

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Karen Dunn to Toby C. Graff at 09:37:37.00. Subject: Re: remarks of the President and Mrs. Clinton from their residence in Chappaqua. [partial] (2 pages)	01/07/2000	b(6)
002. email	Jim Ryans to Sean P. Maloney at 17:05:34.00. Subject: Re: Resend: New Republic Editorial: Separate but Equal. [partial] (1 page)	01/09/2000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]
WHO ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])
OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

[01/07/2000 - 01/10/2000]

2015-0017-F
ab1545

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 10:04:08.00

SUBJECT: PBS NewsHour, January 6, 2000

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TEXT:
PBS NewsHour
January 6, 2000

GAYS IN THE MILITARY

Margaret Warner discusses with four military officers whether "Don't ask, don't tell" is a good policy for the military, after a background report.

Then, participate in an Online Forum on the topic.

TOM BEARDEN: The Pentagon's policy on gay service is commonly called

"don't ask, don't tell," and has been in effect since 1993. It was the result of a hard-fought compromise between President Clinton, who had advocated allowing homosexuals to serve openly, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Congress, who opposed it. Congress passed a law rendering such service illegal.

The "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" policy says: "The Department of Defense will not ask, nor will members be required to reveal their sexual preference. Homosexual orientation is a personal and private matter and will not

be questioned during service. However, homosexual conduct is not compatible with military service and will subject a member to discharge from the armed forces."

Provoking the latest round of political debate was the killing of Army Private Barry Winchell at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, last year, and the murder conviction and sentencing of 18-year old Private Calvin Glover last month. Soon after, in New York, Senate candidate and First Lady Hillary Clinton, speaking at a gay rights fund-raiser, said the policy had not worked. A week later, her husband agreed. In a radio interview, Mr. Clinton said the policy was out of whack and, as implemented, does not work. The issue was again raised at last night's presidential campaign forum in New Hampshire.

PANELIST: If you become President will you nominate members of the Joint Chiefs who only support your gay policy? In other words, will it be a litmus test?

AL GORE: I would try to bring about the kind of change in policy on the "don't ask, don't tell" policy that President Harry Truman brought about after World War II in integrating the military. And I think that would require those who wanted to serve on the position of... on the Joint Chiefs, to be

in agreement with that policy, so yes.

BILL BRADLEY: My sense is that when you're President of the United States, military people are loyal to their commander-in-chief, whatever the policy is that the

commander-in-chief calls for for the country, and that's what I expect them to do if I'm President of the United States and we move toward gays in the military, which I intend to do.

The President Comments

TOM BEARDEN: The President weighed in again today, standing in front of the Clintons' new home in New York.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I think a lot of people have actually forgotten that Congress put into the law the present policy. And so what I'm going to do is spend the next year trying to make sure that we do what was intended and what I

announced would be done after extensive consultation with our commanders back in 1993. I believe that the next president, if he wants to change the policy, will have to

get

the Congress to change the law.

TOM BEARDEN: Among Republicans, George W. Bush, John McCain and Steve Forbes back the current policy. Their more conservative opponents, Gary Bauer and Alan Keyes, have urged a return to the pre-1993 policy barring gays from serving. Last month, after the Clintons first spoke, Defense Secretary William Cohen announced a three-month review of the policy, especially into allegations that gays were being singled

out

for investigation and harassment. But former Marine Commandant General Carl Mundy and other retired officers have urged caution, warning that politically

inspired

changes could provoke a backlash in the all-volunteer military. A recent study of professional officers

indicated as

many as 27 percent would leave the service if gays were allowed to serve openly.

Four views on "don't ask, don't tell"

JIM LEHRER: Margaret Warner takes it from there.

MARGARET WARNER:
Now, four views on "don't ask, don't tell," and whether the policy needs to be changed. Michelle Benecke is co-executive director of the

Servicemembers Legal Defense
Network. She served in the
Army as a Captain. Robert Maginnis is senior director of
national security and foreign affairs at the Family

Research

Council. He is a retired Army lieutenant colonel and was
part of the Pentagon's study group that came up with the
"don't ask, don't tell" policy. Lieutenant General Paul
Cerjan is president of Regent University. He retired after
34 years in the Army, where his last post was as president
of the National Defense University. And Major General
Vance Coleman retired from the Army reserves in 1989;
he served as an artillery officer in the Korean War, and
he's now director of a community education foundation.
Welcome all.

Michelle Benecke, President Clinton, the man who helped
certainly spearheaded this policy to start with, now says

it

doesn't work. Is he right?

MICHELLE BENECKE,
Servicemembers Legal Defense
Network: This policy doesn't
work. He is right. Military
leaders continue to ask people
about their orientation, to pursue
suspected gay members, and to
tolerate anti-gay harassment. In
the last six years, my organization, Servicemembers Legal
Defense Network, has assisted 2,000 military members
who are hurt by this law. Harassment increased 120%
alone last year in our cases. Discharges have increased
86% under this law.

MARGARET WARNER: This is just for being
homosexual.

MICHELLE BENECKE: Right. And the reason
discharges have increased is because people facing
harassment in the military have no recourse but to leave.
And finally, service members are being required to lie,

even

to their parents, their doctors and their best friends, as

a

condition of serving our military. No, this policy doesn't
work.

MARGARET WARNER: General Cerjan, do you think
the policy works?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN
(Ret.), U.S. Army: I think it
absolutely works. It's got a few

things around the edges that have to be cleaned up to enforce the policy. But let's remember, this is a law. It's not a policy. It was enacted by a Democratic Congress in 1993, and if anybody believes that commanders on the ground spend all their time trying to ferret out people who may be of homosexual orientation, they don't understand what it is to serve in the military today.

MARGARET WARNER: Well, when you say you think it works, what's your evidence? What do you mean it works?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): Well, if you take a look at the comment that Michelle just made about people leaving the service, 86% last year left the service voluntarily by identifying themselves as homosexual. Now, we don't know whether or not they left because they wanted to get out of the service or if they were in fact homosexuals. So, I think there's a little bit of questioning about these statistics.

MICHELLE BENECKE: I want to address that, Margaret, because we do know why they left. Our organization is the only entity that documents what is occurring under this law. And the fact is that our military leaders support those people who harass their fellow soldiers rather than supporting well-meaning officers and NCO's in the field who would rather treat their people fairly. That must end.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Colonel Maginnis....

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): I think that is a totally incorrect allegation.

MARGARET WARNER: Let me get - all right - there are two guests that haven't spoken yet. Colonel Maginnis, Bob Maginnis, do you think it's working?

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.), The Family Research Council: I've consistently said "don't ask, don't tell" since July of 1993 when President Clinton announced that this was the policy, having been

aren't inside I said it's not going to work, one day we'll be here declaring that. It causes homosexuals to pretend they homosexuals. It causes the military to pretend it doesn't care about homosexuals serving and it gives the Congressmen a free ride. They don't have to deal with this tough issue. It's time that we return to the question.

It's time that we make "don't ask, don't tell" consistent with what the law says that General Cerjan just pointed out.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Let me ask General Coleman, do you think it works?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.), U.S. Army Reserve: No. It absolutely does not work. I disagree with General Cerjan. You know, it's obvious it isn't working. What just happened at Fort Campbell.... the leadership -

MARGARET WARNER: Excuse me. You're talking about the beating death of a....

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): Absolutely. But the leadership was supporting the policy we wouldn't have things like that occurring. We wouldn't have this many people leaving the service as leave now. My guess is that they're leaving out of fear. When you cannot be yourself and you don't know if you're going to be physically damaged or killed, for that matter, because the commanders do not support the policy, it seems to me the thing to do is to run for safety and that is to leave the service. And that's sad when my country comes to that point.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): Margaret we need to be careful about painting the entire military on the terrible problem in one unit. That was a heinous crime committed down there and Glover is going to hopefully spend the rest of his life in jail for that murder. But at

the same time we need to recognize nobody denies that homosexuals have served for the last 221 years in the military. It's: under what conditions may they serve? It's been declared because they are cohort that brings in some problems, the military says they're not going to contribute to cohesion and quality force that it demands, Congress agreed, they passed a very compelling law and therefore,

just like we discriminate against a whole host of other people, we say that they should not serve openly.

What should be changed?

MARGARET WARNER: Okay. Three out of the four of you don't think it works. Is there something to make the current policy more workable? Michelle Benecke.

MICHELLE BENECKE: This law is a double standard and it's wrong. And ultimately Congress needs to replace it with a rule whereby everybody is simply treated the same, but in the meantime the least that the military leaders can do for the safety of our soldiers is to fulfill their promises to stop asking, to stop pursuits and to stop harassment. And to date they have not done so.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. General Cerjan, do you think it needs to be enforced in that way in a better way?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN

(Ret.): I think that it's a leadership issue and you will find that commanders, generally speaking, will protect any soldier in the force who is harassed. Now, if you think you're going to continually try to ferret out those who have a homosexual orientation, I think that's exactly wrong. You cannot make a blanket statement that all commanders in the military,

the

complete cohort of officers and noncommissioned officers spend all their time trying to ferret out homosexuals;

that's

an incorrect statement.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Let me just get Bob Maginnis and then I'll come to you, General. What do you think, Bob Maginnis, is the way to make this policy work? You've alluded to it, but explain it a little more.

LT. COL. ROBERT

MAGINNIS (Ret.): Well, you know, Mr. Cohen is trying to do an inspection. They've already declared the policy works back in August. And, now they're adding don't harass. I'm afraid--

and I agree, we don't want to harass anyone. Nobody should be harassed. However that's going to chill the whole

process. I think we're going to make commanders out there far more timid about initiating investigations. Therefore we have a protected class in the military. And that's not what the law says.

MARGARET WARNER: But what needs to be done?

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): What we need to do is return to the law. Congress has yet to have a

single

hearing on this issue since 1993. They need to hold the military accountable for what the law says and they need to reimpose the question which they can do based on that law.

MARGARET WARNER: You mean when you're recruited ask if they're gay. If they say they're gay,

they're

not recruited.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): We're hypocritical. We're saying anybody can come in that we haven't already asked a question on, please come in and you can serve. That includes homosexuals. We ought to stop being hypocritical about this.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. But, just so I understand, because I want to go to General Coleman, you're saying essentially gays should be allowed to serve

in

the military but only if they're in the closet.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): That's right. That's the condition under which even George Washington adhered to and for the last 220 years.

MARGARET WARNER: Okay. General Coleman, take it away. You think this can be fixed?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE

COLEMAN (Ret.): No, I don't think. I think the law, as the General said, should not be there, period. We should go back to what the Army was as an individual, whether black, white, blonde, blue eyed, gray haired, whatever, if I want to serve, I should be able to serve. And providing that service, I'll have to be able to be what I am. I should not have to pretend that I'm something that I'm not. It seems

to

me that the Army is to fight and to win. I remember that from day one -- to fight and to win -- nothing about sexual orientation. So, we can train people to fight and win, no

matter what their sexual preference might be, it seems to me that's the bottom line.

MARGARET WARNER: So you agree with both Democratic candidates who would like to see homosexuals able to serve openly?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): Absolutely.

MARGARET WARNER: All right.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): I served openly. I don't know why they shouldn't be able to.

MARGARET WARNER: You mean you as a black man?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): That's right.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. General Cerjan, what about that?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN
(Ret.): First of all I think race is not a choice. Homosexuality is. Having said that, let me talk about the comments made in that last night on the debates. It seems to me that there's a problem here since we're not talking policy, we're talking laws. So the law has to be changed in order for any President to appoint an individual who supports an openly homosexual policy. I think that's something for the lawyers to attend to in terms of whether or not it's legal to get a chairman of the Joint Chiefs or a person to serve who is in direct contradiction to the law. Basically, let me make one more comment.

MARGARET WARNER: Please do.

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): It really bothers me that we would spend 30-some odd years educating and training the leadership of this country to move into

positions

of vast responsibility as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs and chiefs of services to give that military advice to the President when we're about to put our sons and daughters in harm's way and we would eliminate the best and brightest because of a policy that says unless you support an openly gay policy in the military that only addressed

1.5

to 2% of the population does not play to what we're about and that's to win the nation's wars.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): One more

comment if I may.

MARGARET WARNER: Yes.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): You know, it could be, General, that maybe the best and the brightest to lead this country to victory just might be gay.

For gays in the military

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Michelle Benecke, make the case for letting gays serve openly.

MICHELLE BENECKE: Gays do serve openly in some units and gays have served openly in the past. Colonel Kim Meyer is one example; Marine Sergeant Justin Elzin. Through experience we have learned that when people know other gay people, they lose their stereotypes. And by the way, prejudice shouldn't be a reason to exclude people in the first place. The real issue is who do we want in the military? Do we want Barry Winchells, someone who all of the testimony shows was a dedicated soldier; his unit members took the stand and testified they would go to combat with him without hesitation. That example, of any, should show that what breaks down unit morale is prejudice and hatred. We shouldn't want to recruit people like the man who killed PFC Barry Winchell. We should want to recruit fair-minded Americans.

MARGARET WARNER: Bob Maginnis.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): We should not make decisions based on hatred or discrimination, but we should make decisions on what is the best interest of the military and the armed forces of this country. You know, right now we recruit people with an eye on building cohesive teams. The cohesion is the glue that holds the units together. It overcomes terror and fear on the battlefield. Very few Americans understand that firsthand. And the reality is if that if you can't overcome that by camaraderie and cohesiveness, the trust and confidence that is built over a lot of time and a lot of activity,

then

you're going to have an ineffective unit. The thing that we have discovered destroys that the most comes down to, you know, favoritism, sexual relationships, favoring one over another. We already have problems where we mix young men and young women, and when we put young homosexuals together, you won't be able to distinguish one from the other. And then you end up with sort of a problem the Australians and the Brits are

about to have and they try to prosecute all indications of sexual relationships like holding hands between a boy and girl. You know, we have to focus once again on the importance of military readiness. What is our military all about? It's about preserving peace and fighting wars when it's required.

MICHELLE BENECKE: And Margaret, I would say "don't ask, don't tell" don't pursue hurts military

readiness.

It hurts military readiness, because it's harassment and investigations that break down unit morale.

Against gays in the military

MARGARET WARNER: General Cerjan, what's your view on the military cohesion argument and whether letting homosexuals serve openly will affect that?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): Well, I think that across the board, as Colonel Maginnis said, you have a cohesion issue in terms of whether or not soldiers,

sailors,

airmen, believe in their leaders and whether or not they're willing to go forward when the test comes to walk into the crucible. So I think the homosexuality issue affects that because, as we found out in so many instances that Michelle brought up, there is harassment out there and that needs to be stopped. We need to apply an evenhanded policy as the policy was written. But the thing that

bothers

me is that when we start taking look at the readiness of

the

service and as General Coleman said to fight and defend and win the nation's wars, that means that we have to take every measure we can to insure that we have a combat-ready force.

MARGARET WARNER: But what are you saying exactly?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): Well, we're becoming a social engineering agency and that's not what the

military

was intended to do.

MARGARET WARNER: I'm sorry, but we're almost out of time. I want to make sure I understand your point, General. Are you saying because there are straight members of the military who don't like homosexuals or find them distasteful or anathema, or whatever that affects unit cohesion or not?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): I think it does. I

absolutely believe it does because you have to believe in your leaders and, you know, this whole idea that you die for your country has been proven to be incorrect. You die for the soldier that sits next to you in the foxhole. And

you

have to believe in, and there's a whole bunch of love-trust and understanding about what you're doing in terms of what you're doing in the unit. And so, consequently, I

think

it affects unit cohesion.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. General Coleman, address that point.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): I suspect that any differences between individuals could affect unit cohesiveness. Let's not just look at homosexuality. That happens and I saw that when I was a younger officer, it happens with people that just don't like each other. It happens for various reasons, not because of homosexuality. So you can't just use that to say that affects... you can't have it because it affects unit

cohesion.

If that were true, then I think a lot of other things that

must

be eliminated. I didn't like you again because you had red hair, I didn't know you because you were six feet tall or I didn't like you because you were heavy. I didn't like you

because you were different than I am. That was the thing that the integration between blacks and whites back in the 1950s with President Truman. People had the same arguments then. We overcame that because we

learned to trust and to respect each other. And I would say to you that prior to the leadership of the Army making homosexuality an issue, it was not an issue. Homosexuals fought side by side with straights. And there was no problem. It became a problem when the leadership made it a problem. General, I agree with you. It's a leadership problem, not a soldier problem.

MARGARET WARNER: All right, gentlemen and Michelle Benecke, we're going to have to leave it there. Thank you all four very much.

MIRANDA RIGHTS

Gwen Ifill leads a discussion with two lawyers on each side of the

Miranda rights case, which the Supreme Court is scheduled to rule on later this year.

JIM LEHRER: Now, Gwen Ifill has the Miranda rights story.

GWEN IFILL: Four sentences repeated so often on cop shows and in movies that Americans assume they are an essential protection. "You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can and will be used against you. You have the right to talk with a lawyer before being questioned and to have the lawyer present during the questioning. If you cannot afford a lawyer, one will be provided for you before questioning begins." This is the Miranda warning dating from the 1966 Supreme Court decision in *Miranda versus Arizona*.

To supporters, Miranda is a safeguard against police abuse; to opponents, a spoiler in hundreds of thousands of criminal cases every year because if the warning is not given or given improperly, a defendant's confession can be thrown out. The Supreme Court agreed earlier this month to take up a challenge to Miranda from Maryland. In it, an accused bank robber's confession was excluded in his trial because police gave him the Miranda warning after they questioned him, not before.

Each side of Miranda
Two perspectives now. Paul Cassell, a University of Utah law professor, has been a long time advocate to loosen the Miranda requirement. He will argue the case before the Supreme Court. Steven Shapiro is a legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and favors keeping Miranda protections in place. Mr. Cassell, what is wrong or right with the Miranda protections as they now stand?

PAUL CASSELL: Well, there are some things that are right. Giving Miranda warnings has not proven to be a problem. What has proven to be a problem is the exclusionary rule feature of Miranda. That is the feature that throws out perfectly voluntary confession. For example, in this case, all the courts have agreed that Mr. Dickerson's confession is voluntary, and yet now for two and a half years there's been litigation over "what time did he give

his

perfectly

Miranda warning?" Congress has said, "let's let in voluntary confessions." And that's what I'm optimistic the Supreme Court will uphold.

GWEN IFILL: When we speak about Mr. Dickerson, we're talking about the Maryland case.

PAUL CASSELL: That's exactly right, yes.

GWEN IFILL: Mr. Shapiro, what about you? What do you think is wrong or right? What should be upheld in the Miranda warning?

STEVEN SHAPIRO: Well, I think the Miranda decision itself ought to be upheld. And you know, Gwen, it's odd to me that this controversy has even arisen, because Miranda really is a win-win situation. It gives the police a clear set of rules to follow. If anything, it makes it easier to admit confessions at trial, as long as the police obey the rules. It is fair to defendants because it informs them of their rights. It protects the basic Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. And it promotes a sense of fairness, integrity in the criminal justice system. And so, unlike Paul, I'm actually quite optimistic that this Supreme Court will reaffirm the core of the Miranda holding.

GWEN IFILL: Mr. Cassell, your argument, as I understand it is that, at least in part, that there are so many technicalities that Miranda is used as a technicality to throw cases out. What evidence is there of that?

PAUL CASSELL: Well, there's substantial empirical evidence, that over the last 50 years, Miranda's had a devastating effect on law enforcement. If you look at crime clearance rates -- the rate at which police officers solve crimes -- from 1950 to 1965, it was about 60%, but then fell dramatically after Miranda. And if you work through the numbers, as I have with some econometricians, it turns out that about 70,000 violent criminal cases each year go unsolved because of Miranda. And so it's not a win-win situation, at least if you're willing to go beyond the

groups that the ACLU looks at, and look, for example, at victims of crime who are typically poor or racial minorities, residents of inner cities. They're the ones who lose because of Miranda. Criminals are set free and set free to commit their crimes again. That's the problem with

Miranda, and that's why I think the Supreme Court will take a hard look at correcting some of the excesses of the decision.

GWEN IFILL: Mr. Shapiro, your chance to pony up a little evidence, exactly what evidence is there that defendants' rights would be compromised without Miranda?

STEVEN SHAPIRO: Well, let me just respond to something that Paul has just said because he has spent a lot of time promoting this statistic that he just described, and the fact is that there is considerable dispute

within the academic community about the validity of those statistics. And rather than get into a fight here or an argument between academics or between lawyers, I think the most powerful fact in this case is that the Justice Department -- on behalf of the FBI and behalf of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, behalf of IRS, on behalf of the entire federal law enforcement structure

--
has filed a brief in this case asking the court to uphold Miranda. And it just defies imagination to think that the federal government and the federal law enforcement would be filing that brief if it thought it had... Miranda had

the
consequences for law enforcement that Paul just described. In fact, the overwhelming proof is that Miranda has not resulted in guilty criminals... significant

numbers of
guilty criminals going free. And what it does do is protect against the abuses that the Supreme Court saw for decades in coerced confession cases before it announced the Miranda rule in 1966.

Are Constitutional rights enough?

GWEN IFILL: What about the constitutional underpinnings of this case, Mr. Cassell? You'll be arguing this in front of the court. They argue... the Constitution does guarantee a right to remain silent. Is that enough?

PAUL CASSELL: Well, as the court has repeatedly said about Miranda rights is that they're not constitutional rights. They're simply safeguards that the Court has created. And one of the little-known facts about Miranda is that Chief Justice Warren, himself, in the Miranda opinion, invited Congress to come in and adopt alternative approaches for dealing with this problem. So the law that

we're talking about here -- the voluntary confessions law -- was enacted at the express invitation of Congress. And I think also, we're going to see considerable support for the law throughout the law enforcement community. It's true that the politically driven brief filed by the Justice Department supports Miranda, but the career people in the Justice Department -- the criminal division, U.S. attorneys around the country-- support the position I'm arguing. The National District Attorneys Association supports it. Many of the nation's largest law enforcement groups support it as well. So, when you talk about where rank and file law enforcement officers are, what they say is, "look, we'll continue to give Miranda warning, but

don't

throw out a perfectly voluntary confession because there's some technicality involved or technical question about how it was obtained."

GWEN IFILL: Well. That leads exactly to the next question here, Mr. Shapiro: If someone confesses to a crime, actually says, "yes, I did it," and it's someone who

you have every reason to believe did do the crime, why should that be thrown out?

STEVEN SHAPIRO: Well, in many circumstances, it is not going to be thrown out. It will not be thrown out if somebody confesses before the police interrogate them; it will not be thrown out if the police give the Miranda warnings before interrogating them. But as you said before, quite properly, Gwen, we do have a constitutional principle that says people have the right to remain silent. And in our system, the government cannot force you to give evidence against yourself. And if that is the constitutional rule, I don't see any basis for objecting

to a

principle that says people have a right to be informed of their rights. Do we really want to live in a system and

live

in a society in which the law enforcement depends upon keeping people ignorant of their rights?

And let me just say, I don't think you can dismiss the Justice Department brief in this case as politically

driven.

The fact of the matter is, the law that is now before the Supreme Court was enacted in 1968; it has not been relied on by a single administration, Democrat or Republican, in the intervening 30 years. This is not an

issue

of politics; this is an issue of constitutional law. And if Miranda were not, in fact, a constitutional ruling, the

Supreme Court could not have applied it against the states, as it did in Miranda and as it has done in many cases subsequently. And while it is true that Chief Justice

Warren

said in Miranda that there's nothing magical about the words and that Congress and the state legislatures could adopt equally effective safeguards to protect the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination, that is not

what

Congress did in the statute. Congress did not adopt any safeguard at all. Instead, it went back to a general test

of

voluntariness, which was precisely the test that the Supreme Court had rejected in Miranda.

So what you have here now is a situation where Congress has purported to overrule the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution, and that is something

that

Congress does not have the authority to do in our system.

GWEN IFILL: Mr. Cassell, Mr. Shapiro just referred to Earl Warren's reference to there not being any magic in the words, but certainly Americans have gotten used to the idea that these words represent some sort of protection of their basic rights. How do you argue that that's not true?

PAUL CASSELL: Well, I argue, in fact, it is true. And you'll actually see many of those same words in the law that I'm defending. Congress passed a law that included many of the same rights that are included in

the Miranda opinion. And so what you find in the law itself, voluntary confessions law, is that the evidence can be used if police officers give warnings, and to look at

all

of the factors. So police officers are going to continue to give warnings if this law is **upheld**. That's not an issue today. What is an issue is **whether** a perfectly voluntary confession from indisputably guilty criminals can be thrown out because of some technical issue.

It's simply not the case to say, as Steven has, that no administration has ever relied on this law. In fact, if

you go

back as far as 1969, you'll find that the Nixon administration litigated this law all over the country. In 1975, the Tenth Circuit out here in Denver, upheld the law. So, it has **been** used actually for about 25 or 30 years. It was even used during the start of the Clinton administration. They've just made the political decision

not

law. to enforce this act of Congress. I'm confident that the Supreme Court will agree that this is a constitutional

Voluntary versus coerced confessions

GWEN IFILL: It seems that we keep coming back to the question of voluntary versus coerced confessions. Mr. Shapiro, how exactly and who gets to decide what a voluntary confession is -- something someone says of their own free will -- and what a coerced confession is, that presumably law enforcement officials forced out of someone?

STEVEN SHAPIRO: Well, ultimately it's the courts that decide. And one of the things that produced the Miranda rule was, in fact, the difficulty of determining whether a confession is voluntary or a confession is coerced, given what the Supreme Court described as the inherently coercive atmosphere of custodial interrogations -- station house interrogations.

So what you have pre-Miranda, is you have litigation in case after case after case, where courts were required to look at whole range of factors to decide whether or not the confession was voluntary. You had more litigation, you had less certainty, you had more confusion, not only on the part of the police, but on the part of judges and criminal defendants. Miranda really simplified and rationalized the system which is why many, many law enforcement professionals -- Paul's comment notwithstanding -- support Miranda, believe it is professionalized law enforcement, and believe it has in

fact

made it easier for them to operate and have valid confessions admitted into evidence. Nobody's against the use of uncoerced, voluntary confessions. Miranda is designed to ensure that the confessions that get into trial are in fact voluntary and uncoerced.

GWEN IFILL: Mr. Cassell, if you make your case before the Supreme Court, you argue that people will still continue to give the Miranda warning. If you don't make your case against the Supreme Court, the chance is that the Supreme Court will uphold the law as it currently stands. So, why is this at the Supreme Court? Why does this have to be argued?

PAUL CASSELL: Well, I think the key issue is exactly what Steven just said -- should a perfectly voluntary confession be thrown out. He said that no one would argue against that. In fact, in this case, Mr. Dickerson's

lawyer -- the case out of Maryland -- Mr. Dickerson's lawyer is arguing to throw out this confession that all the courts have found to be voluntary. And that raises fundamental questions about our criminal justice system: Are we going to make the search for truth the overriding and central focus of criminal justice? For too long, we've diverted our attention. We've looked at some of these side issues, these side issues and ancillary questions. This

case

presents an opportunity for the Supreme Court to clearly say, "We're going to make the search for truth the key issue, and we're going to give juries all reliable

evidence to

make that decision."

GWEN IFILL: Steven Shapiro, Paul Cassell, thank you both very much.

PAUL CASSELL: Thank you.

END

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CNN Crossfire
Aired January 6, 2000 - 7:30 p.m. ET

Which Democrat Will Win in New Hampshire?

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BILL BRADLEY (D), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: You know, Al,
your underdog pitch brings tears to my eyes.

AL GORE, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Well, I
hope
that my upset victory brings tears to your eyes on
February 1st.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROBERT NOVAK, CO-HOST: Tonight, the New Hampshire primary is just weeks away. After votes are counted, which Democratic candidate will be laughing, and which will be crying?

ANNOUNCER: Live from Washington, CROSSFIRE. On the left, Bill Press. On the right, Robert Novak.

In the CROSSFIRE, Ron Klain, former chief of staff to Vice President Al Gore and an adviser to the Gore campaign. And in Des Moines, Eric Hauser, press secretary for Bill Bradley.

NOVAK: Good evening, welcome to CROSSFIRE.

Al Gore and Bill Bradley squared off in their fourth Democratic presidential debate. And it's not just the vice president calling the former senator a quitter. The former basketball star also took off the gloves.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRADLEY: When I hear you talk, Al, it reminds me of a Washington bunker. I think you're in the Washington bunker. And I can understand why you're in the bunker. I mean, there's Gingrich, there was the fund-raising scandal, there was the impeachment problem. And I think that the major objective in the last several years in the White House has been political survival. I understand that.

GORE: I'm proud that I stayed and fought against the Gingrich Congress. I'm proud that I was where I think the American people needed a lot of folks to be, fighting against that, preventing them from shutting down the government.

(END VIDEO CLIP) NOVAK: But what made front pages of the nation's newspapers was the vice president saying, yes, he would impose a gay rights litmus test in naming members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Senator Bradley didn't go quite that far but did say the generals and

admirals he picked would
follow his orders to allow gays in the military.

If you didn't catch debate number four last night, never
fear. Debate number
five will be in Des Moines Saturday afternoon, broadcast
live on CNN.

Who's winning these debates? And are the debates really
preparing the
Democrats to run against Republicans next November?

Bill?

BILL PRESS, CO-HOST: Eric Hauser, I started out in
politics with Gene
McCarthy in 1968, so I like somebody who's independent,
I like somebody
who's an outsider. I thought that's what Bill Bradley
was, and then I hear him
last night giving this answer when challenged to give up
30-second
commercials.

Let's remind everybody what he said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRADLEY: Let me tell you, if you are not known by a
million people in the
country, as Al is -- I'm not known by as many people. My
only opportunity
to get known is through a 30-second television
commercial, which, quite
frankly, if you know what you believe is really not a
problem.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

PRESS: Now, Eric, that is classic insider establishment
BS, isn't it?

ERIC HAUSER, BRADLEY PRESS SECRETARY: No, not at all. The
couple points are, one, it is true. You can say -- you
can have an important
impression in 30 seconds if you're clear and candid and
direct with people.

Thirty-second ads, 60-second ads are not the only way to
communicate.

You do it in living rooms, you do it in debates, you do
it in speeches. But the
other part of it is 30-second ads aren't the problem,
30-second attack ads
are the problem. People aren't saying they want to hear
less of politicians

through the air, they're saying they don't want to hear
attack politics through
the air. So we'll keep a mix of communication, and we'll
keep it positive.

PRESS: Eric, you're doing what your boss does. You're
avoiding the
question. Look, Bill Bradley is not an unknown, and his
answer is the same
answer you hear from Mitch McConnell and Republicans on
campaign
reform. They say we can't do it because we need to keep
raising money,
basically, to fight the other side.

HAUSER: Bill, Bill, he is a lot less known than the vice
president. And,
more importantly -- and it was interesting. The vice
president sort of agreed
to this last night when said, now this time, Bill. It's
not a ploy, meaning last
time it was, meaning it still is a ploy. And it's a
gimmick. There's a lot of
stunts. There's a lot of gimmicks. It's a foolish idea,
and I don't think we'll do
it...

PRESS: And...

HAUSER: ... under any circumstances.

PRESS: And...

HAUSER: It's a form of communication with people. And If
you say what
you believe...

PRESS: And...

HAUSER: ... about health care and guns and campaign
finance reform and
look in the camera, tell people...

PRESS: And...

HAUSER: ... what you believe and why, that's fine.

PRESS: And, Eric, standing up -- Bill Bradley standing
up with John
McCain in New Hampshire and shaking hands was not a
campaign ploy?

HAUSER: Absolutely not. These have been guys that have
committed to

campaign finance reform since the very beginning of this campaign, that have made it centerpieces, that have proven something very important, which is you need cooperation and a national purpose to get campaign finance reform done. We haven't had that in the last seven or eight years, and you need that if you're going to get it accomplished.

NOVAK: Ron Klain, I was reading today the "Hot Line" publication, all the reaction to last night's debates from people who aren't committed -- journalists, analysts, neutrals. They all say your candidate lost. You doing something wrong?

RON KLAIN, GORE ADVISER: Bob, you're reading something different than what I'm reading. I heard a great reaction from people all over the country to the vice president last night. And it's no surprise. Once again, I thought he was right on the issues. I think he was right on the issue that Bill just raised, which was the question whether or not Senator Bradley would be willing to give up 30-second spots and focus the campaign on the issues through a series of debates.

And what the vice president said last night was if Senator Bradley isn't known throughout the country, he'd limited it to New Hampshire alone, where Bill Bradley is leading us, and where there's no reason why he can't agree to the vice president's proposal.

NOVAK: Ron, I'll send you that sheet from the...

KLAIN: Thanks, Bob, thanks. I appreciate that.

NOVAK: You'll see. But let me -- I try to be helpful. And I want to tell you what's wrong with the vice president. And let's just...

KLAIN: Thanks, Bob. I appreciate that.

NOVAK: Let's just look at this little piece from the debate last night.

KLAIN: OK.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRADLEY: First of all, Al, let me explain to you, Al, how the private sectors works, OK? If you have -- if you have a health care plan...

GORE: Try not to be aloof.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

NOVAK: You may not have heard that. What Vice President Gore said was "try not to be aloof." And, you know, they're having a debate about health care, and he has read somewhere in some of the polling data that you have piled onto him that Bradley is too aloof. He reads it in the paper, and so in the middle of the health care thing, he says, try not to be aloof. That's the whole problem.

KLAIN: Well, no, no. Look, first of all -- by the way, I think the first question in that debate was a question from a journalist asking Senator Bradley about his aloofness. And, frankly, I thought Senator Bradley's answer was just plain, old condescending. He doesn't want to defend his health care plan because he...

HAUSER: Ron, Ron, wait a minute.

KLAIN: Eric, let me finish. I didn't interrupt you. Let me finish.

HAUSER: All right.

KLAIN: He doesn't want to defend his let care plan because he can't. It's a bad plan. It gets rid of Medicaid, it gets -- unstabilizes the health care system, it would explode the deficit. It's a wrong plan. That's why Senator Bradley can't defend the program.

NOVAK: You didn't answer my question, but I didn't expect you to. But I want to raise one other thing. You have been -- the vice president has been really attacking Senator Bradley as being the tool of

the pharmaceutical
companies. And he answered that last night.

And let's take a look at what he said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRADLEY: Less than one percent of the money that I ever
raised when I
was running in all of my Senate campaigns came from
anybody connected to
a pharmaceutical company, less than this 3/10 of a
percent in my presidential
campaign. So from my standpoint, that's not a problem.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

NOVAK: Now don't you think the vice president owes
Senator Bradley an
apology, raising this red herring of pharmaceutical
contribution, when less
than one percent of his contributions come from those
companies?

KLAIN: Look it's thousands and thousands of dollars,
whatever the
percentage is. And Senator Bradley has been, as I think
has been
documented in most of the major newspapers -- "The New
York Times did
a story about this a couple of weeks ago -- a very loyal
and overly loyal
friend of the pharmaceutical industry. And just this
week, when he
announced his big plan to close corporate tax loopholes,
none of them were
addressed to the pharmaceutical industry once again.

On the tax issue, the difference between these two
candidates couldn't be
clearer. Al Gore supports middle class tax relief, and
Bill Bradley hasn't
pushed that issue in this campaign.

PRESS: Eric, I've got a question for you here, but if
you want to...

HAUSER: Let me...

PRESS: ... give a quick response, go ahead.

HAUSER: Let me -- can I ask a question for Ron?

PRESS: Yes, go ahead.

HAUSER: Ron, how much, I mean, \$150 billion, \$350 billion, the vice president's tax cut range is extraordinary. And that's why we don't know exactly how much he's trying to spend. The fact is the vice president, by his own numbers, has overspent the surplus. So any talk of a tax cut...

KLAIN: Eric, that's just not true. The vice president has been right there on taxes...

HAUSER: Which one? No, he hasn't, Ron.

KLAIN: He's very clear on taxes, very clear.

HAUSER: How much? How much?

KLAIN: He's talked about getting rid of the marriage penalty. I wish Senator Bradley would support that.

HAUSER: But how much, Ron?

KLAIN: Health care tax cuts, savings tax cuts, a total of almost \$300 billion. And his plan, unlike Senator Bradley's, fits within the balanced budget...

HAUSER: No, it doesn't. KLAIN: ... and doesn't destabilize the economic future of our country.

HAUSER: No, it doesn't.

KLAIN: I'm sorry, Eric. Those are the facts.

PRESS: All right, let me jump in here with a tax question that didn't come up in the debate last night, Eric, which is the senator's statement yesterday that he wanted to eliminate or close some tax loopholes. Liberals love that, right? Tax loopholes amounting to \$125 billion. My question to you, Eric, is this is a senator who authored, when he was in the Senate, a tax break for pharmaceutical companies doing business in Puerto Rico, also a senator who flip-flopped on one of the worst tax loopholes, which is the ethanol subsidy in Iowa. I mean, isn't it kind of hypocritical of him to

talk about tax breaks

when he's -- I mean, loopholes, when he's the author of these two?

HAUSER: No, I -- you know, he is the author of the 1986 tax reform act,

which was probably the greatest reform in of the tax code in American history, taking out billions of dollars in loopholes and lowering rates for millions of Americans.

PRESS: But he can't have it both ways, Eric.

HAUSER: No, but the point is, the interesting thing the other day after we

made the proposal to save \$125 billion, is the Gore campaign said that Bill

Bradley was new to the issue of tax reform. That's like saying he's recently

tall. I mean, you guys have got to get the facts right. He offered the biggest bill on tax reform in the country, and we're going to continue that tradition in the White House.

NOVAK: I have to get away from the debate for a moment, Mr. Klain. The

Gore campaign manager, Donna Brazile, made this statement, quote:

"The Republicans bring out Colin Powell and J.C. Watts because they have no program, no policy. They play that game because they have no other game. They have no love and no joy. They'd rather take pictures with black children than feed them."

And a black Republican, Governor Colin Powell was...

PRESS: General -- you said "governor."

NOVAK: I'm sorry -- General Colin Powell was absolutely outraged by

that. He called it playing the race card. Are you identifying yourself with the outrageous statements by Donna Brazile?

KLAIN: Donna Brazile was 100 percent right. Look, General Powell is a great American. He's a great leader. He's a national hero. J.C. Watts is a great man, too. But the fact is that their presence in

the Republican Party, as
great leaders as they are, doesn't make up for the fact
the Republican Party
has no real agenda to help...

NOVAK: So you like to play the race card.

KLAIN: This is not about playing the race card; it's
about playing the truth
card, Bob. And the truth card is this: The Republican
Party doesn't have an
agenda to help minorities.

In fact, just yesterday, as this controversy was
erupting, the Republican
Party once again renewed their opposition to the vice
president's plan to
support school construction in our inner-cities. Where
is their agenda for
African-Americans in this country, Bob?

PRESS: Gentlemen, we're going to have to take a break.
We've got more
issues and more differences coming up. But as we go to
this break, here's
one issue that both candidates found last night that
they could agree on.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

AL GORE, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: I respect,
Bill. I really do. I am not just saying that as a ploy.
I think he's a genuinely
good person.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: You agree with him? ?

BILL BRADLEY (D), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I agree with
what
he said, yes. I think I'm a genuinely good person.

(LAUGHTER)

GORE: He also thinks he's a genuinely good person.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

PRESS: Welcome back to CROSSFIRE.

In the first debate of 2000, Bill Bradley and Al Gore
agreed last night on
gays in the military, but they clashed over health care,

Medicare and
relations with Russia, among other topics. Tonight, we
continue to probe the
difference on the issues with representatives of both
candidates. In Des
Moines, Eric Hauser, press secretary to Bill Bradley.
Here in Washington,
Ron Klain, former chief of staff to Vice President Gore
and now adviser to
the gore campaign -- Bob.

NOVAK: Eric Hauser, I almost fell off my chair last
night when I heard
Senator Bradley, not only raise the impeachment issue,
when he talked
about Al Gore in the bunker, but say this about his
Democratic
administration's policy to Russia. Let's take a look at
it.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRADLEY: I look at our relations with Russia over the
last eight years, and
I think we've had a missed opportunity. They came, they
wanted to know
what to do. I think that we have not pushed hard enough
for a reduction in
strategic nuclear weapons, destruction of nuclear
stockpiles. I believe that
we sent IMF money to Russia knowing that corruption was
rampant.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

NOVAK: Eric, any one of the six pack of Republican
candidates debating
tonight at Durham, New Hampshire could use that -- are
you just cutting all
of your ties with the Clinton administration?

HAUSER: No. We've got a disagreement with some of how --
some of the
Russia policy over the last six or seven years, but
there's a thread that
extends far beyond Russia, and it's missed
opportunities, and it's settling for
far less than we could do, whether it's Russia, or gun
control, or child
poverty, or health care, or campaign finance reform and
on and on and on.
The vice president made very clear last night that he
was willing to settle for
a lot less than Americans want, and that's unfortunate.

And it's clear on
health care, in particular, that he is leaving millions
of people behind without
insurance, without finances for insurance...

(CROSSTALK)

HAUSER: Well, let me make one other point on this one.
You've talked
about step by step to universal care. There is no more
money in your budget
for any steps. What you've proposed is as far as you're
going to get in a
Gore administration, and that's what you have settled
for and that's how...

(CROSSTALK)

HAUSER: Ron, talk about yourself for a minute.

PRESS: One at a time.

(CROSSTALK)

PRESS: Eric, OK, hold on.

KLAIN: Senator Bradley's proposal costs six times and
covers one percent
more persons and leaves nothing, nothing for education,
to save Medicare,
to promote fiscal responsibility and for tax cuts. Bill
Bradley has the small
agenda here. It's an agenda here; it's an agenda just
focused on health care.
Al Gore has leadership for the 21st century on health
care, education,
Medicare, Medicaid, the whole range of issues. That's
the biggest difference
here.

NOVAK: That's fascinating, but that's not the point I
was making. You
know, the first election I voted in was 1952, and the
Democratic candidate,
Adlai Stevenson, just trashed the Truman administration
up and down
America. They missed opportunities, they didn't do well
enough, and he
ended up winning nine out of 48 states for one of the
worst Democratic
showings ever.

Isn't there a danger when you really dump on your own
record, Democratic

record of eight years, you're giving a windfall to the Republicans? HAUSER:

No, it's -- Bob, I think it's a difference of opinion on a critical issue in global relations. There have been some things the Clinton administration has done right. There have been things that Senator Bradley believes have not been done as well as they should have been. That's normal politicking. What's not normal politicking is attacking relentlessly on issues that are distorted, are unclear, are -- that's the difference in the Gore campaign, Unfortunately, he started with that back in October.

NOVAK: I want one more thing about the general -- looking forward to the general election. Last night, your candidate said that he would force members of the joint chiefs of staff to accept his views on gays in the military. Vice President Gore said he would have a litmus test on members of the joint chiefs of staff.

Don't you know, Eric, that the Republicans are going to take those soundbites in the general election and whichever of you is nominated, just cram it down your throat?

HAUSER: No I don't think so. I mean, I think it's an issue of common human respect, and that gays in the -- we believe gays should be allowed to serve openly in the military. And what Senator Bradley talked about last night was establishing that principle and that working in consultation with the Joint Chiefs and the military on enacting that principle in the course of his administration. He made the point that military officers follow their commander in chief and they'll follow this principle that he's laid out and the vice president has agreed with.

PRESS: Let me pick up on that, Ron, with you, because you know, I thought -- I remember as a Democrat attacking the Republicans all the time, because they wanted litmus test for appointees to the Supreme Court. Are

you saying now and is Al Gore saying that we are for
litmus tests when it
comes to the military?

KLAIN: What the vice president said last night was that
litmus tests for an
independent branch of the government, like the
Judiciary, is one question,
but it's, of course, common sense that people he will
appoint to jobs in his
administration will support his policies. That's why
it's the executive branch.
That's why the president is the commander in chief. And
I think it's common
sense that the vice president, who wants to rid our
military of discrimination,
is going to seek people to serve in high posts in that
armed forces that share
his views against discrimination. I think that is common
sense. I think it's why
both Al Gore and Bill Bradley agreed on that last night.

PRESS: Well, I totally agree that the "don't ask don't
tell" policy is
outrageous. It should never have been adopted. It should
be eliminated right
away.

But I think the question is: What is the proper role of
the military? Let me
just read you what one of the former marine commandants
said today,
quote, this is...

NOVAK: Commandant. PRESS: ... commandant -- Carl,
General Carl
Mundy. Quote:

"Military officers certainly execute the orders of the
president, but a litmus
test beforehand would place an officer in an untenable
position, saying: Do
you believe what I believe? I think it would be
unworkable."

Isn't that the issue? It is not that a soldier won't
obey orders, but you can't --
are you going to demand of the soldier that he agree
with you ahead of time?

KLAIN: The vice president as commander-in-chief is going
to demand
military officers be prepared to support and execute his
policies. I think

that's common sense for someone who is trying to bring an anti-discrimination approach to the U.S. military. I am sure that's what Harry Truman did when he integrated the armed forces, and I think it's sensible for Al Gore to want to do the same thing now.

I think it is a step forward in our society. It's a step for eliminating discrimination in the armed forces. I think it's the right place for the next president to be.

PRESS: Let me ask you just one other quick one on handguns.

KLAIN: Sure.

PRESS: Because I was surprised last night when Bill Bradley -- I mean, Al Gore has been good on handgun control.

KLAIN: Right.

PRESS: Bill Bradley said one simple thing: I want to license and register all hand guns. And the vice president would not go along with it. Why not? What is wrong with that policy?

KLAIN: Because what the vice president has is a policy that makes a heck of a lot more sense, which is licensing gun owners, and making sure that before you can go buy a handgun you have a photo ID, basic safety instructions, and a legal entitlement to buy them.

Registering handguns would be a bureaucratic nightmare. There is no way to actually implement it. Senator Bradley has no plan to do it. It would be an absolute disaster. It can't be done right now in our country.

And why not -- and why not do something that will make our streets actually safer?

PRESS: Eric...

HAUSER: Yes.

KLAIN: This is like a lot of things Bill Bradley has

proposed.

HAUSER: No, no, no, Ron...

KLAIN: It sounds good at first blush...

HAUSER: Ron, first of all...

KLAIN: but it wouldn't work.

HAUSER: Ron, first of all, we support licensing, but what you're doing is leaving 66 million guns in America without any check. The guns that are already out there, the only way to trace them, the only way to track them, the only way to know how they're used in crimes and how to find the people who use them, is to register. It's symbolic of so many things.

You have got to step up and do the big thing, because it's going to help a lot of people. And with that many guns out there unregistered, you're not going to be able to trace them, and...

KLAIN: It is symbolic of many things, Eric.

HAUSER: ... you're selling people short, you're selling people short.

KLAIN: It is symbolic of many things. It's a complicated plan Senator Bradley has laid out there that wouldn't work, that hasn't been thought through, that has no details, and wouldn't actually do anything to make this country better off.

NOVAK: All right, we're going to -- we're going to have to take a break.

I want to ask a quick question: Richard Berke of "The New York Times" on "INSIDE POLITICS" on CNN today. I think he's an objective reporter. He said both of you are running well to the left. Is that true? Eric?

HAUSER: I think we're running right to common sense, which is where most Americans are. You're not going to tell me that most Americans don't want

health insurance for everybody, don't want guns off the streets, don't...

NOVAK: Ron, quickly, are you running to the left?

KLAIN: The vice president is running on a common-sense agenda that will make America a better place in the 21st century.

NOVAK: You're both wrong, you're both running to the left, and that old left-winger Bill Press -- thank you very much, Ron Klain.

KLAIN: Thank you.

NOVAK: Thank you Eric Hauser in Des Moines.

HAUSER: Thanks, guys.

NOVAK: And that old left-winger Bill Press and I will be back with closing comments in just a minute.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

PRESS: OK, if you love politics, CNN is the network to watch, and here a couple of programming notes: Iowa and New Hampshire, of course, aren't the only states where votes matter. The GOP candidates meet in South Carolina tomorrow night for still another debate. And in the CROSSFIRE tomorrow, to preview it, we'll be joined by Bush adviser Ralph Reed, and McCain's top man in the state, Congressman Lindsey Graham. That's Friday, tomorrow night, at 7:30.

And Saturday at 2:00, tune in to watch Democratic candidates Al Gore and Bill Bradley face off in still another debate, this one in Des Moines, Iowa. And of course, that is all on CNN.

Bob, first I have to tell you, I agree with you on -- I thought Donna Brazil's comments were out of line, and she certainly deserves an apology to Colin Powell, at least, and to J.C. Watts.

The other thing I have to tell you -- you know what I picked up last night

from this debate? I think Bill Bradley is surprisingly thin-skinned. I mean, he loves to put out these big ideas, but when you challenge him he really bristles -- and question whether he's really tough enough for the long haul.

NOVAK: Well, I've spent my whole life looking for a thick-skinned politician and I haven't found one yet.

But I -- let me tell you this, 27 percent of the U.S. -- of the officers in the U.S. military say they'll resign from the service if this "don't ask, don't tell" policy is abandoned. And when the -- when Vice President Gore says on national television that he would demand a litmus test for members of the Joint Chiefs, that is gold, porcelain, the platinum for the Republicans to use in the fall campaign.

PRESS: And they will, but it won't work.

From the left, I'm Bill Press. Good night for CROSSFIRE.

NOVAK: From the right, I'm Robert Novak. Join us again next time for another edition of CROSSFIRE.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 15:05:34.00

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

TEXT:

I would not include the last sentence in the 2nd paragraph. "Tragically, the outcome has been.....".

The letter should stick to the President's words: see yesterday's comments below:

Q Mr. President, last night the Vice President in the debates said that he'll ask military commanders about their feelings on gays serving in the military before appointing people to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Is this litmus test the way it should work?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think the real problem is -- let me go back to what happened, because, as you know, my view was -- and I will restate my view. The Uniform Code of Military Justice prohibits homosexual contacts. So my view was, if someone was willing to take the pledge to observe the Uniform Code of Military Justice, they shouldn't have to lie about being gay and being in the military. Then, let me remind you what happened. The Congress voted, by a veto-proof majority, against that position. So that's how we got to "don't ask, don't tell."

My focus has been on trying to make the policy work the way the military commanders said it would work back in 1993, which it has not been doing. No one disputes that. To Secretary Cohen's credit, back in August we announced some new guidelines, which have now been implemented, for training and for implementation, which I think will significantly improve the present situation over the next few months.

Now, the Vice President and Senator Bradley say they want to go back to the position that I advocated in '92 and '93. In order to do that, the Congress will have to change the law, I believe. I don't think that the military and the President have the authority to do it. Now, you could go back and look at the constitutional arguments and do some research, but I think a lot of this debate, I think a lot of people have actually forgotten that Congress put into the law the present policy.

And so what I'm going to do is spend the next year trying to make sure that we do what was intended and what I announced would be done, after extensive consultation with our commanders back in 1993. I believe that the next President, if he wants to change the policy, will have to get the Congress to change the law.

Q A quick follow-up on that. Wouldn't litmus tests like that have disqualified somebody like Colin Powell from serving as Joint Chiefs?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that I'm going to leave the appointment process to the next President. I'm not going to get involved in this election right now. I think that there have been, we know, going back all the way to the first world war, we have clear evidence that there have been gays in the military who have served with great distinction. I think it's quite interesting that most of the Vietnam veterans, combat veterans, in the United States Congress, including Senator Robb and Senator Kerry, just to mention two, have felt that -- both Senator Kerry and Kerrey, and Senator Robb -- have felt that the policy ought to be changed and supported my original position.

So I would like to find some way for people to be honest, to obey the law, and to serve with distinction in the military. So I think that is where our focus ought to be, and the next President will have to figure out how to do that. But I think there will have to be a change in the law.

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from serving as Joint Chiefs?

&n
THE PRESIDENT: I think that I'm going to leave the appointment
process to the next President. I'm not
going to get involved in this
election right now. I think that there
have been, we know, going back all
the way to the first world war, we have clear
evidence that there have been
gays in the military who have served with great
distinction. I think it's
quite interesting that most of the Vietnam
veterans, combat veterans, in
the United States Congress, including Senator
Robb and Senator Kerry, just
to mention two, have felt that -- both Senator
Kerry and Kerrey, and
Senator Robb -- have felt that the policy ought
to be changed and supported
my original position.

&n
So I would like to find some way for people to be honest, to obey
the law, and to serve with distinction in the
military. So I think that is
where our focus ought to be, and the next President
will have to figure out
how to do that. But I think there will
have to be a change in the law.

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Elizabeth J. Potter (CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 12:53:13.00

SUBJECT: POTUS Weekly

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

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

Lisa M. Brown (CN=Lisa M. Brown/O=OVP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

TEXT:

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" : The military trial surrounding the beating death of Private Winchell will resume tomorrow. His roommate, Spec. Justin Fischer, who has been charged as an accomplice, will stand trial this Saturday, January 8th. We expect a fresh round of media interest in the story and that activists will begin to press in earnest for someone in the military to be held accountable for this tragedy.

The parents of Barry Winchell, Pat and Wally Kutteles (Koo-tell-as) are at Ft. Campbell, KY awaiting the verdict and are expected to make a statement when the trial ends. They are very articulate spokespersons having already said "We knew Barry could be deployed and come into harm's way for our country. We never dreamed that he would be killed by labeling, prejudice and hatred at home," and in a statement. "'Don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue' did not protect our son. It won't protect anyone else's child. This policy must end."

In addition, the Kutteles family and activists are going to call on the military to explain why a climate of underage drinking, rough housing and harassment were tolerated. Where were the officers in charge; and how could this brutal activity occur on a US military base?

Note: The Kutteles's will be in WDC this Monday and Tuesday. The Vice President called them before Christmas to offer condolences. They have not received a call from DOD.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 10:04:00.00

SUBJECT: FOX Hannity & Colmes, January 6, 2000

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

TO: Brian A. Reich (CN=Brian A. Reich/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

TO: Jennifer H. Smith (CN=Jennifer H. Smith/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

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

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

TO: Dawn M. Chirwa (CN=Dawn M. Chirwa/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: David Vandivier (CN=David Vandivier/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [OMB])
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TO: Lindsey E. Huff (CN=Lindsey E. Huff/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
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TO: Steven Reich (CN=Steven Reich/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Thomas D. Janenda (CN=Thomas D. Janenda/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Toby C. Graff (CN=Toby C. Graff/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Michael A. Hammer (CN=Michael A. Hammer/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
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TO: Victoria L. Valentine (CN=Victoria L. Valentine/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Rebecca L. Walldorff (CN=Rebecca L. Walldorff/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Heather M. Riley (CN=Heather M. Riley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Jonathan M. Prince (CN=Jonathan M. Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Steve Ricchetti (CN=Steve Ricchetti/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Rachael E. Sullivan (CN=Rachael E. Sullivan/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
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TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol (CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Mark A. Kitchens (CN=Mark A. Kitchens/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Gordon Li (CN=Gordon Li/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Steven J. Naplan (CN=Steven J. Naplan/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
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TO: Paul K. Engskov (CN=Paul K. Engskov/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Anne M. Edwards (CN=Anne M. Edwards/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Sara M. Latham (CN=Sara M. Latham/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Nanda Chitre (CN=Nanda Chitre/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Thurgood Marshall Jr (CN=Thurgood Marshall Jr/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Jeffrey M. Smith (CN=Jeffrey M. Smith/OU=OSTP/O=EOP@EOP [OSTP])
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TO: Elizabeth R. Newman (CN=Elizabeth R. Newman/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Megan C. Moloney (CN=Megan C. Moloney/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Dag Vega (CN=Dag Vega/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Leslie Bernstein (CN=Leslie Bernstein/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Anthony R. Bernal (CN=Anthony R. Bernal/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
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TO: Joseph P. Lockhart (CN=Joseph P. Lockhart/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Justin L. Coleman (CN=Justin L. Coleman/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Joshua Gotbaum (CN=Joshua Gotbaum/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [OMB])
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TO: Christine L. Anderson (CN=Christine L. Anderson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Stephen N. Boyd (CN=Stephen N. Boyd/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Matthew T. Schneider (CN=Matthew T. Schneider/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Scott Hynes (CN=Scott Hynes/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Irma L. Martinez (CN=Irma L. Martinez/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TO: Jason H. Schechter (CN=Jason H. Schechter/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

TO: Gene B. Sperling (CN=Gene B. Sperling/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

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

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

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

TO: gamble-bennett@dol.gov (gamble-bennett@dol.gov @ inet [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

TO: Douglas B. Sosnik (CN=Douglas B. Sosnik/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

FOX NEWS' ``HANNITY & COLMES"
JANUARY 6, 2000

SPEAKERS: SEAN HANNITY, CO-HOST
ALAN COLMES, CO-HOST

ALAN KEYES, REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE Republican
presidential candidates, Ambassador Alan Keyes. How are you, sir?
U.S. SENATOR ORRIN HATCH (R-UT), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
STEVE FORBES, REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

KEYES: Pretty good. How are you?

HANNITY: A little combative, contentious with Tim Russert on a
couple of occasions, you guys battling for air time sort of like what me
and Colmes do here.

COLMES: Yeah.

HANNITY: Ambassador, what did you think?

KEYES: Well, I think that that was a problem with the format tonight. We actually had protested it when they put it together. I think it's good to have exchanges. But they need to be moderated so that people don't have to fight for the floor.

It is not right. It's not consistent with the dignity of a presidential race. This should not turn into some kind of Jerry Springer presentation.

HANNITY: And did you feel it was?

KEYES: We're talking about the choice of the individual who's going to occupy the most serious office in this nation's life. And I think the debates around that ought to be conducted with more decorum. And I thought tonight's debate in the Russert section...

HANNITY: Well, one other...

KEYES: ... the part I think about the Tim Russert show kind of got out of hand.

HANNITY: ... All right, one of the criticisms, though, of these debates though, Ambassador, that there's not enough give and take, there's not enough freedom for people to come in. And people have defined them as joint press conferences. Was this an effort maybe to get away from that format, make it a little more freewheeling? I happen to like it better. I thought tonight's debate by far was...

KEYES: Yeah, but...

HANNITY: ... the most lively, most interesting. I got more out of it...

KEYES: ... This is not--no...

HANNITY: ... And I want to see people challenged.

KEYES: ... I'm sorry, that's not true. I don't believe one got more out of that section.

HANNITY: Yeah.

KEYES: This is not a gladiatorial combat. Right? This is something where each individual should have an opportunity to address...

HANNITY: But Ambassador, I want you to be able...

KEYES: ... the issues (inaudible)...

HANNITY: ... I want you to be able to look in the eye...

KEYES: ... I have no problem...

HANNITY: ... of George Bush and challenge him...

KEYES: ... No, excuse me, Sean...

HANNITY: ... And that's what I liked about tonight's debate (inaudible).

KEYES: ... I have no problem with this format.

HANNITY: OK.

KEYES: I do very well in it...

HANNITY: I...

KEYES: ... Steve Forbes had a problem, and that's not fair...

HANNITY: ... right.

KEYES: ... OK? Others had a problem, and it's not fair. We shouldn't be judging people on the basis...

HANNITY: All right...

KEYES: ... of whether or not they can...

HANNITY: ... there...

KEYES: ... let me finish, sir...

HANNITY: ... Go ahead. Go ahead.

KEYES: ... of whether they can wrestle their way into some free for all...

HANNITY: All right, well, let me go to...

KEYES: ... We should allow--we should allow a format that gives these gentlemen...

HANNITY: ... (inaudible)...

KEYES: ... a chance to have their say. And tonight's format let Tim Russert run roughshod over people and then had the whole thing dissolve...

HANNITY: All right...

KEYES: ... into a little bit of chaos because people refused to let him do it. It wasn't right.

HANNITY: ... let me ask you, you used the term ``where have all the conservatives gone?" And a big part of this debate became the issue of gays in the military. And you were the only candidate up there that said the current policy--don't ask, don't tell--is wrong. We should say it's wrong. And we should say that gays shouldn't serve in the military. One clear distinction between you and your fellow candidates.

KEYES: Well, I think it is a clear distinction. But I think we have a lot of folks, including everybody else in this race apparently who doesn't understand the seriousness both of the homosexual challenge to our national security where it seriously affects morale and discipline.

Senator McCain kept talking about the leadership. The political general who are going to cow-tow to their political masters may go along with this stuff. That doesn't mean that the rank-and-file troops, that doesn't mean that the people who are actually having to do these things on the front line. I know better. I know that they don't appreciate it...

HANNITY: All right...

KEYES: ... I know that it's causing tension and difficulty. I know that people are leaving the military in droves because of the demoralization that results...

HANNITY: ... let me...

KEYES: ... We shouldn't let this happen.

HANNITY: ... Let me ask you to dovetail. Dealing with cultural issues, you had an opportunity to ask Senator John McCain a question. You asked him about his answer to a previous question about a rock band. And he said his favorite was Nine Inch Nails. What did you think of his answer tonight?

KEYES: I thought his answer was totally inadequate tonight. And it also showed that he's not really serious at all about the challenge that we face on the moral front.

You don't make light of the influence that is had by these groups. We know that they contribute to declining morality, licentiousness, violence. Therefore, if somebody asks you what your favorite rock group is, you don't name one and give credibility to one that is actually among the worst offenders in the cesspool that can sometimes be out there.

You could name Point of Grace. You could name other groups that are actually wholesome, good music, popular, contemporary. You don't have to pick the...

COLMES: We know--we know that...

KEYES: ... worst devils and make jokes about it. It's not funny. It really isn't.

COLMES: ... Well, you know, we know that Senator McCain is not grooving to Nine Inch Nails while you're talking to HANNITY & COLMES. Listen...

(LAUGHTER)

COLMES: ... would you--I made him laugh. Can you believe it? I made Alan Keyes laugh. Would you...

HANNITY: By the way, Nine Inch Nails is his favorite group. It's...

COLMES: ... No it's not. You wouldn't vote for Tim Russert, though. You wouldn't support him as a candidate I'm guessing, right?

(LAUGHTER)

COLMES: It wouldn't happen.

KEYES: Well, I wouldn't want to anticipate the process. If he declares...

COLMES: Look, I think he was doing his job. You know, it's tough to be a--just a on HANNITY & COLMES, we're always fighting for time. You're always trying to...

KEYES: Well...

COLMES: ... control six different Republican candidates...

KEYES: ... Alan, Alan...

COLMES: ... all of whom want a piece of the pie is very tough.

KEYES: ... Alan, come on. Come on, Alan. What he was doing was shilling for Bush and McCain. He kept...

COLMES: Oh, you believe that?

KEYES: ... in the beginning of the debate when we were supposed to be giving questions to individual people, he would go down the line. And every time somebody gave an answer, he turned back to Governor Bush. Why? On what basis?

COLMES: No, no...

KEYES: It totally violated the format. And it was being done I think at the behest of the Bush campaign.

COLMES: Dr. Keyes...

KEYES: Is that an unbiased media representative?

COLMES: ... You know, Tim Russert...

KEYES: I hardly think so.

COLMES: ... he's on a competing network. But I think he's one of the best interviewers in the business. And I also think to say that he was shilling--to sacrifice his credibility to shill for two of the candidates is a very serious charge. You really believe that?

KEYES: He did it. I didn't do it. And don't tell me that I have to do something. Anybody who watched that debate and had eyes knew exactly what was going on and saw it from the beginning.

So it's not an assertion on my part, Alan. You watched the debate. You can see what happened.

COLMES: You know, there's a perception about you that whatever question gets asked, the answer always involves God, morality, and a diminution of how we're doing as part of the pop culture. Do you feel that you might have--I know you're not going to say you focus too much on that. But can you understand why there might be that perception of you because almost every question results in that kind of answer?

KEYES: I have said quite seriously and I deeply believe the moral crisis is the top priority this nation faces. When your house is burning down, when the foundations are crumbling, if somebody stands in front of the burning house and shouts ``fire, fire," you don't look at the flaming house and say, ``Why are you obsessed with fire?"

That's what you're doing here. I tell you the house is burning down. I keep saying ``fire, fire," and you say, ``Alan, why do you keep

saying ``fire, fire?" Well I'll tell you, it's because the house is burning down...

COLMES: All right, we only have...

KEYES: ... And so that crisis is the one we need to address.

And yes, I keep coming back to it because that's where we should be focusing our attention.

COLMES: ... We only have a moment left here before we get to break. Let me ask you, maybe we can agree on this, Elian Gonzalez, the boy from Cuba, should he go back or should he stay in America?

KEYES: I think that that is properly up to his father if his father in fact has been properly meeting his parental obligation. The bonds of family should not be superceded by political and ideological concerns. We should respect those bonds.

God decides what country we are born in, some people in America, some people in Cuba. But your father is your father. And the only objection I have to the INS decision--and it's a strong one--is that we don't know that that father has made a free decision...

COLMES: The father wanted the boy, was OK with the boy coming here...

KEYES: ... And until we do, until we do...

COLMES: ... and then changed his view about it.

KEYES: ... excuse me, until we know that the father has made a true and free decision...

HANNITY: All right...

KEYES: ... the boy should stay in America.

HANNITY: ... Ambassador Alan Keyes, thank you for joining us. Good job on the debate tonight.

KEYES: Thank you.

HANNITY: You'll be back here tomorrow night after tomorrow's debate.

KEYES: Yes indeed.

HANNITY: And we wish you well tomorrow night as always.

END

SPEAKERS: SEAN HANNITY, CO-HOST

ALAN COLMES, CO-HOST

U.S. SENATOR ORRIN HATCH (R-UT), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

HANNITY: Now joining us from New Hampshire, Republican presidential candidate Senator Orrin Hatch is with us.

Senator, are you declaring yourself the winner?

(LAUGHTER)

SEN. ORRIN HATCH (R-UT), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: No, I'll let you do that. And I hope you will.

I think we did OK because it was kind of an unruly bunch. But you know...

HANNITY: Yeah.

HATCH: ... I think I'm the only one that really just treated everybody fairly and well.

HANNITY: I thought this was the best debate so far. It was lively. It was passionate.

You were lively and passionate, Senator, more than you have been in the other debates. And I thought you did a terrific job, I really did. And compared to Gore and Bradley...

HATCH: Thank you.

HANNITY: ... all of you guys are a better choice. We'll get into that.

Listen, a couple of things came up tonight, and I wasn't clear on your position. A lot of talk about gays in the military in this debate tonight. And I'm not--I still wasn't sure of your position. Now you did get cut off at that point. But what is your position specifically?

HATCH: I'm against having active gays in the military. If they're not going to live the moral lives of the military, they shouldn't be in the military.

But on the other hand, I'm against preventing anybody who's a citizen of this country from serving this country if they're going to live the laws.

HANNITY: Don't ask, don't tell?

HATCH: But keep in mind--yeah, I think don't ask, don't tell is the best we can do right now. But keep in mind, I said look, if I'm president of the United States I will not expect the people in the military to live a law that I'm not willing to live...

HANNITY: Yeah.

HATCH: ... because everybody knows I'm willing to live a straight-laced life.

HANNITY: All right, another issue that came up and I wasn't sure of your position, and I just want to clarify it if I can...

HATCH: Sure.

HANNITY: ... And I will say in your defense there was a lot of back and forth, so it was hard to get positions at times. The issue of this Cuban boy Elian Gonzalez became a big part of tonight's debate. You used the term "what is in the best interests of the child," but you didn't define it. What is in the best interests of Elian Gonzalez?

HATCH: Well, let me just tell you this. And I practiced law many years before I came to the Senate. And I had some child custody cases where we had to battle it out in court and determine what was in the best interests of the child.

And I can tell you this. In every case, I worked for the best interests of the child. And that's what this system ought to do.

Castro ought to butt out. All of these politicians and political types ought to butt out...

HANNITY: Should he stay?

HATCH: ... And we ought to let our system that works determine what's in the best interests of this child. And if being with his father is in the best interests, fine. If not being with his father...

HANNITY: All right...

HATCH: ... because his mother sacrificed her life...

HANNITY: ... right.

HATCH: ... to come over here, then that's fine with me too.

HANNITY: Based on your knowledge of the case, Senator, what is in the best interests of the child in this controversial case?

HATCH: Well, I think it's too early to tell. You know, I think that INS has done what INS really probably is bound to do. But INS knows that that's going to be appealed and taken to the courts.

The courts then are geared up and ready to do what's right here...

HANNITY: All right...

HATCH: ... And I have confidence that they'll do what's right

here...

HANNITY: ... Let me...

HATCH: ... My own personal belief is that...

HANNITY: ... Yeah.

HATCH: ... normally there's a presumption in favor of the remaining parent.

HANNITY: Let me ask you this. I don't know if you had an opportunity to watch Gore and Bradley debate last night...

HATCH: I didn't. I did not.

HANNITY: ... OK. Believe me, you didn't miss much. They--more big government programs, nationalizing healthcare, taking shots at the Republicans, that's about all it was.

HATCH: Those two guys...

HANNITY: It's all predictable.

HATCH: ... Those two guys are going to spend over \$1.5 trillion as we sit here...

HANNITY: That's what I want to know. That's what...

HATCH: ... It's unbelievable.

HANNITY: Nationalized healthcare, why is it bad?

HATCH: Well, it's bad because we'll be the same as most other states with nationalized healthcare where if you need a hip transplant it takes three years to get it. Or if you need a knee transplant it takes three years to get it. Or if you have a heart condition, it might take six months before you can get any help there.

I mean, it's ridiculous. Any time you put your faith in the central government totally, then the central government controls your life...

COLMES: You say central government...

HATCH: ... I've got to tell you, our system of healthcare is the best there is. You're looking at the guy that put home healthcare into existence. It works. You're looking at the guy that brought pharmaceutical prices down through creating the modern generic drug industry. It works.

You're looking at the guy that just recently at the last session of this Congress actually saved the...

COLMES: Senator...

HATCH: ... nursing home industry...

COLMES: ... Senator Hatch, I don't want to be like...

HATCH: ... Now, we had to do it the right way...

COLMES: ... I don't want to be like the debate where you get cut off...

HATCH: That's all right.

COLMES: ... But we've got to move forward here...

HATCH: Sure.

COLMES: ... Look, I think eventually there's going to be more national healthcare. I think people need it. Many people use the emergency room as their first line of attack when they have to get help. And that costs the taxpayer more money than it would if they had coverage.

HATCH: Well, keep in mind there is a place for government. When people cannot help themselves but would if they could, then government ought to come in and health. But you know, the problem with nationalized healthcare is we're helping a lot of people who can help themselves but won't and expect government to do everything for them...

COLMES: I think there's a good marriage there somewhere.

HATCH: ... When you start--there is a good marriage. But when

you start moving in that direction where we're helping too many people who won't help themselves but could help themselves, then that's the direction of centralized (inaudible)...

COLMES: Well, I think the Democrats have talked about those people who can't help themselves. But I want to move on to something else...

HATCH: ... No, they're not. No, they're not. They want to cover everybody no matter what. Now why would we cover everybody with regard to pharmaceuticals when two-thirds of them have private insurance?

Why wouldn't we make that system work and cover those in a drug benefit package that would take care of those who literally can't help themselves (inaudible)...

COLMES: Well, I'll tell you what Bill Bradley has said. He wants to give everybody the same care that you get as a senator...

HATCH: ... Well, so do I.

COLMES: ... the same care that the government workers get.

HATCH: Well, now Alan, so do I. And you know that because I've said it before on your program that I believe that everybody ought to be able to get the best healthcare.

But to be honest with you, mine's a combination of private and government. And have to say I would hope that everybody in America could have adequate healthcare...

HANNITY: Senator...

HATCH: ... And most people do. You're also looking at the guy that put the child health insurance program through, the CHIP bill that every governor now takes credit for, not one of which supported it, except Governor Dean of Vermont when we did it...

HANNITY: ... Senator...

HATCH: ... And that now is going to take care of seven million kids who are the poorest of the poor kids...

HANNITY: ... Senator...

HATCH: ... not on Medicaid whose parents work.

HANNITY: ... we are out of time. But it's always a pleasure, sir...

HATCH: Oh, come on.

HANNITY: ... Great job on the debates...

(LAUGHTER)

COLMES: He's just getting rolling. What are you talking about?

HATCH: We're just getting going here.

(LAUGHTER)

HATCH: It's great to see you guys.

HANNITY: You're welcome back any time.

END

SPEAKERS: SEAN HANNITY, CO-HOST

ALAN COLMES, CO-HOST

STEVE FORBES, REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Mr. Forbes, I think you had once again probably the funniest line tonight about hugging John. But what about that issue that this is your second run for president, you're polling at around in the single digits still. Shouldn't you be doing better by this point given how familiar the American people may be with you?

FORBES: Well, actually, I think the American people are just beginning to pay attention to this race after the holidays. They're certainly doing it in New Hampshire and Iowa.

And as we speak, we're getting support in both of those states. That's the purpose of a campaign is to get your message out. And I have a more powerful message, more substance, more bold ideas than all of the other candidates put together.

And tonight in this debate, we've got a first inkling of a real substantive fight and issue. And that is on the issue of taxes. Senator McCain has come in with a very small tax cut. George Bush has come in with a very convolute and fairly small tax cut. I'm on the only major candidate who's proposing getting rid of this tax code and giving working Americans a substantial tax cut now, not some vague promise in the future.

COLMES: Right. You're talking about a 17 percent flat tax with a \$13,000 exemption for adults and \$5,000 for children...

FORBES: That's right.

COLMES: ... And some economists say that's not going to meet the deficit gap. That would not pay all the bills.

FORBES: Well, actually it would end up raising more revenue because when you reduce the burden on the American people, on working Americans, what happens? You get more activity, more investment, more productivity, better paying jobs. Remember, in the early '60s, John Kennedy reduced tax rates, proposed reducing them 20 percent. The revenues didn't go down 20 percent...

HANNITY: They went up.

FORBES: ... They went up, and the economy boomed.

HANNITY: Same with Reagan.

FORBES: Same as in the early 1980s. And so that's what we're going to do today for this new era. We're going to reduce the burden, get rid of this crazy tax code and unleash the energies of the American people and give working Americans a real break.

HANNITY: Mr. Forbes, welcome back to the program. Glad to have you. You did a great job tonight.

FORBES: Thank you.

HANNITY: And compared to those other guys last night, you guys were all on target. So I applaud you.

You took a few jabs at George W. Bush. You said that he would keep the current tax code and that he's offering Clinton-Gore light, I think was the phrase you used.

And then Gary Bauer challenged you and said, ``Well, you're getting rid of the mortgage deduction and charitable contributions." How do you respond to those things?

FORBES: Well, in terms of what George Bush has proposed, it's very clear. It's a five-to eight-year phase in of fairly small tax cuts. Making people go through hoops and loops to figure out what they qualify for just keeps the current code in place. And we've tried that for 30, 40 years. It doesn't work...

HANNITY: Yeah.

FORBES: ... So we ought to get rid of it and give people a real tax cut, real break, real incentives right now.

HANNITY: Let me...

FORBES: In terms on the business side, if you don't allow the farmer, if you don't allow the small business person to recover their investment, you destroy them. As a businessman, I understand it. Gary, as

I said in the debates, has got some educating to do.

HANNITY: You had a couple of good lines. There's no doubt. I'll ask him about it when he joins us in a few minutes.

The boy Elian Gonzalez. You had very strong language. You said Bill Clinton is sacrificing this boy to Fidel Castro...

FORBES: That's right.

HANNITY: ... Those are harsh words.

FORBES: No they weren't because just as we would not return a child to Adolf Hitler, we would not return a child to Stalin's Russia, why in the world would we return a child to Castro's Cuba? The man is a tyrant.

HANNITY: We're almost out of time. What about the right of the father, though? Are we deciding that this father never sees his son again?

FORBES: The mother has custody. She sacrificed her life to get this boy to the United States. The father is in a dictatorial country under severe pressure. Let him come here for a while and make a decision. You know he would stay if he had that kind of freedom.

HANNITY: I bet--you know what? I agree with you. And I wish Castro would give him that opportunity.

And I agree. But are we then deciding that a boy never sees his father again? It's a very tough issue.

COLMES: Mr. Forbes...

FORBES: Castro is not going to be around forever. The Communist regime...

HANNITY: Thank God for that.

FORBES: ... there will fall just as it fell in the Soviet Union.

COLMES: Thank you, Mr. Forbes. I actually agree with you on the Castro issue.

FORBES: Thank you.

COLMES: Thank you for being with us tonight. Appreciate your time. Hope to see you again soon.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 18:23:18.00

SUBJECT: Update of TV again...note revisions to This Week and Meet

TO: kdunn@hillary2000ny.org (kdunn@hillary2000ny.org @ inet [UNKNOWN])
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RE: WEEKEND TELEVISION

*Please check weekend Washington Post for listing changes

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 2000

WASHINGTON WEEK IN REVIEW (Gloria Borger guest host)

Topics: Campaign 2000; Cuban boy; OSHA
Guests: David Broder, Susan Feeney; Martha Raddatz; Mara Liasson

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 2000

EVANS, NOVAK, SHIELDS & HUNT (CNN)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Governor Vilsack (IA)

CAPTIAL GANG (CNN)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Pollster Geoff Garin

SUNDAY, JANUARY 2, 2000

FOX NEWS SUNDAY (FOX)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Bill Bradley

Topic: Campaign 2000) Iowa
Guest: David Yepsen

Roundtable: Juan Williams, Brit Hume, Mara Liasson

FACE THE NATION(CBS)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: John McCain

Topic: Reform Party

Guest: Governor Jesse Ventura

Roundtable: Gloria Borger, USNWR

THIS WEEK (ABC)

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: Bob and Elizabeth Dole

Topic: Gays in the Military

Guest: Gen. Merrill McPeak (ret), CoS USAF; Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer (ret), Army National Guard

Topic: NH voters , focus group

Guest: George Stephanopolous, Jeffrey Pollock, Democratic pollster

Roundtable: George Stephanopolous, George Will

MEET THE PRESS (NBC)

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: Senator Judd Gregg; Rep. Lindsey Graham; Bob Shrum; Rep. Jerry Nadler

Topic: Campaign 2000 Roundtable

Guest: William Safire, Al Hunt, Joe Klein, and Bill Kristol

LATE EDITION (CNN)

Topic: Africa and the United Nations

Guest: Ambassador Richard Holbrooke

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: Senator Tom Harkin, Senator Paul Wellstone

Topic: NY Senate Race

Guest: Ed Koch, Susan Molinari

Roundtable: Susan Page, Steve Roberts, and Tucker Carlson

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Slate Magazine (Slate Magazine [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 07:36:48.00

SUBJECT: SLATE NEWS: Fri., Jan. 7, 2000

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer (CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
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TEXT:
SLATE NEWS: Fri., Jan. 7, 2000

--today's papers: Hooked on Debate

--the week/the spin: Cuba Getting Junior

today's papers

Hooked on Debate

By Scott Shuger

The WP leads with yesterday's announcement by House Republican leaders that they would support a tax cut only one-seventh the size of the \$792 billion cuts package they put forward last year, which was vetoed by President Clinton. The paper quotes Speaker Dennis Hastert opining that there is a tax agreement with the White House in the offing. USAT goes with the feds' new anti-terror measures, including tighter performance standards for the companies that do airport security screenings and a plan to be announced today by Clinton to make government computers safer from attack. Its most novel aspect: a college scholarship program that would give students graduate and undergraduate tuition subsidies in return for post-graduate government service as information technology specialists. The NYT goes with the SEC's report stating that PricewaterhouseCoopers, the world's largest accounting firm, violated the rule prohibiting the firm's partners from having investments in companies it audits. As a result, says the paper, the government will check out the other major accounting firms' compliance. The story seems oversold (by the SEC and by the NYT): The paper reports that nearly half the violations resulted from complications relating to the merger that created the firm, and no examples are given of firm audits that were in any way rendered dubious by prima facie investment conflicts. The LAT leads with the White House decision to continue to delay implementation of the NAFTA provision opening U.S. highways to Mexican trucks. The paper quotes unnamed senior trade and State Dept. officials explaining that the plan is to ensure that the matter is not resolved while Al Gore is running for president, thus keeping the Teamsters, who

vehemently oppose the opening, from abandoning him. With the exception of the WP's fronting of the SEC story, none of the leads makes the others' fronts.

The WP and LAT front last night's GOP presidential candidate debate, which also tops the WSJ front-page news box, but the late metro edition of the NYT stuffs it. According to the coverage, the debates were highlighted by 1) George W. Bush's declaration going his father's famous pledge one better: "This is not only no new taxes. This is tax cuts, so help me God." and 2) Bush and John McCain arguing about campaign finance reform, with McCain defending the compatibility of his reform stance with his recently exposed letter writing to the FCC to force a decision concerning a TV station that one of his major contributors wanted to purchase, and Bush claiming that McCain's reform would "hurt the Republican cause." All six of the GOP debaters came out against open service of gays in the military, contradicting the stance favored the night before by Al Gore and Bill Bradley in their debate.

The papers report that when asked if he would take the mantra "What would Jesus do?" into the Oval Office, Bush replied, "I would take an expression into the Oval Office of, 'Dear God, help me!'" The NYT says Alan Keyes added, "So would we." The WP and LAT attribute the quip to Gary Bauer. The LAT reports that when Keyes criticized McCain for saying he liked Nine Inch Nails, McCain climbed down quickly, saying the band was a "poor choice."

The editorial pages seize on McCain's FCC letters, with the WP saying he "badly overstepped the rules," and the NYT calling the letters "improper." The WSJ says the real scandal is that unelected bureaucrats at the FCC have power over large swaths of the private economy and that the least our elected representatives can do is ride herd on them.

The WP reports in a story inside that the Pentagon disclosed yesterday that the explanation it offered during the Kosovo war of how a passenger train came to be bombed had a flaw. The official explanation at the time, that the U.S. pilot locked onto an empty railroad bridge, and only after that did the train very quickly come onto it, was buttressed by the Pentagon's showing of a nose-cone video. But, says the WP, the Pentagon now admits the video was shown to reporters at three times normal speed. The paper notes that all other bombing videos released to the press during the war were shown at normal speed. The Pentagon insists the speed selection was inadvertent. In other words, they're willing to admit to a mistake in a non-combat zone, when lots of supervisors are involved, with lots of lead-time, and involving simple technology but can't contemplate a mistake when none of these favorable conditions obtain.

The WP and NYT run wire service stories reporting that according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the number of legal abortions in the U.S. (for 1997, the latest year for which data is available) is at its lowest point since 1978. The WP story says

that the CDC didn't try to figure out why the drop occurred. The NYT says it did and mentions among the factors "possibly different attitudes about the moral implications of abortion." Will there be more study of this last question by the CDC or is the government afraid to find out and/or publicize a possible result indicating an increasing belief that abortion is immoral?

USAT reefers, and the other papers run inside, Major League Baseball's decision that John Rocker must undergo psychological testing before it decides whether or not to discipline him for his recent disparaging remarks about gays and minorities. Today's Papers thinks this makes sense, since prejudice is a mentally disordered way of looking at the world. And hey, while we're at it, how about psychological testing for Jesse Jackson, Louis Farrakhan and Pat Buchanan?

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the week/the spin

Cuba Getting Junior

By Matt Alsdorf and Jodi Kantor

The Immigration and Naturalization Service ruled that Eli n Gonz lez should be reunited with his father in Cuba. Gonz lez's Cuban-American relatives had argued that he should remain in the United States after he was rescued from a shipwreck in which his mother died. Protesters blocked traffic in Miami, and Gonz lez's family promised to appeal the ruling, charging that the INS was giving into blackmail by Castro. INS supporters countered that 1) the ruling was based solely on legal concerns; and 2) the only blackmail was Cuban-Americans' threats of political retribution against the Clinton administration. The INS's spin: He's being reunited with his family. Cuban-Americans' spin: He's being denied a better life in the United States.

Al Gore and Bill Bradley debated in New Hampshire. In their third meeting in a month, they clashed over health care and gun control and agreed on support for gays in the military. But most pundits said personality and leadership--not policy issues--were the true points of contention: Gore deemed Bradley "too intellectually removed" to deal with real-world problems; Bradley charged that Gore was not removed enough from the "Washington bunker" to generate creative solutions. The rosy Democratic spin: The frequent debates help both candidates practice "crisper critiques of one another and more polished defenses of their positions." The gloomy Democratic spin: The constant sparring over character issues makes them both less likable. (Slate's Jacob Weisberg offers his assessment of the debate in "Ballot Box," and William Saletan offers another take in "Frame Game.")

U.S. stock markets plunged. Tuesday's declines were the most severe in more than a year: The Dow Jones industrial average fell 3.2 percent, and the tech-heavy Nasdaq dropped 5.5 percent. Asian and European markets followed suit. The apparent cause: Investors waited for the new tax year to reap profits from recent stock gains. The counterintuitive causes: Wall Street darling Alan Greenspan was nominated for a fourth term as Federal Reserve chairman, and Y2K economic disruptions never surfaced--both of which increase the likelihood that the Fed will raise interest rates. Wall Street shrugged off the decline as a "necessary and expected" correction. Skeptics termed it an indication that investors are "even more confused than usual about what stocks are really worth these days."

Y2K came and went without terrorism or technological snafus. Airplanes stayed airborne and ATMs dispensed cash as usual. Observers said the Y2K bug's threat 1) was averted thanks to diligent preparation; 2) had been exaggerated by greedy programmers so that customers would commission expensive repairs; and 3) won't pass until companies and governments have used their "backroom systems," which were not repaired as thoroughly as critical programs. ("International Papers" sums up the millennium coverage from around the globe.)

Israel and Syria began peace talks. Syria wants to regain control

of the Golan Heights, which Israel captured in 1967. Israel wants security guarantees and the restoration of normal diplomatic relations. The initial discussions were deemed "rocky," with each side claiming that the other was not following the agenda. Israel and Syria called the impasse a "crisis" that threatened to derail the entire peace process. Skeptics charged it was manufactured to convince Israeli and Syrian citizens that their representatives bargained hard. The Clinton administration downplayed the dispute, saying 1) no one expected a breakthrough in the talks' first round; and 2) the difficulties show that "the two sides [are] getting into the knotty issues." Separately, Israel and Palestine agreed to a plan for Israeli troop withdrawals from parts of the West Bank.

Florida State won college football's national title. With a 46-29 Sugar Bowl victory over No. 2 Virginia Tech, the undefeated Seminoles became the first team to hold a No. 1 Associated Press ranking throughout the entire season. Sportswriters were happy for 1) Florida State receiver Peter Warrick, the undisputed star of the game, who "redeemed" himself after last year's arrest and suspension for theft; 2) Florida State coach Bobby Bowden, who got his first undefeated season and second national championship in 40 years of coaching; and 3) the Virginia Tech players, who "put season-long criticism of their toughness to rest" with a valiant comeback attempt.

Elizabeth Dole endorsed George W. Bush. In her long-expected announcement, Dole likened Bush to Ronald Reagan and said he would repair the presidency's tarnished image. Analysts called it a win for 1) Bush, who gains support from women voters; 2) Dole, who increases her chances of nabbing the vice presidential nomination; and 3) John McCain, who can again cast "Bush as the charmed insider and [himself] as the scrappy outsider."

Boris Yeltsin resigned. Prime Minister Vladimir Putin became Russia's acting president and is expected to win the presidency by a wide margin in March elections. In his surprise resignation speech, Yeltsin admitted his failings. Pundits agreed he had botched much of his job but also noted his shrewdness in 1) capturing the world's attention on New Year's Eve; 2) cutting his losses before his communism-busting legacy was further tainted by a money-laundering scandal or the war in Chechnya; and 3) designating his likely successor, who has immunized Yeltsin from prosecution.

La Niña is altering winter weather. The effects of the cooler-than-normal Pacific Ocean currents include 1) balmy temperatures on the East Coast; 2) tornadoes in Kentucky and Mississippi; and 3) cool weather in California. Midwesterners ran for cover. Easterners celebrated with "giddiness usually reserved for the first days of spring." Pessimists called the weather a "spooky" reminder of Mother Nature's power and predicted further climatic changes from the greenhouse effect.

The Indian hijacking crisis was resolved. The still-unidentified Islamic terrorists released their 155 hostages after India agreed

to free three of their jailed comrades. The hijackers were given 10 hours to leave Afghanistan and have presumably vanished into Pakistan. India accused Pakistan of backing the hijacking and giving shelter to the terrorists. Pakistan accused India of playing politics with the hijacking. The rest of the world again worried about a nuclear confrontation between the two countries. The Washington Post denounced Afghanistan and Pakistan for "trying to have it both ways on terrorism. They play host to terrorist groups, yet wax indignant when terrorists hijack an aircraft."

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TO: Michele Ballantyne (CN=Michele Ballantyne/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Melissa M. Murray (CN=Melissa M. Murray/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Eli G. Attie (CN=Eli G. Attie/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

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

TO: gamble-bennett@dol.gov (gamble-bennett@dol.gov @ inet [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

TO: Melissa G. Green (CN=Melissa G. Green/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])
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TO: Jennifer M. Palmieri (CN=Jennifer M. Palmieri/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TEXT:
FOX THE EDGE WITH PAULA ZAHN
January 6, 2000

PAULA ZAHN, HOST: Tonight in THE EDGE: It's a jungle out there. Just look at tonight's debate in New Hampshire. The GOP candidates took the stage for some sparring. A few of the candidates will join me, and I'll ask them who won the war of words.

Stay tuned. Get THE EDGE.
(NEWS BREAK)

ZAHN: Hi, everyone. Welcome to THE EDGE. Thank you very much for joining us tonight.

A little bit later on, we will hear from candidates Steve Forbes and Orrin Hatch.

But leading THE EDGE tonight: Things are getting hot in chilly New Hampshire. The big primary is less than a month away, and tonight the GOP candidates took the stage yet again, hoping that their take on the issues will give them the edge with the voters.

Let's first turn to three of my favorite political know-it-alls, and I mean this, guys, in the best possible way. In Washington, FOX NEWS political analyst Juan Williams, and here in New York, former senator Al D'Amato, who is also a FOX NEWS political analyst, and John Fund, editorial page writer for "The Wall Street Journal." He's not a FOX political analyst, but we won't hold that against you, anyway.

Welcome to all three of you.

Senator D'Amato, your take on tonight.

AL D'AMATO, FOX NEWS POLITICAL ANALYST: The edge went to George Bush. Clearly, he demonstrated composure. He did not go for the jugular when it was very tempting when the question was put out there about Senator McCain and the FCC. He handled it, I think, in a very diplomatic way, and then turned it around and said, "You know, John, this isn't personal. We disagree on philosophy as it relates to the campaign financing."

So he addressed what probably is one of McCain's greatest points. He took it on. You know, he's the--he's the fellow who's opposed to the present system. He gets great sympathy as it relates to that, a kind of non-politician, a politician who's a non-politician. So I think, clearly, George Bush acquitted himself better than he has heretofore. He not only survived tonight, he picked up.

ZAHN: Juan, don't you think, though, he might have missed an opportunity when it came to that issue of the FCC and John McCain?

JUAN WILLIAMS, FOX NEWS POLITICAL ANALYST: I think...

ZAHN: I mean, he was clearly given the opportunity to call him a hypocrite if he chose to do so.

WILLIAMS: Right. And I think...

ZAHN: He did not.

WILLIAMS: I think that's in the water. It's in the air. Now, the question, Paula, really is one of political strategy. Is it the case that if George W. Bush had attacked, he would be seen as going for the jugular, as Alfonse D'Amato just said, and maybe therefore seen as attacking a fellow Republican on a point of vulnerability and maybe therefore engender a backlash against him?

The problem that McCain has is less with George W. Bush and less with Republicans than with independents. Remember, McCain's best hope in New Hampshire is that independent voters will swing over to him and say that "We like John McCain, the reformer." And McCain's, you know, whole rap has been "I'm the guy that's for campaign finance. George W. Bush is not. And I'm the guy that's clean and pure as the driven snow up here in New Hampshire." His image is being terrifically damaged by this--by the idea that somehow he was paid off--his top contributors were paying him to lobby the FCC on their behalf.

JOHN FUND, "WALL STREET JOURNAL": Well, Juan, I actually think that's very unfair because if you actually look at the facts of this case, the question is not what John McCain did, but what has the FCC done. For almost four years, it's basically held a public television station, the station that Mr. Rogers and "Mr. Rogers's Neighborhood" belongs to, hostage. The station is \$14 million in the red and because the FCC won't make a decision, the station is in danger of going under! So the real question here is not what John McCain did, but what is the FCC doing? I think John McCain is getting a bum rap on this.

WILLIAMS: Well, John, I think that's...

ZAHN: And in the end, Al D'Amato...

WILLIAMS: ... a wonderful point...

ZAHN: But let's not get buried in all this minutiae right now. Do you think the voter gives a darn about this, Al?

D'AMATO: No. But both John and Juan are right.

McCain is being hurt by this, the fact that it's out there now and this is being used and can tarnish his image. But Juan was also right in saying that George Bush, if he had gone to the jugular, I think there would have been a backlash. Republicans would have said, "What are you doing?" John happens to be right. This is a non-issue, really, if you look at the facts. But you know what? The public doesn't give a darn. They're not going to get into the facts. The facts of the situation are that what McCain did was absolutely appropriate. Everyone elected should be there to say to the bureaucracy, "What are you doing? How come you're not acting?"

FUND: This is no Keating 5 case.

ZAHN: Did you do that when you were in the Senate?

D'AMATO: Absolutely. I prided myself...

FUND: Paula...

D'AMATO: ... in doing that.

FUND: The difference is this is no Keating 5 case.

There is no crook here.

ZAHN: All right, let...

FUND: And John McCain did get some legitimate criticism for that case...

D'AMATO: But John...

FUND: ... but not for this one.

D'AMATO: ... the problem is that the public is never going to know it. And there's where Juan's point is that McCain has been hurt. They'll never know that his inquiry was absolutely appropriate. It should have been done before. They should have said to the FCC, "How come you're not making a decision? Make it one way or the other."

ZAHN: Let's move on to an issue Juan also brought up, which is the issue of how McCain has to appeal to independents. Now, John McCain has not unveiled his tax plan, but I think it was quite clear to anybody listening to the debate tonight he's not going to offer as large of a tax cut as George Bush. Does that hurt him in New Hampshire, John?

FUND: Well, New Hampshire is the most anti-tax state in the country.

ZAHN: Right!

FUND: Republicans are the most anti-tax constituency in New Hampshire. I think George Bush, by drawing a contrast with John McCain's tax plan, which really hasn't been unveiled yet, scored points in New Hampshire. He was looking for--he's looking to come up from behind in New Hampshire. I think John McCain is going to be vulnerable on taxes in New Hampshire.

ZAHN: Juan, jump in there.

WILLIAMS: Well, you know, the key point of attack for John McCain on George W. Bush and the tax plan is that he says George W. Bush's plan would spend the entire surplus and not protect Social Security, to which--you saw that little bit of back-and-forth sniping--"Yes, it will," "No, it won't," "Yes, it will"--which was

cut. But I think that the point here is that George W. Bush has some vulnerability connected to his father. Remember George Bush saying ``Read my lips, no new taxes." Here is his son saying not only is he promising no new taxes, but promising a tax cut. So he's taking it to an extreme. And McCain is saying ``You're behaving in a reckless manner that endangers the American economy." I don't know if that's going to help, but I would say that George W. Bush's position is the one that's going to be in the headlines tomorrow morning.

ZAHN: All right, we're going to take a short break right now. More on all of this in just a moment or two.

And a little later on in the show: Hillary and Bill have their first sleepover in their new digs. And I'll be talking to couple of folks who would love to move into a big white house next January: Steve Forbes and Senator Orrin Hatch.

Keep it on THE EDGE.

(22:09)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GEORGE W. BUSH (R), TEXAS GOVERNOR, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Come on down and let me show you what I've done. You talk about same-sex marriage? I'm against same-sex marriage. I'm the only person on this stage that signed a parental notification law. I've got a good record, Gary. It's easy to talk. It's easy to talk. What Republicans need to do is elect somebody who has gotten results, tangible results that people can see, that people can put their arms around and say, ``This man's a leader." And that's been my record in the state of Texas, and that'll be my record as president of the United States, as well.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ZAHN: Well, the gloves are starting to come off among Republicans. We're continuing with our lead story tonight, tonight's GOP debate in New Hampshire, and we're having our own very own debate right here. Our participants in Washington, FOX NEWS political analyst Juan Williams, here in New York, former senator Al D'Amato, who is also a FOX NEWS political analyst, and John Fund, editorial page writer for ``The Wall Street Journal."

Welcome back.

What Governor Bush went on to say was that he came very close to making a ``no new taxes" pledge. Was that irresponsible?

D'AMATO: No. The fact of the matter is that when his dad said to the convention ``No new taxes," you know, ``Read my lips," he went from a situation where he was trailing Dukakis substantially to pulling right ahead of him because the American people were really saying, ``Don't--don't keep," you know, ``solving our problem by raising taxes." What happened was he broke the pledge unnecessarily. He should have said to the Congress, ``Let me tell you, fellows. I'm going to veto those bills." But what happened, his inner council--John Sununu, who up to that point had been a tough guy, had done a good job--caved in. And President Bush made the mistake...

(CROSSTALK)

D'AMATO: ... governor understands that, and he's going to keep that...

(CROSSTALK)

ZAHN: But has he walked himself into some sort of cage here?

FUND: Well, there's another problem. Steve Forbes today brought out the fact that there's controversy in Texas whether he kept his anti-tax pledge in 1994, so...

ZAHN: Well, he accused him of raising the state tax and the business taxes.

FUND: Well, he proposed a tax shift, but there's some controversy about that. But I think Governor Bush has realized that his father made a mistake. He's also realized that his tax plan does work, and he's going to lock himself into that. Now, that's going to be controversial because John McCain is going to attack him on it. He's going to be called reckless. But Governor Bush has made an opinion that in the Republican primary, the anti-tax position is what binds Republicans of all stripes, social and economic, together.

ZAHN: Gays in the military was a huge issue in last night's debate, less of an issue tonight. Juan, did anybody score points on that?

WILLIAMS: Well, you know, it's very interesting. Here you get a divide that's not McCain versus Bush. Here you get a divide that's more like McCain and Bush versus Gary Bauer, Alan Keyes and some of the others, where McCain and Bush are both saying, you know, "Don't ask, don't tell" is fine. McCain says the policy's working. He won't bother to change it. Bush says he's a "Don't ask, don't tell" man. And the others are making the point that conservatives, moral conservatives, are saying "This is wrong, and you need to make a stand on this issue."

Now, since the two frontrunners aren't fighting over it, I don't think you're going to see a change. But there certainly is a clear divide within that Republican tent.

ZAHN: Al, you're shaking your head.

D'AMATO: No, I...

ZAHN: I couldn't tell whether it was in agreement or disagreement.

D'AMATO: I agree with Juan. I agree with his analysis. But I also make an observation. Do you know who has been doing absolutely fabulously? And he is not getting the kind of--Orrin Hatch. He--he brought down the house, I guess it was a couple of weeks ago, when he talked about Steve Forbes's wallet and not being able--you know, not...

ZAHN: Not being able to lift it.

D'AMATO: ... being strong enough to lift it. He's sensible. He makes a--he's accrediting himself well. I don't think it's going to show in the polls, but he's done a heck of a job.

ZAHN: Is he...

FUND: You know...

ZAHN: ... wasting his time, though? He keeps on citing a poll that 85 percent of Americans really haven't decided who they're going to vote for, but someone pointed out in the debate tonight he has 1 percent--almost a hash mark--in New Hampshire in the polls.

FUND: Pat Buchanan was in single digits at this point before the New Hampshire primary in 1996, and he ended up winning it. I wish the media went beyond its Noah's Ark theory of coverage, which is you have to have two candidates by two candidates, two in the Democrats and two on the Republicans, and you can't cover anyone else. The other four candidates are legitimate candidates. They made some good points tonight. I think it's a mistake to marginalize them all completely, and that's what some of the media's trying to do.

ZAHN: All right, Juan...

WILLIAMS: Well...

ZAHN: ... you get the closing thoughts tonight. Fire ahead.

WILLIAMS: Well, I just think it's money. Money is why those two are as far ahead. And clearly, with Bush, it's of historic proportions. The other thing is lots of people went after Bush today on the experience issue. Bush is clearly saying, "I've been a governor. I've got the experience. I've led." And when it comes to these morality issues that so many of you are concerned with, you can see the results of what I've done in Texas. Come on down and take a look."

John McCain's response was, "I was a leader, too, in the military. Don't forget I've got a story to tell." So that experience issue is also becoming one of the defining issues. I think you're going to see more of it tomorrow when the candidates, the Republicans, go down to South Carolina and as they continue these debates.

ZAHN: I lied. You got to give me a one-word answer. Did the moderator preside over a fair debate tonight? John?

FUND: He was a zookeeper.

ZAHN: Zookeeper?

D'AMATO: He did a good job in tough circumstances. They were wild.

ZAHN: It was pretty freewheeling! Thank you, gentlemen, all for joining us tonight, Senator D'Amato, John Fund and Juan Williams.

A bit later on: Hillary and Bill play house, spending the first night in their new pad. And coming up next: my conversation with a couple of the candidates, Mr. Forbes and Senator Hatch.

We'll be right back. Keep it on THE EDGE.

(22:16)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

STEVE FORBES (R), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I am independent. The special interests and lobbyists have no hooks into me. And that's why I think my campaign is catching on. I'm picking my pockets. I'm not picking the pockets of the taxpayers. And special interests have no interest in me because they know their gravy train is going to be derailed when I'm president of the United States.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

PAULA ZAHN, HOST: And welcome back.

That was Steve Forbes getting his two or three cents in during the debate.

I talked to him right after he stepped off the stage, and started by asking him about the latest controversy to dog Senator McCain. It appears the senator asked the FCC to act on a request on behalf of a TV station owner who also happens to be one of his supporters. I asked him if he was satisfied by Mr. McCain's defense of his actions.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

FORBES: Well, I think the whole issue underscores why we need a true outsider in Washington who is not beholden in any way to the special interests and who also recognizes the way to deal with that

cesspool in Washington, that swamp, and that is you can't reform it or legislate against it. You got to drain it. And that's why...

ZAHN: Do you think Mr. McCain--are you saying that Mr. McCain is a hypocrite?

FORBES: No, I'm just saying that the system that we have is one that only an outsider's going to truly be able to change, and that begins with getting rid of this tax code and giving people a genuine tax cut. Half of the...

ZAHN: But let's go back to...

FORBES: Half of the lobbying...

ZAHN: ... Mr. McCain's actions. Was what he did...

FORBES: Let me--let me just finish.

ZAHN: Was he appropriate in taking this action to push the FCC to make some kind of a decision?

FORBES: You ask John McCain on that. I just see it as part and parcel of why we need fundamental change in Washington. The point I was...

ZAHN: You brought up the issue of...

FORBES: ... going to make--the point I was going to make...

ZAHN: ... the tax cut...

FORBES: The point I was going to make is that half of the lobbying activity in Washington revolves around the tax code. You get rid of that, and half of the 67,000 lobbyists in Washington are going to have to find honest work. That is real reform.

ZAHN: The issue of tax cuts dominated part of the debate tonight, and Governor Bush came very close to making a "No new taxes" pledge. Were you reading his lips?

FORBES: Well, he made a pledge when he ran for governor in 1994 that he wouldn't raise the state sales tax, he wouldn't enact a statewide business tax. And yet a couple of years later, after he got in office, he violated both pledges. And his tax cut proposal is a lobbyist's dream. It keeps the IRS as we know it. It doesn't change any of the way taxes are done in Washington. It's very phased in over five to eight years. It doesn't do anything on capital gains. Why don't we get to the heart of it and get rid of it? And realists always say, "Well, it's unrealistic to do it." I think the American people ought to define what is realistic in Washington and not the other way around.

ZAHN: Are you surprised Senator McCain hasn't offered a tax cut proposal for everybody to chew on and analyze?

FORBES: Well, he's been showing, as they say, a little bit of leg on it. And apparently, it's going to be even smaller than what Governor Bush proposed. So I think it's--both proposals look like they're going to be typical Washington proposals, just trimming around the edges. That's not going to work. We need to do real, genuine reform, starting by getting rid of this horrible code. And neither one seems to have the stomach to make that fight. I'll make that fight, and I'll win it.

ZAHN: I know that you're campaigning hard, but if you are not successful and you do not get the nomination, I am told that you would entertain a possible appointment in a George Bush nomination if he gets elected. Is that true or not?

FORBES: I think the question should be is George Bush going to be on my short list for vice president because I am going to

win this nomination, and I am going to win this election because I've got more bold, conservative ideas to help working Americans than all of the other campaigns put together.

ZAHN: OK, that issue came up during the debate tonight, and you were asked, if that is true, why are your ideas getting so little traction?

FORBES: Oh, I think they're getting real traction, if you come out and look at the crowds that I'm getting. People are very interested in learning more. And after the holidays, I think the American people, especially in New Hampshire and Iowa, are starting to really focus on this race. And that's why I'm optimistic.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: Mr. Forbes, thanks for your time.

PAULA ZAHN, HOST: And Senator Orrin Hatch was also gracious enough to brave the cold and talk to us right after the debate. I asked him if he thought tonight's debate was fair.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

U.S. SENATOR ORRIN HATCH (R-UT), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, it was a little unruly. I thought it was all right, but you know, I wish we could get into a debate where you have two hours, where everybody can just take off the gloves and let it go. But personally, I want to always be fair to every other candidate, and I think I was tonight.

ZAHN: The criticism I've heard is of the moderator himself and that perhaps he gave more time to McCain and Bush, the two frontrunners in the New Hampshire polls. Is that true?

HATCH: Well, that--that's one reason why I grabbed the mike and said, "Hey, I'm going to say a few words here, whether you like it or not." And Tim's a good guy, and he's a very good moderator, and--but I do think that they kind of lost control of what was going on. And I have to say it was--it became kind of a dialogue between McCain and--and--McCain and Bush.

But look, I cited that Joan Shorenstein poll. That's the Kennedy School of Government. It's the Pew Foundation poll that is the most definitive poll there is. A month ago, two thirds of the American people hadn't even decided who they'd pick as president. Only 16 percent picked George Bush. Everybody else was in single digits.

Yesterday they announced their subsequent poll. Three quarters now of the American people--it's gone up--have not decided who they're going to pick for president. And George Bush has dropped from 16 percent down to 13 percent, and everybody else is still in single digits, Gore being at 6 percent, everybody else below that.

ZAHN: All right. But let's...

HATCH: Now, that's pathetic.

ZAHN: But let's say coming out of the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary, you still have single-digit support among voters. Will you drop out?

HATCH: Well, I don't intend to have that, so I'm going to give it everything I can. And frankly, we're getting some resonance in Iowa, and maybe a little bit here tonight in New Hampshire. So don't count me out. I think that--I think--look, I think McCain can only go so far. I think his campaign finance bill basically hurts Republicans badly. I would lots rather have had him shake hands with

Republicans rather than Bill Bradley on it. And you just have to wonder why all the Democrats favor his bill and hardly any Republican does.

ZAHN: Well, let's talk about...

HATCH: And then George Bush...

ZAHN: Can we talk about...

HATCH: George Bush...

ZAHN: ... the FCC squabble for a moment? Was that hypocritical, what he did?

HATCH: Well, let me just say this. I think that John McCain is finding out what a lot of other people know, that love affairs with the liberal press in this country are not any more stable than love affairs with Bill Clinton. And I've got to tell you that, you know, it's a tough thing. But I know John McCain...

ZAHN: But you're making it sound like the press is turning on him. Was what he did on his--with his position as the head of a committee the appropriate thing, to push action from the FCC? He tried to defend himself...

HATCH: Well, let me--let...

ZAHN: ... this evening.

HATCH: Let me put it to you this way. You know, in all honesty, I get a little tired of John complaining that--that everybody who takes money as a political candidate has to be doing it for a corrupt motive, and everybody who gives it has to be doing it for a corrupt motive. That's just not true.

But let's be fair to John. As a committee chairman, he's--he does have a right to prod the bureaucracy, which he did. I don't know how far he went. I read the articles. We'll just have to see. But people should, you know, give a little break here to John.

Look, John McCain is the same person this week that he was a week ago. And I personally believe he's a person of integrity, but I get a little tired of him saying that everybody else is in this business just because of money.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: And Senator Hatch, thanks to you, and Steve Forbes, for standing up to the New England winter for us this evening.

Coming up next: The first couple spent their first night in their fancy New York pad, a rather large pad, not quite like the White House, but a different kind, in the 'burbs of New York.

Keep it on THE EDGE. We'll take you there when we come back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

PAULA ZAHN, HOST: Well, the decision was made. But it doesn't seem like it has been accepted.

Thousands of protesters packed the streets of Miami furious because the INS said that 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez, who was rescued from the ocean trying to flee Cuba, must go back to his Communist homeland.

FOX's Jeff Goldblatt is in Miami.

What's been going on there tonight, Jeff?

JEFF GOLDBLATT, FOX NEWS CHANNEL CORRESPONDENT: ... adjective: wild, surreal, crazy, spectacular. You'll find it all here on the streets of Miami today, just one day after the INS ruled that Elian Gonzalez must be returned to his father in Cuba.

Demonstrators took to the streets en masse. They vowed yesterday to shut down the street. And that they certainly did bringing the downtown area to its knees.

About midday, a peaceful protest spilled out onto the streets as protesters snaked through the downtown. They arrived eventually at the port area, succeeded in blocking that for about a couple of hours. Police let protesters roam at will for about an hour before reclaiming the streets.

Hundred arrests in total we understand. Those arrests and the protests continuing throughout the streets of Miami--pardon me, Paula--throughout the night here. And this scene could be only a scene of things to come, the unrest here for the next couple of days.

The INS has said Elian Gonzalez must be returned to Cuba by next Friday. And so we still have a great deal of time left here and a lot of people taking to this cause.

ZAHN: So are people still expecting this thing to get really slowed down in the courts?

GOLDBLATT: The family of Elian, they sure hope so, the family with whom he's been living since he arrived here in the U.S. six weeks ago. They want to bog it down in courts. But it doesn't seem like government officials in Washington are buying into this.

Attorney General Janet Reno said today that essentially she will not overrule INS Commissioner Doris Meisner who yesterday said that Elian Gonzalez must be returned to Cuba.

ZAHN: All right. Thanks, Jeff, so much for that update tonight...

GOLDBLATT: Sure.

ZAHN: ... Appreciate your joining us.

And the plight of little Elian Gonzalez made a lot of you sound off last night. Here's a sample.

CALLER: George, Billerica, Massachusetts. They are risking their lives if this boy's mother died trying to do it. They are leaving there for a (EXPLETIVE DELETED) damn reason. What the hell are we sending the kid back there for now?

CALLER: Stacia. I live in New York City. I am a Miami native born and raised. I can see both sides of the story and understand where both sides of the family are coming from. Inevitably, I do believe the boy belongs with his father.

CALLER: Donna Goodhart (ph) from Atlanta, Georgia. I think that had this been a child who had escaped the Holocaust, we wouldn't have sent him back to Germany or Auschwitz. And I think that's exactly what we're doing.

CALLER: Ron Marquez, Sacramento, California. As unfortunate as it is, the boy should be with his father. And it never should have taken this long rather than being prodded with toys and Disneyland trips and such.

CALLER: Jose, New York City, New York. I just find it so interesting that Fidel Castro cares so much about children being that his own daughter had to escape Cuba.

ZAHN: As you can see, you've looked at Elian Gonzalez's story in a number of different ways. And as always, we appreciate all of your feedback. So please, keep it coming.

And coming up next, it's been market madness for

``Time" magazine's Man of the Year. Amazon.com CEO and billionaire Jeff Bezos stops by. Keep it on THE EDGE.
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

PAULA ZAHN, HOST: Jeff Bezos is ``Time" magazine's Person of the Year. I'm getting all choked up about it here, excuse me, and CEO of the Internet retailer Amazon.com. Their web site has become a household name. But not everyone had faith in the idea. Jeff Bezos once said, ``If I had a nickel for every time a potential investor told me this wouldn't work," well now he has more than 20 billion nickels. And Jeff Bezos joins us from Seattle.

Good to see you. Congratulations.

JEFF BEZOS, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, AMAZON.COM,
``TIME" MAGAZINE'S PERSON OF THE YEAR: Thank you. It's great to be here.

ZAHN: Well, you're known as a pretty low-key guy.
How are people treating the person of the year?

(LAUGHTER)

BEZOS: Well, when we found out, I went out to dinner with my family to celebrate. And my mom cried. And it was very emotional for my family.

It's very nice. Obviously a big honor, and we're very grateful.

ZAHN: It was a wonderful thing to have happen to you, particularly at such a turbulent time for your company. So let's talk business for a moment.

Some analysts have suggested that your company has lost 40 percent of its value in the last month or so. What happened?

BEZOS: Well, actually, I think Amazon--it's always been a turbulent time for Amazon.com for the past four-and-a-half years. And what happened is--I mean, the market is a very volatile market, especially for Internet stocks, especially for Amazon.com. It always has been.

And we're a very long-term oriented company. We make all of our decisions for the long-term. We're focused on the customer. We're investing for the customer experience.

Over the last 12 months, we've spent \$300 million investing in new distribution centers so that we'd be ready for the holiday season. And we delivered well in excess of 99 percent of the orders in time for the holiday season. We're the only retailer to do that in any scale. And we're very proud of that performance.

ZAHN: So for people who don't...

BEZOS: So we're happy with the way it's going.

ZAHN: ... follow the Internet trading business all that closely, can you explain to them why these businesses are so hot when they're hemorrhaging so much cash?

BEZOS: Well, one of the things that's happening is that companies are investing for the future. So if you look at Amazon.com, for example, we think this is a critical category formation time. We're not--we're investing. New customers are coming online. We're investing in these new distribution centers I talked about, new customer service facilities, whole new categories.

Eighteen months ago, we were selling exclusively U.S. books. Now we also sell toys. We have a complete toy store. We have a complete tool store, a complete electronics store. And these stores have

been rated by various parties as the best place to buy these particular things online. Making that kind of best of breed customer experience is hard.

ZAHN: What do you say to your critics who say you simply are spreading yourself too thin?

BEZOS: Well, I think that the sales numbers that we turn in and the fact that we have well in excess of 15 million customers now who've shopped at Amazon.com demonstrate that that's wrong. But the thing that I would really say is go to www.amazon.com and check it out. You'll see for yourself that it's working and working well.

ZAHN: I checked it out all right. And I also was looking at Barnes and Noble's stock today. And I noticed it went up six percent with the announcement that it has gone into a deal with Microsoft to use their technology to create digital books. Isn't that a pretty good idea?

BEZOS: Oh, I think digital books is a fantastic idea and...

ZAHN: Do you wish you had done it first?

BEZOS: ... No, no, no. First of all, digital books is a wonderful idea whose time hasn't quite come yet. Digital books is going to be a very big deal though. You know, the computer displays are not quite as good as paper yet. Paper turns out to still be the best display advice. But Amazon.com will be heavily involved in digital books.

ZAHN: How far away are you from doing that?

BEZOS: Well, I think that what you'll see as with all these things is they're not light switches. They're not things that turn on and off with a single switch.

This will be something that will happen incrementally over five years. If you look out 10-plus years, I think the majority of books may even be electronic.

ZAHN: I've got to tell you, I'm one of those people that loves getting newsprint of my newspaper all over my face, all over my kids' faces. I can't believe that all of us are going to get used to the idea of reading books digitally.

BEZOS: Well, I'm sure you're...

ZAHN: Do you really think the books of yesterday are gone?

BEZOS: ... No, I'm sure you're right in fact that all of us won't. And it will be a mixture. And it will be a continuum. And it will happen very slowly.

ZAHN: And when do you think it's realistic that we will be reading our books online?

BEZOS: Well, I think before it's a significant fraction of the market you're talking about three to five years before it's even sort of double-digit percentages and maybe even longer. By the time maybe it's 10-plus years before it's a significant, you know, really big fraction.

ZAHN: OK, back to stock prices. Do you think your stock is fairly priced?

BEZOS: I have no idea. And that's not--it's very interesting. And it's a great question. And it's one I get asked a lot.

But my job and the job of the management team at Amazon.com is to try and build an important and lasting company. Wall Street analysts and investors have what I think is often an even harder

job, which is to figure out how much such a company is worth when. And I don't envy them that job.

ZAHN: You no doubt know a president of a major technology firm came out several weeks ago and said technology stocks were way overpriced. And I've also heard people in your community say the same of Internet stocks. What is the trend?

BEZOS: Well, one thing you know for sure is that the stocks are volatile. And I think that's enough to warn off most small investors.

I've been for a long time now recommending that small investors not invest in Amazon.com except maybe the smallest portion of their portfolio just on the basis of the volatility. Amazon.com, like all Internet stocks, can be up 20 percent in a day or down 20 percent in a day or more. And for a small investor I think a very good investment criteria should be the ability to sleep well at night.

ZAHN: Can you do that now? How much money have you lost on paper over the last month or so?

(LAUGHTER)

ZAHN: Come on, you're among friends here, Jeff. You can share with us.

BEZOS: I'm sure it's a matter of public record. I honestly don't know. And it's very unimportant because measuring Amazon.com's stock price performance over a period as short as a month is completely meaningless.

What we're doing is we're focused on the long term, building what we hope will be a lasting company. And you do that by focusing on customers, which is what we do obsessively, why we offer such low prices and such big selection.

ZAHN: Well, it was good of you to join us so late in the evening. Appreciate it again. Congratulations.

BEZOS: It's my pleasure.

ZAHN: ``Time" magazine's Man of the Year--I think you should have like a crown or something...

(LAUGHTER)

ZAHN: ... to signify that this honor has been bestowed upon you.

BEZOS: Thank you.

ZAHN: OK, thanks again for your time.

And that wraps it up for us tonight here at THE EDGE. Thank you very much for being with us.

And remember, if you want the edge, watch THE EDGE. Have a great night. See you tomorrow. Please join us then.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Julia M. Payne (CN=Julia M. Payne/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 18:16:16.00

SUBJECT: Weekend Television Update -- note revisions to This Week and Meet

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

TEXT:
MEMORANDUM

TO: JOE LOCKHART, ANN LEWIS, DOUG SOSNIK, JOEL JOHNSON, AND LORETTA
UCELLI
FROM: JULIA PAYNE
RE: WEEKEND TELEVISION

*Please check weekend Washington Post for listing changes

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 2000

WASHINGTON WEEK IN REVIEW (Gloria Borger guest host)

Topics: Campaign 2000; Cuban boy; OSHA
Guests: David Broder, Susan Feeney; Martha Raddatz; Mara Liasson

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 2000

EVANS, NOVAK, SHIELDS & HUNT (CNN)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Governor Vilsack (IA)

CAPTIAL GANG (CNN)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Pollster Geoff Garin

SUNDAY, JANUARY 2, 2000

FOX NEWS SUNDAY (FOX)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Bill Bradley

Topic: Campaign 2000) Iowa
Guest: David Yepsen

Roundtable: Juan Williams, Brit Hume, Mara Liasson

FACE THE NATION(CBS)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: John McCain

Topic: Reform Party
Guest: Governor Jesse Ventura

Roundtable: Gloria Borger, USNWR

THIS WEEK (ABC)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Bob and Elizabeth Dole

Topic: Gays in the Military
Guest: Gen. Merrill McPeak (ret), CoS USAF; Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer (ret), Army National Guard

Topic: NH voters , focus group
Guest: George Stephanopolous, Jeffrey Pollock, Democratic pollster

Roundtable: George Stephanopolous, George Will

MEET THE PRESS (NBC)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Senator Judd Gregg; Rep. Lindsey Graham; Bob Shrum; Rep. Jerry Nadler

Topic: Campaign 2000 Roundtable

Guest: William Safire, Al Hunt, Joe Klein, and Bill Kristol

LATE EDITION (CNN)

Topic: Africa and the United Nations

Guest: Ambassador Richard Holbrooke

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: Senator Tom Harkin, Senator Paul Wellstone

Topic: NY Senate Race

Guest: Ed Koch, Susan Molinari

Roundtable: Susan Page, Steve Roberts, and Tucker Carlson

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Elizabeth J. Potter (CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 13:34:48.00

SUBJECT: Transcript of Jim Lehrer NewsHour: Gays in the Military

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TO: Dag Vega (CN=Dag Vega/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: William Marshall (CN=William Marshall/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Edward W. Correia (CN=Edward W. Correia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Laura S. Marcus (CN=Laura S. Marcus/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Johannes A. Binnendijk (CN=Johannes A. Binnendijk/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
FYI

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/WHO/EOP on
01/07/2000 01:21 PM -----

Fenceberry@aol.com
01/07/2000 11:53:19 AM
Record Type: Record

To: "undisclosed-recipients;"@eop.gov
cc:
Subject: Transcript of Jim Lehrer NewsHour: Gays in the Military

1. JIM LEHRER NEWSHOUR (PBS) Gays in the Military; Margaret Warner discusses with four military officers whether "Don't ask, don't tell" is a good policy for the military, after a background report.

PBS JIM LEHRER NEWSHOUR, January 6, 2000 (Online transcript)
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/military/jan-june00/gays_military_1-6.html
GAYS IN THE MILITARY

Margaret Warner discusses with four military officers whether "Don't ask, don't tell" is a good policy for the military, after a background report.

Then, participate in an Online Forum on the topic.

Online Forum

What should the U.S. military policy be toward homosexuals?

TOM BEARDEN: The Pentagon's policy on gay service is commonly called "don't ask, don't tell," and has been in effect since 1993. It was the result

of a hard-fought compromise between President Clinton, who had advocated allowing homosexuals to serve openly, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Congress, who opposed it. Congress passed a law rendering such service illegal.

The "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" policy says: "The Department of Defense will not ask, nor will members be required to reveal their sexual preference. Homosexual orientation is a personal and private matter and will not be questioned during service. However, homosexual conduct is not compatible with military service and will subject a member to discharge from the armed forces."

Provoking the latest round of political debate was the killing of Army Private Barry Winchell at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, last year, and the murder conviction and sentencing of 18-year old Private Calvin Glover last month. Soon after, in New York, Senate candidate and First Lady Hillary Clinton, speaking at a gay rights fund-raiser, said the policy had not worked. A week later, her husband agreed. In a radio interview, Mr. Clinton said the policy was out of whack and, as implemented, does not work. The issue was again raised at last night's presidential campaign forum in New Hampshire.

PANELIST: If you become President will you nominate members of the Joint Chiefs who only support your gay policy? In other words, will it be a litmus test?

AL GORE: I would try to bring about the kind of change in policy on the "don't ask, don't tell" policy that President Harry Truman brought about after World War II in integrating the military. And I think that would require those who wanted to serve on the position of... on the Joint Chiefs, to be in agreement with that policy, so yes.

BILL BRADLEY: My sense is that when you're President of the United States, military people are loyal to their commander-in-chief, whatever the policy is that the commander-in-chief calls for for the country, and that's what I expect them to do if I'm President of the United States and we move toward gays in the military, which I intend to do.

The President Comments

TOM BEARDEN: The President weighed in again today, standing in front of the Clintons' new home in New York.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I think a lot of people have actually forgotten that Congress put into the law the present policy. And so what I'm going to do is

spend the next year trying to make sure that we do what was intended and what

I announced would be done after extensive consultation with our commanders back in 1993. I believe that the next president, if he wants to change the policy, will have to get the Congress to change the law.

TOM BEARDEN: Among Republicans, George W. Bush, John McCain and Steve Forbes back the current policy. Their more conservative opponents, Gary Bauer

and Alan Keyes, have urged a return to the pre-1993 policy barring gays from

serving. Last month, after the Clintons first spoke, Defense Secretary William Cohen announced a three-month review of the policy, especially into allegations that gays were being singled out for investigation and harassment. But former Marine Commandant General Carl Mundy and other retired

officers have urged caution, warning that politically inspired changes could

provoke a backlash in the all-volunteer military. A recent study of professional officers indicated as many as 27 percent would leave the service

if gays were allowed to serve openly.

Four views on "don't ask, don't tell"

JIM LEHRER: Margaret Warner takes it from there.

MARGARET WARNER: Now, four views on "don't ask, don't tell," and whether

the policy needs to be changed. Michelle Benecke is co-executive director of

the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network. She served in the Army as a Captain. Robert Maginnis is senior director of national security and foreign

affairs at the Family Research Council. He is a retired Army lieutenant colonel and was part of the Pentagon's study group that came up with the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. Lieutenant General Paul Cerjan is president of Regent University. He retired after 34 years in the Army, where his last post was as president of the National Defense University. And Major General

Vance Coleman retired from the Army reserves in 1989; he served as an artillery officer in the Korean War, and he's now director of a community education foundation. Welcome all.

Michelle Benecke, President Clinton, the man who helped certainly spearheaded this policy to start with, now says it doesn't work. Is he right?

MICHELLE BENECKE, Servicemembers Legal Defense Network: This policy doesn't work. He is right. Military leaders continue to ask people about their orientation, to pursue suspected gay members, and to tolerate anti-gay

harassment. In the last six years, my organization, Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, has assisted 2,000 military members who are hurt by this

law. Harassment increased 120% alone last year in our cases. Discharges have increased 86% under this law.

MARGARET WARNER: This is just for being homosexual.

MICHELLE BENECKE: Right. And the reason discharges have increased is because people facing harassment in the military have no recourse but to leave. And finally, service members are being required to lie, even to their parents, their doctors and their best friends, as a condition of serving our military. No, this policy doesn't work.

MARGARET WARNER: General Cerjan, do you think the policy works?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.), U.S. Army: I think it absolutely works. It's got a few things around the edges that have to be cleaned up to enforce the policy. But let's remember, this is a law. It's not a policy. It was enacted by a Democratic Congress in 1993, and if anybody believes that commanders on the ground spend all their time trying to ferret out people who may be of homosexual orientation, they don't understand what it is to serve in the military today.

MARGARET WARNER: Well, when you say you think it works, what's your evidence? What do you mean it works?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): Well, if you take a look at the comment that Michelle just made about people leaving the service, 86% last year left the service voluntarily by identifying themselves as homosexual. Now, we don't know whether or not they left because they wanted to get out of the service or if they were in fact homosexuals. So, I think there's a little bit of questioning about these statistics.

MICHELLE BENECKE: I want to address that, Margaret, because we do know why they left. Our organization is the only entity that documents what is occurring under this law. And the fact is that our military leaders support those people who harass their fellow soldiers rather than supporting well-meaning officers and NCO's in the field who would rather treat their people fairly. That must end.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Colonel Maginnis....

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): I think that is a totally incorrect allegation.

MARGARET WARNER: Let me get - all right - there are two guests that haven't spoken yet. Colonel Maginnis, Bob Maginnis, do you think it's working?

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.), The Family Research Council: I've consistently said "don't ask, don't tell" since July of 1993 when President Clinton announced that this was the policy, having been inside I said it's not going to work, one day we'll be here declaring that. It causes homosexuals to pretend they aren't homosexuals. It causes the military to pretend it doesn't care about homosexuals serving and it gives the Congressmen a free ride. They don't have to deal with this tough issue. It's time that we return to the question. It's time that we make "don't ask, don't tell" consistent with what the law says that General Cerjan just pointed

out.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Let me ask General Coleman, do you think it works?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.), U.S. Army Reserve: No. It absolutely does

not work. I disagree with General Cerjan. You know, it's obvious it isn't working. What just happened at Fort Campbell.... the leadership -

MARGARET WARNER: Excuse me. You're talking about the beating death of a....

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): Absolutely. But the leadership was supporting the policy we wouldn't have things like that occurring. We wouldn't have this many people leaving the service as leave now. My guess is

that they're leaving out of fear. When you cannot be yourself and you don't

know if you're going to be physically damaged or killed, for that matter, because the commanders do not support the policy, it seems to me the thing to

do is to run for safety and that is to leave the service. And that's sad when

my country comes to that point.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): Margaret we need to be careful about painting the entire military on the terrible problem in one unit. That was

a heinous crime committed down there and Glover is going to hopefully spend the

rest of his life in jail for that murder. But at the same time we need to recognize nobody denies that homosexuals have served for the last 221 years in the military. It's: under what conditions may they serve? It's been declared because they are cohort that brings in some problems, the military says they're not going to contribute to cohesion and quality force that it demands, Congress agreed, they passed a very compelling law and therefore, just like we discriminate against a whole host of other people, we say that they should not serve openly.

What should be changed?

MARGARET WARNER: Okay. Three out of the four of you don't think it works.

Is there something to make the current policy more workable? Michelle Benecke.

MICHELLE BENECKE: This law is a double standard and it's wrong. And ultimately Congress needs to replace it with a rule whereby everybody is simply treated the same, but in the meantime the least that the military leaders can do for the safety of our soldiers is to fulfill their promises to

stop asking, to stop pursuits and to stop harassment. And to date they have not done so.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. General Cerjan, do you think it needs to be enforced in that way in a better way?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): I think that it's a leadership issue and you

will find that commanders, generally speaking, will protect any soldier in the force who is harassed. Now, if you think you're going to continually

try
to ferret out those who have a homosexual orientation, I think that's
exactly
wrong. You cannot make a blanket statement that all commanders in the
military, the complete cohort of officers and noncommissioned officers
spend
all their time trying to ferret out homosexuals; that's an incorrect
statement.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Let me just get Bob Maginnis and then I'll
come to you, General. What do you think, Bob Maginnis, is the way to make
this policy work? You've alluded to it, but explain it a little more.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): Well, you know, Mr. Cohen is trying to
do an inspection. They've already declared the policy works back in August.
And, now they're adding don't harass. I'm afraid-- and I agree, we don't
want
to harass anyone. Nobody should be harassed. However that's going to chill
the whole process. I think we're going to make commanders out there far
more
timid about initiating investigations. Therefore we have a protected class
in
the military. And that's not what the law says.

MARGARET WARNER: But what needs to be done?

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): What we need to do is return to the
law.

Congress has yet to have a single hearing on this issue since 1993. They
need
to hold the military accountable for what the law says and they need to
reimpose the question which they can do based on that law.

MARGARET WARNER: You mean when you're recruited ask if they're gay. If
they say they're gay, they're not recruited.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): We're hypocritical. We're saying
anybody
can come in that we haven't already asked a question on, please come in and
you can serve. That includes homosexuals. We ought to stop being
hypocritical
about this.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. But, just so I understand, because I want
to
go to General Coleman, you're saying essentially gays should be allowed to
serve in the military but only if they're in the closet.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): That's right. That's the condition
under
which even George Washington adhered to and for the last 220 years.

MARGARET WARNER: Okay. General Coleman, take it away. You think this
can
be fixed?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): No, I don't think. I think the law, as
the General said, should not be there, period. We should go back to what
the
Army was as an individual, whether black, white, blonde, blue eyed, gray
haired, whatever, if I want to serve, I should be able to serve. And
providing that service, I'll have to be able to be what I am. I should not
have to pretend that I'm something that I'm not. It seems to me that the
Army

is to fight and to win. I remember that from day one -- to fight and to win -- nothing about sexual orientation. So, we can train people to fight and win, no matter what their sexual preference might be, it seems to me that's the bottom line.

MARGARET WARNER: So you agree with both Democratic candidates who would like to see homosexuals able to serve openly?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): Absolutely.

MARGARET WARNER: All right.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): I served openly. I don't know why they shouldn't be able to.

MARGARET WARNER: You mean you as a black man?

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): That's right.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. General Cerjan, what about that?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): First of all I think race is not a choice. Homosexuality is. Having said that, let me talk about the comments made in that last night on the debates. It seems to me that there's a problem here since we're not talking policy, we're talking laws. So the law has to be changed in order for any President to appoint an individual who supports an openly homosexual policy. I think that's something for the lawyers to attend

to in terms of whether or not it's legal to get a chairman of the Joint Chiefs or a person to serve who is in direct contradiction to the law.

Basically, let me make one more comment.

MARGARET WARNER: Please do.

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): It really bothers me that we would spend 30-some odd years educating and training the leadership of this country to move into positions of vast responsibility as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs and chiefs of services to give that military advice to the President when we're about to put our sons and daughters in harm's way and we would eliminate the best and brightest because of a policy that says unless you support an openly gay policy in the military that only addressed 1.5 to 2% of the population does not play to what we're about and that's to win the nation's wars.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): One more comment if I may.

MARGARET WARNER: Yes.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): You know, it could be, General, that maybe the best and the brightest to lead this country to victory just might be gay.

For gays in the military

MARGARET WARNER: All right. Michelle Benecke, make the case for letting gays serve openly.

MICHELLE BENECKE: Gays do serve openly in some units and gays have served openly in the past. Colonel Kim Meyer is one example; Marine Sergeant Justin

Elzin. Through experience we have learned that when people know other gay people, they lose their stereotypes. And by the way, prejudice shouldn't be a

reason to exclude people in the first place. The real issue is who do we want

in the military? Do we want Barry Winchells, someone who all of the testimony

shows was a dedicated soldier; his unit members took the stand and testified

they would go to combat with him without hesitation. That example, of any, should show that what breaks down unit morale is prejudice and hatred. We shouldn't want to recruit people like the man who killed PFC Barry Winchell.

We should want to recruit fair-minded Americans.

MARGARET WARNER: Bob Maginnis.

LT. COL. ROBERT MAGINNIS (Ret.): We should not make decisions based on hatred or discrimination, but we should make decisions on what is the best interest of the military and the armed forces of this country. You know, right now we recruit people with an eye on building cohesive teams. The cohesion is the glue that holds the units together. It overcomes terror and fear on the battlefield. Very few Americans understand that firsthand. And the reality is if that if you can't overcome that by camaraderie and cohesiveness, the trust and confidence that is built over a lot of time and a

lot of activity, then you're going to have an ineffective unit. The thing that we have discovered destroys that the most comes down to, you know, favoritism, sexual relationships, favoring one over another. We already have

problems where we mix young men and young women, and when we put young homosexuals together, you won't be able to distinguish one from the other.

And then you end up with sort of a problem the Australians and the Brits are

about to have and they try to prosecute all indications of sexual relationships like holding hands between a boy and girl. You know, we have to

focus once again on the importance of military readiness. What is our military all about? It's about preserving peace and fighting wars when it's required.

MICHELLE BENECKE: And Margaret, I would say "don't ask, don't tell" don't

pursue hurts military readiness. It hurts military readiness, because it's harassment and investigations that break down unit morale.

Against gays in the military

MARGARET WARNER: General Cerjan, what's your view on the military cohesion argument and whether letting homosexuals serve openly will affect that?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): Well, I think that across the board, as Colonel Maginnis said, you have a cohesion issue in terms of whether or not soldiers, sailors, airmen, believe in their leaders and whether or not they're willing to go forward when the test comes to walk into the crucible.

So I think the homosexuality issue affects that because, as we found out in so many instances that Michelle brought up, there is harassment out there and

that needs to be stopped. We need to apply an evenhanded policy as the policy

was written. But the thing that bothers me is that when we start taking look

at the readiness of the service and as General Coleman said to fight and defend and win the nation's wars, that means that we have to take every

measure we can to insure that we have a combat-ready force.

MARGARET WARNER: But what are you saying exactly?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): Well, we're becoming a social engineering agency and that's not what the military was intended to do.

MARGARET WARNER: I'm sorry, but we're almost out of time. I want to make

sure I understand your point, General. Are you saying because there are straight members of the military who don't like homosexuals or find them distasteful or anathema, or whatever that affects unit cohesion or not?

LT. GEN. PAUL CERJAN (Ret.): I think it does. I absolutely believe it does because you have to believe in your leaders and, you know, this whole idea that you die for your country has been proven to be incorrect. You die for the soldier that sits next to you in the foxhole. And you have to believe

in, and there's a whole bunch of love-trust and understanding about what you're doing in terms of what you're doing in the unit. And so, consequently,

I think it affects unit cohesion.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. General Coleman, address that point.

MAJ. GEN. VANCE COLEMAN (Ret.): I suspect that any differences between individuals could affect unit cohesiveness. Let's not just look at homosexuality. That happens and I saw that when I was a younger officer, it happens with people that just don't like each other. It happens for various reasons, not because of homosexuality. So you can't just use that to say that

affects... you can't have it because it affects unit cohesion. If that were true, then I think a lot of other things that must be eliminated. I didn't like you again because you had red hair, I didn't know you because you were six feet tall or I didn't like you because you were heavy. I didn't like you

because you were different than I am. That was the thing that the integration

between blacks and whites back in the 1950s with President Truman. People had the same arguments then. We overcame that because we learned to trust and to

respect each other. And I would say to you that prior to the leadership of the Army making homosexuality an issue, it was not an issue. Homosexuals fought side by side with straights. And there was no problem. It became a problem when the leadership made it a problem. General, I agree with you. It's a leadership problem, not a soldier problem.

MARGARET WARNER: All right, gentlemen and Michelle Benecke, we're going to have to leave it there. Thank you all four very much.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Karen Dunn (Karen Dunn [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 09:37:37.00

SUBJECT: RE: remarks of the President and Mrs. Clinton from their residence in Chappaqua, NY

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
morning friend!

i have a question -- do you know yet who is on the sunday programs?

-----Original Message-----

From: Toby_C._Graff@who.eop.gov [mailto:Toby_C._Graff@who.eop.gov]

Sent: Thursday, January 06, 2000 5:00 PM

To: Karen Dunn

Subject: RE: remarks of the President and Mrs. Clinton from their residence in Chappaqua, NY

Patti is checking right now, as Eric still didn't get back or respond to my page. But yeah, pls. send Birnbaum's best #

(Embedded
image moved Karen Dunn
to file: 01/06/2000 04:54:32 PM
PIC13268.PCX)

Record Type: Record

To: Toby C. Graff/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: RE: remarks of the President and Mrs. Clinton from their residence in Chappaqua, NY

oh did you check the DRC answer -- if so you should call gregg birnbaum at the NY post who is looking for that answer -- do you need his digits?

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Karen Dunn to Toby C. Graff at 09:37:37.00. Subject: Re: remarks of the President and Mrs. Clinton from their residence in Chappaqua. [partial] (2 pages)	01/07/2000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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WHO ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])
OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

[01/07/2000 - 01/10/2000]

2015-0017-F
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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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(b)(6)

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[001cont]

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-----Original Message-----

From: Toby_C._Graff@who.eop.gov [mailto:Toby_C._Graff@who.eop.gov]

Sent: Thursday, January 06, 2000 3:02 PM

To: kdunn@hillary2000ny.org
Subject: remarks of the President and Mrs. Clinton from their residence
in Chappaqua, NY
fyi...just received...

----- Forwarded by Toby C. Graff/WHO/EOP on 01/06/2000

03:00 PM -----

Margaret M. Suntum

01/06/2000 02:57:18 PM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: remarks of the President and Mrs. Clinton from their residence in
Chappaqua, NY

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Chappaqua, New York)

For Immediate Release January 6, 2000
REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND THE FIRST LADY
TO THE WHITE HOUSE TRAVELING PRESS
Outside Chappaqua Residence
Chappaqua, New York

11:28 A.M. EST

MRS. CLINTON: Good morning!

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning, everybody.

Q So are you now officially New Yorkers?

THE PRESIDENT: We're here. Let me say to start that we're
delighted to be here. We like this house very much and we, at least, have
put up all the boxes we brought up here so far. This is the first home we
have had since January of 1983, 17 years ago, when we moved back into the
Governor's Mansion in Little Rock. So it's exciting. We're seeing some
things we haven't seen since we moved to the White House and some things we
haven't seen in 17 years.

We've got a table in there that we bought shortly after we got
married, in 1975, that we haven't used in a long time. So we've had a lot
of fun and I've enjoyed it very much.

MRS. CLINTON: We're glad to have you here this morning because
this is a lot of excitement and hard work for us, but we're so pleased that
we are finally here and moved in and looking forward to many, many happy
days here in the days and months ahead.

THE PRESIDENT: We also want to thank our neighbors who have been
long-suffering with all the attention --

MRS. CLINTON: Right.

THE PRESIDENT: -- that the house has received.

MRS. CLINTON: And all of the officials here in Chappaqua and New
Castle and Westchester County, who have been so helpful and cooperative
with the Secret Service and the other people who are a part of the
President's official duties.

Q Mr. President, will you be shifting your voter registration
to New York, so you can vote for a certain Senate candidate?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I've got a particular interest in the
election up here next year, so I want to make sure my vote counts. I
expect to vote in the election in New York.

Q What did you do last night? What did you do for dinner?
Did you have friends in?

MRS. CLINTON: We had friends -- we've had a lot of friends helping us and one of my good friends here who lives nearby came over with her son and brought dinner for us, and then her son helped Bill move some things that needed to be moved. And we had other friends come over who have been helping us. But mostly what we did was unpack boxes, put things up, try to make decisions about where to hang paintings or move furniture and make a long list of all the things we have to do that aren't done yet that are going to have to be tended to.

Q Are you going back to Washington today to do that?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, we're going back today and we'll be packing up more things and moving more things in the next couple of weeks. So it will be a process. We're not going to be totally moved in and everything in place for a while. But it's a lot of fun for us to be able to do this again, for the first time in such a long time -- because we, of course, worked very hard in the White House and spent an enormous amount of time and effort trying to keep the White House in good shape and do some additional work that needed to be done there, but it's different when you're doing it in your own home.

Q Have you thought any more about a schedule for how often you will both be here?

Q Mrs. Clinton and also Mr. President, the Mayor, as you may have heard a couple of days ago, said that both of you, the Clintons, he said, have been egregious violators of soft money, both in how it's collected and how it's distributed. Your reaction, both of you?

MRS. CLINTON: We're going to talk about our house this morning, which we are very happy about being in, and being New Yorkers. And we'll leave that to another time.

Q Mr. President, are you going to -- we haven't heard from you. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: No. (Laughter.) No, I keep reading all these things. I've not given very much thought to this. I'm going to work very hard on finishing my library and center. And I'm going to devote all my attention to being President. I've got a big agenda this year. We're going back now, and I have to go back to Shepherdstown this afternoon. But I've had no discussions with anybody about that kind of move. And I was amazed to see that in the paper. No one's even suggested that.

Q Mr. President, last night the Vice President in the debates said that he'll ask military commanders about their feelings on gays serving in the military before appointing people to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Is this litmus test the way it should work?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think the real problem is -- let me go back to what happened, because, as you know, my view was -- and I will restate my view. The Uniform Code of Military Justice prohibits homosexual contacts. So my view was, if someone was willing to take the pledge to observe the Uniform Code of Military Justice, they shouldn't have to lie about being gay and being in the military. Then, let me remind you what happened. The Congress voted, by a veto-proof majority, against that position. So that's how we got to "don't ask, don't tell."

My focus has been on trying to make the policy work the way the military commanders said it would work back in 1993, which it has not been doing. No one disputes that. To Secretary Cohen's credit, back in August we announced some new guidelines, which have now been implemented, for

training and for implementation, which I think will significantly improve the present situation over the next few months.

Now, the Vice President and Senator Bradley say they want to go back to the position that I advocated in '92 and '93. In order to do that, the Congress will have to change the law, I believe. I don't think that the military and the President have the authority to do it. Now, you could go back and look at the constitutional arguments and do some research, but I think a lot of this debate, I think a lot of people have actually forgotten that Congress put into the law the present policy.

And so what I'm going to do is spend the next year trying to make sure that we do what was intended and what I announced would be done, after extensive consultation with our commanders back in 1993. I believe that the next President, if he wants to change the policy, will have to get the Congress to change the law.

Q A quick follow-up on that. Wouldn't litmus tests like that have disqualified somebody like Colin Powell from serving as Joint Chiefs?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that I'm going to leave the appointment process to the next President. I'm not going to get involved in this election right now. I think that there have been, we know, going back all the way to the first world war, we have clear evidence that there have been gays in the military who have served with great distinction. I think it's quite interesting that most of the Vietnam veterans, combat veterans, in the United States Congress, including Senator Robb and Senator Kerry, just to mention two, have felt that -- both Senator Kerry and Kerrey, and Senator Robb -- have felt that the policy ought to be changed and supported my original position.

So I would like to find some way for people to be honest, to obey the law, and to serve with distinction in the military. So I think that is where our focus ought to be, and the next President will have to figure out how to do that. But I think there will have to be a change in the law.

Q Mr. President, the polls show that your wife is trailing right now. Do you have any advice for her?

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much.

Q What was the first night like?

THE PRESIDENT: We had a wonderful time. We don't have a television yet. (Laughter.)

Q So how did you watch the debate?

THE PRESIDENT: We didn't. They have a tape for me. I'm going to watch it tonight when I get home. So I had a tape. So we brought up our CD player, and I gave Hillary one of those South African radios that you crank -- have you seen them?

MRS. CLINTON: Solar-powered radios.

THE PRESIDENT: We bought them -- and I got it in Washington at that Discovery store. You crank it up and it's run either by solar power or by hand crank, but you never need a plug or anything. So we listened to the radio last night. It was quite wonderful.

Q -- what it was like being in the house for the first time in 17 years, your own house?

- 5 -

MORE

- 5 -

MRS. CLINTON: We loved it. Well, it was a little overwhelming because there is so much to be done, and we stayed up very late, working on getting things organized and put away. And then we're going to be back together next week and we'll keep the process going until we finally get things moved in.

But it was wonderful having a chance to be here. My mother is with us. We just had a great time.

Q How late were you up?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, gosh.

THE PRESIDENT: Past 1:00 a.m.

MRS. CLINTON: Past 1:00 a.m. (Laughter.) Thanks.

END 11:38 A.N. EST

Message Sent

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Fern Mechlowitz/WHO/EOP@EOP
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Melissa G. Green/OPD/EOP@EOP
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Justin G. Cooper/WHO/EOP@EOP
Renee Sagiv/WHO/EOP@EOP
Heather F. Hurlburt/WHO/EOP@EOP
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Jennifer I. Hoelzer/NSC/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Elizabeth J. Potter (CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JAN-2000 15:24:53.00

SUBJECT: POTUS Weekly

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

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

TEXT:

FYI: Heads up

----- Forwarded by Elizabeth J. Potter/WHO/EOP on
01/07/2000 03:21 PM -----

Elizabeth J. Potter
01/07/2000 12:51:50 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Christine A. Stanek/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: POTUS Weekly

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" : The military trial surrounding the beating death of Private Winchell will resume tomorrow. His roommate, Spec. Justin Fischer, who has been charged as an accomplice, will stand trial this Saturday, January 8th. We expect a fresh round of media interest in the story and that activists will begin to press in earnest for someone in the military to be held accountable for this tragedy.

The parents of Barry Winchell, Pat and Wally Kutteles (Koo-tell-as) are at Ft. Campbell, KY awaiting the verdict and are expected to make a statement when the trial ends. They are very articulate spokespersons having already said "We knew Barry could be deployed and come into harm's way for our country. We never dreamed that he would be killed by labeling, prejudice and hatred at home," and in a statement. "'Don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue' did not protect our son. It won't protect anyone else's child. This policy must end."

In addition, the Kutteles family and activists are going to call on the military to explain why a climate of underage drinking, rough housing and harassment were tolerated. Where were the officers in charge; and how could this brutal activity occur on a US military base?

Note: The Kutteles's will be in WDC this Monday and Tuesday. The Vice President called them before Christmas to offer condolences. They have

not received a call from DOD.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Heather M. Riley (CN=Heather M. Riley/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-JAN-2000 14:05:03.00

SUBJECT:

TO: halperm@abc.com (halperm@abc.com @ inet [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 2000

WASHINGTON WEEK IN REVIEW (Gloria Borger guest host)

Topics: Campaign 2000; Cuban boy; OSHA

Guests: David Broder, Susan Feeney; Martha Raddatz; Mara Liasson

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 2000

EVANS, NOVAK, SHIELDS & HUNT (CNN)

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: Governor Vilsack (IA)

CAPTIAL GANG (CNN)

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: Pollster Geoff Garin

SUNDAY, JANUARY 2, 2000

FOX NEWS SUNDAY (FOX)

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: Bill Bradley

Topic: Campaign 2000) Iowa

Guest: David Yepsen

Roundtable: Juan Williams, Brit Hume, Mara Liasson

FACE THE NATION(CBS)

Topic: Campaign 2000

Guest: John McCain

Topic: Reform Party

Guest: Governor Jesse Ventura

Roundtable: Gloria Borger, USNWR

THIS WEEK (ABC)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Bob and Elizabeth Dole

Topic: Gays in the Military
Guest: Gen. Merrill McPeak (ret), CoS USAF; Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer (ret), Army National Guard

Topic: NH voters , focus group
Guest: George Stephanopolous, Jeffrey Pollock, Democratic pollster

Roundtable: George Stephanopolous, George Will

MEET THE PRESS (NBC)

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Senator Judd Gregg; Rep. Lindsey Graham; Bob Shrum; Rep. Jerry Nadler

Topic: Campaign 2000 Roundtable
Guest: William Safire, Al Hunt, Joe Klein, and Bill Kristol

LATE EDITION (CNN)

Topic: Africa and the United Nations
Guest: Ambassador Richard Holbrooke

Topic: Campaign 2000
Guest: Senator Tom Harkin, Senator Paul Wellstone

Topic: NY Senate Race
Guest: Ed Koch, Susan Molinari

Roundtable: Susan Page, Steve Roberts, and Tucker Carlson

Message Sent

To: _____

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Hoag, Jamie" ("Hoag, Jamie" [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-JAN-2000 15:08:48.00

SUBJECT:

TO: Jared Powell (CN=Jared Powell/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Gore Clarifies Position on Gays in Military

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer
Saturday, January 8, 2000; Page A1

Vice President Gore moved to quell a rising political controversy last night by stating that he would not insist that senior military commanders personally agree with him about allowing gays to serve openly in the armed forces, but would require only that his appointees faithfully carry out his policy.

Pulling back from remarks he made three days ago at a Democratic debate in New Hampshire--when he answered "yes" to a question about whether he would apply a "litmus test" for the Joint Chiefs of Staff on gays serving openly in the military--Gore told an impromptu news conference in West Des Moines, Iowa, that his meaning had been misunderstood.

"I did not mean to imply that there should ever be any kind of inquiry into the personal political opinions of officers in the U.S. military, nor would I ever tolerate such inquiries," Gore said.

Gore's statement followed a day of top-level discussions within his campaign about how to respond to what many outside political strategists and some on his own team feared was a damaging answer the vice president gave Wednesday night.

Gore said then that he is determined to scrap the Clinton administration's "don't ask, don't tell" policy requiring homosexuals to keep their sexual orientation private, adding, "I think that would require those who wanted to serve on the position of the Joint Chiefs to be in agreement with [my] policy."

That answer--combined with Gore's assent to moderator Peter Jennings's question of whether this amounted to a litmus test--appalled many current and retired military officers, surprised even some gay activists and invited a shower of Republican criticism. Several Democratic sources close to Gore's camp said he had no choice but to backtrack or risk having the issue become

a serious distraction.

But Democratic sources said Gore was determined that he not be seen as abandoning a position under pressure. He and the campaign insisted the candidate's statement last night was not a change of position, merely a clarification of it.

Gore said that by stating he would apply a litmus test, he meant "that I would insist on having members of the Joint Chiefs who would implement that policy and who would not do anything but implement that policy." The result is that Gore's position is essentially identical to one former senator Bill Bradley articulated at the same University of New Hampshire debate.

The Bradley-Gore battle for the support of gay voters has been particularly aggressive as both camps have realized the influence the community exerts on

Democratic Party politics. In California, where voters also will consider a gay marriage ballot initiative on March 7, activists predict homosexuals will make up 10 percent to 15 percent of the Democratic primary vote. But in last night's Republican debate in South Carolina, Arizona Sen. John McCain criticized both Gore and Bradley for calling for their appointees to carry out a policy of allowing gays to serve openly. "That is a total destruction of the entire concept of the military and we should as Americans reject such a thing because of the harmful effect it will have on the military of the United States of America," McCain said.

Gore's statement of policy could defuse the issue--in the short term and the long term. By moving late Friday, Gore hoped to avoid having the issue affect today's debate with Bradley in Iowa.

Michael Collins, a Republican National Committee spokesman, said yesterday--before Gore restated his view--that what was galling about the vice president's position was not its support of homosexuals. "It's not about gays in the military, it's about his concept of command," Collins said, adding that Gore seemed to be saying to the military, "If you don't share my political agenda, you're not suitable for command."

The RNC yesterday was producing a TV ad, to be aired in Iowa, New Hampshire and some markets with large military populations, asserting that retired Gens. Colin L. Powell and Norman Schwarzkopf "couldn't pass Al Gore's litmus test."

There is evidence the gays-in-the-military issue is not as volatile as it was in 1993, when President Clinton was forced to abandon his pledge to end the military's prohibition against homosexual personnel in favor of the "don't ask, don't tell" compromise. At a debate Thursday night, the two leading GOP contenders said they wanted to keep the compromise policy intact, rather than go back to the more restrictive pre-Clinton policy.

A focus group in New Hampshire organized by The Washington Post found

Democratic voters irritated that Jennings raised the gays-in-uniform issue at all during the debate, regarding it as irrelevant. Michael Harrison, who monitors radio talk shows for Talkers magazine, said the issue these days generates little of the contention and ill feeling on the airwaves that it did seven years ago.

Geoff Garin, a Democratic pollster not affiliated with either presidential campaign, said rising tolerance on gay rights issues by all but the most committed conservatives means that Bradley and Gore are not taking huge general-election risks by campaigning so aggressively for gays in the military. "If you're going to vote on the basis of this issue, we probably already know how you're going to vote," he said.

But Garin said Gore's "litmus test" remark risked conveying disrespect for the military and could have become a general-election liability.

Peter Feaver, an associate professor at Duke University and specialist in civil-military relations, said Gore's litmus test remark hit a military nerve that goes beyond the issue of whether gays should be allowed to serve openly.

"When Gore says he'd make the gays issue a litmus test, he's touching all the wrong buttons," Feaver said. "Many in the military already are sensitive to not being heard. It was an excruciatingly dumb thing to say."

There remain a host of practical questions casting doubt on whether Gore's and Bradley's statements on the subject are achievable.

"The Gore-Bradley discussion missed the point completely, because before a president can try to convince the Joint Chiefs, he has to convince Congress," said Joseph J. Collins, a retired Army colonel. "What stops gays from serving openly in the military is the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which prohibits specific homosexual acts, and unless the code is changed by Congress you cannot settle this issue."

Gore and Bradley also seem to be assuming that commanders might harbor "personal" views about gays in the military, but that this would not impede their implementing a new policy. In fact, as Clinton found, commanders are allowed to share their opinions, even if they differ from the administration, on matters affecting their services. Clinton's plans were swamped when congressional hearings revealed overwhelming uniformed opposition to allowing gays to serve openly.

Staff writers Dan Balz with Gore, Ceci Connolly, Bradley Graham and Roberto Suro contributed to this report.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JAN-2000 18:45:08.00

SUBJECT: ABC This Week, January 9, 2000

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

TO: Brian A. Reich (CN=Brian A. Reich/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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TO: Jonathan M. Prince (CN=Jonathan M. Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Steve Ricchetti (CN=Steve Ricchetti/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: June Shih (CN=June Shih/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Eli G. Attie (CN=Eli G. Attie/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

TO: gamble-bennett@dol.gov (gamble-bennett@dol.gov @ inet [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

TO: Douglas B. Sosnik (CN=Douglas B. Sosnik/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
ABC THIS WEEK
JANUARY 9, 2000

SPEAKERS: SAM DONALDSON, HOST, ABC THIS WEEK
COKIE ROBERTS, HOST, ABC THIS WEEK
GEORGE WILL, WASHINGTON POST
BOB DOLE, FORMER REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE
ELIZABETH DOLE, FORMER REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL
CANDIDATE
GENERAL MERRIL MCPEAK (RET.), CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. AIR
FORCE
COLONEL MARGARETHE CAMMERMEYER (RET.), ARMY NATIONAL
GUARD RESERVES
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE DAN BURTON (R-IN), CHAIRMAN,
GOVERNMENT REFORM COMMITTEE
JEFFREY POLLOCK, DEMOCRATIC POLLSTER

DONALDSON: Welcome to our program.

There's a standoff this Sunday morning in the case of 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez. As you know, the U.S. Immigration Service has ordered that he be returned to his father in Cuba. But on Friday, the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight issued a subpoena for the youngster to testify, apparently blocking his immediate return.

The committee chairman, Dan Burton, is with us today.

Welcome, Mr. Chairman.

BURTON: Sam.

DONALDSON: Well, during Friday, most of the day, we thought you weren't going to issue the subpoena. Later in the day, you did. Why did you?

BURTON: Well, we were waiting to see what the court was going to do in Florida. And they decided not to take any action of Friday. And we were concerned that the Immigration and Naturalization people would send the boy back over the weekend. So we thought the best way to make sure that the judicial process was followed was to issue a subpoena to keep everything on an even keel.

DONALDSON: Well, we want to ask you about the ramifications of this move. But before we do, I must tell you what you know, and that is, your action has inflamed Castro and Cuba even more than they were inflamed.

And for the latest, let's go to Miami and Mike Von Frem (ph).

Mike, what have you got?

MIKE VON FREM (ph), ABC NEWS CORRESPONDENT IN MIAMI: Good morning, Sam.

Well, the Cuban people thought that they would be celebrating the 6-year-old boy's return this morning, but instead, tens of thousands flooded into the streets this weekend to support a very angry father who demands his son back.

Now the distraught father has stood in front of cheering crowds to talk about the pain of being separated from his son. The enormous demonstrations last hours and are played over and over again on Cuban TV, where officials continually blame what they call the "powerful U.S.-Cuban mafia" in Miami for holding the boy hostage.

The father of the boy and Cuban officials have praised the U.S. Immigration Service for initially deciding that the boy should be returned. But the father invited myself and other reporters into his home where he blasted Dan Burton and blamed him for the delay, telling the congressman, quote, "Who is he? He's no one. What right does that man have? I am the boy's father."

Now, in watching all the demonstrations, it is striking to see Elian's classmates and other young children stand up to talk about the evil thing the U.S. is doing. Fidel Castro is clearly relishing the fact that the passions of the next generation have now been stirred against the U.S.

Cokie.

ROBERTS: Thank, Mike. Mike Von Frem (ph) in Havana.

Well, Congressman Burton, you've heard that. The father says, "Who are you? He is the father."

BURTON: Well, first all, Cokie, in Cuba they have a block captain system, and anyone who doesn't do the bidding of Fidel Castro or who complains about the government is in jeopardy of going to prison and for a long period of time.

I don't know that the father's under any kind of pressure like that. But we tried to get visas not only for the father but for his entire new family so they could all come to the United States so he wouldn't be under any pressure whatsoever when he talked about what was best for his son. That's the first step.

ROBERTS: And were the visas not granted?

BURTON: There was a visa granted for his--for the father, but not, to my knowledge, for the rest of the family. And we wanted them to come so there would be no pressure from the Castro regime.

The second thing is that this boy's mother risked her life to bring that boy to freedom--she gave her life to bring that boy to freedom. And so we believe, in a court of law, all of these factors should be heard and there should be a decision made by the court on what is best for the boy.

ROBERTS: Then let me ask you just a couple of quick procedural questions. If the INS says he should be back January 14th, are you going to stop him?

BURTON: Well, the INS is a bureaucracy here in Washington that goes by a hard and fast set of rules. This is a very unique case. I believe this case should be decided like any other custody case for a child. It should be decided in a court of law. And one of the reasons...

ROBERTS: But can we stop that from happening?

BURTON: Well, our subpoena, I hope, will be recognized by the INS and everybody to grant some time to the lawyers on both sides to make their case to a court. Hopefully that'll be done this week.

If the court decides the boy should go back, then we should live with that. If the court decides the boy should stay here, it's best for him to be in America--as his mother wished--then we should live with that.

DONALDSON: Mr. Burton, did you or your staff research the legalities of the subpoena? There are some lawyers who say that it doesn't have the force of any law.

BURTON: Well, the subpoena does have the force of bringing somebody before the committee. Now whether or not the INS will say that that does not supersede their authority as a branch--part of the executive branch--to send that young man back, that's something that we're not sure of. We don't know.

But I can tell you this: If the INS sends that boy back without due process of law, without a court making a finding based upon all the facts presented to them, then I will have the INS before our committee and they can explain to me and to the American people why they felt it was imperative to send him back before there was a judicial proceeding to make a clear decision on this boy's future.

DONALDSON: The boy's father has apparently told some reporters that he fears that you would subpoena him if he comes to the United States. Would you do that?

BURTON: No. The only reason a subpoena was issued was to make sure that there was plenty of time for the legal process to go forward. We just wanted to make sure that people didn't go off half cocked and send this boy back. Because once he's back in Cuba in a totalitarian communist country, he's never coming back. And so we wanted to make sure that due process of law was followed, as in any other case, and that's why I issued the subpoena.

ROBERTS: Congressman Burton, we saw the political hay that

Fidel Castro is making off this case. Is there also some hay that Republicans are making? We're seeing Republican members of Congress go give the little boy a puppy, give him toys. Senator Smith was there yesterday holding a press conference. Mayor Giuliani apparently, according to "Time" magazine, was going to have him drop the ball on New Year's Eve in Times Square. Is this becoming a Republican political heyday?

BURTON: I can't comment on anybody else. All I can comment is on the actions that I and my committee took. And I took those actions solely for one reason, and that is to make absolutely sure that the judicial process goes forward and there's a fair and open hearing on what's best for that young man. I have no political motivations whatsoever in doing what I did.

DONALDSON: Did you consult your Democratic counterpart, the ranking member?

BURTON: I did not, because time was of the essence. Once the court decided not to act on Friday, the Immigration and Naturalization Service could have taken this boy Saturday or Sunday and sent him back to Cuba. And what we wanted to do immediately was to make sure that that would not happen.

ROBERTS: We're out of time, Chairman Burton, but a quick question on another subject. Do Republicans plan to put riders on armed services bills this year saying no money can be spent to have gays openly serve in the military?

BURTON: I don't have an answer that. I don't think that will happen, but I don't have an answer right now, Cokie, I'm sorry.

ROBERTS: OK. Thanks so much for being here. We appreciate your being here.

BURTON: Thank you. Thank you, Sam.

ROBERTS: When we come back, our interview with Elizabeth and Bob Dole and this week's controversy over gays in the military.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

DONALDSON: Joining us now are Elizabeth Dole and Bob Dole. Senator, Mrs. Dole, welcome very much.

E. DOLE: Thank you. Nice to be with you.

DONALDSON: Well, it's delighted...

(LAUGHTER)

Some people say that you've endorsed George W. Bush because you'd like to be on his ticket.

E. DOLE: Oh, Sam please.

DONALDSON: But you're here to speak for yourself, you tell us why you endorsed him.

E. DOLE: George Bush is a man of accomplishment. He has executive experience, not only in business, but as the governor of the second largest state in our country. A record of achievement there. Also, he brings people together from both sides of the aisle.

You know, Pete Lane (ph), the speaker of the house, has worked very effectively with him in Texas. The late Maude Bullock (ph), who was lieutenant governor, a Democrat. And I think that he tries to bridge differences rather than to exploit them. And I think, too, that those who know him best admire him most. For example, the Republican governors who've worked closely with him and know about his outstanding record, and that says a lot for a person. He'll be a great leader.

DONALDSON: Well, Mrs. Dole, I have to tell you, I know someone

who ran for the presidency who had no executive experience. Senator Dole, tell us. Do you agree? Are you for George W. Bush, hook, line and sinker?

B. DOLE: I haven't endorsed a candidate.

DONALDSON: But our program is open to people to make announcements.

B. DOLE: That's correct. I'd forgotten that; I hadn't been here for awhile. But, you know, my view is we have some good candidates in the race. I think Bush will be the nominee. I think he's gaining in New Hampshire, and of course, I hope he beats Forbes badly in Iowa. Forbes is not my favorite candidate.

DONALDSON: Well, if you think he'll be the nominee, forgive me, why not endorse him?

B. DOLE: (inaudible) probably doesn't make any difference what I do. I don't want to hurt anybody's prospects. I mean, John McCain's a friend of mine, too, as you noted earlier. But my idea is we have good candidates in the race. I do think Bush will be the nominee.

ROBERTS: Mrs. Dole, you say that--you laughed when Sam said, people said you were doing this to get the number two spot on the ticket. Would you accept the vice presidential nomination?

E. DOLE: Cokie, it's just so premature at this point to even speculate on that. They don't have a nominee yet, but when George Bush becomes the nominee, the Republican Party has a wealth of really talented, outstanding (inaudible).

B. DOLE: But I would accept it if it's offered to me.

(LAUGHTER)

ROBERTS: But they're rumblings in the Bush camp that a vice presidential candidate needs to bring a big state. All those pointing to Lyndon Johnson for Jack Kennedy; the last time we know a vice presidential candidate helped deliver. Is that--do you agree with that?

E. DOLE: Well, I think it depends on what the situation is many months from now. There are many things that go into the consideration of who the vice presidential candidate ought to be and we're a long way from that now. So, I think clearly it is too early to speculate and that may well be one of the factors at that time.

ROBERTS: And the other thing you hear is that Republican female candidates, for instance, Governor Whitman in New Jersey, has never carried the woman's vote. Is that--do you think that being on the ticket would bring the woman's vote? You saw all of those women show up at your events.

E. DOLE: Yes, I was delighted to see women of all ages show up at my events, as well as young people and many who had become kind of disenchanting with politics.

But let me say that George Bush is doing very well with women. Two-thirds of the women of Texas elected him--his reelection campaign. Voted for him. And certainly right now the polls indicate that he's doing very well.

And let me just say one other thing, Sam, and that is that I was pleased that both George Bush and I, in all the polls that I saw throughout 1999, were beating the vice president of the United States, Al Gore, and we were ahead of him with respect to women.

Now, I'd like to make a prediction here.

DONALDSON: Please.

E. DOLE: You know, in the 2000 election, 53 percent of the electorate will be female. The real--I think the most important swing

voters will be middle-class mothers, older women, so I'm going to predict that the traditional gender gap is going to be turned inside out. Al Gore is going to have the gender gap and George Bush will be carried to the White House on the votes of women.

DONALDSON: Let's talk about the facts here.

(LAUGHTER)

ROBERTS: Well, that would be very different from your situation.

B. DOLE: Right, we had a good time.

DONALDSON: Forgive me for chomping at the bit, it's only because I want to explore the business about women. Senator Dole, you want to pay close attention to this. I want to read a portion of the Republican platform of 1996 and here it is.

On the subject of abortion: ``The unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution, and we endorse legislation to make clear that the 14th Amendments protections apply to unborn children."

Now Senator, among political reporters who covered you it's no secret that you might have wanted a little different plank. Do you think the Republicans, in the year 2000, should have in their platform a plank which says we want a Constitutional amendment which in effect would ban abortions?

B. DOLE: I think if they're going to add that plank, it ought to provide exceptions for rape, incest or the life of the mother, which the human life amendment does not. But I also believe, as I believed in '96, that, you know, we're a diverse party, we have different views, and you can be pro-choice or pro-life and still be a good, active, solid Republican.

DONALDSON: But so-called pro-choice--Mrs. Dole, what do you think? You know what the polls say about this in this country.

E. DOLE: First of all, I believe that the nominee of the party traditionally takes the leadership in determining what the platform is going to say, and George Bush will have much to say on the subject, I'm sure. What I've tried to do is to keep this from becoming such a divisive issue, and frankly, Sam, often...

DONALDSON: But, isn't it (inaudible) of those words?

E. DOLE: ... often, it's the press, the media, who seem to enjoy getting Republicans fighting each other over this, and frankly I think that good and honorable people can disagree.

DONALDSON: But do you think...

E. DOLE: And that we should agree to respectfully disagree and let's move onto other subjects, because I don't think this is the number one subject--it's not the number one subject for women in this country. Women care about education, they care about tax cuts, they care about retirement security, they care about health care, a lot of other issues.

DONALDSON: Doesn't Strom Thurman hold the record for filibuster, Senator?

(LAUGHTER)

E. DOLE: I've always like to talk.

DONALDSON: We're happy to hear you, but I do need to ask you--give you a chance to answer my question directly, if you will. And that is, do you think a human rights amendment to ban abortion should be in the platform in the year 2000?

E. DOLE: Well, again, I'm not the one who's going to be determining the leadership for the platform. Now, I would support a human rights amendment, but it is not going to happen in this country. There's not been a vote in 15 years in the Congress.

DONALDSON: Well, if it's not going to happen, why put it in the platform?

E. DOLE: It's--at this point in time, it's not going to materialize because there are not the votes, there's not the support in the country for it.

ROBERTS: Senator, who said let's move to tax cuts. I want to show you an ad that Steve Forbes is now running in New Hampshire. Could we see the ad please?

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP, FORBES AD)

(UNKNOWN): There's something you need to know about George W. Bush. In 1994, he signed a pledge with my organization that he would not support sales tax or business tax increases. In 1997, unfortunately, he broke this pledge.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROBERTS: Now, you've seen ads like that before.

B. DOLE: I've seen ads like that before. I think I raised taxes 16 times in the Forbes ad.

ROBERTS: What affect can this have on the Republican nomination?

B. DOLE: I think it can certainly damage the nominees, as I found out in 1996, because you can take--let's say it happened in Texas, a big tax bill and a couple of increases and all the rest are reductions. You can say, you know, fairly honestly, Well, he'd raise taxes, but it's a distortion of what really happened. And I would hope that Steve Forbes understands the damage he did in '96 and will not repeat it in an effort to harm either Governor Bush or Senator McCain or anyone else.

ROBERTS: Do you think it was wise for George W. Bush to take a tax pledge in New Hampshire? You've been there, too.

B. DOLE: Well, I didn't take the tax pledge in New Hampshire because it occurred to me that there could be some emergency where you wouldn't have that choice, but again ...

ROBERTS: And you lost.

B. DOLE: That's right. I'm not sure I lost because of that, but I did lose. But I think he responded to the question that he would have a tax cut which I think's important and I certainly support.

ROBERTS: Now, the other big issue that we've seen in the Republican camp this week is John McCain and the question of letters to the FCC on behalf--or trying to get them to act. Where those letters inappropriate?

B. DOLE: I would guess if you searched the files of the 100 Senators, they've all had letters like that.

ROBERTS: But you said that you put your letters like that in the Congressional record.

B. DOLE: In some cases where it was very--when I thought it would be very sensitive, I put a copy of the letter in the Congressional Record, which I think is a pretty good idea. Of course, you'd have a big record every day because there are a lot of letters written. But on the other hand, if we're elected to Congress, we have an obligation to represent our constituents and if we can't write the bureaucracy--and McCain didn't say how they should rule. He said, Please rule on this

issue.

DONALDSON: Senator, in the Paxson Communications case, he wrote a letter which said he wanted this on the agenda in the December meeting and he said, "I want an answer from each you," meaning each commissioner, "if you don't put it in the agenda." Isn't that coming right up to the point of bullying?

B. DOLE: Well, I don't know. I don't know the circumstances of that case.

DONALDSON: Would you write that letter?

B. DOLE: I didn't write that letter, but would I write a letter like that? I don't know, I'd have to go back and search the files, but there are letters written by most every senator representing constituents. I think John McCain is a man of integrity and honesty, and I take his word for it. He's released every letter he's ever written, so I think that's pretty good.

DONALDSON: You've been a Cabinet officer, did you get letters like this from people from Capitol Hill, and if so, how did you respond to them?

E. DOLE: I think that what happened here is not inappropriate. Certainly it was a matter of just--make a decision, up or down, one way or the other, just get it done. And in this particular case, it had been sitting there for a very, very long period of time. And I think even asking the different members if you're not going to put it on the agenda--again, it's just trying to get them to move.

DONALDSON: There's also that appearance--that's the problem.

E. DOLE: Whatever you decide, just do it. Just make a decision, whatever the decision is.

DONALDSON: But that's the point that your husband brought up, the appearance.

E. DOLE: Well, I think that he put out all these letters, as Bob says, all 100 senators have done it. I mean, it's not inappropriate to ask for your constituents that a decision be made. Up, down, whatever it is.

B. DOLE: Well, it just seems to me that's the one question you raise with all of us who've been in politics. Well, you may have written the letter, you may not have asked for a decision but if somebody gave you money afterwards or before, there is the appearance. And I don't know how we're going to avoid that. It's been there forever, so....

ROBERTS: So, of course he would say campaign finance reform and that's a subject for another day because we're out of time now, but thank you both so much for being here.

B. DOLE: Thank you very much.

E. DOLE: Thank you.

ROBERTS: Senator Dole and Mrs. Dole.

B. DOLE: Happy new year.

E. DOLE: My pleasure. Thanks.

ROBERTS: Coming next, this week's controversy over the future of don't ask-don't tell, and later, George Stephanopoulos with a focus group of New Hampshire's all-important independent voters.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ROBERTS: The issue of gays in the military was back on the front burner this week. Bill Clinton ran into tough political problems with the issue, and how his vice president has as well. And at the end of

the week, Al Gore was trying to do damage control.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ROBERTS (voice-over): It started Wednesday night in a debate in New Hampshire, after both Democratic candidates said they supported gays serving openly in the military.

PETER JENNINGS, ABC NEWS: If you become president, will you nominate members of the Joint Chiefs who only support your gay policy? In other words, will it be a litmus test?

VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I would insist, before appointing anybody to the joint chiefs of staff, that that individual support my policy. And, yes, I would make that a requirement.

ROBERTS (voice over): The next night, the Republicans were quick to disagree, with most of them supporting the current policy which allows gays and lesbians in the armed forces, as long as they don't reveal their sexual orientation.

GOVERNOR GEORGE W. BUSH (R-TX), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I'm a ``don't ask, don't tell" man.

ROBERTS (voice over): By Friday, Gore was backtracking on his earlier statement.

GORE: I did not mean to imply that there should ever be any kind of inquiry into the personal political opinion of officers in the U.S. military.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ROBERTS: Joining us from Portland is retired General Tony McPeak, former chief of staff of the Air Force, and an outspoken opponent of attempts to liberalize the current ``don't ask, don't tell" policy.

Thanks for being with us, General McPeak.

MCPEAK: Good morning, Cokie.

ROBERTS: And from Seattle, retired Colonel Margarethe Cammermeyer, who, in the days before that policy was discharged from the Army National Guard for admitting to investigators that she was a lesbian. She later won reinstatement in federal court.

Nice to have you with us, Colonel Cammermeyer.

CAMMERMEYER: Nice to see you again.

ROBERTS: And also with us for the questioning is George Will. Sam, you wanted to start here.

DONALDSON: Well, I think there are two questions here. Let's take the first one first, and that is, General McPeak, why do you oppose allowing gays and lesbians to be open about their sexual preference and still be members of the military services?

MCPEAK: Well, Sam, I distrust simple answers to a complicated question like that, but if I had to sum it up in one line it would be my concern about the military efficiency of our front-line combat units. That's my concern today and it was the concern of all the chiefs in '93 when Clinton brought this issue up the first time.

DONALDSON: Well, General, what it is about it being gay and lesbian that wouldn't allow you to be efficient in the front lines?

MCPEAK: Well, being gay and lesbian is not the issue. It's open homosexuality in the ranks. We have homosexuals in the armed forces--have, going back to the Revolutionary War. They've served honorably and well.

The issue is not: Can homosexuals serve? They can and do. The issue is, in our front-line, hard combat units, the tooth part of the military--you saw the film, ``Saving Private Ryan." The rangers that have to go up that cliff, would their military efficiency be improved if we

allowed declared, open homosexuality in those units? The chiefs were concerned that it would not, that it would seriously degrade their readiness, and that's why we instead ``don't tell" be part of the compromise.

DONALDSON: Colonel Cammermeyer, if you had to go up that cliff...

CAMMERMEYER: I don't know how--yes, I don't how my sexual orientation is going to make me more efficient climbing the cliff or being in a foxhole. I think that the notion that your sexual orientation has anything to do with either military readiness or your ability to do your job is rather ludicrous.

I still have a hard time--you know, this is eight years ago that we had this discussion before. I don't quite understand the rationale, because how is it that my sexual orientation has anything to do with anyone else?

ROBERTS: George.

WILL: General, let me read the relevant portion of the law that Sam was really talking about. It says, ``The presence in the armed forces of persons who demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts would create an unacceptable risk to the high standards, morale and good order and discipline....," et cetera.

Are we not talking there about acts itself, and therefore the ``don't ask, don't tell" is perfectly satisfactory?

MCPEAK: Well, I regard it as perfectly satisfactory. But you have to remember that we insisted, when the Congress put this in the law, that declaring homosexuality--in other words, openly parading it in the units--was a kind of act and a dismissible offense. In fact, that's what happened. The rate of discharge for homosexuality has gone up since ``don't ask, don't tell" came in because the law is working. People who declare their homosexuality and try to be open about it have to leave. That's what the law says and it's working as intended.

WILL: But, General, ``don't ask, don't tell" was itself a compromise, a move to the left, if you will, from the prior policy. Why is it that no one really seems to be pushing to go back to the policy prior to ``don't ask, don't tell"?

MCPEAK: Well, I think the chiefs were quite content not to ask the question. It is true that people--as Colonel Cammermeyer has asserted--people with a homosexual orientation is not the problem, as long as they're circumspect about it. We know how to deal with this. I mean, we have a certain amount of sophistication, even as hard-line military guys.

So it's the openness of it. It's appearing on the Phil Donahue show, or Oprah Winfrey show, carrying a sandwich board around--that's what's divisive inside a unit where you have to have cohesion.

And let me make a point here. It's not so bad in the motor pool. It's a non-issue in the commissary. In the (inaudible) corps of the Washington State National Guard, whether they have unit cohesion--probably a good idea if they did have, but if they don't, it's not--doesn't have mortal consequences to the republic.

It's in the fighter squadrons, it's in the nuclear submarines, it's in the rangers and special forces and the airborne. That's where we have to have unit cohesion.

CAMMERMEYER: But that's not what this law is about. The law is about, you know, even the words of ``coming out"--you know, if I asked the general, you know, ``Did you have a nice time over the Christmas

holidays?" And he said, "Well, you know, I spent it with my wife and my grandchildren," and he said--you know, he might to say to me, you now, "How did you have--did you enjoy your Christmas?" And I would have to be mute. I would have to say, "Well, you know, I'm not allowed to talk about having a family."

And so, you know, what they're confusing is, is acts and words. It's not like people are going to be changing uniforms and going around with triangles on. This is really an absurd policy that really affects women much more so than men.

You know, if a woman rebuffs a man's advances, all of a sudden she's lesbian and becomes part of a witch hunt. And so that this is really--it makes no sense. What is it that you fear?

WILL: Colonel, the supposed proof that "don't ask, don't tell" is failing is that there has been there have been--it has set a large increase in the number of people discharged. Let me give you some numbers and ask you to comment on them.

The number of people discharged for homosexual acts is actually down since 1994. Eighty percent of all discharges are for voluntary statements most made early in first-term enlistments, and most result in honorable or non-classified--non-declared discharges.

It looks to some people as though this is just an easy way of getting out of the military.

CAMMERMEYER: And if you listen to what people are saying from the Department of Defense, in, sort of, defense of policy and the increase in discharges, they're saying heterosexuals are using this policy as a way of getting out.

When I joined the military in 1961, women couldn't have dependents and be in the military. And so part of the notion was, Well, gee, I'll go get a free education and then just get pregnant and be discharged from the military.

I mean, it seems to me like the easiest way is just leave the laws as they exist elsewhere, get rid of this policy, and then have people judged on their ability to do their job rather than non--you know, red herrings, if you will.

DONALDSON: General McPeak, we're out of town, but one question to you on the litmus test issue. Al Gore has backed off of that now, but he has said that he does want people that he nominates to agree with him on this policy, which he wants changed. Is there anything wrong with that? Presidents appoint people to the Supreme Court on the idea that they will agree with him, although they often run off and not.

MCPEAK: Well, the president has the right to chose whoever he wants and I--and, by the way, senior officers will obey orders. But the Constitution gives the Congress the authority to regulate the armed forces. And this is not just a policy, it's a law, passed by an overwhelming--veto-proof majority in both houses.

So I expect that no president--Al Gore or any other candidate for president--will ask any senior officer if he agrees to violate the law.

ROBERTS: Thank you, General McPeak. Thank you, Colonel Cammermeyer.

END

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TO: Jonathan M. Prince (CN=Jonathan M. Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Steve Ricchetti (CN=Steve Ricchetti/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Rachael E. Sullivan (CN=Rachael E. Sullivan/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
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TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol (CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Mark A. Kitchens (CN=Mark A. Kitchens/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Gordon Li (CN=Gordon Li/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Steven J. Naplan (CN=Steven J. Naplan/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
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TO: Eli G. Attie (CN=Eli G. Attie/O=OVP@OVP [UNKNOWN])
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TO: Jennifer Ferguson (CN=Jennifer Ferguson/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [OMB])
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TO: Lowell A. Weiss (CN=Lowell A. Weiss/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Julia M. Payne (CN=Julia M. Payne/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Jennifer M. Palmieri (CN=Jennifer M. Palmieri/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

NBC MEET THE PRESS
JANUARY 9, 2000

SPEAKERS: TIM RUSSERT, HOST, NBC MEET THE PRESS
U.S. SENATOR JUDD GREGG (R-NH)
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE LINDSEY GRAHAM (R-SC)
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE JERROLD NADLER (D-NY)
BOB SHRUM, GORE CAMPAIGN SENIOR ADVISER
GENERAL JOHN VESSEY (RET.), FORMER CHAIRMAN, JOINT
CHIEFS OF STAFF
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE BARNEY FRANK (D-MA), JUDICIARY
COMMITTEE

RUSSERT: First the Democrats. We're joined by Bob Shrum,
representing Al Gore, Jerry Nadler, representing Bill Bradley. Welcome
both.

SHRUM: Nice to be here.

NADLER: Good morning.

RUSSERT: Mr. Shrum, let me start with you. In the debate the other night in New Hampshire, the vice president talked about gays in the military, and a litmus test for appointing members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "The New York Times" had this headline yesterday, which we'll put on the screen, "Gore Reversal Shuns Litmus Test Over Gay Troops, Disavows Debate Stance."

Let me show you and our viewers exactly what the vice president had to say on Wednesday and then on Friday.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ALBERT GORE, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: I would insist, before appointing anybody to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that that individual support my policy. And yes, I would make that a requirement.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GORE: That is not what I meant to convey.

I did not mean to imply that there should ever be any kind of inquiry into the personal political opinion of officers in the U.S. military.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

RUSSERT: Why the flip-flop?

SHRUM: Well, it's no flip-flop, and it's the same statement.

What he said both times was that he would insist that people appointed to the Joint Chiefs of Staff agree to support his policy as president. He never said in the New Hampshire debate that he would inquire into their personal convictions.

His litmus test is the constitutional one, civilian control of the military.

RUSSERT: But he would want to know their views before he appointed them.

SHRUM: No, he would want to know--if you read the New Hampshire transcript, Tim, which I know you have, because you were there, if you read the transcript, he says, "I would insist that they support the policy." That would be the requirement.

RUSSERT: "The New York Times," "The Washington Post," every major paper. Are the Gore advisers saying, Our candidate stumbled?

SHRUM: Well, I don't know what Gore adviser said that. It certainly wasn't me. And the fact of the matter is that his position in both places is exactly the same. I defy you to find a place in that transcript in the New Hampshire debate where he ever said he would inquire into someone's personal position.

The litmus test is the constitutional test, civilian control of the military.

RUSSERT: Congressman Nadler?

NADLER: Well, I don't know why you feel it imperative to call black white. You just saw him say he would inquire in advance. He made a major mistake. He admitted it. He retreated. He changed his position. I don't know why that's terrible in American politics, to make a mistake, admit you made a mistake...

SHRUM: Jerry, what did he say?

NADLER: ... and change your position.

SHRUM: What did he say?

NADLER: He said, (inaudible)

SHRUM: Can you repeat anything from the transcript?

NADLER: I can repeat it from what I saw on television.

SHRUM: No, what--what--what--what--what did he say?

NADLER: I don't need a transcript. What he said--what he said was...

RUSSERT: Well, (inaudible), clarify it. "I would insist before appointing anybody..."

NADLER: That's the point.

SHRUM: Keep reading.

RUSSERT: "... to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that the individual support my policy. And yes..."

SHRUM: Right there.

RUSSERT: "... I would make that a requirement."

SHRUM: (inaudible)

NADLER: "That the individual support my policy" before he is appointed. This--that is a litmus test that he--How do you feel about this issue, and my...

SHRUM: I believe...

NADLER: ... let me finish--and this policy? That was a mistake. The vice president admitted it. He changed his position to match Senator Bradley's position, which is basically that we expect military officers to follow orders. I don't see what's so terrible about saying he made a mistake and he admitted it and he changed his position.

SHRUM: Well, because he didn't say what you're saying he said. He said what Tim just read.

NADLER: I saw it on television.

SHRUM: "I would insist that he support my policy." Every president insists that the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff support their policy. That's why Harry Truman had to fire Douglas MacArthur in Korea, for heaven's sake.

NADLER: But that's not what he said.

RUSSERT: Congressman...

SHRUM: That is what he said. I defy you, I'll bet you \$10, find him saying that he's going to examine their personal convictions.

RUSSERT: Congressman...

SHRUM: Jerry, you just want to make a point for Bradley instead of talking about the substance.

RUSSERT: Let's put it all on the table. Congressman Nadler, why would Bill Bradley be a better Democratic nominee than Al Gore?

NADLER: He'd be a better Democratic nominee for essentially two reasons. Number one, he doesn't have the baggage that the vice president carries, perhaps unfairly, but realistically. And that's why every poll shows he does better by 10 points among independents, among key ticket-splitting voters. He's the stronger candidate.

SHRUM: What's the baggage? What are you talking about, baggage?

NADLER: The baggage, all the scandals, many of which were unfair. But the fact is, there's a lot of baggage from the eight years or seven years he's been as vice president.

The second reason he'd be a better president, I think, a better Democratic candidate and a better president, is that he is articulating a broader vision of where to take this country in terms of universal health care. And I note that Al Gore seems--is trying to say that he's supporting universal health care, but he's not. His plan doesn't get there, and there's no date by when it would get there.

And he's lying about Bradley's plan. But Bradley has a plan for

universal health care, essentially the same plan that George Bush proposed, which most Democrats thought was too cheap and too minimal. And now Gore is saying it's too expensive.

And I don't understand why, when Bill Clinton's plan, which was much more expensive and more elaborate, when we had \$290 billion deficits in 1993, that wasn't too expensive, but now that we're rolling in money, the vice president says that Bradley's very reasonable plan, essentially the same as the Bush plan, which he said was too cheap at the time, is now too expensive.

I think that perhaps because he's been fighting with the Republicans in Congress so much, I'm afraid that the vice president is beginning to forget about some key--core Democratic goals, like universal access to health care for everyone. It's immoral that 44 million people don't have access to health care. Bradley would give it to them, Gore would not.

RUSSET: Bob Shrum?

SHRUM: Listen, Ted Kennedy has endorsed Al Gore, and I think people take his views on who's for universal health care a lot more seriously than they take yours. The fact of the matter is that right now after your old boss, Pat Moynihan, endorsed Senator Bradley, and said he was endorsing him because he would run better against George Bush, the new "Newsweek" poll shows Bradley running 16 points behind Bush and doing worse poll after poll.

Shows Al Gore running 7 points behind Bush and doing better, poll after poll. And Jerry, I don't understand...

NADLER: (inaudible)

SHRUM: Wait a minute, Jerry, I didn't interrupt you. I don't understand how you can support a health care plan that puts no money aside for Medicare, number one, and number two, that would take 70,000 people who are on Medicaid in your congressional district, hand them a little \$150 voucher, tell them they're not going to get their Medicaid any more, and send them off...

NADLER: (inaudible)

SHRUM: ... to try to negotiate--for example, for the postal workers' plan, which doesn't cover vision care, doesn't cover eye care, and would actually require them to pay \$4,000 extra in co-pays for their care.

NADLER: Well...

SHRUM: What are you going to say to the people in your district about that?

NADLER: I'll say the following. First of all, the polls you cite are of--are--don't look at people who know who Bill Bradley is yet. It's a name recognition game. The vice president is known to everybody, Bradley isn't yet. When you poll people who know both candidates, Bradley does a heck--which they will be November, obviously--Bradley does a heck of a lot better than Gore against the Republicans.

Secondly...

SHRUM: Why did Bradley (inaudible)--why did Bradley...

NADLER: Excuse me, excuse me. You said you didn't...

SHRUM: (inaudible) do better than Gore?

NADLER: ... I didn't--(inaudible)

SHRUM: But why did Bradley used to do better than Gore?

NADLER: Secondly--secondly--He didn't used to do better than Gore.

SHRUM: He did used to do better than Gore against Bush.

NADLER: Secondly--Excuse me. Secondly--He's still doing better against Gore than...

SHRUM: No, he's not.

NADLER: (inaudible) against Bush among people who know who they are.

SHRUM: He's not.

NADLER: Second point, with respect to what you said about Medicaid, there you go again, lying about Bradley's proposal.

SHRUM: (inaudible)

NADLER: Lying, lying knowingly, and that's what's getting me really angry about this.

SHRUM: How about giving the facts?

NADLER: Bradley's--Excuse me. I'll give you the facts.

SHRUM: What is the facts?

NADLER: I'll give you the facts. Bradley's so-called \$150 a person payment...

SHRUM: Voucher.

NADLER: ... which--It is not a voucher. It's an average amount that would be made available for single people...

SHRUM: Right.

NADLER: ... single people, except for pregnant women and those with AIDS, et cetera, who are covered completely separately under Bradley's plan, do not get Medicaid at all. So they get zero now. Under the vice president's plan, they would continue to get zero.

SHRUM: There's only...

NADLER: Under Bradley's plan, under Bradley's plan, they would have access to the same health insurance that members of Congress get, which is a pretty good plan. I'm on it myself. And the fact of the matter is...

SHRUM: What does yours cost per month?

NADLER: (inaudible)--they were...

SHRUM: Do you know what yours cost?

NADLER: (inaudible)

SHRUM: Do you have any idea what your premium is?

NADLER: It's about \$140.

SHRUM: I don't believe that, there's not a (inaudible)

NADLER: Well, the fact is...

SHRUM: ... in fact, there's only two plans available...

NADLER: ... because (inaudible)

SHRUM: ... in New York State for \$140 (inaudible)

NADLER: Well, then, maybe I have (inaudible)

SHRUM: ... less than \$150.

NADLER: Excuse me a minute. And that's an--if a New York--First of all, the \$150--But again, you're missing the point. Right now, those people, single people, have nothing. And under Gore's plan, if they're between 18 and 55, they will still have nothing. And you're saying what Bradley is giving them is inadequate. Compare that to zero.

NADLER: Now, the family figure, the family figure for people who are now on Medicaid--because you have to have a family to be on Medicaid--the average family figure in the Bradley plan is \$5,000, not \$150...

(CROSSTALK)

SHRUM: ... there are only two of the 24 plans...

NADLER: ... dollars a month, a year.

SHRUM: ... in New York that you could buy for that amount of money.

(CROSSTALK)

SHRUM: You're throwing the people in your district off Medicaid and sending them out...

NADLER: Even assuming it's...

SHRUM: ... to the private insurance market and telling them to negotiate.

NADLER: Even--let me say this one thing. Even assuming it's--that you're correct about two plans, they would have access to two plans. They're not being thrown off Medicaid because they're not...

SHRUM: No, because the plans...

NADLER: ... on Medicaid.

(CROSSTALK)

SHRUM: ... one small point, the plans they have access to, for example, don't cover vision care, don't cover eye care, and require them to spend \$4,000...

NADLER: All right, but now (inaudible)

(CROSSTALK)

RUSSERT: Let's step back...

NADLER: ... to nothing.

RUSSERT: ... let's step back and look...

SHRUM: And no money for Medicare, Jerry.

RUSSERT: Let's step back and look at the race in its totality.

Mr. Shrum, is it fair to say that Bill Bradley is trying to paint a bold vision, saying, We need national health care? He said we need registering and licensing of all handguns. He said we should get rid of don't ask-don't tell before the vice president.

SHRUM: I don't think that's accurate, but that's all right.

RUSSERT: Well, Barney Frank will say so in a matter of moments.

SHRUM: No, but, I mean, we all know the vice president was arguing for it inside the Clinton-Gore administration.

RUSSERT: Publicly, publicly.

SHRUM: Yes, but it was in the papers that (inaudible).

RUSSERT: But in terms of health care, gun control, gays in the military, a lot of issues that liberal Democrats, primary voters, care about, Bradley's people are saying he has stepped forward, he's been bolder, and that Al Gore is a cautious politician.

SHRUM: See, I think that's wrong. I think, number one, Al Gore is saying we can do health care and education at the same time, we don't have to choose between them. We can do health care and Medicare at the same time, we don't have to choose between them. We can move toward universal health care without giving Jerry's constituents \$150 voucher to go out and negotiate...

NADLER: There you go, telling the untruth again.

SHRUM: ... in the insurance market. But you haven't proved it's an untruth, you just call it an untruth.

NADLER: No, I have proven it. And you don't answer the fact that the people who are subject to the \$150 average cost, which is \$1,800 a year, under Gore's plan and under current, aren't on Medicaid, aren't eligible, have nothing. So it's not decreasing, even if it isn't increasing enough. It's increasing from zero...

SHRUM: Jerry, I want to ask you a question...

NADLER: ... to some of the plans that we get in Congress.

SHRUM: ... if somebody in your--if somebody in your district, let's say, somebody in your district, family in your district, let's say family of four, you give them the \$5,000 Senator Bradley wants. And the health care plans--I have a whole list of them--cost \$8,000 a year in premiums, where are they going to get the extra \$3,000?

NADLER: First of all, under Bradley's plan, it's an--it's not a cap, it's an average. And what that means, what that means, is if that amount of money can't buy the health care plans, that amount of money will be increased. That's a weighted average...

SHRUM: No, no, no, no, no, no.

NADLER: ... for the--Excuse me.

SHRUM: Weighted average, I understand it...

NADLER: That's a weighted average for the entire country.

SHRUM: (inaudible)--What states get less than \$150? Name one.

NADLER: I don't know (inaudible)

SHRUM: Name one. I know you don't.

RUSSERT: All right, all right, before we go...

NADLER: (inaudible)

RUSSERT: ... before we go, as is obvious to everybody who's watched the Democratic debates, watched this this morning, the Democratic Party is divided badly between Al Gore and Bill Bradley. If this primary process continues through February, through March, one of the candidates eventually becomes the nominee, there is no money left because they've spent it all on the primaries.

How badly wounded will the Democratic Party be trying to get through the summer into a fall campaign?

SHRUM: Jerry and I probably agree on this. I think the Democratic Party will unite. I think that people will get together. I think running against George Bush and this irresponsible tax cut that he's proposing, which would also, by the way, devastate Medicare and leave no money for Medicare, it's something we can argue against. I think Democrats will unite behind Al Gore, and he'll be the next president.

NADLER: I--well, I think Democrats will unite behind Al Gore or Bill Bradley, either of whom, from either of our point of views, are infinitely superior.

SHRUM: I agree with that.

NADLER: Infinitely preferable. But I have to say one other thing, because I haven't had a chance to mention this. Bob keeps saying that Bill Bradley will leave no money for Medicare. That's not true. The fact of the matter is that Medicare was supposed to go bankrupt in 2008. Last April they said, no, no, no, it's 2015. But that's assuming an average economic growth rate of 2.15--of 2 percent. The fact is, we're growing at 4 percent.

SHRUM: Jerry, you weren't (inaudible)

NADLER: Medicare is not going to have a problem...

SHRUM: Jerry was quoted on the floor of the House...

NADLER: ... as long as...

SHRUM: ... last year as saying we have...

NADLER: ... as long as...

SHRUM: ... to put more money into Medicare.

NADLER: ... as long--as long as we...

SHRUM: (inaudible)

NADLER: ... keep the economic growth rate up...

RUSSERT: Time--time...

NADLER: ... we'll have plenty of money (inaudible)

SHRUM: We got to put more money into Medicare.

RUSSERT: Time out, time out, time out. Congressman Nadler, before we go, will you introduce formal legislation next year in Congress to do away with the don't ask-don't tell policy for gays in the military?

NADLER: I will introduce that legislation if the people at the Human Rights Campaign Fund and others think it's advisable tactically to do it, and I will consult with people like Barney Frank and see what he thinks. I certainly would want to do that. I think it's the right thing to do and ought to be done.

RUSSERT: We'll be talking to him in just a moment. Jerry Nadler, Bob Shrum, thank you both.

SHRUM: Nice to be here.

RUSSERT: And may the best man win.

Next up, the Republicans. According to the polls, across the country it's Bush over McCain. But in New Hampshire, McCain is ahead of Bush. We'll talk to both campaigns.

Then our political round table, the candidates and the issues. We'll put them in perspective. Hunt, Klein, and Safire, all coming up right here on MEET THE PRESS.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

RUSSERT: And we're back. Senator Judd Gregg, representing George W. Bush, Lindsey Graham, representing John McCain. Welcome both.

Senator Gregg, let me show you a new 30-second television commercial that Steve Forbes is on the air with in New Hampshire about your governor, George Bush.

GREGG: We have to watch all 30 seconds.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP, FORBES CAMPAIGN AD)

UNIDENTIFIED ACTRESS: There's something you need to know about George W. Bush. In 1994, he signed a pledge with our organization that he would not support sales tax or business tax increases. In 1997, unfortunately, he broke this pledge. He proposed an increase in the business tax and sales taxes.

Governor Bush wants people to examine his record to see how he will perform as president. And his record, as far as taxes are concerned, is a record of broken promises.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

RUSSERT: And they have provided this documentation, Taxpayers for Accountability, George Bush's signature saying, "I will not raise the sales tax." He did just that.

GREGG: Well, actually, he cut taxes in Texas by over \$2 billion, the largest tax cut in the history of the state. And that's a pretty good step forward, and that's on a gross basis, in other words, if you net out all the taxes, he ends up on a net basis, he ends up with a \$2 billion tax cut, and that's what he's proposing as candidate for president, that he'll cut taxes.

Equally important, I think, is that Steve Forbes has a record here of unfortunately going very negative, very strongly negative. I think that those of us who sat through the last election in New Hampshire and saw what he did to Bob Dole hope that he won't try to do that again to the front-runners in our party. It's a self-destructive event for our party to

have that sort of disingenuous and inappropriate type of attack.

Governor Bush is running an extremely positive, upbeat campaign. He is bringing to this election a view of the world which I think is good for our party. It's definitional, it's positive, it speaks to the better nature of the American people.

He's put on the table a lot of good policies in the area of education, in the area of foreign policy, and in the area of taxes, where I think we saw a party have to go out and tell the American people what we stand for and how we're going to institute it. And he's doing that in a very aggressive and positive way. And I would hope that we as a party would respond to positive campaigns rather than negative campaigns.

RUSSET: For the record, he--although he did break his word on raising sales taxes, you're saying that he neutralized that, or compensated for it...

GREGG: I don't think...

RUSSET: ... by over--by cutting taxes overall.

GREGG: Actually, I don't think on that pledge that he broke his word on that either. My understanding is that he did not raise sales taxes, that his package did not have a sales tax increase in it, that the chief sponsor of the bill has stated that there was no sales tax increase in his tax package, and that overall, the governor has cut taxes in Texas by over \$2 billion. And he's proposed a tax cut at the federal level which is very aggressive, very positive, and would be good for the country.

RUSSET: Congressman Graham, John McCain...

GREGG: So I believe he stuck by that statement.

RUSSET: Well, they give documentation which shows sales tax did go up.

GRAHAM: And can I--can I--can I say something about this?

RUSSET: Please.

GRAHAM: This is sort of a form of gotcha politics. I've heard what Governor Bush has--his explanation, and I accept it. I think his overall tax package was a net decrease in taxes. There may have been some shifting of tax burdens from property tax relief and a burden over to somebody else, but it was a net, net tax cut, and he certainly followed the spirit of cutting taxes.

And I think that's just a bad form of gotcha politics. It really is not valid when you hear the whole story.

GREGG: Can I just (inaudible)...

RUSSET: You have said, you...

GREGG: ... can I just quickly from...

RUSSET: ... let--let--let--let--let--let--let--let me give the congressman...

GREGG: ... (inaudible) chief sponsor in Texas on this issue?

RUSSET: Real fast.

GREGG: Steve Forbes is dead wrong to claim that those 75 tax increases were in governor--were Governor Bush's. I know. I was the House sponsor of the governor's tax cut. And those 75 tax increases were not part of our legislation, which cut taxes by over \$1 billion. That's Tom Tratick (ph), the--from Midland, Texas, who (inaudible)...

RUSSET: But they were signed into law. They became part of the bill, even though they may (inaudible).

GREGG: Yes, but overall he cut tax by \$2 billion.

RUSSET: Congressman Graham, your man, John McCain...

GRAHAM: Yes, sir.

RUSSERT: ... has said that George W. Bush's tax plan for America is one that, in effect, helps the rich.

GRAHAM: Yes.

RUSSERT: He played class warfare.

GRAHAM: Right.

RUSSERT: He's saying that 60 percent of the benefits to go the top 10 percent of the people in the country. Should John McCain be playing class warfare?

GRAHAM: To be honest with you, I think John should focus on what his tax plan does. And no, I don't think we need to be saying that John McCain's campaign finance reform bill will destroy the Republican Party. Because Tim, when you say that, you're saying that Lindsey Graham wants to destroy the Republican Party. That's not true.

What I've encouraged John to do is talk about what's on people's minds. And let me talk a little bit about taxes. Here's what John does with surpluses. There is a real good-time Charlie attitude going on in this campaign. The Democrats are spending the surpluses that may not come about on big government, from health care to education.

And here's what John McCain is trying to do. One, the surpluses may not come about, because they're based on spending assumptions that Congress is not abiding by. In 1997, we set spending goals, and those surpluses are assuming we'll hit our spending targets. We're 0 for 2. Two years in a row, we've busted our spending limits. The economy may turn south.

Here's what John McCain's saying. If surpluses come about, let's save Social Security. Let's take 63 percent of those surpluses and put it into a system that's been stolen from. Let's pay down the \$5.8 trillion national debt and let's also cut taxes.

I believe most Americans running a business understand that John's got the most balanced approach. It may not poll well, as opposed to the biggest tax cuts you can think of, but it's good common-sense politics, it's fiscally responsible. Tim, the surpluses, if they come because of good times, ought to help future generations. We ought to try to get our kids out of debt. We ought to reduce the debt. We ought to put money back into Social Security, because we've stolen from it.

And yes, have a tax cut that we can afford. That's why I like John McCain the most.

RUSSERT: Is George Bush's tax plan fiscally irresponsible?

GRAHAM: It's--it is a large tax cut that's going to eat up all the surpluses if they come about. It does nothing, in my opinion, fiscally responsible to reduce the national debt. It doesn't address the Social Security issue.

Here's what Governor Bush said. There's plenty of money to take care of the debt, take care of Social Security, and give you a big tax cut. The truth is, this money is a projection 10 years into the future. And Congress' spending plan is going to destroy the projection if the economy goes south.

He has dedicated all the surpluses to a tax cut. The \$5.8 trillion debt needs to be addressed quickly. I think Social Security needs to be saved by putting money into it now during good times, because in 2030, there'll be one worker for two retirees, and that generation of Americans, you're going to have to double their FICA taxes if you don't do something now.

RUSSERT: Senator, John McCain is saying George Bush is going to

spend all the surplus and put Social Security and Medicare in jeopardy and not pay down the national debt.

GREGG: Well, of course that's inaccurate. First off, there is projected to be a \$3.3 trillion surplus over the next 10 years, and what the governor has suggested is that we cut taxes by \$467 billion over the next five years, which would leave over a trillion dollars to apply to reducing the debt and to issue--addressing the issue of Social Security.

And what you've got to remember here is that there is a philosophical difference, it appears, between Governor Bush and Senator McCain. Governor Bush says that when you've got excess money after you've taken care of Social Security, which we have, a trillion dollars over the next five years for Social Security, after you've taken care of the spending, which the government should do, such as national defense and caring for the most needy, then if there's money on the table, don't leave it in the cash register in Washington, because it'll get spent.

Return it to the people. It is a fundamental tenet of Republican philosophy that if you leave money with government, government will spend it, and government will grow. George Bush understands that. Why? Because he was a governor, and he's seen it happen. Unless you have somebody who's willing to discipline the government by reducing its revenues, you are not going to be able to control the rate of growth of government.

Now, maybe John doesn't understand that because he's been in Washington for 17 years.

GRAHAM: (inaudible)...

RUSSERT: Lindsey Graham, why...

GREGG: But Governor Bush does understand it.

RUSSERT: Why would John McCain be a stronger, better Republican nominee than George Bush?

GRAHAM: Because he's thinking about people that can't vote for him. And there is a philosophical difference between the senator and Lindsey Graham. Lindsey Graham's been in Congress five years. Lindsey Graham has seen the Republican and Democratic Congress break the spending limits we set in '97. Tim, we are not hitting the spending marks. The surplus projections are based on us hitting the spending marks. It's based on an economy that's running hot now but that may be cold one day.

The reason I like John McCain the most is if we have good times, for it to continue, he's going to invest those good times for people that can't even vote for him yet. He's going to put money...

GREGG: Well, John--John...

GRAHAM: Excuse me, senator.

GREGG: Well...

GRAHAM: He's going to put money back into Social Security because politicians for 40 years have stolen from it. That's where the surpluses need to go first.

(CROSSTALK)

GRAHAM: He's going to get our kids out of debt, and he's going to give you a middle-class working tax cut...

GREGG: No, (inaudible)...

GRAHAM: ... for 23 percent of the surpluses will be dedicated...

GREGG: Do I get to speak here? Do I get to speak here?

GRAHAM: ... to tax cuts...

GREGG: Is this--I didn't know the House...

GRAHAM: ... 63 percent will be dedicated...

GREGG: ... had a filibuster rule.

GRAHAM: ... to tax (inaudible).

GREGG: This is new to me. I didn't know the House had a filibuster rule.

RUSSET: Give you a chance to respond.

GREGG: Basically, John McCain's tax cut is a tax cut that Al Gore loves. I mean, it is essentially a tepid little tax cut. Let's put our toe in the water. And...

GRAHAM: That's unfair. Al Gore is not supporting...

GREGG: ... it's actually...

GRAHAM: ... John McCain. Al Gore's spending the surplus...

GREGG: Hold it. Do I get to respond here?

GRAHAM: I'm sorry, I'm sorry. I apologize.

GREGG: There's two people that have been--that have said that Governor Bush's tax cut is too bold, Al Gore and John McCain. There are two people who've said that they agree with John McCain on campaign finance, John McCain and Bill Bradley.

The fact is that John McCain is running a campaign which is tepid on the issues which are core to the Republican Party, such as tax cuts and how we deal with campaign finance proposals.

RUSSET: Let me (inaudible) the campaign finance.

GRAHAM: Yes, sir.

RUSSET: Forty-five Democrats...

GRAHAM: Yes, sir.

RUSSET: ... 45 out of 45 voted for John McCain.

GRAHAM: Yes, sir.

RUSSET: Forty-seven Republicans out of 50 voted against it.

GRAHAM: Yes, sir.

RUSSET: His campaign finance bill is loved by the Democrats and despised by the Republicans. Why?

GRAHAM: Well, Lindsey Graham voted for Shays-Meehan. And let me tell you why Lindsey Graham did. And if you think I'm a Democrat, come to South Carolina, we'll have that debate.

Most Americans are watching a different movie than a lot of career politicians. Most Americans believe that what Clinton-Gore did in 1996 by taking Chinese money, by cheating every way you can cheat, by renting out the Lincoln Bedroom, needs to be fixed.

John McCain's got guts to stand up and say what they did in 1996 is illegal. John McCain is going to take the special interest groups from both sides of the aisle and say that when you try to get in politics and run ads that are deceptive, and try to beat a particular candidate because they don't agree with your issue, you're going to tell the public where your money comes from, and we're going to regulate the way you spend money.

I think most Americans, Republican and Democrats, see the money in Washington producing bad politics. And when John McCain stands up to people in his own party, like I have done, he is doing it in a way...

GREGG: Well, when he stands up to people...

GRAHAM: ... that will appeal to a lot of Americans.

GREGG: ... in his own party, he should...

RUSSET: Final word, senator.

GREGG: Well, standing up to people in your party--own party is different than taking out people in your own party, which the McCain

proposal would end up doing. Basically, it would undermine the capacity of Republicans to be competitive. Yes, there has to be campaign finance reform. George Bush is doing it. He's got a real-time disclosure of who's contributing to his campaign.

But you should not propose as your core element a proposal which would fundamentally undermine the capacity of Republicans to be competitive. And how can we nominate, as our candidate for president, somebody who, if he wins, will basically put in place legislation which would undermine the capacity of Republicans (inaudible)...

RUSSET: If McCain's the nominee, you'd support him.

GREGG: Of course I'd support him. But I'm just saying it would be a difficult process for us when he--if he's successful in enacting his bill.

RUSSET: Real fast.

GRAHAM: Tim, about Republicans and unilateral disarmament. Lindsey Graham is not going to destroy his party. What I believe will happen is if we have campaign finance reform, we will have better government, and that we're losing...

GREGG: (inaudible)...

GRAHAM: In '96 to '98...

GREGG: ... campaign finance reform.

GRAHAM: ... we outspent Democrats, senator. We've lost our way. We've got better ideas. We don't need...

GREGG: Well, yes, and you have to be able to express them.

GRAHAM: ... to have to collect money at million-dollar clips...

GREGG: You can't express them, you--it doesn't even have you much...

GRAHAM: ... is--Well...

GREGG: ... doesn't do much good to have better ideas.

RUSSET: To be continued. On to Iowa, on to New Hampshire, Bradley and McCain...

GRAHAM: Thank you.

RUSSET: ... and Bush.

Coming next, gays in the military has emerged as a major issue in campaign 2000. We'll talk to the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, and Congressman Barney Frank, right after this.

MORE ^BC-GREGG-NBC-MTP, 3rd Add, f2898,1719

Senator John Gregg (R-Nh) Interviewed On Nbc'S ``Meet The Press," Along With Representatives Lindsey Graham And Gerrold Nadler
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XXX right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

RUSSET: We're back and joined by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey. Welcome.

Both candidates for the Democratic nomination have said they want openly gay men and women to be allowed to serve in the military. Get rid of don't ask-don't tell, allow people to serve, and acknowledge openly their gayness.

What, in your mind, would that do to the military?

VESSEY: Well, I'm not sure what it'll do to the military. The potential presidential candidates, if they're elected, need to get the advice of the military leaders of the country and certainly need to work with the Congress. The present law is don't ask-don't tell. The Uniform

Code of Military Justice makes homosexual activity a crime. Those are problems that have to be worked out.

But more importantly, the effectiveness of the armed forces have to be examined. The heart of the armed forces are the infantry squads in the Army and the Marine Corps. Those young men have to be a Super Bowl team. They have to work together, they have to live together, they have to sleep together on the battlefield.

Anything that would disrupt the unity of that team is a mistake, and that--for years we've categorized sexual activity as something that might disrupt the unity of that team, whether it's homosexual or heterosexual.

That's an issue that the military leaders and the president of the United States and the Congress would have to address. I call it the monasticism of the infantry. Certainly we've had homosexuals that have served and served with valor and distinction. But they've abided by that monasticism of the infantry.

RUSSET: Congressman Frank, disruption of the unity of a military operation.

FRANK: Oh, it's something to be avoided, and I appreciate the very thoughtful and reasonable tone that the general took. But I do have some differences within that.

I--it may have been that allowing gay men and lesbians openly to serve in the military 40 years ago would have been disruptive. But this society is evolving. Thirty years ago, when we first began to consider legislation to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation in the workplace, people made arguments very similar to the general, now, in a different context, but it's after all not only the military where we want to avoid disruption, police forces, fire departments, schools.

In fact, what we found in this country is that we have been able to say gay men and lesbians can work on the same basis as everyone else as long as they behave as everyone else. In other words, it has not been so disruptive.

Now, there have been disruptions. When Harry Truman integrated the armed forces racially, there was a temporary disruption. When women were allowed in--the general said "men," using the generic, but in fact if the military had been listened to exactly, we would not have integrated the armed services in 1948 and we would not have begun to put women into the armed services.

I think it is reasonable to say that any gay man or lesbian who comes into the military has to abide by the Uniform Code of Military Justice strictly on duty, et cetera, and cannot do anything disruptive.

What I would disagree with the general on--and as I say, I appreciate his very thoughtful tone--I would disagree--I do not think in America today, the interaction in a work situation between gay men and straight men is all that disruptive. I think we've had a lot of experience in this country where the predictions of disruption in a number of areas have turned out to underestimate the common sense of the American people.

RUSSET: General, do you believe that the integration of the armed forces with blacks, allowing women to serve, are analogous to allowing openly gay people to serve?

VESSEY: Well, no. But that's an issue that has to be decided by thoughtful people that deal with today's armed forces. I'm sort of an anomaly here, anachronistic, for that matter. But I think it has to be decided by thoughtful people who are in touch with today's military forces

and who are not either homophobes or homosexual activists.

RUSSET: Let--let--let...

VESSEY: Because the issue--the issue is the effectiveness of the armed forces, and the armed forces belong to the American people. They're the ones who eventually decide. The presidents don't make armies, that's empowered by the Constitution to the Congress. And also the rules and laws for governing the armed forces are the role of the Congress, the representatives of the people.

RUSSET: Al Gore said...

VESSEY: So it's an issue that has to be decided by those bodies.

RUSSET: Al Gore said the other night, "I would insist before appointing anyone to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that the individual support my policy. And yes, I would make that a requirement." Do you believe a President Gore would have a difficult time finding someone to serve as a chairman of a Joint Chiefs of Staff who would support allowing openly gay men and women in the military?

VESSEY: Well, I think the issue is broader than the issue of homosexuals in the military. If they--if presidents are going to insist that the leadership of the military give them the advice that the presidents want to hear, rather than the best military advice these people can provide, they're making a great mistake, and I think they'll have a difficult time finding people to serve in the senior leadership positions, whatever the issue is.

RUSSET: Congressman Frank, you mentioned the military code, which now outlaws sexual activity, homosexual activity. Would you seek to change the military code?

FRANK: First, can I say, I--the general does himself a disservice to suggest that he's an anachronism. I think the kind of thoughtful approach that the general gives us on the basis of his experience is not at all anachronistic, it's still a very valuable contribution, even though we have some difference.

And I also want to say, when I talked about the women and the racial issue, it's analogous in this sense. Those were both disruptive. No one denies that they were disruptive. They were clearly--they--I think they worked out well. I think people tend to be more afraid of change than, in fact, experience shows.

As far as Uniform Code of Military Justice, yes, I would change it. By the way, it's not simply homosexual activity that's outlawed. Much other sexual activity is outlawed. Everyone I have talked to says that members of the military regularly in their private capacities violate the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Indeed, there was a case recently in which an airman was convicted of having had sex with a woman, neither of whom was married, but they were convicted of violating the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

He was, by the way, a heterosexual whose name was Fagg, F-A-G-G. So if people want to look up the case, it's Fagg versus the United States. It stands for the proposition that the Uniform Code of Military Justice can outlaw sexual activity between an unmarried man and an unmarried woman, both of whom are over age.

So I do think that's a little outdated. I think if you in fact said that anybody who violated the Uniform Code of Military Justice on sex--You know, we had the adultery case, Kelley Flynn, when Trent Lott came to her defense and said, Don't pick on that poor woman.

So the Uniform Code of Military Justice outlaws enough so that very, very many of the armed service--of the armed forces wouldn't serve (ph). And I think if you looked at the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and if you said to people, It makes it illegal for an unmarried man and an unmarried woman to have sex with each other, the recruitment problems we have would be exacerbated.

RUSSET: You are openly gay, but you're also a very shrewd political observer. Do you believe that the position staked out by the Democratic candidates, openly gay men and women in the military, will help or hurt them in a general election across mainstream America?

FRANK: Well, I'm trying to think whether I should describe myself as shrewdly gay, Tim, maybe we could get a synthesis there.

But yes, I think it does. I think that the American people have shown an understanding of the ability of people of different sexual orientations to interact in some contexts and not in others. But again, I want to stress, we had all these predictions of disruption about schools, about workplaces, about factories, about construction sites. And we have passed laws--and I would--Let me tell you something that I know is true.

There are tens of millions of people out there, many of them watching this show, who live in states where it is now illegal to discriminate in employment based on sexual orientation. And the overwhelming heterosexual majority doesn't even know that, because it is so little disruptive. They can interact with gay men and lesbians in such a casual way that it's not a problem.

So yes, I think that this is one that is going to...

RUSSET: Would Congress, would Congress...

FRANK: ... work out.

RUSSET: ... do away with don't ask-don't tell?

FRANK: Not this Congress, no, but this Congress wouldn't even pass a hate crime statute. The current Republican Congress would not do that at all. They tend to be very antigay.

But I do think--And by the way, the first step of a new Congress will be a gay civil rights bill dealing with civilians. Repealing this policy will not and should not be the first item on the agenda. A broader gay civil rights bill not covering the military will be.

But I think ultimately you will see the understanding in America that your sexual orientation is your own business. It does not prevent you from doing anything as long as you behave yourself and abide by the rules.

RUSSET: Congressman Barney Frank and General John Vessey, we thank you very much for a thoughtful discussion.

END

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

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

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

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

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

TO: gamble-bennett@dol.gov (gamble-bennett@dol.gov @ inet [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

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

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

TO: Douglas B. Sosnik (CN=Douglas B. Sosnik/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

CBS FACE THE NATION
JANUARY 9, 2000

SPEAKERS: BOB SCHIEFFER, HOST, CBS FACE THE NATION
GLORIA BORGER, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT
CORRESPONDENT
U.S. SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN (R-AZ), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
GOVERNOR JESSE VENTURA (REF-MN)

SCHIEFFER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Senator John McCain and Governor Jesse Ventura. Presidential candidate McCain, who's trying to upset frontrunner George W. Bush, hit a bump in the campaign trail this week when reports surfaced that he had written letters to the FCC on behalf of campaign contributors. Is there anything wrong with that? Will the controversy affect his campaign? We'll ask him.

Then we'll talk with the colorful governor of Minnesota, Jesse Ventura, about the future of the Reform Party.

Gloria Borger will be here, and I'll have a final word on first ladies.

But first, Senator McCain and Jesse Ventura on FACE THE NATION.

ANNOUNCER: FACE THE NATION, with chief Washington correspondent Bob Schieffer. And now, from CBS News in Washington, Bob Schieffer.

SCHIEFFER: Good morning again, and we're pleased to have Senator McCain in the studio with us this morning.

Well, Senator, let's get right to it. Your campaign was really sailing along, and then all of a sudden, someone accuses you of writing a letter to the FCC asking them to settle a case that involved one of your major contributors. You said you were doing what any committee chairman would do.

But both "The Washington Post" and "The New York Times" have editorialized and said maybe you should have known better, that you should have thought about how this might look.

Now this weekend, you have released hundreds of letters that you've written--I've got a big stack of them right here--that you've written to federal agencies over the years on behalf of constituents, sometimes with other senators and so forth.

But this story continues to bubble. Is there anything else you can do to get the focus back on what you want to talk about?

MCCAIN: Well, first of all, thanks for having me on. I like to always to be a warm-up act for Governor Ventura.

(LAUGHTER)

You know, I was a mediocre high school and college wrestler, so we have a lot in common.

Well, first of all, on this issue--and we haven't always been sailing along. This particular controversy is better than being asked whether I'm nuts or not--which was the last time that I was on this program, was the subject.

Look, I've always had two principles. One is, make bureaucracies react on behalf of the taxpayers; and second, do whatever I can to increase competition and lower costs in telecommunications. Those are the guiding principles I've had.

Today, we're asking the federal government to release all correspondence that I've had with every government agency.

But finally, let me remind you, I'm the chairman of the committee that is designated by the Congress to oversight the FCC, and it's my responsibility to try to see and make them act. And so, I believe that the record will be clear that I've done that on behalf of the consumer.

SCHIEFFER: Well, let me just go back and underline what you said. If I understand what you said, you're going to ask all federal agencies to release every letter that you've ever written to them on any subject.

MCCAIN: Yes, and I'm not sure we should force them to go back more than about 10 years, but, yes, I would like to do that, just to make sure that people know that there's a clear pattern of my acting on the behalf of my constituents and the consumers.

And I feel very strongly about this telecommunications issue. Perhaps the most important bureaucracy now is the FCC because of the telecommunications' importance to our economy. And they have been incredibly slow in making decisions which will help the consumers. And that's one of the reasons why I and many other members of Congress,

Republicans and Democrats, have been somewhat critical of them.

And also, as I say, it's our oversight responsibilities.

And may I just finally say, look, these things happen in campaigns. It's very intense. There will be other, quote, ``bumps in the road." This ain't bean bag we're playing.

SCHIEFFER: Well, I must say--and this may underline what sort of life I lead. I spent last night, Saturday night, going through the letters that your committee has released so far. And I must say in all fairness, I've been in Washington a long time, they look a lot like letters that most committee chairman write to the government. I can understand why the FCC may be a little upset with you because you seem to be on their case pretty good, telling them to make decisions. And most of the letters I see here seem to be along that line. But we'll wait and see what some of these other letters.

You're confident that you haven't written a letter in the last 10 years that would be seen as anything improper?

MCCAIN: I certainly am confident of that, adhering to those principles.

And by the way, in the case that surfaced, waited 700 days to make a decision. I thought after 700 days, they should make a decision. And I asked them simply to make a decision. But, you know, life isn't fair.

SCHIEFFER: OK. Gloria.

BORGER: Very quickly, would you challenge other candidates to release letters just like you're doing?

MCCAIN: No. They--sort of like the medical records when I released all those, they asked me and I said no. They can--they'll make the best judgments.

BORGER: Let's talk about Cuba. Republicans in the House have subpoenaed a 6-year-old little boy to appear before their committee to try and keep him in this country. What do you think about that?

MCCAIN: Well, I'd like to see efforts made to keep this young boy in America.

MCCAIN: We seem to forget that the young boy's mother gave her life so that he could, as we say on the Statue of Liberty, breathe free.

BORGER: But do you agree with this subpoena?

MCCAIN: If the subpoena's purpose is to keep the boy in the country, I would certainly support that and any other effort, including petitions for asylum et cetera. If it's to make him testify before Congress, I don't think we want to do that with a 6-year-old boy.

BORGER: Would you be in favor of Congress granting this boy dual citizenship?

MCCAIN: Sure, sure I would. I'd be glad to. Again, his mother gave her life. We all know what the government is like in Cuba. We don't want to send that boy back to an oppressive regime, and I'm told the only people that have ever been sent back to Cuba are criminals. This is going to be the first time a non-criminal was ever sent back. I don't think that's right.

BORGER: OK, gays in the military. Vice President Gore initially got himself in some hot water this week and he said that he would use that issue as a litmus test when choosing members of his joint chiefs of staff. In other words, they would have to agree with him on that. Then he backed off of that to a certain degree, so now, is his position OK with you?

MCCAIN: I don't know what he's backed off to. I guess--but his initial statement--it showed to me an incredible lack of understanding of the role of the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff. The role of the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff is to give his best military advice and counsel, honest counsel to the president of the United States. So what the vice president was saying basically, I won't accept the best counsel and advice of the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff. That could have a terrible effect on the civilian military relationship.

And finally, look, the don't tell--"don't ask, don't tell" policy is a very--handles a very difficult and sensitive issue. In the view of everybody I've talked to that are military leaders, yes it's tough, but it's working. And there are cases that need to be reviewed. There are policies that need to be reviewed. But it's working and it's appropriate. And if we're going to change it, I don't think we talk about that in a political campaign. We talk about it after we become the president and say, I'll have a review of the policy.

By the way, I'm convinced that until people like Colin Powell and others give me advice to the contrary, I'll support it.

SCHIEFFER: Let's get back to the campaign and things we do talk about during the campaign. You were down in South Carolina this weekend. I must say the most raucous debate amongst the Republicans that I've seen thus far. Were you satisfied with that debate?

MCCAIN: Well, the acoustics were bad. I think that some of the questioners were not treated with respect. But, you know, this was a party function. I would like to see, perhaps, a more--less participatory--I love to have audiences at the debates, but I thought the whole set-up wasn't conducive to getting a real good debate accomplished.

SCHIEFFER: One of the things that...

MCCAIN: Those things happen. We'll have lots more.

SCHIEFFER: One of the things that came out down there is, obviously that local issue that's so controversial, should the Confederate flag fly over the state capital? Governor Bush was given several opportunities to say what he thought about that, and he simply wouldn't take a position. I don't want to ask you that question. What I want to ask you is, what does the Confederate flag mean to you?

MCCAIN: The Confederate flag is offensive in many, many ways, as we all know. It's a symbol of racism and slavery. But I also understand how others do not view it in that fashion. My forebearers from Mississippi fought under the Confederate flag. They were not slave owners, and I'm sure they considered their service--one I believe died in Shiloh--was honorable. So, I obviously understand why many Americans find it offensive.

I was talking to one of my supporters, who's a legislative leader in South Carolina. They're working very hard on a proposal that may resolve this issue. It's painful to all of them, and I believe that there's a good chance that they could get this issue resolved pretty soon.

SCHIEFFER: Well, do you stand with President Bush and that that's something they ought to decide, and that outsiders shouldn't take a part in it?

MCCAIN: We had a huge controversy in my state about the recognition of Dr. Martin Luther King as a holiday. I worked very hard to achieve that recognition of Dr. King, and I did resent it when people parachuted in from other parts of the country to try and tell us what to do.

So I do think that they should make that decision, but I also believe that a lot of us can work very hard to try and urge them to make a decision on this and come to some reasonable conclusion.

BORGER: Let's talk taxes. You're about to announce your new tax plan this week. It's apparently going to be half the size of Governor Bush's and you're going to expand the bottom 15 percent tax bracket. What else can you tell us about it?

MCCAIN: It's going to give tax relief to about 25 million Americans, low-and middle-income. It's not going to give a lot of relief to very rich. We're going to pay for it not out of the surplus, but out of closing corporate loopholes, partially out of the surplus, closing loopholes such as ethanol subsidies.

MCCAIN: And also we're going to eliminate some wasteful and unnecessary spending.

I worry about using the surplus completely for tax cuts. We've got a ticking time bomb out there called the Social Security trust fund, and I've believe that we've got to pay down the trust fund, start paying down the debt.

Governor Bush said that Washington is awash in cash. We've got a \$5.6 trillion debt.

BORGER: Governor Bush also said last week, "Not only no new taxes but tax cuts, so help me, God." Would you take that pledge, too?

MCCAIN: Oh, sure. I have voted against every tax increase in the 17 years I've been there. Lower-and middle-income Americans need tax cuts. Lower-and middle-income Americans...

BORGER: So you'd say--what would you say?

MCCAIN: I'd say that I am in favor of tax cuts for lower-and middle-income Americans. We need to have that family that's paying so much in the form of payroll taxes, in addition to the other taxes, to have some kind of relief.

Look, there's a growing gap in America between the haves and the have-nots. We all know that. And we better get those have-nots a lot of opportunities--education, tax breaks, economic opportunities, et cetera.

SCHIEFFER: The tobacco industry apparently is getting ready to funnel an enormous multi-million-dollar contribution to the Republican Party through, kind of, that back-door soft money. Should the Republican Party accept that money?

MCCAIN: The Republican Party should accept no, quote, "soft money," no uncontrolled contributions. I understand that there's a new loophole that's been created, \$100 million or so is going to be funneled in to these campaigns.

The people I talk to believe they are disconnected from government and they understand, when I talk to them, that the big interests and big money is depriving them of their government. That's the theme of my campaign. I want to reform the tax code, the military, education. We can't do it when Washington is in the gridlock of the special interests.

This thing is spiraling out of control, Bob. I mean, we're talking about hundreds of millions of dollars now unaccounted. There's a group in Washington running ads attacking the--morphing my--Bill Clinton's face into mine. I wish they'd at least get a better picture. We don't know where the money came from. At least we ought to know where the money came

from.

SCHIEFFER: OK, at that point we have to leave this, Senator McCain.

MCCAIN: Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: Good luck to you out on the trail. We'll see you again.

MCCAIN: Thanks for having me.

SCHIEFFER: We'll be back in a minute to talk with Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

SCHIEFFER: We turn now to the other big story in presidential politics this week, the commission on presidential debates has decided that only candidates who have at least 15 percent support in the major polls will be allowed to take part in the debates this Fall.

Governor Jesse Ventura of Minnesota, the highest ranking official of the Reform Party, is with us now. He has called this an outrage and unfair. Governor, do you think that, in fact, this could wreck the Reform party at the presidential level?

VENTURA: No, I don't think it will wreck the Reform Party, but it's a just a clear case again of the two parties banning together to keep down the rise of a third party. It's a standard thing that has historically happened many, many times, and it will continue to move on. And I think the public should be outraged over this.

And let me give you an example. At the point of the primary here in the state of Minnesota, I was only polling 10 percent, which meant, by these standards, I wouldn't be allowed to debate.

Well, the moment I debated, I went from 10 percent up to 37 percent in six weeks and won the election. Now that could happen again, and I think this is a clear case of these people not wanting to see another Jesse Ventura election victory.

SCHIEFFER: Well, what can you or will you do about it, Governor?

VENTURA: Well, what I'll do about it is continue to speak out about it and educate the American public on it that they should be outraged over the fact that a bunch of lobbyists, who are the head of this committee--it's supposed to be non-partisan? That's a joke. I mean, one of them headed--or was part of the Republican National Committee, a paid for, in-the-loop lobbyist, and we've now got lobbyists dictating presidential elections? That shows how far the national politics has slipped in this country and how really disgraceful that it is.

SCHIEFFER: Well, can you sue or would you try to take them to court?

VENTURA: Well, I won't, but I know I was here earlier today in Minnesota. I had a press conference with Donald Trump, and Mr. Trump indicated that that may be one method that he would use in he so decides to become a candidate when he makes that choice. I personally am not going to sue because, you know, I don't have the means nor the lawyers to do that. And I'm far too busy running the state of Minnesota, being the governor.

BORGER: Governor, right now Pat Buchanan is running for the nomination in the Reform Party. You clearly don't support him. But if he were to win the nomination of the Reform Party for the presidency, what would it mean for the party?

VENTURA: Well, I don't know what exactly it would mean that the party is not going in the direction that I think it should go. I mean, my view of the Reform Party is that we're very centrist. That was the platform that I ran on here in the state of Minnesota and won with. And I think that by going farther left or farther right of these two other political parties is not the method you're going to use to achieve victory in any type of election. You've got to be a centrist movement in an attempt to be successful.

BORGER: If he were the nominee then, could you envision splitting off a different group from the Buchanan wing of the party?

VENTURA: Well, I have a positive attitude and I--you know, he hasn't won the nomination yet and I'm a firm believer you never put the cart in front of the horse. So, until he wins the nomination, that's a question I don't have to deal with.

BORGER: Now, the Buchanan campaign says that Pat Buchanan is very willing to meet with you, would like to meet with you. Would you be willing to meet with Pat Buchanan?

VENTURA: Certainly. I don't shut my doors to anyone. I'd be happy to meet with Mr. Buchanan. In fact, we have met once already very early when he was still a Republican candidate for president, at the time. And I'd certainly have no problem with meeting with him. But I won't fly to meet him and it's not any spite on his part, it's the fact that I have to govern the state of Minnesota and I have a job to do here. So, if we're going to meet, he's going to have to come here to Minnesota.

SCHIEFFER: Governor, under--as you foresee it now, under no circumstances though, could you support Pat Buchanan or can you see a scenario under which you would support him?

VENTURA: I can't see a scenario, but I've learned that, after 48 years on this planet, you never say never. I mean I said I'd never get involved in professional wrestling again, and lo and behold I did. So, you never say never. I mean, one never knows what tomorrow is going to bring. But certainly Mr. Buchanan and I have our differences.

SCHIEFFER: I say that because it seems to me that whoever the Reform Party winds up nominating, it would be in your vested interest--in the party's interest to support them, because if they fall below five percent in the next election, then they wouldn't get these federal matching funds in 2004.

VENTURA: Well, that's true and certainly that weighs on us. But in the case of Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump said he's not even going to use those matching funds anyway. So it depends on who your candidate is.

But, you know, certainly we don't want the party divided up. We want to come in unity when that happens. But you know what I find humorous? You've got what, five or six Republican candidates vying for the nomination and yet you don't hear the media saying is the Republican Party divided and falling apart?

Or, you have two debates on the Democratic side, and they're saying is the Democratic Party falling apart? This is a great opportunity for the Reform Party. We now maybe will have multiple candidates. In the past, there's only been Ross Perot. It's a great sign that we're growing.

BORGER: Let's talk about those multiple candidates. Donald Trump now seems to be inching towards running. Why do you consider him more viable than somebody like Pat Buchanan?

VENTURA: Well, because he's like myself in many ways. He's a private sector, very successful in the private sector. He's not a career

politician.

VENTURA: Mr. Buchanan is an inside-the-Beltway person. He's been there for longer than probably any candidate in this race, Republican, Democrat or Reform. And I just find it refreshing to see candidates who are from the private sector, like myself, who are willing to come and serve and are not career politicians.

SCHIEFFER: Let me--you talked about these candidates for both of the major parties. There seems to be a real split over this issue of gays in the military. Vice President Gore says that he wants a, kind of, litmus test, that he'll ask the people that he would choose for the joint chiefs of staff, he'll ask them in advance: do they support putting gays into the military.

Do you think, Governor Ventura, that is a proper question to be asked of our military leaders?

VENTURA: Well, first of all, I think gay people have every right to serve in the military. I mean, this is the United States of America, and who am I to tell someone they can or cannot serve their country? Who is anyone to tell anyone they cannot serve their country? Gays have served honorably in the military throughout its--the military history. I think it's a silly question to begin with.

I served six years in the United States Navy, and was a member of the Navy's elite underwater demolition SEAL teams, and I could care less about a person's sexual orientation. All I could care about was, can they get the job done and can I count on them when the going gets tough?

BORGER: So you think making it a litmus test, then, for your joint chiefs is fine?

VENTURA: I don't know. I'm not going to ever be in that position, because I'm not running for national office. Like I said, I state my position that I have no problem with gays serving in the military. It's my country, it's their country, it's all of our country, and how dare anyone say that someone is unfit to serve their country?

SCHIEFFER: Also, there's been a split among the Democrats and Republicans over the fate of this little Cuban boy and whether he ought to be sent back to his father in Cuba. How do you come down on that, Governor?

VENTURA: Well, I haven't really paid that much attention to it, in all honesty. You know, I'm very busy running the state of Minnesota, and that's a federal policy. But it's a tough question. It's tough either way. But if you believe in individual parental rights, I think you'd probably have to fall on the side of--you know, the boy's father has rights, and certainly those need to be honored because he is the biological father, I'd assume. And if he is the biological father, he has rights to his son.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Well, Governor, we'll leave it there. Thank you very much for talking to us today. Hope we'll hear from you again down the line.

VENTURA: Thank you. Appreciate it.

SCHIEFFER: Thank you, sir.

VENTURA: Have a great day.

SCHIEFFER: All right.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

SCHIEFFER: Incidentally, we recorded that interview on Friday. You saw it unedited and in its entirety.

Back with a final word in just a minute.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

SCHIEFFER: And a final word today. So Mrs. Clinton is moving to New York to run for the Senate, and we're told she'll be putting that ahead of her first lady duties for a while.

Well, not to be rude, but what are the duties of the first lady? I couldn't find any when I checked the Constitution. Maybe that's because they're neither elected by the people nor confirmed by the Senate.

You wouldn't know that from modern first ladies. They have been supported by enough paid staff in recent years to operate major PR firms, which is what they've become.

Tax dollars pay for their chiefs of staff, speech writers, press secretaries, social secretaries, security details, limos and planes. The Clinton's took it another step. Mrs. Clinton was asked to shape federal policy. Many applauded when the president appointed her to overhaul health care, but management experts warned he was committing the ultimate management sin: hiring someone he couldn't fire. It didn't work. Just as it didn't work over the years when various Congressmen tried to make their wives chiefs of staff. After all, who's going to tell the boss his wife is doing a rotten job?

And back to all that taxpayer-supported staff that sprung up for first and second ladies lately. Suppose Elizabeth Dole winds up on somebody's ticket and they're both elected? Will Bob Dole then get a press secretary and chief of staff? Tipper Gore has both and more.

So count me among those confident we can weather this crisis of getting along without a first lady for a while. I don't know just how we'll do it, but somehow we'll find a way.

END

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Jim Ryans to Sean P. Maloney at 17:05:34.00. Subject: Re: Resend: New Republic Editorial: Separate but Equal. [partial] (1 page)	01/09/2000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]
WHO ([Don't Ask, Don't Tell])
OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

[01/07/2000 - 01/10/2000]

2015-0017-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed
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2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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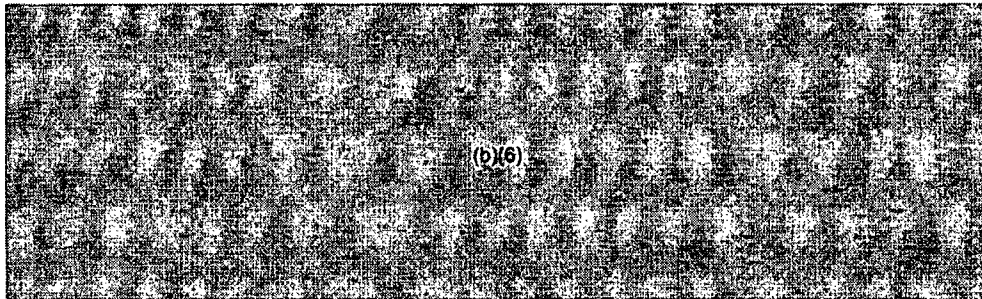
CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JAN-2000 17:05:34.00

SUBJECT: Re: Resend: New Republic Editorial: Separate but Equal?

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:



[002]

At 01:23 PM 1/6/00 -0500, you wrote:

>what do you think about this?

>----- Forwarded by Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP on 01/06/2000

>01:22 PM -----

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> (Embedded

> image moved LGBT Activists List

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>Record Type: Record

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

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>cc: fenceberry@aol.com

>Subject: Resend: New Republic Editorial: Separate but Equal?

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>The New Republic, January 10, 2000

>Separate but Equal?

>By THE EDITORS

>We cannot put it better than the justices of the Supreme Court of Vermont:

>"The extension of the Common Benefits Clause [of the Vermont Constitution]
>to acknowledge plaintiffs as Vermonters who seek nothing more, nor less,
>than legal protection and security for their avowed commitment to an
>intimate and lasting human relationship is simply, when all is said and
>done, a recognition of our common humanity." The December 20 ruling in
>Baker v. State stands as a legal landmark in the controversy about equal
>marriage rights for homosexuals. It is more important than the Hawaii
>Supreme Court's recent meanderings, because it is unlikely to be overruled
>by the legislature or by popular referendum, and because it rests not on
>the tangential issue of whether a ban on same-sex marriage violates sexual
>equality (as the Hawaii court argued) but on the question of whether it
>violates civil equality itself.
>We believe it does. As civil marriage is currently conceived and practiced
>in America, it contains no requirements and holds out no aspirations that
>homosexuals cannot achieve as easily as heterosexuals. The point of modern
>marriage is not merely to procreate-as many childless heterosexual married
>couples attest. Neither is it to entrench ancient gender roles, with women
>at home and men at work-as innumerable working families prove. It is to
>provide a secure, acknowledged institution in which the love of one person
>for another can find expression and support and in which children, if they
>are present, can find security and protection. If homosexual love is as
>deep and as worthy as heterosexual love and if the children of homosexuals
>are deserving of as much social support as the children of heterosexuals,
>then there is no principled reason to allow civil marriage for straights
>but not for gays. Legalizing gay marriage, then, is not a radical
>reformulation of an unchanging institution. It is the long-overdue
>correction of a moral anomaly that dehumanizes and excludes a significant
>portion of the human race.
>Opponents of civil marriage for homosexuals (whose ranks include,
>shamefully, the two Democratic candidates for president and, of course,
all
>the Republican candidates) argue that it will weaken heterosexual
marriage.
>But it is hard to see how. No existing heterosexual marriage will be
>changed. Same-sex marriage only harms opposite-sex marriage if you believe
>that homosexuality is so immoral that legitimizing it would instantly
>undermine family life. We do not hold that belief. Homosexuals are already
>part of families across America, and they always have been. They deserve
to
>be there under better conditions than strained condescension and fickle
>toleration. If anything, the equal inclusion of homosexuals in marriage
>will strengthen family life as it folds gay family members into the social
>warp and woof of their parents and siblings. Some argue that such a change
>should never be imposed by the courts, since homosexuality remains a
source
>of widespread public unease. But surely such an argument also applied to
>the courts' assaults on anti-miscegenation laws in the 1950s and '60s.
>Should the courts not have struck down those laws for fear of invoking
>"judicial tyranny"? After all, public hostility toward interracial
marriage
>was at least as great in 1967, when it was finally protected by Loving v.
>Virginia, as is hostility toward same-sex marriage today.
>Post-Vermont, we have entered a different world. But it contains pitfalls
>as well as opportunities. One danger is that supporters of equal marriage

>rights will accept a semantic compromise that would grant homosexuals every
>benefit and responsibility of civil marriage but deny them the word. The
>Vermont legislature is under pressure to construct an elaborate parallel
>institution, a kind of super-domesticpartnership, that would be identical
>in all legal respects to marriage but not invoke the m-word. There is an
>old phrase for this kind of arrangement: separate but equal. To grant
>homosexuals all the substance of marriage while denying them the
>institution is, in some ways, a purer form of bigotry than denying them any
>rights at all. It is to devise a pseudo-institution to both erase
>inequality and at the same time perpetuate it. What if Virginia had struck
>down interracial-marriage bans only to erect a new distinction between
>same-race marriages and mixed-race "domestic partnerships"?
>There is in fact no argument for a
>domestic-partnership compromise except that the maintenance of stigma is an
>important social value-that if homosexuals are finally allowed on the
>marriage bus, they should still be required to sit in the back. This
>"solution" smacks of the equally incoherent half-measure of "don't ask,
>don't tell," another unwieldy contraption that was designed to overcome
>discrimination but instead has ruthlessly reinforced it. Equality is
>equality. Marriage is marriage. There is no ultimate moral or political
>answer to this question but to grant both. And to keep marshaling the
>moral, religious, civic, and human reasons why

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TEXT:

Jeff, et al,

I've been in touch for three weeks with Aaron Belkin in southern California. He is a professor at UC-Santa Barbara, who heads a think tank dedicated to research on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Grethe Cammermeyer and Larry Korb, among others, are on his board. They do excellent work, I'm told, and are allied with our friends at SLDN and are counseled by Barney Frank, too, I believe.

Aaron's been seeking to educate decision-makers and the public on the core issue about DADT (i.e. unit cohesion), which comes up again and again. He's got new information, and I've advised him on how to package and present it to the NY Times. The Times now has agreed to publish and will do so tomorrow (Tuesday or Wednesday), I'm told.

Please read the draft, and understand the key points.

1. I strongly urged Belkin & Korb to start by trashing the opening line. That opening sentence unwittingly plays into the hands of our GOP right-wing opponents and is dangerous for either Gore or Bradley. Instead, I insisted they change it to get beyond the hair trigger controversy about the "litmus test" and the Joint Chiefs. Instead, I proposed something like: "After Bill Bradley and Al Gore announced that they favor gays and lesbians serving openly in the military, opponents protested that the presence of open homosexuals in the armed forces

would undermine unit cohesion."

I believe this precise edit will happen, but for obvious reasons, feel it was a lightning rod once again.

2. Once the op ed is published, of course, I believe it in our best interests -- to spread the information, and to encourage Korb, Blacker and Belkin to be interviewed and quoted. Korb, of course, is well known and as a Reagan appointee, among the most quotable and respected. He and Blacker are not gay activists of course.

Just fyi, and when this op ed runs, it may also be used as an additional "talking point" for Gore surrogates and allies.

Thanks,

Bob Witeck

KORB/BLACKER/BELKIN OP ED FOLLOWS HERE:

From: Aaron Belkin [mailto:belkin@sscf.ucsb.edu]
Sent: Friday, January 07, 2000 1:26 PM
To: Bob Witeck
Subject: Draft op-ed

NEW YORK TIMES op ed to be signed by Larry Korb (former Reagan Administration official), Coit Blacker (former Clinton Administration official) and Aaron Belkin (UC-SB professor, and head of think tank on sexual minorities in military service).

After Bill Bradley and Al Gore announced that they would require appointees to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to support their positions on gays in the military, opponents protested that the presence of open homosexuals in the armed forces would undermine unit cohesion. The unit cohesion rationale is the official justification for the military's gay ban and it goes something like this: most soldiers do not like gays and lesbians. If forced to serve with them, soldiers will not be able to form bonds of trust that are essential for combat effectiveness. Hence, gays and lesbians should not be allowed to serve openly in the military.

While the unit cohesion rationale may sound intuitively plausible to some people, the idea is not based on hard data. Consider the following evidence documented in a 1993 report by the RAND corporation, a 1993 study by the General Accounting Office, a 1996 book published by the University of Chicago press, and a 1998 study published in the Harvard University journal "International Security."

First, the unit cohesion argument assumes incorrectly that because many soldiers do not like gays and lesbians, military performance will suffer.

The reports listed above review literally hundreds of studies that show that whether group members like each other has no impact on organizational performance. Rather, effectiveness depends on whether group members are committed to the same goals. Since even the Pentagon acknowledges that gay and lesbian soldiers are as patriotic as everybody else, the studies conclude that dislike of gays and lesbians will have no effect on military performance.

Second, many gays and lesbians do serve openly in the U.S. armed forces without undermining cohesion. Some of the public might not understand that there are large pockets of visibility of gays and lesbians in the military and that many serve openly because their commanders are tolerant of homosexuality. Rather than indicating that cohesion and discipline will deteriorate, all of the evidence shows that when commanders insist on tolerance, units function without problems.

Third, wartime experiences show that the unit cohesion rationale is wrong.

If open homosexuals undermined unit cohesion, then discharges of gay and lesbian soldiers would increase during wartime, when cohesion is essential. Precisely the opposite is true. The percent of gay and lesbian

discharges always decreases during wartime. The Navy discharged only 483

gays and lesbians (about half its annual average) in 1950 at the height of

the Korean war and 461 gays and lesbians (about half its annual average) in 1970 during the Vietnam war. During the Persian Gulf War the Pentagon issued a "stop-loss" order preventing gay discharges until after the fighting. Opponents of lifting the ban say that the Pentagon reduces gay

discharges during wars to prevent heterosexuals from escaping military service by pretending to be gay. However, the military and Congress could

solve this problem easily by lifting the gay ban. The bottom line is that

it is logically impossible for gays and lesbians to undermine unit cohesion given that homosexual discharges decrease during wartime.

Fourth, many academic studies show that open gays and lesbians do not undermine cohesion in foreign militaries and American police forces and fire departments. Before Canada's 1992 decision to allow gay and lesbian

soldiers to serve openly, senior military officers predicted the same dire

consequences about the deterioration of unit cohesion that we hear from American officers today. However, as was the case in Israel, Australia,

Norway, and all other militaries that decided to allow gays and lesbians to serve openly, none of the predictions came true. Curiously, opponents say that the experience of foreign militaries and American police and fire departments is irrelevant because very few homosexuals come out of the closet after these organizations lift their bans. But that is the point. If the military lifts the ban gays and lesbians will continue to be discreet and unit cohesion will not suffer.

No scholars argue that lifting the ban would preserve the cohesion of every unit in the entire military at every point in time. After all, there are units whose cohesion has been undermined at times by many different kinds of people even though isolated cases do not require the armed forces to discharge entire classes of persons. The point is that despite isolated incidents open gays and lesbians will not undermine overall military cohesion. Given the weight of the evidence, it seems apparent that the unit cohesion rationale is based on anecdotes rather than solid data and that military discrimination is driven more by prejudice than necessity.

Coit Blacker: (650) 725-5368
Lawrence J. Korb: (212) 434-9400
Aaron Belkin (415) 431-3214

The Honorable Coit Blacker is Deputy Director, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. He was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs in the National Security Council under President Clinton, 1995-1996. His publications include *Hostage to Revolution: Gorbachev and Soviet Security Policy, 1985-91* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1993); "A Typology of Post-Cold War Conflicts," in *U.S. intervention Policy for the Post-Cold War World: New Challenges and New Responses*, Kanter and Brooks, eds.

The Honorable Lawrence J. Korb is former Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Dr. Korb, who served in the Defense Department under President Ronald Reagan from 1981 to 1985, currently is the Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. In addition to his former service as Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution, Korb has been an Adjunct Professor of National Security Studies at Georgetown University. His publications include a chapter titled "The President, The Congress, and the Pentagon: Obstacles to Implementing the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Policy" in *Out in Force; Sexual Orientation and the Military*.

Aaron Belkin is Director of the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities

in the Military and Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara.

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today's papers

Grunts' Groans

By Scott Shuger

USAT leads with the Clinton administration's proposal for establishing a nationwide computer system for rapidly tracking the course of infectious diseases like the flu and hepatitis C. The NYT lead also connects medicine and cyberspace with a report that the rise of Americans' online pharmaceutical purchases via foreign-based Web sites has led to record levels of illegal drug imports, judging from the latest figures on Customs Service seizures of imported drugs in 1999, which ran about 4.5 times higher than 1998. The LAT leads with good news about Medicare: the implementation of the DOJ's campaign against fraudulent claims, combined with the low inflation rate, has kept spending in the 25-year-old program to its lowest growth rate ever. The WP goes with a private study of the attitudes of members of the U.S. military. Main findings of the worldwide survey of 12,000: the

service members feel overworked and underpaid, feel that they don't have enough resources to carry out their assignments, and lack confidence in their leaders. But according to the survey, they still have a deep commitment to military service. By the way, the Post reports that the issue of gays in the military was hardly ever mentioned by the service members. The military study is the off-lead at USAT and is fronted at the LAT. It runs inside at the NYT. (To see that the U.S. military isn't the only one with big problems, check out <http://www.slate.com/Assessment/00-01-07/Assessment.asp>.)

The USAT lead explains the need to replace the current patchwork paper-and-pencil-and-phone disease reporting system: 35 new infectious diseases have been identified since 1973, while some older ones have been reincarnated as drug-resistant superbugs.

The NYT lead points out that the FDA advises consumers not to purchase meds from foreign sites because they will generally be illegal (because, for instance, they're not labeled properly or don't meet purity standards), but adds that usually the government doesn't bother folks ordering small amounts (up to 3 months' worth) for their own use.

The LAT puts the Medicare news in perspective by stating that the cost of health care spending by business and individuals was up 6.9%. An inside WP AP dispatch has that figure and the Medicare one. But the story also states, in contrast to the fiscal optimism expressed high up by the LAT, that Medicare costs are not expected to continue to drop, once boomers begin to attain eligibility in large numbers.

A wild but true crime tale unfolds in the NYT's off-lead. Somebody has tried to extort \$100,000 from online music retailer CD Universe by threatening to release some of the company's more than 300,000 customer credit card files. Because the company wouldn't comply, says the Times, the intruder has released some of the card numbers on the Internet and claims to have used some for himself. The paper points out that the episode is apt to rekindle consumer concerns about online credit card security. Also, since the jerkball's email trail leads to Eastern Europe, the case stands to highlight the freedom online criminals have to operate beyond U.S. jurisdiction.

The NYT and WSJ report that on Sunday, General Motors announced an alliance with AOL and Ford announced one with Yahoo. Both deals will allow car buyers and owners to register to receive model-specific email from the manufacturers and dealers covering everything from oil changes to rebates. The Journal account adds that the deals are intended to include Internet access for owners from their cars as well.

Citing a report in London's Sunday Times, inside stories at the WP and NYT report that British officials say they've caught Libya trying to smuggle Scud missile parts through London's Gatwick airport. The contretemps comes just after the two countries

reestablished diplomatic relations.

The WSJ fronts a detailed feature about a type of worker increasingly common in the modern office: a company Internet snoop, who spends his days checking to see where other workers go on the Web. The story shows one such snoop reading the (deleted) emails of a former employee. At the company in question, online access to sites with any nudity is barred, but those about racism, extremism, violence and profanity, and sports are okay. Other types of URLs frowned upon are music downloading sites and online investment services. The story never questions the fundamental assumption of the snoopers: namely that companies should be able to control their employees' Web access. Now clearly, they have the right to, but the story might have considered whether this is wise from a productivity point of view. It's the wage-slave mentality that judges workplace performance by input, by the number of hours worked, say. The enlightened view of how to manage people is to judge them by their *output* instead. So why should a company care where an employee surfs as long as he/she is productive? Who knows--maybe those "irrelevant" visits stimulate the creativity that's behind the employee's next big idea.

A letter to the WP makes a gimlet observation about the recent upward economic drift of journalism. The missive notes that the paper recently characterized Hillary Clinton's recent move into her new house "as a seemingly typical move on a seemingly typical day, except for the 10 TV cameras...." The writer goes on to point out that ahem, this was a \$1.7 million home HRC was moving into. Typical perhaps for a Post editor or executive but...

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pundit central

McCain's Glass House

By Michael Brus

Issue 1 is GOP presidential politics, including John McCain's FCC letter and Bush's tax plan. Issue 2 is Democratic presidential politics, including Al Gore and Bill Bradley's promise to allow open gays in the military.

Most pundits agree that the revelation of John McCain's influence-peddling letter to the FCC has hurt his campaign, although several--including Paul Gigot (PBS's NewsHour With Jim Lehrer) and Tucker Carlson (CNN's Late Edition)--think that McCain is just defending his constituents, as he was elected to do. Pundits disagree on Bush's sweeping tax-cut proposal. Joe Klein (NBC's Meet the Press) notes that the cut is bigger than the Congressional GOP's (doomed) proposal last fall, and Al Hunt (CNN's Capital Gang) and David Broder (PBS's Washington Week in Review) think that New Hampshire voters care more about schools and health care than taxes. Mark Shields (NewsHour) remarks that Jack Kemp's aggressive tax-cutting campaign strategy didn't work in the 1988 GOP primary, but his colleague, Gigot, responds that McCain's moderate tax apes the failed electoral strategies of George Bush (in 1980) and Bob Dole (in 1988). Appearing on Meet the Press, Rep. Lindsey Graham, R.-S.C., a McCain supporter, thinks that McCain's critique that Bush's tax plan as too large is not working. John McLaughlin, Lawrence Kudlow, and Jim Warren (all of PBS's McLaughlin Group) enthuse over Bush's recent debate performances.

Many pundits--including Mara Liasson (Washington Week), Mark Shields (NewsHour and Capital Gang), Sam Donaldson (ABC's This Week), and Paul Begala (MSNBC coverage of Friday's night's GOP debate)--think that Gore's aggressive stance on gays-in-the-military will hurt him in the general election. Paul Gigot (NewsHour) and Steve Roberts (Late Edition) contrast Gore's ideological approach to the issue with President Clinton's pragmatic approach. Tucker Carlson (Late Edition) notes that only a nation with no security threats could devote so much attention to a "boutique issue" like the military's homosexual policy. George Stephanopoulos and George F. Will (both of This Week) think the issue is a red herring, because Congress can override any executive order that overturns "don't ask-don't tell." Margaret Carlson (Capital Gang) and Joe Klein say that Bradley's aloofness and condescension still hurt his popularity, and Klein predicts that if he is the nominee his Senate votes against the Gulf War and welfare reform will haunt him.

Miscellany: John McLaughlin, Jim Warren, and Eleanor Clift (all of

the McLaughlin Group) call the new rule barring presidential candidates with less-than-15-percent support from general-election debates "undemocratic," and argue that any party qualifying for federal matching funds should get to participate. Appearing on Fox, Bill Bradley also voices disagreement with the new rule, saying that the Reform Party has a "strong case" that it should be included in the debates. Appearing on CBS's Face the Nation, Gov. Jesse Ventura, Ref.-Minn., notes that he had only 10-percent support when he debated Minnesota's Democratic and Republican candidates for governor; six weeks later he won the election with 37 percent. ? Appearing on Friday's Larry King Live (CNN), both Bob and Elizabeth Dole say that the general election will be close, and not a blowout by Bush. Appearing with his wife again on This Week, Bob Dole predicts that Bush will win the nomination (although he still will not endorse him). Steve Roberts opines that although Mrs. Dole has proved to be an awful presidential campaigner, her popularity among women will be hard for Bush to resist when he selects his running mate. ? When Elizabeth Dole praises Bush's "executive experience" on This Week, Sam Donaldson points out that her own husband had no such experience when he ran for president.

Last Word

"Look, I've always had two principles. One is make bureaucracies react on behalf of the taxpayers, and second, do whatever I can to increase competition and lower costs in telecommunications. Those are the guiding principles I've had. Today, we are asking the federal government to release all correspondence that I've had with every government agency. But finally, let me remind you, I'm the chairman of the committee that is designated by the Congress to oversight [sic] the FCC. And it's my responsibility to try to see and make them act. And so I believe that the record will be clear that I've done that on behalf of the consumer."

--John McCain (Face the Nation)

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