman has "encouraged" Eisenberg to consider the race. "That's no
t an
endorsement. Just encouragement. But if Whitman had encouraged E
isenberg to stay
home, he wouldn't be out -- as he likes to call it -
- 'warming to the task'" (10/25).
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NEW MEXICO SENATE: New Race, As New
Ch
allenger Surfaces in New Mexico

State Sen. William Davis (R)
says he will run for the GOP Senate nod, and the
chance to challenge
Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D) in 2000. Davis filed statement of
candidacy pa
pers with the FEC this week and says he plans to launch his campaign
early next month. Ex-Rep. Bill Redmond (R) also intends to run for the GOP
nomination. Davis: "Republicans are going to have a good choice between M
r.
Redmond and myself. ... I am running. I am raising funds. I am a c
andidate." In '98,
Davis ran unsuccessfully for the GOP nomination in
the State's 1st CD. Davis, a
"staunch conservative," has been a lead
ing supporter of Gov. Gary Johnson's (R)
school voucher proposal that
would allow parents to use tax dollars to send their
children to pri
vate, religious or public schools. Redmond is raising money for the
c
ampaign but has yet to make a formal announcement (Massey, AP, 10/25).

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NEW YORK SENATE: Oh
Brothers, Could They Be
Trouble?

Time's Br
anegan and Novak write on the business dealings of Hillary Clinton's
brothers, Tony and Hugh Rodham: "Time has uncovered new examples of the

brothers asking for -- and receiving -- White House meetings with top Admini
stration

officials on behalf of their business associates, including
a scheduled drop-by visit from
the President himself. So far, the Rod
hams don't seem to have made much money
from their White House connec
tions, but their sister's expected run for the U.S. Senate
means thei
r business dealings could provide more fodder for the Clintons' many
political foes."

The brothers' "first major business venture t
ogether was a \$118-million plan to
grow and export hazelnuts from the
former Soviet Republic of Georgia. The first sign
of trouble appeare
d when Georgian officials got upset that the group was going straight

to Batumi, a stronghold in the western region of the country ruled by politica
l potentate

Aslan Abashidze, a powerful rival to Georgian President E
duard Shevardnadze, a

U.S. ally." WH officials "urged the group to ma
ke a stop in the Georgian capital of

Tbilisi first and meet with Shev
ardnadze, which they did." Although Tony Rodham
claims Abashidze didn

't take advantage of his new connection to the WH,
"Shevardnadze symp

athizers say Abashidze, who enjoys support from Georgia's much
feared

neighbor Russia, seized on the visit" of President Clinton's in-laws to "sugge
st

that he had a seal of approval from the U.S. government in upcomin
g parliamentary

and presidential elections. In fact, just after the R
odhams left, according to Georgian

news reports, Abashidze trumpeted
'the possibility of political support rendered to him

by U.S. President Bill Clinton' and said the U.S. branch of the hazelnut investment firm would be located 'next to the White House.' The Rodhams' trip culminated with

th Tony flying to Rome to become godfather to Abashidze's new grandson."

NSA Sandy Berger, "who feared the Rodhams were being manipulated by

Shevardnadze's foe, told the brothers" in 9/99 "to dump the deal. The Rodhams

resisted." The WH "tried again, and according to officials, the brothers backed down.

But in a recent interview, Tony would only say that he's 'restructuring' the venture."

"The hazelnut imbroglio wasn't Tony's first dip into murky foreign political waters."

In '97, sources tell Time, Tony -- "working as a consultant for a company trying to do

business in Russia -- arranged" a WH meeting for Moscow's powerful Mayor Yuri

Luzhkov. Ex-WH officials tell Time that "this was touchy business; Luzhkov, a

potential successor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, has been accused of having

links to Russian mobsters. Recently he had been involved in a dispute with an

American businessman who was subsequently found murdered in Moscow. That it

was Tony who was requesting the meeting with Luzhkov made things very

uncomfortable for Berger, according to someone familiar with the episode" (11/1

issue).

HRC Is Now "In The Race"

HRC at a 10/23 fundraiser: "I am honored to be in this race, looking to succeed

someone whom I admire, Sen. Moynihan, and to continue much of the work he has

done. I am looking forward to this campaign." Pres. Clinton attended the fundraiser

with about 300 others, "including several celebrities" (McCaffrey, AP/Albany Times

Union, 10/24). HRC, on reports that she's leaning towards running: "If I leaned any

further I would fall over."

"Two years ago, Hillary Rodham Clinton turned her 50th birthday

irthday into a
rediscovery of her Illinois roots, but as she turns 52
this year, she is using the
anniversary to raise money for her all-b
ut-announced bid for a U.S. Senate seat from
New York." HRC is now "m
aking a transition to New Yorker."(Reuters, 10/24)

Dems Not Laugh
ing at Ad
Boston Globe's Kaplan writes on the Pizza Hut spoof
ad. The ad aired for the first
time during Game 1 of the World Series
. "The Pizza Hut commercial clearly plays on
the most common criticisms
m against her -- that she's a carpetbagger who has never lived
in New
York." DSCC's Jim Jordan on the flap: "I suspect that eventually, lawyers

will look into whether this constitutes an illegal contribution to the ma
yor's campaign"
(10/23). Jordan, to Dallas Morning News's Pringle: "T
he commercial is
unambiguously derisive and nasty. ... It was clearly
designed to boost the Giuliani
campaign." Jay Allison, an ex-media a
ide for ex-Pres. Bush: "It was by no means
politically motivated" (1
0/24).

Newsday's Hellican writes on the suggestion that Pizza
Hut board member and
NYC Mayor Rudy Giuliani supporter Kenneth Langone
e may have had something
to do with the ad. "No one could produce any
evidence that Langone even knew
about the ad in advance. And no one
was ready to charge, seriously, that Pizza Hut
officials put their in
terest in a Senate race above their interest in pizza sales at those
'7,100 restaurants and delivery units' of theirs. Given a choice, I'd bet they'
d choose
more pizza over Giuliani in the Senate any day" (10/24).

Time for "Hardball"
San Francisco Examiner's Matthe
ws: "The problem facing the first lady was how
to deal with this glob
al skepticism about her devotion to the Bronx Bombers. Does she
atten

d the World Series or leave Yankee Stadium to ... Giuliani? Does she skip the

series or follow the Godfather's axiom to 'keep you friends close, you
r enemies
closer'? I recommend she show up. Woody Allen, that great N
ew Yorker, once
advised that '90 percent of life is showing up.' I sa
y this because the above-the-battle
approach isn't working" (10/24).

HRC Stakes Out "Liberal" Positions for Bid
Washi
ngton Post's Duke reports, HRC "has shifted her campaign into battle mode

and begun staking out a liberal agenda that sharply distinguishes her" from Giuliani.

"The stepped-up effort to demonize Giuliani also is fueled by the knowledge that he is
a Republican who -- at least during previous campaigns -- was moderate enough to
twice win the mayoralty of
the overwhelmingly liberal and Democratic city of New
York" (10/23).

Rudy Flip-Flops on Minimum Wage
New York Daily News's Colangelo, Siegel, and Finnegan report, "After three
weeks of attacks" from HRC "for not backing a rise in the minimum wage," Giuliani on

10/24 said he plans to "support the pay hike after all" (10/25).

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NORTH CAROLINA GOVERNOR
NOR: Neely Says He's
In To Stay

Raleigh News and Observer's "Dome" reports that "rumors have been circulating"
that ex-state Rep. Chuck Neely (R) "would bow out" of the gov. race and instead
run
for AG. "Neely dismissed such talk": "There is no stock in it from this end. I'm running
for governor and nothing but governor." In f

act, Nelly called AG candidate/state Sen.

Roy Cooper (D) "to reassure
him that he hadn't changed his mind."

Speaking of the GOP race,
"some sparring" by the GOPers prompted ex-NC

GOP Chair David Flaherty
"to remind candidates" of the party's 11th commandment:

"Thou shalt not attack fellow Republicans." Flaherty sent a letter to GOP delegates

"saying he was disappointed" state Rep. Leo Daughtry (R) "attacked by his"
GOP

foes who "are simply trying to jump-start their struggling campaigns."
The two

Daughtry foes, Neely and ex-Charlotte Mayor Richard Vi
nroot (R), "said they were

just commenting on their opponent's record
." Vinroot strategist Carter Wrenn: "What

negative attacks? Every time a fact comes out about Leo that doesn't suit Leo, he is

like the little boy that cried wolf. He cries 'negative.' Your record is your record." And

Neely, noting articles about Daughtry, said: "If Dave Flaherty regards those as

negative, he should take up his fight with the newspapers
of the state" (10/25).

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NORTH DAKOTA GOVERNOR: Looks Like Hoeven

Can't Wait

ait

Bismarck Tribune's Hanson reports, A second GOPer "is beginning to look a lot

like he'll be a candidate." Bank of North Dakota
Pres. John Hoeven said 10/20 that

his announcement will come in the
first week of 11/99, "but he sounded like he's ready

to enter the race." Hoeven, on potential GOP rival Gary Nelson: "I know Gary. I've

worked with him in the Legislature. I have a great deal of respect for him. We'll
both

bring our ideas forward. I think it's good. I think people want
to have a good race. I've

anticipated all along that Gary will be running. I figured that was the case all along"

(10/21). Dem: AG Heidi

Heitkamp

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OHI

O SENATE: DeWine Boasts 39 Point Lead Over
Cordray

The Ohio Poll; conducted 9/17-10/11/99 by the Institute for Policy Research at
the University of Cincinnati; surveyed 606 regis. voters; margin of error +/- 4%
(release, 10/23). Tested: Sen. Mike Dewine (R) and
attorney Richard Cordray (D).

General Heat

V

Vote Fav/Unfav ID

Dewine 65% 42% / 20% 92%

Cordray

26 2 2 34

Undec'd 4

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s)

27

RHODE ISLAND SENATE: GOP Senator Dies Of

Heart Failure

Sen. John Chafee (R), RI's

"longtime Republican senator and former governor
who earned praise even from Democrats for his moderate stance on issues," has died.

He was

77. Chafee "died of heart failure Sunday night at Bethesda Naval Hospital,"

said spokesperson John Goodman. He had announced earlier this year that he would

not run for a fifth term. His son, Lincoln, is running. "A

scion of one" of RI's "most

powerful families, Chafee was perhaps the

most popular" GOPer in the history of this

"overwhelmingly" Democratic state.

Besides senator, Chafee also served RI as their governor,

before that

, he served 3 1/2 years as Navy Sec. and six years as a state Rep. A

"strong" environmentalist, Chafee was the ranking GOPer on the Environment and Public Works

Committee. "He played a large role for a minority member in the passage of the 1988 law

against ocean dumping, the 1989 oil spill law and the 1990 Clean Air Act."

Representing a state with a large Roman Catholic constituency, Chafee also was an "adamant advocate of abortion rights" and opposed the "gag rule," which prohibited doctors at federally funded clinics from discussing abortion with their patients. "He supported an end to the ban on gays in the military and angered conservatives when he

pushed for a ban on the manufacture, sale and possession of handguns." Chafee

"proved to be a stubborn partisan on votes against" President Clinton's budget in '93 and for George Bush's 1991 nomination of Clarence Thomas (AP, 10/25).

The Law

According to the RI Board of Elections, Gov. Lincoln Almond (R) will appoint some one to fill the vacancy created by Chafee's death. There is no time limit for the governor to make that appointment. That person will serve until the 11/2000 election.

The person that wins that election (assuming it is not the appointee) gets sworn right after the election is certified, sometime before the normal January swearing-in (interview, 10/25).

Dems: Rep. Robert Weygand (02) and ex-LG Richard Licht.

Potential Ind
ie: ex-GOP AG Arlene Violet.
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TENNESSEE SENATE: Ford To Explore This Week

?

Memphis Commercial Appeal's Brosnan writes, while TN Dems "wait to hear"

from Rep. Harold Ford Jr. (D-09) about whether he will run against Sen. Bill Frist

(R), "there is little doubt among party strategists" in DC. The DSCC assumes "he is a candidate," according to

DSCC Chair Robert Torricelli. At a meeting with committee fundraisers last

t week, "Torricelli introduced Ford as one of the "potential 'stars' of the

Senate." The expectation in DC is that Ford very soon will form an "exploratory

committee" to start raising the \$6-7M he will need to "compete with Frist. Ford says

he's waiting for a poll, but he's also quietly been interviewing campaign staff." Ford lost a potential source of

"leverage for campaign contributions when his uncle," Joe Ford, "lost

badly" to Memphis Mayor Willie Herenton on 10/7, "but it was not a mortal

wound." The DSCC is "drooling over the chance to sell young Ford to national

donors. In particular, they see Ford as having a chance to tap young black

professionals like no other candidate they've ever had." As for the Ford family feud

with Herenton, Brosnan notes that Herenton's "premature rejection of Ford as a

Senate candidate and his all-but-endorsement of Frist were not smart politics or smart lobbying."-He s

hould have "cooly waited for both candidates to solicit his support b

ased on their record and what they offered the city. Instead, Herenton has given

himself to Frist and gotten nothing in return for Memphis." As to whether Ford has a

shot, Brosnan notes, "Today, I would say it's not likely." But "I and most other [TN]

reporters didn't think Frist could unseat Jim Sasser in 1994." The "best sign that Ford has a chance is

the rather frantic effort by Frist to keep Ford from running. He's a

lready promised Ford he won't run in 2006." Frist: "I think he has a promising future.

I believe that because of the support I have across the state that I will win the next

election. And I think he is going to have to weigh what advantage it is to Tennesseans and to him to enter the

race" (10/25).

Speaking Of The Memphis Feud

The

Commercial Appeal's Goad writes, "the feud" between Herenton and the

Ford family "is over. Nudge, nudge. Wink, wink. Each side has promised to rise above the bitterness of the recent mayoral campaign and work with the

other for the
benefit of the city. Other Shelby County political leaders say they hope that's true. But they also say they'll believe it when they see it" (10/24).
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VERMONT GOVERNOR: Graff And The Eruption

Follo
wing a column by AP's Christopher Graff last week criticizing GOP gov.
candidate Ruth Dwyer for hiring campaign staff "early," GOP state chair Patrick
Garahan said the columnist has a double-standard. Garahan, saying
Graff is "removed
from-reality" commented: "I guess it is only objectionable to begin campaigning early if
you are a-Republican."

Graff struck back in a column 10/24, arguing that he didn't mind the early
campaigning, which he concedes several Dems and GOPers are doing
, but-the hiring
of staff. Graff: "It was worth noting that for the first time in the history of the state, a
candidate for governor has opened an office and hired a campaign manager 13 months
before an election. This seems excessive in a state with two year terms of office"
(10/24). Dem: Gov. Howard Dean.
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WEST VIRGINIA GOVERNOR: Going Negative

Th
e three leading candidates "refuse to commit to running no negative ads." Gov.
Cecil Underwood (R), atty Jim Lees (D) and Rep. Bob Wise (D-02) "all
say they
will not initiate a negative exchange but will respond if
attacked." Says Wise:
"Unfortunately polls are pretty clearly showing
that voters do respond to negative ads.
... I will do everything I can to try and keep it positive. If it looks like those attacks are
having an effect, I will have to gauge my response. The best way to run, particu-

arly for
governor, is to put your ideas out there and what you have d
one." Underwood doesn't
like all the TV ads: "It's the modern way of
campaigning. I don't like it. You can't do
without it." (Bundy, AP, 1
0/24). Other potential candidates: Joseph Oliverio (R),
Hughes Booher
(R), Dan Russo (D), Curtis Robinson Jr. (D), Bob Myers
(Libertarian)

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CAMPAIGNS OF '99

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KENTUCKY GOVERNOR: Not So Peppy About

Peppy

Louisville Courier-Journal's Cross reports, state Se
n. GOP Leader David
Williams "will vote for" Gov. Paul Patton (D) 11/
2 instead of GOP nominee Peppy
Martin. Williams isn't alone. "Other R
epublican senators said or indicated likewise."
State Sen. Robert Sti
vers: "It wouldn't surprise me if all 38 senators voted for Paul
Patton" (10/23).

Cross profiles Martin, who says being governor "h
as been the driving ambition of
her entire adult life." Martin insist
s she will win, despite having "little money," running a
"minimal cam
paign," and barely winning her own primary "against a foe who barely
campaigns" (10/23). Lexington Herald-Leader's Baniak reports, Martin, "who has

never held public office," has campaigned by "targeting" people and
issues "no matter
how odd, and charging straight ahead." Her campaign
has recieved little support from
GOP leaders and has gotten the "col
d shoulder" from Sen. Mitch McConnell
(10/24). Cincinnati Enquirer's
Crowley writes, Martin's candidacy is "a curious and
passing fad that

quickly wore out its welcome." She has managed to get the endorsement of Sen. Jim Bunning (R), which in turn generated other GOP supporters. Martin claims "the only reason they are backing Ms. Martin is because she is a Republican" and because Bunning and Patton are "careening toward the 2004 Senate race" (10/24).
 Lexington Herald-Leader's Brammer reports, Reform Party candidate Gatewood Galbraith "lack s" funds but "profits in name recognition." Galbraith first drew attention

with a 1983 bid for agriculture commissioner when he advocated legalization of marijuana. He has since "toned down his rhetoric on marijuana" but still favors legalization for "medical and industrial purposes." Galbraith himself "has a prescription from California to smoke marijuana for his asthma" (10/24). Galbraith has spent most of the campaign trying "to move himself from someone viewed as a pro-marijuana crackpot to a broad-based politician with a firm grasp of numerous issues." The effort may have been successful, with his candidacy "verging on respectability" and Patton's camp considering him "a stronger opponent than" Martin (Gerth, Courier-Journal, 10/24).
 Lexington Herald-Leader's Baniak profiles Patton as "always a whirl of energy all miles, handshakes and jokes" (10/24).
 Courier-Journal's Loftus, reports Natural Law candidate Nailah Jumoke-Yarbrough is not concerned that she has only "a couple thousand dollars" to spend against Patton's \$1M. Jumoke Yarbrough: "I believe in divine order" (10/24).

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an open primary race. Results with 99% of precincts reporting (LA Sec/State, 10/24):

	votes	%age
Foster (R)	797,191	62
Jefferson (D)	380,140	30
Greene (R)	36,456	3
Preis (D)	23,411	2
Bush (D)	12,344	1
Alexandrenko (Reform)	8,984	1
Ward (D)	7,654	1
McElroy (D)	7,395	
Bellone (D)	5,416	0
Baron (Ind.)	3,681	0
Johnson (Ind.)	3,258	0

New Orleans Times-Picayune's Wardlaw and Ritea report, Foster "made history"

by becoming the first GOP gov in LA history to win reelection. Additionally, it was the first time an LA Gov won reelection without a run-off since '75. Foster: "I'm ready to go back to work ... It's hard to campaign and run the state." "Besides winning easy reelection, candidates allied with Foster and organized business appeared to be winning most" legis. races (10/24). At about 10:45 p.m., an "elated" Foster claimed

victory, and congratulated Jefferson for "running a pretty clean race" (Richardman and Baughman, Baton Rouge Advocate, 10/24). Meanwhile, LG Kathleen Blanco (D) "was easily" reelected with 81% of the vote (Buckman, Washington Times, 10/24).

According to elections officer Wade Martin, turnout "looked like it was 55 to 60 percent" (New Orleans Times-Picayune, 10/24).
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ow

The Philadelphia Inquirer endorsed businessman Sam Katz (R): "John Street (D) promises a steady hand on the rudder. But Sam Katz offers something beyond that, a fresh wind in the city's sails -- ideas and a can-do energy that could propel Philadelphia forward. Take the chance, Philadelphia. Catch the wind. Elect Sam Katz" (10/24). Katz: "This endorsement is the momentum-builder for the last five, six days of this election to put us over the top." Street disagreed: "I think the overwhelming majority of the people in this city won't pay attention to that endorsement" (Davies, Philadelphia Daily News, 10/25).

Pocket Full Of Cash

The latest expense reports showed that Katz has \$3.6M and Street collected \$4.2M since 6/99. Among Katz's biggest donors was Gov. Tom Ridge's (R) committee which chipped in \$85K. Mayor/DNC Chair Ed Rendell gave \$40K to Street and will be featured in a TV ad starting this week. Total spending for the race is expected to approach \$25M (Infield/Zausner, Philadelphia Inquirer, 10/24).

Rally McBeal

On 10/23 Rendell and ex-Mayor Wilson Goode (D) joined Street for a rally at a S. Philly church, while Katz campaigned in N.E. Philly (Boyer and Fleming, Philadelphia Inquirer, 10/24). Both campaigns are gearing up for GOTV operations, but politicians say Street "faces several obstacles" 11/2. According to Democratic "insiders," the "biggest ... is that polls are showing some 60 percent of white Democrats are planning to vote" for Katz. That number "rises to more than two-thirds in some rowhouse neighborhoods" like lower N.E. Philly. Street campaign aides "say the union effort will focus on labor households which

have been targeted with rallies, mailings and phone calls to keep in the Democratic fold" (Bunch, Philadelphia Daily News, 10/25). Democratic consultant Ken Smuckler on Katz's strategy: "What Sam Katz wants is for the white votes to be energized and the black votes to be lulled into a kind of false sense of security that John Street will ultimately win. So the key is not to engage" (Burton, Philadelphia Inquirer, 10/25).

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SAN FRANCISCO MAY
OR: How 'Bout None Of The
Above?

A San Francisco Chronicle poll, conducted 10/19-23, surveyed 600 likely voters; margin of error +/- 4% (10/25). Tested: Mayor Willie Brown (D), ex-Mayor

Frank Jordan (R), political consultant Clint Reilly (D). Not tested by name, but who registered in the survey, write-in candidate Supv. Tom Ammiano (D).

Open Primary Matchup		Runoff Matchups		Fav/Un
fav	Brown	33%	Brown	47%
	Jordan	14	Jordan	33
	Reilly	11	Reilly	18
	Undec.	20	Undec.	54
	Ammiano (write-in)	11		
	Other	2	Brown	52%
	Don't Know			
29	Reilly	27	Undec.	21

San Francisco Chronicle's Epstein on Ammiano's 11% notes that "voters who said they back Ammiano did so without his being cited by name as one of their choices -- just as his name won't be before them" on the 11/2 ballot. The pollsters asked which candidate they would support, listed the candidates, and then listed a fourth option, "someone else

." But even with that option, survey participants still had to
volunt
eer his name. "Although Ammiano registered a relatively strong showing, his

potential for growth could be limited. Most voters know he is running, a
nd the ones
who don't, don't appear to be open to him." Already, 85%
know of Ammiano's
write-in campaign (10/25).
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tents)

IN THE STATES

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FLO

RIDA: Preferences Battle-Heats Up

Gainesville Sun's Marshall
writes of Gov. Jeb Bush's dilemma: "On the one
hand, Bush says he wan
ts (Ward) Connerly to quit campaigning because his
anti-preference me
asure is 'divisive.' On the other hand, Bush says he agrees with
Conn
erly that race-based quotas are unjust. Why the mixed message? Consider this:

His brother is running for president. His party is trying to hold on t
o a U.S. Senate
seat. His popularity, at least in some circles, is on
the line." A spokesperson for Bush
said the state will learn the gov
ernor's position on the issue at the completion of a
"study" on the s
tate of race and gender preferences in Florida (10/24).

Palm B
each Post's Crowley reports that the FL GOP refused to allow Connerly

to speak, or even set up a hospitality room, at its convention this earlier th
is month.

Connerly's response: "The establishment in Florida from the
governor on down don't
seem to give a damn about free speech and ope
n discussion of ideas. The politicians
and minorities in Florida play
hardball." More Connerly: "Every day I ask myself why I
keep doing t
his. But I have an absolute belief that if you feel something strongly

enough, you have a moral obligation to follow through" (10/25).
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MISSISSIPPI: 52% Support
Legislative Term Limits

A WAPT-TV/Tupelo Daily Journal poll;
conducted 10/18-19/99 by
Mason-Dixon; surveyed 605 likely MS votes; margin of error +/- 4% (release,
10/23). Tested: Init 9, which would impose term limits on all MS state legislators.

Support Init 9?

Yes 52%
No 38

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PENNSYLVANIA: Greenwood 2004!

Rep. Jim Greenwood (R-08) may run for the Senate in 2004 if Sen.
Arlen

Specter (R) does not seek another term, "according to a report published" 10/23.

News of Greenwood's "possible candidacy came as a surprise to a few of his

supporters." Bucks Co. GOP Chair Harry Fawkes

: "He has not mentioned it to me at

all. We have a lot of elections to

go before we get to that one." Greenwood was n/a

for comment and his

legis. asst., Joel White, "said this was the first he had heard

about

Greenwood considering the Senate seat" (Hall, Doylestown Intelligencer,

10/24).

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S!

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IN WOMENCONNECT POLITICS DAILY: Ifill Good

In today's issue, Women We Watch: Gwen Ifill reveals her biggest challenge at "Washington Week In Review."

NATION

AL AGENDA : What's this about a debate between Ernestine Bradley and Tipper Gore?

IN THE STATES: Gender discrimination in the Indianapolis mayoral race?!?

BACK PAGE: Food for thought: what does Zagat's have to say about sexism in restaurants?

For these and other stories on women and politics, click WomenconnectPolitics

Daily, an online briefing from The Hotline and womenCONNECT.com, free on the

web at <http://www.womenconnect.com/politicsdaily>, weekdays at 1pm.

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POLL UPDATE

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FOX NEWS/OPINION DYNAMICS: 2 To 1 Dems

Favor Gore

Conducted 10/20-21/99; surveyed 904 regis. voters; margin of error +/- 3% (release, 10/22). For full question wording, click here.

Fav/Unfav: Clinton 43%/51%; HRC 48%/45%; Gore 44%/42%; Bush 60%/26%; Bradley 42%/19%; Buchanan 25%/51%; McCain 34%/12%

Clinton Job Approval: 58%
Gore Job Ap

proval: 49%
Generic Congressional: GOP 41%; Dem 40%

GOP Primary: Bush 67%; McCain 8%; Forbes 8%
Dem Primary: Gore
52%; Bradley 26%
Reform Primary: Buchanan 25%; Ventura 17%; Tru
mp 13%
Two-Way Matchups: Bush over Gore 56-32%; Bush over Bradle
y 51%-33%
Three-Way Matchups: Bush 50%, Gore 33%, Buchanan 6%

56% Say Trump Would Be a Worse President Than Clinton

39% Say "Staying Awake" Will Be the Toughest Part of the Dem Primary

Debates
54% Believe "Clinton Fatigue" was Just Something
Manufactured By The
Media, Americans Are Not Really Feeling Cli
nton Fatigue
56% Trust Congress To Make Best Decisions On Budget

Direction Of Nation				Clinton Fav/Unfav						
Now 9/24 8/27 7/16				Now 9/24 9/10 8/27 8/13						
Right di										
r	47%	51%	48%	49%	Fav	43%	41%	38%	42%	37%
Wrong track										
40	36	37	38	Unfav	51	51	55	51	56	

HRC Fav/Unfav						
Gore Fav/Unfav						
Now 9/24 9/10 8/27 8/13						
Now 9/24 9/10 8/27 8/13						
Fav	48%	48%	46%	52%	45%	Fav
44%	42%	40%	44%	39%		
Unfav	45	42	45	41	46	Unfav
42	41	44	39	44		

GW Bush Fav/Unfav				Buchanan					
Fav/Unfav									
Now 9/24 9/10 8/27 8/13				Now 9/					
24	6/4								
Fav	60%	60%	61%	57%	60%	Fav	25%	26%	
30%									
Unfav	26	23	22	24	19	Unfav	51	43	43

E. Dole Fav/Unfav				McCain Fav/Unfav			
Now 6/4				Now 6/4			
Fav							
60%	63%	Fav		34%	25%		

Unfav
22 18 Unfav 12 8

Forbes Fav/Unfav
Bauer Fav/Unfav
Now 6/4
Now 6/4

Fav 32% 38% Fav
12% 8%
Unfav 29 21 Unfav
13 8

Bradley Fav/Unfav Clinton Jo

b
Now 6/4 Now 9/24 9/10 8/27 8/13

Fav 42% 35% App 58% 60% 59% 65% 62%

Unfav 19 12 Disap 36 33 34 28 32

Gore Job Generic Cong-Ballot

Now
9/24 9/10 8/27 8/13 Now 9/24 9/10
App 49% 50
% 48% 53% 49% GOP/Lean GOP 41% 38% 40%
Disap 29 28
28 25 28 Dem/Lean Dem 40 37 36

Better For Country T
o Have Who Trust To Make Best
Pres., Congress Controlled By:
Decisions On Budget Issues?
Same Party 39% The P
resident 21%
Different Parties 42 Congress
56

Candidate Is Endorsed By Labor Labor Union

s:
Unions, More Likely To Vote: Help workers 41%
For 30% Just collect dues 44

Against 33

(Asked of GOPers) WH 2000 GOP
Dem Primary Matchup Bush
67%
Gore 52% Forbes
8
Bradley 26 McCain
8
Prefer Another Choice 14 Bauer

Hatch

2

Reform Primary Matchup
Buchanan 25%

Trump As Pres., Compared

Trump 13 To Pres.

Clinton:

Ventura 17 Better

19%

Weicker 6 Worse 5

6

Two-Way General Matchups Tougher Job For Moderator Of

Now 9/24 8/27 8/13 7/16 Bradley/Gore Debates:

Gore

32% 35% 34% 29% 33% Keeping debate on schedule 36%

Bush 5

6 52 52 56 54 Staying awake 39

Now 9/24 8/13 7/16 Who Do You Want To Hear More

Bradley 33%

30% 25% 27% About In The News?

Bush 51 51 56 56

George W. Bush 25

John

McCain 15

Three-Way General Matchups Bill Bra

dley 15

Now 9/24 Al Gore

13

Bush 50% 46% Steve Forbes

8

Gore 33 33 Donald Trump

6

Buchanan 6 9 President Clinton

6

Pres. Clinton's Legacy: Clinton Fatigue:

Respected Leader 20% Real 34%

Sca

ndals 68 Created By Media 54

Define Clinton Fatigue:

Being t

ired of scandals surrounding Clinton Administration 39%

Being tired

of President Clinton himself 15

Just feeling rea

dy for a new administration 35

Who do you think suffers most from Clinton fatigue?

Hillary Clinton

25%

Al Gore

16

The American people

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Outside NEWSWEEK: Bush Lead Cut To 1 Point (MoE)

Conducted 10/21-22/99 by Princeton Survey Research Associates; surveyed 755 adults; margin of error +/- 4% (release, 10/23). For full question wording, click here.

Clinton Job Approval: 54%

Dem Primary: Gore 49%; Bradley 25%

GOP Primary: Bush 57%; McCain 12%; Forbes 6%

Two

-Way Matchups: Bush 49%; Gore 40% or Bush 47%; Bradley 42%
24% of

of Voters Say There Is a Chance They Would Vote For Buchanan
Confidence

in Handling Foreign Policy: Bush 68%; Gore 60%; Bradley 54%

Confidence in Handling Domestic Policy: Bush 53%; Gore 65%; Bradley 62%

More Loyal to Dem Party: Gore 42%; Bradley 13%

Bad News Bears: Gore, Bush & Bradley
A poll can be interpreted in so many ways. It seems the latest poll from Newsweek brings bad news for Al Gore, George W. Bush and Bill Bradley. New York Post's Morris reports: Bad news for Gore is the Bush/Bradley matchup shows a closer race

(47-42%) than a Bush/Gore matchup (49-40%). And, bad news for Bush because a

few months ago he held 16-24 point leads over Gore and Bradley, respectively. The

poll also brought bad news for Bradley as Gore
 "easily eclipsed Bradley"
 (49-26) in a Dem primary matchup(10/25).

Clinton Job GOP Primary Matchup

Now 8/13	6/25	5/7	George W. Bush	57%
Approve				
54%	52%	54%	53%	John McCain 12
Disapprove				
36	36	35	32	Steve Forbes 6

Pat Buchanan 4

Dem Primary Matchup

Orrin Hatch 4

N

ow 6/11 Gary Bauer 3

48% Gore 49%

-Bradley 26 26 Chance Vote Buchanan, If On

Reform Party Ticket?

Two-Way

General Matchups

All GOP Dem

All GOP Dem 6/11	Good chance	8%	10%	8%
Bush				
49%	83%	23%	54%	Some chance 16 20 14
Gore 40				
11	68	38	No chance	67 65 69

All G

OP Dem 6/11 Foreign Policy Confidence In:

Bush	47%	80%	26
% 57%	Lot Some Not/Much None		
Bradley	42	14	66
33	Gore	22%	38% 16% 18%

Bush 28 40 10 12

How Impt Are Following Issues B

radley 15 39 16 9

In WH 2000 Race?

Vry Smwt Not Domestic Policy Confidence In:

Health Care

75%	17%	7%	Lot Some Not/Much None	
-----	-----	----	------------------------	--

Education

81	14	3	Gore	25%	40%	13%	16%
----	----	---	------	-----	-----	-----	-----

Campaign Finance

Bush	31	42	8	11
------	----	----	---	----

Reform	46	30
--------	----	----

18	Bradley	19	43	12	8
----	---------	----	----	----	---

How Big Of Problem In Politic

s Today:

Major Smw

t Not

Good people being discouraged from running for
office
e by the high cost of campaigns 63% 24% 9%
Political
contributions having too much influence
on elections and gov't poli
cy 59 31 7

Do These Phrases Describe Gore?

----All---- ---Dems---

Yes No D/K Yes No D/K

Has strong leadership qualities 45% 44% 11% 64% 25% 11%
Cares about people like you 51 33 16 68 21 11
Shar
es your views on most major issues 38 44 17 57 25 18
Is hones
t and ethical 61 23 16 76 11 13
Cares about
minorities 52 23 25 62 18 20

Do These Phrase
s Describe Bradley?

----All-

--- ---Dems----

Yes No D/K

Yes No D/K
Has strong leadership qualities 48% 18% 34% 5
1% 16% 33%
Cares about people like you 48 18 34 52
16 32
Shares your views on most major issues 36 26 38 42 21
37
Is honest and ethical 54 13 33 55 13 32
Cares about minorities 46 13 41 47 14 39

(Asked of Dems) In your opinion, which Democratic presidential

candidate is more loyal to the Democratic Party and its
principles --

Al Gore or Bill Bradley?

Gore more loyal

42%

Bradley more loyal

13

E

qually loyal

34

(Asked of Dems) Bill Bradley had been criticized for deciding not to run for reelection in the U.S. Senate in 1995, when the Republicans had taken control of Congress and were pushing their agenda. Do these criticisms of Bradley make you less likely to support him for next year's Democratic presidential nomination, or do they not have much effect on your chances of supporting him?

Yes, less likely	19%
No, not much effect	72

(Asked of Dems) In 1996, Bill Bradley said publicly that "politics is broken" and that he "couldn't rule out" running as an independent candidate for president. Do these past statements by Bradley make you more likely or less likely to support him for next year's Democratic presidential nomination -- or do they not have much effect?

More likely	15%
Less likely	24
Not much effect	53

(Asked of Dems) Bill Bradley opposes the 1996 welfare reform legislation that Al Gore supports. This legislation includes limits on how long welfare recipients are eligible to receive government assistance, and a program to try to place them in

paying jobs. Does Bradley's opposition to this welfare reform legislation make you more or less likely to support him for next year's Democratic presidential nomination, or does it have not much effect either way?

More likely	20%
Less likely	38
Not much effect	

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Hotline PEOPLE

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ALEXANDER: Bet His Own Money on Campaign

Chattanooga Times and Free Press's Sher reports "How can you put a price on a man's lifelong dream? Philosophers and poets can provide endless arguments. But in the cold, unforgiving business of a 140-page financial disclosure report, there is a precise answer of sorts" for Lamar Alexander. Alexander bet \$665K of his own money on "a desperate and ultimately futile bid" for revive his pres. campaign, and "a good portion" of the \$665K went to create "a good showing" in the 8/14 Ames straw poll, where Alexander placed fifth. The FEC shows Alexander made a series of loans that began on 6/3 with \$15K, continued 8/2 with \$400K and after his campaign was over on 9/7 included another \$250K. In doing so, Alexander knowingly halted any possibility of later obtaining matching funds for his campaign. "You're only allowed to give \$50,000 to your own campaign," said FEC spokeswoman Kelly Huff. Alexander's advisor Tom Ingram thinks Alexander's expenditures were worth it: "He always knew what the odds were. If you don't dream you don't get anywhere. But he went into it with both eyes open and he'll come out of it just fine" (10/25). (Back to Contents)

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MOLINARI: Suddenly, Susan Is A PR Person

Ex-Rep. Susan Molinari (R-NY) has taken a job with the "influential" DC-based

PR firm
of Fleishman-Hillard. She will work as a senior PR consultant, Regional Pres.
Paul Johnson said 10/22. Johnson: "Her experience combines government
and the
media and she has extraordinary people skills. She's great a
ddition for us."
Fleishman-Hillard, based in St. Louis, is one of the
largest firms of its kind in the US,
with clients such as America On
line and the U.S. Mint, among others. Molinari will
continue her work
as chair of her own DC-based gov't affairs firm, where she lobbies
o
n behalf of clients such as FreddieMac and the Assoc. of American Railroads. Sh
e is
lobbying against husband Bill Paxon on the issue of whether cabl
e TV should be
permitted to provide Internet access. Previously, Moli
nari served as a news anchor for
CBS News' Saturday morning program,
but she left the network in 6/99 (AP, 10/23).
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~RAY: Hints At Not Charging Clintons

AP reports IC Robert Ray said that there are times when criminal acts
can go
without prosecution. He added that he will "consider public op
inion" as he completes
the job Ken Starr began five years ago. Althou
gh he refused to discuss details of the
investigation of the Clintons
, Ray say he'll consider "many factors" before coming to a
decision a
nd suggested some criminal acts may not be followed up with charges. Ray:

"Not all matters are brought to a prosecutor's attention with respect to f
acts gathered
that may constitute are in fact charged. There are a lo
t of factors that go into making a
charging decision." But Ray declin
ed to say if he was referring to Starr's charges that
Pres. Clinton l
ied to a federal grand jury last year. Now in charge of preparing the
final report of the Clinton probe, Ray put no timeline on the work but stated:
"[S]ooner
is always better than later." Ray will continue to investi
gate whether HRC was
involved in the firing of the WH Travel Office s
taff and if Dem fundraiser Nathan

Landow tried to influence the testimony of ex-WH volunteer Kathleen Willey. Ray also has to deal with speculation that his appointment will affect HRC's NY Senate bid. Ray was hired as a federal prosecutor in '88 by Rudy Giuliani, who was then US

Attorney (10/23).
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BUSH: Opens Private Papers to Public

Thousands of pages of George Bush's letters, diaries and other personal items have become available to journalists, scholars and other researchers. Papers released at the Bush Library in College Station, TX cover Bush's career from '43 through '79, before he served as VP and pres but including his stints as pilot, businessman, congressman, candidate, ambassador, GOP chair and CIA dir. Among the papers is Bush's "Peking Diary," which he wrote while serving as the U.S. Envoy to China in '74 and '75, according to Bush library executive dir. David Alsobrook. Alsobrook added that scholars will likely consider it a trove for the study of US foreign policy (AP/Ft. Worth Star Telegram, 10/22).

Starving Kids Prompted Somalia Invasion

Bush conceded 10/23 that he ordered American troops into Somalia in '92 after seeing "heart-rending" pictures of starving waifs on TV. But he said US leaders must be "very wary" when tempted to employ military might to ease human suffering. Bush said that he and wife Barbara watched TV at the WH and saw "those starving kids in quest for a little pitiful cup of rice." Bush, after Defense Sec. Dick Cheney and Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Colin Powell that something had to be done, settled on a contingent of 28K US forces that helped open supply lines into war-torn Somalia and especially into the capital

I, Mogadishu, "and we ended the starvation," Bush said
(Hines, Houston Chronicle, 10/23).
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SCHWARZENEGGER: Breaks Ranks With GOP Over Impeachment

New York Daily News's Rush and Malloy report Arnold Schwarzenegger is breaking ranks with fellow GOPers. He's still embarrassed by how the GOP handled Pres. Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky, which he says was nothing more than a "human failure." He tells the 11/99 issue of George magazine: "I was ashamed to call myself a Republican during that period. Instead of devoting all this energy and all these

hearings to how we're going to solve the problems of the inner cities ..
. No, it's like,

'This man has to be removed from office because he's a national threat.' Yeah, that's a good one." Yet he is not planning to switch parties "just yet." And he manages a little humor at Clinton's expense: "I have never heard anyone talk more about building a bridge to the 21st Century. And I can't find that bridge" (10/24).
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KENNEDY: Demands Woman Surrender Banana

Marathon running, which tests a person's physical, mental, and emotional endurance over a 26-mile, 385-yard course, can lead the racer to use desperate measures to complete the competition. Visual imagery at mile 20. Mental tough-talk at mile 22. Or demanding a spectator's banana at mile 24.

Hotline Deputy Managing Editor Kate Kennedy resorted to the latter 10/24 en route to completing her first-ever 26-miler, the Marine Corps Marathon, in its 24th

annual running. She ran as part of a "team in training" to raise money to fight leukemia.

Along the way, Kennedy was afflicted with many typical marathoner's travails: aching arches as the miles piled up, reduced mental acuity as muscle glycogen depletion began to affect the brain, and abject hunger as those same muscle stores were emptied of their fuel for the physical punishment to which she subjected her body.

By mile 24, as the course wound its way over the 14th Street Bridge, snaked

around the Pentagon, and headed toward the Iwo Jima Memorial finish line, the

runners were no longer smiling or lifting their knees with each step. They were loping along in a trance-like state, each tormented by their own private share of the collective hell they were enduring.

Many were consumed with aches, pains, soreness or shin splints. Others were just plain exhausted. Kennedy was ravenously hungry.

To torn between the desire to finish and the intense hunger pangs that threatened to

reduce her to one of the walkers shuffling on either side of the course, Kennedy spied

a spectator peeling a banana beside the red "Mile 24" placard in the Pentagon parking lot. Though the spectator was a good 20 feet in front of her, Kennedy managed to summon up enough strength to voice a thinly veiled command in the form of a question:

"Banana?" Kennedy asked, jogging up to the woman, who was about to pop a

piece of the luscious yellow fruit into her mouth. "May I have some banana?"

The woman, dressed in a sweater and jeans that immediately revealed her civilian

status, knew instantly that she needed the precious carbohydrate-laden banana much less than the perspiring, quivering runner before her. "Sure," she replied meekly, breaking off a piece and surrendering it.

Kennedy gulped it down, as if chewing it was an unnecessary nuisance that would deplete her last reserves of strength.

"Do you want the whole thing?" the woman asked nervously, as though stricken with guilt that she could possibly deny this

needy runner a last burst of fuel.

"Thanks," Kennedy said, taking the rest of the banana and inhaling it. And with that, the random act of kindness from a stranger, Kennedy was able to muster a final

burst of energy that propelled her up Route 110 in Arlington toward the finish line,

where she finished in 5 hours, 10 minutes (Hotline run-along, 10/24).

Kennedy this a.m. in a phone interview, as she enjoyed well-deserved bedrest

during a sick day: "I feel like a Mac truck ran over my legs." More Kennedy: "I can't wait until next year" (phone call, 10/25).

The Brand That Fits

Meanwhile, "Hardball" production coordinator Rani Brand ran her third and fastest marathon in 04:34:29.

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EXTREME MORTMAN: Photo Essay From NH GOP Debate

Wonder what it looks like behind the scenes at one of those New Hampshire

presidential primary debates? Here are some digital pictures taken Friday night at the

University of New Hampshire, site of the first NH GOP debate.

The press corps watches from a separate room for quick electronic filing. Click here .

The big screen set up for the media.

What does the dapper Terry Neal of The Washington Post do before a debate?

He grabs a sub sandwich from the food table put out for the media. Click "Yummy" for action dig

ital pic of a hungry Terry Neal.

Post-debate spin alley:

Click here for Orrin Hatch Click here for Gary Bauer Click here for Steve

ForbesClick here for John McCain

Wanna see Stev

e Forbes and John McCain shake hands after the debate, with the media watching? Then click here.

One sign says it all: Is Steve Forbes next on stage at the NH Improv, or is it just his flat tax plan that draws laughs? Either way, it's a two drink minimum for students!

Click here.

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ROSTENKOWSKI: Oh, The Golden Puff Pastry!

Chicken and artichoke wrapped in golden puff pastry. Melon balls surrounded by prosciutto. Steak on a stick marinated with a dapple of soy and sake. Flaky pastry cups brimming with shrimp. We gathered at the Cannon Caucus Room to toast Rich Cohen and the subject of his new biography, former Ways and Means power broker Dan Rostenkowski. Ways and Meaners flocked to celebrate Rosty's return to DC. Among those spotted were ranking minority member Charlie Rangel, Rep. John Tanner and Rep. Henry Waxman. Representatives of the fourth estate included Atlantic Monthly/NJ editor Michael Kelly, Almanac of American Politics guru Michael Barone, Reliable Sourcer Beth Berselli and even a brief guest appearance by Post political writer Juliet Eilperin (Hotline special culinary correspondent Chris Cillizza, e-mail, 10/25).

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POLICE LOG: Candidate Explains His 26 Arrests

In a check of Richmond County, GA, State Court and Superior Court records, the Augusta Chronicle found misdemeanor criminal offenses for five of the 10 candidates in contested races for Augusta, GA Commission. The Chronicle's records search covered the '90s only. Those who had trou

ble with the law are District 2
hopeful James Payne, whose record includes DUI, disturbing the peace, failure to appear in Recorders' Court and simple battery, and fellow District 2 candidate Marion Williams, charged with simple battery and criminal trespass in '92, charges he says stemmed from his '91 divorce. Also listed were District 4 hopeful King

Singleton, charged in '95 with pointing a gun at another person but later dismissed.

But District 4 candidate/businessman Brian Wilson has the most extensive criminal record of the group, with 26 arrests, including two DUIs and four simple batteries.

Finally, there's District 6 hopeful Hobson Chavous, arrested in 5/97 on charges of DUI and running a stop sign. (Cooper, Augusta Chronicle, 10/24).

PA Judge Accused Of Shooting Heroin In Chambers
AP's Hays reports District Justice Gigi Sullivan, facing re-election next month, was accused of shooting heroin in her chambers and dismissing charges against her dealer in exchange for drugs, a prosecutor said. Sullivan was stripped of her duties after the charges were made public 10/22. She faces arraignment 10/25 and will remain on the 11/2 ballot "for now," according to her attorney. Patrick Thomassey. PA
AG Mike Fisher said Sullivan shot heroin, snorted cocaine and misused prescription drugs prior to presiding over cases. Sullivan stands accused of accepting drugs in exchange for dismissing charges against her supplier, Donald Geraci, a used car dealer and restaurateur, and other dealers in a drug ring he led. Other charges Sullivan faces are kiting a \$2K check, accepting bribes and burglarizing Geraci's used car lot (10/23).
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Rep. Henry Bonilla's (R-TX) press sec., Susan Phalen, has left the office for Austin, where she will be joining the Bush campaign to focus on radio (e-mail, 10/22).

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BACK BENCH: Councilman Under Fire For Nickname

ame

A white local PA Dem leader is under fire for using the word "nigger" as a nickname, but he insists he's used the name since childhood. Click News-Bazaar for the story.

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MEDIA MONITOR

This Morning

"Today" hosted Newsweek's Jonathan Alter. "GMA" hosted Advertising Age's Bob Garfield. "CBS This Morning" hosted MA AG Tom Reilly (D). "Washington Journal" hosted Weekly Standard's Robert Kagan and Harpers' John MacArthur.

FNC is Hume Sweet Hume

USA Today's Johnson reports that FOX News Channel's Brit Hume has signed up to remain at the "Special Report" anchor desk for at least three more years. Says

Hume of his FNC stint: "I don't have to do politics for people who don't like politics, which is what the major networks do. ... I get much more

re feedback and mail here than

I ever got as [ABC's] White House correspondent." Hume compares cable competitor CNN with a slow-changing ocean liner -- "hard to turn around" -- and says "Time and Again"-heavy MSNBC "really isn't a hard-news channel" and "seems to be giving up."

MSNBC spokesperson Cory Shields defends MSNBC and CNN by citing both as networks "of record" for breaking news coverage. Shields adds:

"Incidentally, we don't think right-wing talk constitutes newsgathering" (USA Today, Johnson, 10/25).

By The Numbers ...

Miss "60 Minutes" profile package/interview of Bill Bradley last night? Here's the box score:

Length: 13 min., 56 seconds.

Total time of Bill Bradley's combined camera close-ups: 4 min., 21 seconds.

Total time of wife Ernestine Schlant's combined camera close-ups: 33 seconds.

Number of Ed Bradley-Bill Bradley interviews aired in this piece: 3.

Minutes of footage of Bradley playing basketball aired: 44.

Number of times the words "basketball" or "Knicks" is mentioned: 7.

Number of times the words "Gore" or "Vice-President" is mentioned: 14.

Message -- Stop "Bitching" George Bush, on the public's perception of him as president: "I wasn't a good president in terms of mobilizing the American people to understand how important a person's faith is. ... I didn't come across as a guy possessed with a sense of h

umor. It
is my own fault. I'm not blaming the media or something. It
was just that I was more
introverted. I kept things that were really
close to me right inside. ... In our family, we
have two sons in publ
ic life -- leave out the politics -- both of them can interact with
p
eople better than I did." More Bush, on politics: "I don't have any sympathy fo
r
saying ... 'All the kids, all the young people I know are turned of
f by politics.' Well,
damn it, go look around the world and stop sitt
ing in front of your television set
bitching ... and do something abo
ut it" ("FOX News Sunday," FNC, 10/22).

A True Fall Classic

This week's SNL opened with a parody speech from NYC Mayor Rudy
Giuliani: "As you know, our beloved Yankees just took the first game of
the World
Series by the score of four to one. Now, we'd hoped for a s
ubway series.
Unfortunately that was not to be, but we should still b
e proud of our Mets who never
gave up. But before tonight's game I re
ceived a phone call from the mayor of Atlanta,
Bill Campbell. And he
proposed a little wager on the World Series. He said he would
send me
a bushel of [Georgia] peaches if the Yankees won, and if the Braves won, I
had to send him a box of New York strip steaks. Well, I laughed in his f
ace. I said,
'Listen up, you thistle-chewing hay seed. Bettin' for pe
aches might fly with the rubes in
your hillbilly state, but not with
the mayor of New York City.' And he asked me what I
wanted to bet and
I said, 'I know my Yankees are going to win. I got \$250,000 to
back
it up.' That's right. A cool, quarter of a million dollars. And he claimed he d
idn't
have that kind of money. I didn't call him a liar. I just said,
'Fine, huckleberry. Let's not
bet money. If the braves win, I send y
ou a painting of the Virgin Mary smeared with
fecal matter. If the Ya
nkees win, I want 50 of your most inbred, red-neck Georgia
state troo

pers to come up here and crack skulls on street vendors and cabbies.' Once

again, he said no. You know why? ... Because he knows the Braves suck. They suck

hard. They suck with commitment. They suck completely. And finally I said, 'Okay,

Mayor of Hee-Haw Land. The Yankees win, we get the severed head of John Rocker

on a stick. If the Braves win, I'll dress up like Scarlett O'Hara and you can romance me with a plunger.' That's

when he hung up. 'Cuz he's terrified of our Yankees. I want all

of you people to remember how much I believe in the Yankees next year when

you're voting for the Senate, 'cuz you can bet your sweet ass Hillary doesn't care

about the Yankees. And we don't need someone clogging up Congress with bills

about poor people. We need a Yankee fan!" ("Saturday Night Live," NBC, 10/23).

Laugh Track

Jay Leno

o: "Elizabeth Dole dropped out of the Republican race. So that leaves

only seven Republican challengers. You've got four no-names, one spoiled rich kid, a

Nazi and a cokehead. You think Elizabeth Dole would have been a good president? I

think so. She's tough. This is a woman who has seen Bob Dole naked, alright? ... I

guess Hillary Clinton's people are very upset because of a new Pizza Hut commercial

that's going to run during the World Series. It makes fun of her Senate campaign. But

Pizza Hut said ... they're just trying to help Hillary. They figure, maybe if her husband

saw her holding a pizza, maybe he might pay more attention to her. Speaking of pizza,

Monica Lewinsky, according to the latest reports, she's lost 30 pounds. Which proves

she can keep her mouth shut when she wants to." More Leno: "The army of Uganda

has detained a pygmy king who they suspect is starting a revolution there. ... That's

where Ross Perot's been! ... Scientists from the University of California at Santa

Barbara digging in Madagascar have uncovered the remains of the oldest dinosaur

ever unearthed. They say it is 227 million years old. How can they know that? ... We don't even know how old Joan Collins is ("Tonight Show," NBC, 10/22). Conan O'Brien: "I wanted to talk about President Clinton, because he's been saying some really weird things lately. He was giving a speech, I think it was just the other day, and he said something really strange that I think bears repeating. ...

President Clinton said that recently at the White House, a Secret Service agent pointed a gun at him because he thought the President was an intruder. ... The agent said he didn't think that it was the President because the man was spotted near the First Lady's bedroom. ... Tom Brokaw is in the news. ... Tom Brokaw announced that he's selling his home in the country. Apparently he's really desperate to sell, because that was the lead story on last night's evening news" ("Late Night," NBC, 10/22).

Colin Quinn: "Citing fundraising difficulties. Elizabeth Dole officially ended her bid for the presidency on Wednesday. Quoting Teddy Roosevelt, Dole said, 'It is far better to dare mighty things than to live in the great twilight that knows not victory or defeat.' And then she quit. I don't think she really understands what Roosevelt was

trying to talk about. After her announcement, Bob Dole turned to his wife and

remarked, 'I knew Teddy Roosevelt. I worked with Teddy Roosevelt. And you are no

Teddy Roosevelt.' Following her withdrawal, Dole will return to a quiet life outside politics at home with her husband, where the only daily speeches she'll be making will be, 'Get that

thing away from me.' ... At a movie premiere this week, Monica Lewin

sky revealed a new slimmer self to the paparazzi. She claims to have lost 30

pounds since last summer and to have gained some much-needed confidence. 'After

all,' remarked Lewinsky, 'When I was heavier, the only man I could get was the leader

of the free world.'" More Quinn: "This week, Larry King announced that his 39-year-old wife is pregnant again, prompting King to boast that he's quote, reinventing manhood. When rea

ched for comment, King's wife said, 'Just get him off me, OK?' ...

A
poll released this week by the Pew Research Center said that Vice-President Al
Gore actually does well with women voters, in part because women aren
't as

concerned with a candidate's personality. Of course. Women alwa
ys feel comfortable
with a harmless, quiet guy who hangs out with the
creep who's nailing all their friends.

... At a party fundraiser las
t week, President Clinton said that he wished he could run
for presid
ent again. When he was then asked what he would miss most about the
p
residency, Clinton said, 'You know what'" ("Saturday Night Live," NBC, 10/23).

TOP TEN LEAST POPULAR U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT COVERS

submitted by Hotline rural staffer Matt Reed

10. ~~Inve~~
sting Online: Should You Use A Computer?
9. ~~Ritalin And Your Spo~~
- use
8. Top Fifty Formulas For Determining College Rankings
7. E-Commerce: Should You Use A Modem?
6. ~~Latin Pop St~~
ars (Whoops, that's from the Time list)
5. Prozac And Your Pet
4. ~~HMOs: How Did Helen Hunt Win An Oscar?~~
3. ~~Brian~~
Lamb, Man of the Year
2. The War On Drugs: We Evaluate The Pres
- idential
- Contenders
1. Summer Fiction

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Today In===== END ATTACHMENT I =====

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: msberman@ibm.net ( msberman@ibm.net [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-NOV-1999 08:19:41.00

SUBJECT: [Fwd: FW: Southern Voice: Why we asked and why she should tell]

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

TEXT:

Received: from mail.hrc.org [151.200.175.3] by in2.prserv.net id  
941668393.42380-1 ; Wed, 03 Nov 1999 22:33:13 +0000  
Received: by mail.hrc.org with Internet Mail Service (5.5.2650.21) id  
<WFZDMXXR>; Wed, 3 Nov 1999 17:38:38 -0500  
Date: Wed, 3 Nov 1999 17:38:37 -0500  
From: Winnie Stachelberg <Winnie.Stachelberg@hrc.org>  
Subject: FW: Southern Voice: Why we asked and why she should tell  
To: "bwiteck@witeckcombs.com (E-mail)" <bwiteck@witeckcombs.com>,  
"djhattaway@aol.com (E-mail)" <djhattaway@aol.com>, "dzingale@aidSACTION.  
org (E-mail)" <dzingale@aidSACTION.org>, "Elizabeth\_J.\_Potter@ovp.eop.  
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(E-mail)" <jclark1939@aol.com>, "jodee\_winterhof@harkin.senate.gov  
(E-mail)" <jodee\_winterhof@harkin.senate.gov>, "jtrammel@hillandknowlton.  
com (E-mail)" <jtrammel@hillandknowlton.com>, "yandura@aol.com (E-mail)"  
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Content-type: text/plain; charset=iso-8859-1  
Content-transfer-encoding: 7BIT  
X-Mozilla-Status2: 00000000  
wanted to make sure you all saw this. I have sent it on to Donna.

-----Original Message-----

From: LGBT Activists List [mailto:Doug.Case@sdsu.edu]  
Sent: Wednesday, November 03, 1999 5:16 PM  
To: queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu  
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.

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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."

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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.

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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.

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=====

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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The item above is being distributed as a free, non-profit informational service to a limited number of individuals who have expressed interest in this topic for educational and research purposes only. Please do not redistribute or post copyrighted material anyplace on the Internet accessible to the public without attribution and permission from the author. Please note that distribution of this item does not necessarily constitute endorsement of the content; in fact, often items are distributed as "opposition research."

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-NOV-1999 16:39:26.00

SUBJECT: Don't Ask/Don't Tell

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Did you ever hear back from Sandy on your memo? I'd like to keep the dialogue with DOD going.

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- att1.htm===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

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<TITLE>FW: NC11337: Southern Voice lays into Brazile in an editorial </TITLE>

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<BODY>

<BR>

**have you seen any of this?**

<BR><FONT SIZE=2>-----Original Message-----</FONT>

<BR><FONT SIZE=2>From: Rex Wockner [<A HREF="mailto:rwockner@netcom.com">mailto:rwockner@netcom.com</A>] </FONT>

<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Sent: Wednesday, November 03, 1999 10:44 PM</FONT>

<BR><FONT-SIZE=2>To: Rex Wockner</FONT>

**Subject: NC11337: Southern Voice lays into Brazil in an editorial**

<BR>

[illegible]

**Do not publish this item in any form without permission from the**

**originating media operation. Do not post this item in any online**

<BR><FONT SIZE=2>forum. This is a small, free mailing list open only to my friends.</FONT>

[illegible]

</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Southern Voice - November 4, 1999 - Page 14</FONT>

<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Atlanta, Georgia</FONT>  
</P>

**EDITORIAL**

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<BR><FONT SIZE=2>the two candidates in New Hampshire last week. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>"If a gay American can be a bricklayer, a doctor, an athlete, a lawyer, a</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>painter, why can't a gay American be a sergeant and a lieutenant colonel?"</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Bradley asked. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>It's worth noting that Bradley was advocating repeal of another

"Don't</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Ask, Don't Tell" rule, this one for the military. Brazile  
's candidate, in</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>an ironically George W. Bush-esque turn of phrase, has argued  
for more</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>"compassionate enforcement" of DADT. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Keep in mind that repealing the media's "Don't Ask, Don't  
Tell"-rule</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>doesn't mean that public figures now have a duty to state, on  
the record,</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>whether or not they're gay. But changing the rules would be a  
healthy sign</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>that the time has come to at least feel comfortable asking the  
question. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Asking the question, after all, isn't the same as "outing&  
quot; the person</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>asked. Control of the issue remains in the hands of the public  
figure, who</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>can choose either to answer the question by identifying a sexu  
al</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>orientation, or by declining comment. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>And whatever the answer, it ought to be reported as fact, with  
conclusions</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>left as they should be to the reader or viewer. That's exactly  
what this</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>newspaper did in its cover story last week on Brazile's appoin  
tment. We</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>asked; she deflected; and we told--not her sexual orientation,  
mind you,</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>but her answer to the question. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Brazile acknowledged the question was a "fair one" bu  
t said she wasn't the</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>candidate and would prefer to discuss Al Gore's commitment to  
gay and</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>lesbian rights. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Fair enough, if somewhat ironic. Three presidential elections a  
go, Brazile</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>got herself fired from Michael Dukakis' presidential campaign  
staff for</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>asking the press to look into whether George Bush (Sr.) was sl  
eeping with</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>someone other than his wife. She clearly regrets being fired,  
but she</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>hasn't gone on record about whether she was wrong to ask the p

ress to ask. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Of course, reporting a public figure's sexual orientation isn't nearly so</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>personal as reporting with whom they sleep. We already know th  
e sexual</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>orientation of almost every public figure on the scene today.  
The question</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>is an especially fair one to put to Brazile. She has spent a g  
oodly</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>portion of her professional life fighting for gay rights. Sure  
ly she</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>doesn't view sexual orientation a "dirty little secret&qu  
ot; not to be broached</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>in conversation. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Neither should the Human Rights Campaign, the gay political gro  
up that</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>organizes "National Coming Out Day" every year and y  
et has insisted "it</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>isn't news" that a lesbian may have been appointed campai  
gn manager for a</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>sitting vice president and leading presidential candidate. (HR  
C</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Communications Director David Smith even went so far as to say  
; "We have</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>no information about Donna Brazile's sexual orientation."  
As a statement</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>on behalf of HRC, it's false; if not an intentional lie.)</FON  
T>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>The fact that Brazile's not the candidate isn't enough, either,  
to justify</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>not asking. She's managing the campaign of one of two men most  
likely to</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>be leader of the free world in 2001. Campaign managers have un  
ique</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>influence over the candidates, helping to mold their policy po  
sitions, and</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>the often find themselves appointed to high political office a  
fter</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>election day. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>How ironic, then, that one of Brazile's first decisions as camp  
aign</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>manager appears to have been to excise her own gay rights back  
ground from</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>the press release on her appointment. Is this her idea of &quo  
t;compassionate</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>enforcement" of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"? </FONT>

>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>Even for truly private citizens, the "Don't Ask" rule doesn't make much</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>sense. Soft feature stories often tell us a little about their subjects,</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>and reporters ought to at least ask about sexual orientation, even if it</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>comes in the form of a gender-free inquiry into the existence of a</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>significant other. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>The decision to "tell" the private citizen's answer s hould, like most</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>information gleaned from their lives, rest much more on the in dividual's</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>comfort zone. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>But it shouldn't depend on the reporter's comfort zone, or own</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>internalized homophobia. </FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>The time has come, at the end of this century, to declare an of ficial end</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>to the days of nudge-nudge, wink-wink. Open the closet doors o r not, but</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>expect to be asked the question. </FONT>  
</P>

</BODY>  
</HTML>

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-NOV-1999 12:11:28.00

SUBJECT: Sullivan Op-Ed on Gays in the Military report by pentagon

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

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP on 11/16/99  
12:11 PM -----

~~Todd A. Summers @ EOP~~  
~~04/09/98-08:55:00 AM~~

Record Type:-Record

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

cc:

Subject: Sullivan Op-Ed on Gays in the Military report by pentagon

Relates to the discussion we had in our senior glbt appointees meeting.  
Not very flattering.

-----  
April 9, 1998

Undone by 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell'

By ANDREW SULLIVAN

WASHINGTON -- "I think it's working," said Defense Secretary William Cohen, referring to the Pentagon's "don't ask, don't tell" policy for gay members of the armed services. He said this while announcing that discharges of homosexuals have increased by 67 percent since 1994. When you factor in the military's downsizing, the real figure is closer to 80 percent. If this is Mr. Cohen's definition of success, one wonders what failure would look like.

The real picture is actually grimmer. Although "don't ask, don't tell" forbids military commanders from pursuing investigations of suspected homosexual conduct without compelling evidence, violations of the policy not to ask, pursue or harass homosexuals have soared, according to the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, the only watchdog group tracking discharge cases under this policy.

The organization has documented 563 violations by military authorities of "don't ask, don't tell" in 1997, a jump from 443 violations in 1996.

Reported cases of physical and verbal harassment of gay service members rose 38 percent from 1996 to 1997; cases in which military authorities illegally "asked" troops if they were gay increased 39 percent.

Until August of last year, the military was still even using enlistment forms that directly asked about a person's sexual orientation. In its

report, the Pentagon said the original form was preserved for four years "as a cost savings measure."

Witch hunts have continued. In 1996, an airman convicted of forcible sodomy at Hickam Air Force Base had a life sentence reduced to 20 months in return for outing 17 other allegedly gay servicemen. All the accused air force men were discharged; the rapist served less than a year.

Secretary Cohen's improbable defense is that the vast majority of discharges were voluntary. The proof? None in the Pentagon report, except for this: "The Services believe that most of the [cases involving a disclosure of homosexuality] -- although not all of them -- involve service members who voluntarily elected to disclose their sexual orientation to their peers, supervisors or commanders."

That's what it comes down to: "the Services believe . . ." The report later concedes that "because extensive inquiries or investigations are not conducted in most of these cases, the reasons for [the increase in numbers] are not known and would be difficult to ascertain." Compare this with the documentation of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network.

The Pentagon further claimed that 80 percent of discharges were "statement" cases, implying that individuals were discharged after spontaneously declaring their orientation to their superiors. But that is misleading at best. All that a "statement" case means is that the grounds for discharge arose from what a service member allegedly said, and not what he or she did.

Such "statements" can include private confessions to therapists, friends, peers or family members that were subsequently reported to military authorities.

I asked Michelle Benecke, co-director of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, how many of the 1,300 people her group has helped in the last four years have truly voluntarily disclosed their orientation. "None that I've come across," she said.

To its credit, the Pentagon does admit in its report that it has a problem. While insisting that the policy is "generally being implemented properly," the military concedes that it has not been vigilant enough in policing anti-gay harassment. As it now stands, someone attacked for being gay cannot report the abuse without risking discharge as a result.

The report also acknowledges that some women have been intimidated into not reporting sexual harassment, because they are sometimes accused of being lesbians if they reject male advances. More needs to be done to inform commanders of the regulations, the report adds.

These admissions would be more encouraging if the record was not so damning. Last year, despite the 563 reported violations of "don't ask, don't tell," not a single military commander was disciplined for misconduct.

It's now clear that the policy has not simply failed. It is far worse than what went on before. Gay service members are now allowed into the military, only to face a series of tripwires intended to flush them out. They have become, in effect, the unintended bait of rogue military commanders. Other, more decent officers (and there are many) simply do not know the rules, since the Pentagon has done a poor job of telling them.

What to do about this? The Pentagon has embraced a mix of spin, denial and confession. The President has other options. Last year, he denounced employment discrimination against homosexuals. But as Commander in Chief, Bill Clinton has now fired more homosexuals than any other employer in America. Is it too much to ask that this President finally live up to his

own words? Or with this President, is that now utterly beside the point?  
Andrew Sullivan, a senior editor at The New Republic, is the author of the  
forthcoming ``Love Undetectable."

Message Sent

To: \_\_\_\_\_

Virginia Apuzzo/WHO/EOP@EOP

Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP@EOP

~~Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP@EOP~~

Philip G Dufour/OVP@OVP

Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP@OVP

Daniel C. Montoya/OPD/EOP@EOP

Miguel M. Bustos/OVP@OVP

Daniel W. Burkhardt/WHO/EOP@EOP

Steven W. Adamske/OVP@OVP

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP on 11/16/99  
12:11 PM -----

~~Richard Socarides @ EOP~~ 10/29/98 11:44:58 AM

~~Record Type:~~ Record

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

cc:

Subject: ~~Updated Gay and Lesbian Accomplishments Document~~

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 10/29/98  
11:46 AM -----

Robin J. Bachman  
10/29/98 11:32:49 AM

Record Type: Record

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

cc: Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP, Todd A. Summers/OPD/EOP, Glen M.  
Weiner/WHO/EOP, Rajiv Y. Mody/WHO/EOP

Subject: Updated Gay and Lesbian Accomplishments Document

Richard Socarides and I have updated the Gay and Lesbian Americans  
Accomplishments document. Among its updates, it reflects a greater  
emphasis on our efforts to pass hate crimes legislation.

The document has been reviewed and received signed-off.

Please share with your colleagues and any other interested party.

THANKS TO EVERYONE WHO ASSISTED IN THIS EFFORT.

Robin  
66237

Message Sent

To:

---

Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP  
Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP  
Robert B. Johnson/WHO/EOP  
Jena V. Roscoe/WHO/EOP  
Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP  
Barbara A. Barclay/WHO/EOP  
Eli G. Attie/OVP @ OVP  
Alejandro G. Cabrera/OVP @ OVP  
Beverly J. Barnes/WHO/EOP  
Christopher J. Lavery/WHO/EOP  
Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP  
Chandler G. Spaulding/WHO/EOP  
Joseph C. Fanaroff/WHO/EOP  
Stacie Spector/WHO/EOP  
Thomas D. Janenda/WHO/EOP  
Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP  
Brenda B. Costello/WHO/EOP  
Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP  
Jonathan Orszag/OPD/EOP  
Brian A. Barreto/OPD/EOP  
Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP  
Paul A. Tuchmann/OVP @ OVP  
Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP

Message Sent

To:

---

Virginia Apuzzo/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP@EOP  
John Dankowski/WHO/EOP@EOP  
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Paul\_Yandura@hud.gov  
Stephen K. Horn/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Leslie Bernstein/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Joseph E. Voeller/WHO/EOP@EOP

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

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

TEXT:

Unable to convert ARMS\_EXT:[ATTACH.D44]ARMS22123692M.336 to ASCII,  
The following is a HEX DUMP:

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

## **THE CLINTON-GORE ADMINISTRATION**

### **A RECORD OF PROGRESS FOR GAY AND LESBIAN AMERICANS**

“[W]e have to make sure that for every single person in our country -- all Americans means all Americans.”

-- President Clinton, November 8, 1997

“It is time for all Americans to recognize that the issues that face gays and lesbians in this country are not narrow, special interests -- they are matters of basic human and civil rights.”

--Vice

President Gore, September 15, 1997

#### **Working for Basic Fairness and Against Hate**

**Fighting For Hate Crimes Legislation.** Last year, the President announced his sponsorship of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act during the historic White House Conference on Hate Crimes. This crucial legislation would strengthen and expand the ability of the Justice Department to prosecute hate crimes by removing needless jurisdictional requirements for existing crimes. And it would give Federal prosecutors the power to prosecute hate crimes committed because of the victim's sexual orientation, gender or disability.

The President and Vice President continue to push Congress to pass this important legislation and to speak out against hate. As the Vice President said on September 19, 1998: “If we allow even a small number of Americans to harbor and act upon malice and intolerance, we all feel the bitter sting of injustice. Let us send a clear message to those would commit crimes of hate: it is wrong, it is illegal, and we will punish you with the full force of our laws... Crimes of hate against all people -- including gays and lesbians --should carry a punishment that is swift and severe.”

Additionally, as part of the 1994 Crime Act, President Clinton signed the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act, providing for longer sentences where the offense is determined to be a hate crime based on sexual orientation.

**Ending Discrimination Against Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Civilian Workforce.** President Clinton issued an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation in the Federal civilian workforce. This makes the Federal Government the largest employer in the world (1.8 million civilian employees) with a non-discrimination policy covering sexual orientation. And the President, working with a bipartisan coalition in the House of Representatives, successfully defeated an attempt to overturn this policy. The President also issued an Executive Order mandating that security clearances no longer be denied based on sexual orientation.

**Endorsing Legislation that Outlaws Discrimination in the Workplace.** President Clinton and Vice President Gore endorsed and are fighting for passage of the Employment Non Discrimination Act, a bill outlawing discrimination in hiring, firing and promotions based on sexual orientation. This makes them the first U.S. President and Vice President ever to back civil rights legislation for gays and lesbians. The legislation would ban discrimination based on sexual orientation in the workplace, extending basic employment protections to gay and lesbian Americans.

**Standing Up for Basic Fairness.** President Clinton blocked Republican efforts to pass legislation prohibiting unmarried couples from jointly adopting children in the District of Columbia and legislation which would have denied certain Federal funds to localities with domestic partnership laws.

**Working to Stop Discrimination Against People With AIDS.** President Clinton directed the Justice Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to vigorously prosecute those who discriminate against people with AIDS, leading to actions against health care providers and facilities that violate the Americans with Disabilities Act.

**Opposing Anti-Gay Ballot Initiatives.** President Clinton strongly opposed anti-gay ballot initiatives in Colorado and Oregon. His two nominees to the Supreme Court voted to overturn Colorado's Amendment 2, declaring such initiatives unconstitutional violations of the Equal Protection clause of the Constitution.

**Fighting Discrimination Against People with AIDS in the Military.** President Clinton successfully fought for the repeal of the Dornan amendment, which required the expulsion of all HIV-positive military service members regardless of their ability to do their jobs. Prior to its repeal, President Clinton took the highly unusual step of unilaterally declaring the law unconstitutional and instructing the Department of Justice not to defend it in court, becoming the first president since Franklin Roosevelt to take such action.

**Helping Those Fleeing Persecution Because of Their Sexual Orientation.** President Clinton's Administration is the first ever to grant asylum for gays and lesbians facing persecution in other countries. The President sent gay human rights activist Keith Boykin to Zimbabwe as part of an official United States delegation. Mr. Boykin investigated human rights abuses of gays and lesbians there.

**Banning Insurance Discrimination.** President Clinton fought for and signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, which bans insurance discrimination against people with pre-existing medical conditions including HIV/AIDS. In addition, President Clinton issued a directive that ensures that all providers of Federal health insurance abide by non-discrimination rules including sexual orientation.

**Fighting Harassment of Students Based on Sexual Orientation.** President Clinton's

Department of Education has issued landmark guidance that explains Federal standards against sexual harassment and that prohibits sexual harassment of all students regardless of their sexual orientation.

### **An Administration that Includes All Americans**

**President Clinton Has Created an Administration That Is Highly Talented and the Most Inclusive Administration in History.** President Clinton is the first President to appoint an openly gay or lesbian person to an Administration post. The President has appointed more than 150 openly gay and lesbian appointees, including:

- Virginia Apuzzo, Assistant to the President for Management and Administration, the highest ranking openly gay or lesbian person ever to serve in the Federal Government and the first openly gay or lesbian Assistant to the President;
- Director of the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office Bruce Lehman, the first openly gay man to be confirmed by the U.S. Senate;
- Fred Hochberg, Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the first openly gay person to be appointed Deputy in a U.S. cabinet-level agency;
- Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Roberta Achtenberg, who served in this position from 1993 to 1995;
- Gail Shibley, the Director of External Communications for the Federal Highway Administration;
- The President has also nominated, and continues to fight for, James Hormel to be U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg -- if confirmed he would be the first-ever openly gay United States ambassador.

**Reaching Out to All Communities.** This Administration is committed to a policy of inclusion. President Clinton named the first Presidential Liaison to the gay and lesbian community, Marsha Scott. Later, he named the first openly gay senior policy adviser on civil rights issues, Richard Socarides. President Clinton became the first sitting president to speak before a gay and lesbian organization on November 8, 1997, when he delivered the keynote address to the Human Rights Campaign National Dinner. In September 1997, the Vice President addressed the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the first Vice President to speak at a gay rights event. This year, the Vice President spoke before the Human Rights Campaign in Washington, D.C., and the Empire State Pride Agenda in New York City. Both the President and the Vice President regularly meet with gay and lesbian leaders.

### **Improving Health Care Quality and Increasing Access**

*Providing National Leadership.* President Clinton has worked hard to

*invigorate the response to HIV and AIDS, providing new national leadership, substantially greater resources and a closer working relationship with affected communities. Funding for AIDS research has increased by over 65 percent, and funding for HIV prevention has increased 34 percent. Funding for the Ryan White CARE Act has increased by over 240 percent. Although much work remains to find a cure, progress has been made. In 1996, the first time in the history of the AIDS epidemic, the number of Americans diagnosed with AIDS declined. And between 1996 and 1997, HIV/AIDS mortality declined 47 percent, falling from the leading cause of death among 25-44 year olds in 1995 to the fifth leading cause of death in that age group. There has been a decline in the number of AIDS cases overall and a sharp decline in new AIDS cases in infants and children.*

**Protecting Medicaid and Social Security Coverage.** The President fought for and won the preservation of the Medicaid guarantee of coverage which serves more than 50 percent of people living with AIDS -- *and 92% of children with AIDS* -- who rely on Medicaid for health coverage. *He also revised eligibility rules for Social Security Disability Insurance to increase the number of HIV+ persons who qualify for benefits.*

**Focusing National Efforts on an AIDS Vaccine.** *On May 18, 1997, the President challenged the nation to develop an AIDS vaccine within the next ten years.*

*He announced a number of initiatives to help fulfill this goal, including: dedicating an AIDS vaccine research center at the National Institutes of Health and encouraging domestic and international collaboration among governments, medical communities and service organizations.*

**Dramatically Increasing Overall AIDS Funding.** The Clinton Administration has responded aggressively to the significant threat posed by HIV/AIDS with increased attention to research, prevention and treatment. President Clinton increased public health spending for major HIV/AIDS programs by over 100 percent, funding for the Ryan White CARE programs has increased 241 percent and support for AIDS-related research has increased by over 65 percent.

**Increasing AIDS Drug Assistance and Accelerating AIDS Drug Approvals.** Funding for AIDS drug assistance has increased from \$52 million per year to \$385 million per year during the Clinton Administration. This program provides new life-prolonging drugs to people with HIV and AIDS. In addition, President Clinton convened the National Task Force on AIDS Drug Development, and removed dozens of bureaucratic obstacles to the effective and decent

treatment of people with AIDS. Since 1993, the Food and Drug Administration has approved dozens of new AIDS drugs, new drugs for AIDS-related conditions and new diagnostic tests.

**Historic \$156 Million Effort to Address HIV/AIDS in Communities of Color.** African Americans make up the fastest growing portion of the HIV/AIDS caseload. As part of the FY99 budget, the Clinton Administration fought for a comprehensive new initiative that invests an unprecedented \$156 million to improve the nation's effectiveness in preventing and treating HIV/AIDS in the African American, Hispanic and other minority communities.

**Making Research a Priority.** In one of his first acts in office, President Clinton signed the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act of 1993, placing full responsibility for planning, budgeting and evaluation of the AIDS research program at NIH in the Office of AIDS Research. The Administration has increased NIH AIDS research funds by 67% in five years.

**Promoting Lesbian Health Issues.** Under President Clinton's leadership, the National Institutes of Health and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have commissioned scientific panels to study lesbian health issues and to suggest research methods for scientists who want to study specific lesbian health issues. This is the first time a U.S. Government agency has commissioned an examination into this subject.

**Focusing on Prevention: Supporting the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.** The Administration has increased funds for HIV prevention at the CDC by 34% in five years. Under the leadership of the Clinton Administration, the CDC reorganized its AIDS prevention efforts to foster greater overall coordination and enhance efforts to reduce sexually transmitted diseases and tuberculosis.

**Educating Young People about the Dangers of AIDS.** The Clinton Administration launched the Prevention Marketing Initiative, focusing on the risk to young adults (18-25) with frank public service announcements recommending the correct and consistent use of latex condoms for

those who are sexually active.

**Requiring the Federal Workforce to Understand AIDS.** The Administration issued a directive on September 30, 1993, that requires every Federal employee to receive comprehensive education on HIV/AIDS.

**Established a White House AIDS Office and Created a Presidential Advisory Council.** President Clinton created a White House Office of National AIDS Policy to bring greater direction and visibility to the war on AIDS. At the same time, the Administration has sharpened the focus of its AIDS programs. The President also created the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV and AIDS to provide him and his Administration with expert outside advice on the ways in which the Federal government should respond to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Dr. R. Scott Hitt, an openly gay California physician, chairs the panel.

**Convened the First Ever White House Conference on HIV and AIDS.** On December 6, 1995, the President convened the first White House Conference on HIV and AIDS in the history of the epidemic, bringing together more than 300 experts, activists and citizens from across the country for a discussion of key issues.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>“I think if we really could create a society where there is opportunity for all and responsibility from all and we believed in a community of all Americans, we could truly meet every problem we have and seize every opportunity we have.” -- President Clinton, November 8, 1997</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

10/98

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-NOV-1999 12:50:18.00

SUBJECT: Bradley Didn't Consult Army on Gays

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP on 11/16/99  
12:50 PM -----

Richard Socarides @ EOP 09/20/99 10:29:05 AM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: Bradley Didn't Consult Army on Gays

----- 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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Message Sent

To:

---

~~Karen~~ Tramontano/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP@EOP  
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~~Mara~~ E. Rudman/NSC/EOP@EOP  
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~~Barry~~ J. Toiv/WHO/EOP@EOP  
~~Beth~~ Nolan/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Lisa M. Brown/OVP@OVP  
Ron Klain/OVP@OVP  
Monica M. Dixon/OVP@OVP  
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Michael B. Feldman/OVP@OVP  
Ansley Jones/OVP@OVP  
Philip G Dufour/OVP@OVP  
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Alejandro G. Cabrera/OVP@OVP  
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Christopher S. Lehane/OVP@OVP  
Charles W. Burson/OVP@OVP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 16-NOV-1999 12:44:18.00

SUBJECT: Commentary: HRC and Al Gore

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

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP on 11/16/99

12:44 PM -----

Richard Socarides @ EOP 07/26/99 10:08:03 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Philip G Dufour/OVP@OVP, Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP@OVP,

jtrammel@hillandknowlton.com

cc:

Subject: Commentary: HRC and Al Gore

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 07/26/99

10:07 AM -----

Doug.Case@sdsu.edu

07/26/99 12:54:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides@EOP

cc:

Subject: Commentary: HRC and Al Gore

Forwarded Message From: GHunt1234@aol.com

I was amused to hear Elizabeth Birch state that while Mr. Bradley had voted all the right ways on gay and lesbian issues while in office, he &is not a stand-out 8 on gay and lesbian issues." Bill Bradley may not be the answer,

but if we are going to make comparisons let's compare him to the Clinton/Gore

administration: Giving Gore a free ride hardly benefits our community.

Remember and consider this:

Clinton/Gore Administration signed legislation denying HIV+ service members health benefits after leaving the service despite their publicly stated opposition to such legislation (it was later repealed).

Clinton/Gore Administration promised a White House Conference on HIV/AIDS once they got elected. It wasn't until the fourth year of their first term that they got around to it. Meanwhile, the Administration has White House Conferences on . . . Tourism.

More Service Members are kicked out annually from the Service for being Homosexual now than before the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy as a result of drastic increases in witch hunts.

Clinton/Gore declined to attend the 1993 March on Washington for Gay, Lesbian and Transgendered Rights.

AIDS activist protested Reagan's White House policies on HIV/AIDS by sitting in silent protest on Pennsylvania Avenue. Clinton/Gore merely closed Pennsylvania Avenue.

Clinton/Gore administration signed Congressional legislation that restricted Domestic Partner benefits authorized by the DC city council.

Clinton/Gore administration signed Congressional legislation that forbid needle exchange programs in the District of Columbia even though City Council passed such legislation.

Clinton/Gore administration declined to file a "friend of the Court" brief challenging Colorado's Amendment 2, the amendment that would forbid state and local governments in Colorado from ever considering laws protecting gays and lesbians by stating their is no Constitution federal interest in the case. The Supreme Court disagreed and overturned the homophobic legislation.

In **RENO, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, et al. v. AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION et al.**, the Clinton/Gore administration defended two provisions of the Communications Decency Act of 1996 that were later overturned by the Supreme Court.

The Clinton/Gore Presidential Advisory Council in 1996 called on the White House to show "greater courage and leadership" in taking steps to prevent HIV transmission and to protect people with the virus from discrimination according to reports in The New York Times.

Clinton/Gore promised an all out 'Manhattan-project' research effort to find a cure for AIDS. After 7 years and thousands dead, the only Manhattan project is Hillary Rodham's trips to New York.

After 1992 promises for a powerful AIDS CZAR to lead this nation's war on AIDS, Clinton/Gore set up a powerless AIDS Policy Office that serves mainly as a public relations bureau for the White House.

Clinton/Gore fired Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders for saying that masturbation is safe sex.

Clinton/Gore have performed practically no oversight as millions of AIDS dollars have been misused and embezzled by AIDS Fat Cats and Clinton/Gore political supporters, including Puerto Rican Governor Pedro Rossello (Gore's reported choice to head HHS)

Clinton/Gore signed into law the Defense of Marriage Act in 1996, citing "moral" objections to same-sex marriage, and ran boasting campaign ads in 1996.

Clinton/Gore retreated from support of needle exchange, condemning tens of thousands of IDUs, their partners, and their children, to death.

Clinton/Gore signed into law travel restrictions and an immigration ban for HIV+ non-citizens, resulting in deportations, boarder checks, and keeping hundreds of HIV-infected Haitians fleeing repression confined in squalid detention camps, until a court ordered their release.

After promising to support universal health care in their 1992 campaign, Clinton/Gore offered a reform plan in 1993 which was a gift to the largest insurance companies. Clinton/Gore's "managed care" proposal would have excluded many Americans and offered "high-risk" communities inferior care. Clinton/Gore and Hillary Rodham continue to lead the fight against a single-payer, Canadian-style system.

Clinton/Gore oppose sick and dying patient's use of medical marijuana -- and have directed the Department of Justice to block the enactment of DC's Initiative 59, a medical marijuana ballot measure.

Clinton/Gore signed into law the 1996 Welfare Reform Act, eliminating financial relief for millions of children and thousands of people with AIDS.

Clinton/Gore's Antiterrorism Act weakened habeas corpus rules, allowing secret evidence to be entered in certain court cases, and authorized more than double the number of wiretaps of the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Clinton/Gore dropped nominee Lani Guinere to the nation's top civil rights post, because of her support for proportional representation and other electoral strategies that would grant queers and other minorities increased representation in government.

The Clinton Administration, under Gore's lead, now defends the "right" of corporate drug profiteers to impose name-brand prices on nations like South Africa, India, and Thailand, where the epidemic has devastated populations too poor to afford expensive drugs.

I'm not sure who the best candidate is yet, but I think an early, automatic embracement of Al Gore is misguided, counterproductive and hardly provides us with leverage to effect social policy and real change. It's just another example, in my opinion, of how HRC is so out of touch with our community.

Below is Mubarak S. Dahir's article in the July 22-28 issue of the Boston's Bay Windows regarding Al Gore and HRC. Thanks to Michael Petrelis for forwarding it.

July 22 - July 28, 1999  
Bay Windows  
Boston, MA

Hey, Mr. Gore, not so fast! Buy me a drink first!  
by Mubarak S. Dahir

It's 16 months before the next presidential election, but as a gay voter, I'm already bored.

In many ways, a recently-held gay and lesbian fund-raiser for Al Gore, headed by wife Tipper, reflected a lot of the frustrations I already feel, and am sure will only intensify as the election draws closer.

Historically, 16 months prior to a presidential election is too early for voters of any ilk to be interested, much less bored. But in today's political climate, it's never too early. News reports show that front runners in both parties have already raised about a gazillion bucks for their presidential campaigns. Indeed, raising all that money is precisely what has allowed some of them, such as Texas Governor George W. Bush, to be anointed a front runner. And Democratic front runner Al Gore has not only raised a truck-load of money, he's apparently already spent a lot of it, too.

Which only means, of course, that the veep's gotta get out there and raise even more. And that's exactly what wife Tipper was doing in mid July in Washington at a fund-raising event the Associated Press dubbed the capital's first presidential fundraiser aimed at gay and lesbian voters.

Tipper told a clap-happy audience that all people, regardless of sexual orientation, should be able to be a part of a loving relationship in a family without fear of recrimination or discrimination. She promised if elected president, her husband would fight for your dreams. Quickly catching what could have turned into a political faux pas, she corrected herself by adding he would fight for our dreams. Tipper picked up an estimated \$150,000 in change at the fund-raiser.

On the surface, the event and the words of the Second Lady seem as if they should be encouraging to gays and lesbians: We're considered important enough to be courted early on in the political process, and everything that Tipper said was applause-approved. And, hey, the ridiculous sums of money it takes to get elected in this country is

independent of the question of gay and lesbian rights, so better to be a part of it than left out, right?

My worry is that, despite the appearances, gay and lesbian voters are going to be left out anyway.

For example, while everything Tipper said at the event may have been given a thumbs up, not everything her husband is saying and doing deserves the same. For example, Tipper cleverly used the word "family" in addressing gay and lesbian relationships. But her husband has already said he does not believe gay and lesbian unions deserve the same status as heterosexual marriages. As soon as I heard the words fall out of Tipper's mouth, I couldn't help but be cynical that this was just another example of the husband-and-wife team playing good cop-bad cop and sending coded messages to different audiences: Al trying to assure his hetero masses he's not a leftist loony; Tipper trying to assuage the gay and lesbian true believers that she and the presidential wanna-be will not forsake them.

Sure, the game is nothing new, especially for gay and lesbian voters so taken-for-granted by a Democratic party that, despite the Log Cabin Republicans, still basks in the reality that the majority of us as gay and lesbian voters have little alternate to the party of donkeys, even if some of them are jackasses.

You'd think maybe we could at least be as smart as the religious Right when it comes to influencing politicians in our default political party. Here's what the Right does: They know that, in a general election, the politicians are going to move to the center, to appeal to as many people as possible. So they concentrate their efforts in the primaries, pushing the debate further and further right on the topics that matter most to them.

But we're just so dang-gone pleased to be invited to raise money for the next potential president, we don't even make them court our votes, even this far ahead in the dance. To wit: Elizabeth Birch, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign, was at Al Gore's fund-raiser, listed as a contributor at the "gold level." Of course, she denied this meant that the Human Rights Campaign would endorse Gore automatically \* it's way too early for that. But when a reporter asked her about Bill Bradley, the former New Jersey Senator and Al Gore's only possible rival for the party's nomination, she said that while Mr. Bradley had voted all the right ways on gay and lesbian issues while in office, he "is not a stand-out" on gay and lesbian issues.

As if there are so many others who are knocking themselves over to win presidential nominations by standing out as the candidate of choice for gay and lesbian voters.

There is little doubt in my mind that the Human Rights Campaign \* and the vast majority of other gay and lesbian political and activist groups \* will end up backing Gore. Gore won't have to concede anything, whether it's about gay marriage or cheap generic drugs to help people with AIDS in South Africa. He won't have to cede any points, because gay and

lesbian voters, and the organizations that represent them, won't even ask him any hard questions. They'll just provide the polite applause, thank you.

That's why I'm already bored: It's still so early, and I already feel like Al's the guy who comes up to you in a bar and asks to take you home and fuck you, without even buying you a drink.

(Mubarak Dahir's e-mail address is [MubarakDah@aol.com](mailto:MubarakDah@aol.com).)

The Army appears to be telling gay soldiers who leave the military they can't be honest about their sexuality and participate in social debates as private citizens because they might be recalled to active duty and punished, said attorney Christopher Wolf.



</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2>ASSOCIATED PRESS</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>November 16, 1999</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Gay Military Reservist Fights Probe</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>By SCOTT THOMSEN</FONT>  
</P>

<P><FONT SIZE=2> PHOENIX (AP) - An openly gay Army reservist is challenging the</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>military's investigation of his sexuality as a violation of his free</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>speech rights and the military's own ``don't ask, don't tell" policy. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> Steve May, a Republican state representative from Tempe, a lieutenant</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>in the Army Reserve, faces possible disciplinary action because he</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>admitted he was gay during a debate in the Legislature. </FONT>  
>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> At the time, he was an honorably discharged civilian. Later he was</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>recalled to active duty in preparation for a possible ground assault in</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Kosovo, and the Army began its investigation. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> May has hired an attorney and is demanding that the Army drop its</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>investigation. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> The Army appears to be telling gay soldiers who leave the military</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>they can't be honest about their sexuality and participate in social</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>debates as private citizens because they might be recalled to active duty</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>and punished, said attorney Christopher Wolf. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> ``The investigation is a violation of Mr. May's free speech rights,</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>but also a violation of his constituents' right to have a representative</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>who is not muzzled or gagged in any way," Wolf said. </FONT>  
  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> Army Reserve spokesman Ted Bartimus said he could not comment on</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>Monday's developments because the investigation is ongoing. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> The ``don't ask, don't tell" policy bans homosexuals from serving in</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>the armed forces, but the military is not supposed to seek out information</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>about soldiers' sexuality. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> Violations typically result in a discharge. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> Last week, the Army sent May a letter explaining that evidence,</FONT>

<BR><FONT SIZE=2>including May's admissions, creates a presumption that he engages in,</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>attempts to engage in or intends to engage in homosexual acts. The letter</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>also asked May to submit any rebuttal evidence. </FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2> ``The 'don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue' policy cannot be used by</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>the Army to gag me in the performance of my official duties," May said in</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>a written statement. ``That result would be an insult to bedrock</FONT>  
<BR><FONT SIZE=2>principles of our democracy, principles that I joined the Army to uphold. </FONT>  
</P>

</BODY>  
</HTML>

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-NOV-1999 12:14:54.00

SUBJECT: Vice president meets with Gay leaders

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP on 11/16/99

12:14 PM -----

Richard Socarides @ EOP 06/22/98 02:41:12 PM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: Vice president meets with Gay leaders

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 06/22/98

02:40 PM -----

Doug.Case @ sdsu.edu

06/21/98 04:22:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Stuart D. Rosenstein, Richard Socarides

cc:

Subject: Vice president meets with Gay leaders

WASHINGTON BLADE

June 19, 1998

<http://www.washblade.com>

Vice president meets with Gay leaders

SANTA MONICA, Calif. - Gay civil rights have been progressing but still have a long way to go, said Vice President Al Gore at a meeting with about 15 Gay community leaders on June 13.

Gore engaged in "a candid discussion for about an hour on a wide range of issues," according to Richard Socarides, White House liaison to the Gay community.

Gay family issues were a major focus of the discussions.

"There was a strong concern that the next line of attack on our community æ would be our ability to serve as adoptive parents or as foster parents," said California Assemblymember Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles).

Gore said he and the president "would stringently oppose any federal legislative effort that would make it more difficult for a Gay person to adopt," said Socarides. "The vice president reiterated the administration's position that in all cases the only factors that ought to be considered on adoption are what is in the best interest of the child."

Gay leaders also brought up community concerns around the military's "don't ask, don't tell" policy concerning Gays, and said they were concerned that "overt violations" of that policy - such as in the recent case of Naval officer Timothy McVeigh - would not happen again.

Gore seems "intrinsically supportive of our inclusion and equality," Kuehl said.

Other subjects discussed ranged from AIDS treatment issues to support for Gay youth.

"We essentially asked him to use the bully pulpit that the vice president and the president naturally have around the country [to] include [Gays] in the larger picture," Kuehl said. "He said that he would do his best."

Others in attendance at the meeting included Lorri Jean of the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Community Center, Jeff Jenest of the AIDS Project Los Angeles, and longtime Gay Democratic leader Jean O'Leary.

\*\*\*\*\*

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Message Sent

To: \_\_\_\_\_  
Philip G Dufour/OVP@OVP  
Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP@OVP  
Ron Klain/OVP@OVP

Monica M. Dixon/OVP@OVP  
Patricia M. Ewing/OVP@OVP  
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Michael B. Feldman/OVP@OVP  
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Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Craig T. Smith/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Michael Deich/OMB/EOP@EOP

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/OVP on 11/16/99  
12:14 PM -----

Richard Socarides @ EOP 10/29/98 11:44:58 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
cc:  
Subject: Updated Gay and Lesbian Accomplishments Document

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 10/29/98  
11:46 AM -----

Robin J. Bachman  
10/29/98 11:32:49 AM  
Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
cc: Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP, Todd A. Summers/OPD/EOP, Glen M.  
Weiner/WHO/EOP, Rajiv Y. Mody/WHO/EOP  
Subject: Updated Gay and Lesbian Accomplishments Document

Richard Socarides and I have updated the Gay and Lesbian Americans  
Accomplishments document. Among its updates, it reflects a greater  
emphasis on our efforts to pass hate crimes legislation.

The document has been reviewed and received signed-off.

Please share with your colleagues and any other interested party.

THANKS TO EVERYONE WHO ASSISTED IN THIS EFFORT.

Robin  
66237

Message Sent

To:

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Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP  
Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP  
Robert B. Johnson/WHO/EOP  
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Joseph C. Fanaroff/WHO/EOP  
Stacie Spector/WHO/EOP  
Thomas D. Janenda/WHO/EOP  
Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP  
~~Brenda B. Costello/WHO/EOP~~  
Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP  
Jonathan Orszag/OPD/EOP  
Brian A. Barreto/OPD/EOP  
Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP  
Paul A. Tuchmann/OVP @ OVP  
Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP

Message Sent

To:

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Virginia Apuzzo/WHO/EOP@EOP  
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Joseph E. Voeller/WHO/EOP@EOP

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

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

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.1-9 #29131)  
id <011YHF3N3MXC00IFRA@PMDf.EOP.GOV>; Sun, 21 Jun 1998 03:23:47 EDT

Received: from Storm.EOP.GOV by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.1-9 #29131)  
with ESMTP id <011YHF3LPSY800LJUT@PMDf.EOP.GOV>; Sun,  
21 Jun 1998 03:23:45 -0400 (EDT)

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21 Jun 1998 03:23:13 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from [130.191.242.121] ([130.191.242.121])  
by mail.sdsu.edu (8.8.7/8.8.7) with ESMTP id AAA29532; Sun,  
21 Jun 1998 00:22:13 -0700 (PDT)

X-Sender: dcase@mail.sdsu.edu

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

===== ATTACHMENT 2 =====

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

TEXT:

Unable to convert ARMS\_EXT:[ATTACH.D79]ARMS20753692Q.336 to ASCII,  
The following is a HEX DUMP:

## **THE CLINTON-GORE ADMINISTRATION A RECORD OF PROGRESS FOR GAY AND LESBIAN AMERICANS**

“[W]e have to make sure that for every single person in our country -- all Americans means all Americans.”

-- President Clinton, November 8, 1997

“It is time for all Americans to recognize that the issues that face gays and lesbians in this country are not narrow, special interests -- they are matters of basic human and civil rights.”

--Vice

President Gore, September 15, 1997

### **Working for Basic Fairness and Against Hate**

**Fighting For Hate Crimes Legislation.** Last year, the President announced his sponsorship of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act during the historic White House Conference on Hate Crimes. This crucial legislation would strengthen and expand the ability of the Justice Department to prosecute hate crimes by removing needless jurisdictional requirements for existing crimes. And it would give Federal prosecutors the power to prosecute hate crimes committed because of the victim's sexual orientation, gender or disability.

The President and Vice President continue to push Congress to pass this important legislation and to speak out against hate. As the Vice President said on September 19, 1998: “If we allow even a small number of Americans to harbor and act upon malice and intolerance, we all feel the bitter sting of injustice. Let us send a clear message to those would commit crimes of hate: it is wrong, it is illegal, and we will punish you with the full force of our laws... Crimes of hate against all people -- including gays and lesbians --should carry a punishment that is swift and severe.”

Additionally, as part of the 1994 Crime Act, President Clinton signed the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act, providing for longer sentences where the offense is determined to be a hate crime based on sexual orientation.

**Ending Discrimination Against Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Civilian Workforce.** President Clinton issued an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation in the Federal civilian workforce. This makes the Federal Government the largest employer in the world (1.8 million civilian employees) with a non-discrimination policy covering sexual orientation. And the President, working with a bipartisan coalition in the House of Representatives, successfully defeated an attempt to overturn this policy. The President also issued an Executive Order mandating that security clearances no longer be denied based on sexual orientation.

**Endorsing Legislation that Outlaws Discrimination in the Workplace.** President Clinton and Vice President Gore endorsed and are fighting for passage of the Employment Non Discrimination Act, a bill outlawing discrimination in hiring, firing and promotions based on sexual orientation. This makes them the first U.S. President and Vice President ever to back civil rights legislation for gays and lesbians. The legislation would ban discrimination based on sexual orientation in the workplace, extending basic employment protections to gay and lesbian Americans.

**Standing Up for Basic Fairness.** President Clinton blocked Republican efforts to pass legislation prohibiting unmarried couples from jointly adopting children in the District of Columbia and legislation which would have denied certain Federal funds to localities with domestic partnership laws.

**Working to Stop Discrimination Against People With AIDS.** President Clinton directed the Justice Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to vigorously prosecute those who discriminate against people with AIDS, leading to actions against health care providers and facilities that violate the Americans with Disabilities Act.

**Opposing Anti-Gay Ballot Initiatives.** President Clinton strongly opposed anti-gay ballot initiatives in Colorado and Oregon. His two nominees to the Supreme Court voted to overturn Colorado's Amendment 2, declaring such initiatives unconstitutional violations of the Equal Protection clause of the Constitution.

**Fighting Discrimination Against People with AIDS in the Military.** President Clinton successfully fought for the repeal of the Dornan amendment, which required the expulsion of all HIV-positive military service members regardless of their ability to do their jobs. Prior to its repeal, President Clinton took the highly unusual step of unilaterally declaring the law unconstitutional and instructing the Department of Justice not to defend it in court, becoming the first president since Franklin Roosevelt to take such action.

**Helping Those Fleeing Persecution Because of Their Sexual Orientation.** President Clinton's Administration is the first ever to grant asylum for gays and lesbians facing persecution in other countries. The President sent gay human rights activist Keith Boykin to Zimbabwe as part of an official United States delegation. Mr. Boykin investigated human rights abuses of gays and lesbians there.

**Banning Insurance Discrimination.** President Clinton fought for and signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, which bans insurance discrimination against people with pre-existing medical conditions including HIV/AIDS. In addition, President Clinton issued a directive that ensures that all providers of Federal health insurance abide by non-discrimination rules including sexual orientation.

**Fighting Harassment of Students Based on Sexual Orientation.** President Clinton's

Department of Education has issued landmark guidance that explains Federal standards against sexual harassment and that prohibits sexual harassment of all students regardless of their sexual orientation.

### **An Administration that Includes All Americans**

**President Clinton Has Created an Administration That Is Highly Talented and the Most Inclusive Administration in History.** President Clinton is the first President to appoint an openly gay or lesbian person to an Administration post. The President has appointed more than 150 openly gay and lesbian appointees, including:

- Virginia Apuzzo, Assistant to the President for Management and Administration, the highest ranking openly gay or lesbian person ever to serve in the Federal Government and the first openly gay or lesbian Assistant to the President;
- Director of the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office Bruce Lehman, the first openly gay man to be confirmed by the U.S. Senate;
- Fred Hochberg, Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the first openly gay person to be appointed Deputy in a U.S. cabinet-level agency;
- Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Roberta Achtenberg, who served in this position from 1993 to 1995;
- Gail Shibley, the Director of External Communications for the Federal Highway Administration;
- The President has also nominated, and continues to fight for, James Hormel to be U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg -- if confirmed he would be the first-ever openly gay United States ambassador.

**Reaching Out to All Communities.** This Administration is committed to a policy of inclusion. President Clinton named the first Presidential Liaison to the gay and lesbian community, Marsha Scott. Later, he named the first openly gay senior policy adviser on civil rights issues, Richard Socarides. President Clinton became the first sitting president to speak before a gay and lesbian organization on November 8, 1997, when he delivered the keynote address to the Human Rights Campaign National Dinner. In September 1997, the Vice President addressed the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the first Vice President to speak at a gay rights event. This year, the Vice President spoke before the Human Rights Campaign in Washington, D.C., and the Empire State Pride Agenda in New York City. Both the President and the Vice President regularly meet with gay and lesbian leaders.

### **Improving Health Care Quality and Increasing Access**

*Providing National Leadership.* President Clinton has worked hard to

*invigorate the response to HIV and AIDS, providing new national leadership, substantially greater resources and a closer working relationship with affected communities. Funding for AIDS research has increased by over 65 percent, and funding for HIV prevention has increased 34 percent. Funding for the Ryan White CARE Act has increased by over 240 percent. Although much work remains to find a cure, progress has been made. In 1996, the first time in the history of the AIDS epidemic, the number of Americans diagnosed with AIDS declined. And between 1996 and 1997, HIV/AIDS mortality declined 47 percent, falling from the leading cause of death among 25-44 year olds in 1995 to the fifth leading cause of death in that age group. There has been a decline in the number of AIDS cases overall and a sharp decline in new AIDS cases in infants and children.*

**Protecting Medicaid and Social Security Coverage.** The President fought for and won the preservation of the Medicaid guarantee of coverage which serves more than 50 percent of people living with AIDS -- *and 92% of children with AIDS -- who rely on Medicaid for health coverage. He also revised eligibility rules for Social Security Disability Insurance to increase the number of HIV+ persons who qualify for benefits.*

**Focusing National Efforts on an AIDS Vaccine.** *On May 18, 1997, the President challenged the nation to develop an AIDS vaccine within the next ten years. He announced a number of initiatives to help fulfill this goal, including: dedicating an AIDS vaccine research center at the National Institutes of Health and encouraging domestic and international collaboration among governments, medical communities and service organizations.*

**Dramatically Increasing Overall AIDS Funding.** The Clinton Administration has responded aggressively to the significant threat posed by HIV/AIDS with increased attention to research, prevention and treatment. President Clinton increased public health spending for major HIV/AIDS programs by over 100 percent, funding for the Ryan White CARE programs has increased 241 percent and support for AIDS-related research has increased by over 65 percent.

**Increasing AIDS Drug Assistance and Accelerating AIDS Drug Approvals.** Funding for AIDS drug assistance has increased from \$52 million per year to \$385 million per year during the Clinton Administration. This program provides new life-prolonging drugs to people with HIV and AIDS. In addition, President Clinton convened the National Task Force on AIDS Drug Development, and removed dozens of bureaucratic obstacles to the effective and decent

treatment of people with AIDS. Since 1993, the Food and Drug Administration has approved dozens of new AIDS drugs, new drugs for AIDS-related conditions and new diagnostic tests.

**Historic \$156 Million Effort to Address HIV/AIDS in Communities of Color.** African Americans make up the fastest growing portion of the HIV/AIDS caseload. As part of the FY99 budget, the Clinton Administration fought for a comprehensive new initiative that invests an unprecedented \$156 million to improve the nation's effectiveness in preventing and treating HIV/AIDS in the African American, Hispanic and other minority communities.

**Making Research a Priority.** In one of his first acts in office, President Clinton signed the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act of 1993, placing full responsibility for planning, budgeting and evaluation of the AIDS research program at NIH in the Office of AIDS Research. The Administration has increased NIH AIDS research funds by 67% in five years.

**Promoting Lesbian Health Issues.** Under President Clinton's leadership, the National Institutes of Health and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have commissioned scientific panels to study lesbian health issues and to suggest research methods for scientists who want to study specific lesbian health issues. This is the first time a U.S. Government agency has commissioned an examination into this subject.

**Focusing on Prevention: Supporting the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.** The Administration has increased funds for HIV prevention at the CDC by 34% in five years. Under the leadership of the Clinton Administration, the CDC reorganized its AIDS prevention efforts to foster greater overall coordination and enhance efforts to reduce sexually transmitted diseases and tuberculosis.

**Educating Young People about the Dangers of AIDS.** The Clinton Administration launched the Prevention Marketing Initiative, focusing on the risk to young adults (18-25) with frank public service announcements recommending the correct and consistent use of latex condoms for

those who are sexually active.

**Requiring the Federal Workforce to Understand AIDS.** The Administration issued a directive on September 30, 1993, that requires every Federal employee to receive comprehensive education on HIV/AIDS.

**Established a White House AIDS Office and Created a Presidential Advisory Council.** President Clinton created a White House Office of National AIDS Policy to bring greater direction and visibility to the war on AIDS. At the same time, the Administration has sharpened the focus of its AIDS programs. The President also created the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV and AIDS to provide him and his Administration with expert outside advice on the ways in which the Federal government should respond to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Dr. R. Scott Hitt, an openly gay California physician, chairs the panel.

**Convened the First Ever White House Conference on HIV and AIDS.** On December 6, 1995, the President convened the first White House Conference on HIV and AIDS in the history of the epidemic, bringing together more than 300 experts, activists and citizens from across the country for a discussion of key issues.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>“I think if we really could create a society where there is opportunity for all and responsibility from all and we believed in a community of all Americans, we could truly meet every problem we have and seize every opportunity we have.” -- President Clinton, November 8, 1997</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

10/98

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CREATION DATE/TIME:16-NOV-1999 12:52:29.00

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09/30/99 01:24:00 AM

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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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