

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	rschulman ro Cheryl Mills at 14:10:23.00. Subject: FW: Nightline (2 pages)	06/22/2000	Personal Misfile
002. email	Josh Stull to Jared Powell at 13:27:55.00. Subject: Wednesday. (1 page)	06/28/2000	Personal Misfile
003. email	Chris Hembree to Shannon M. Hinderliter at 16:04:57.00. Subject: Re: [none] (1 page)	07/05/2000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[06/09/2000 - 07/09/2000]

2015-0017-F
ab1554

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUN-2000 11:29:24.00

SUBJECT: Re: Draft Talking Points for DADT Meeting

TO: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: roseanne m. hill (CN=roseanne m. hill/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: lisa m. brown (CN=lisa m. brown/OU=ovp/O=eop@eop [ovp])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: johannes a. binnendijk (CN=johannes a. binnendijk/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: paul oetken (CN=paul oetken/OU=who/O=eop@eop [who])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I think the talking points track nicely from our discussion. I am wondering if we can find out anymore information on the Naval Investigations at gay and lesbian bars. This could cause us some problems.

Also, I thought the pre-trial stuff was an isolated instance...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUN-2000 12:30:01.00

SUBJECT: Re: Draft Talking Points for DADT Meeting

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

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: roseanne m. hill (CN=roseanne m. hill/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: lisa m. brown (CN=lisa m. brown/OU=ovp/O=eop@eop [ovp])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: johannes a. binnendijk (CN=johannes a. binnendijk/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: paul oetken (CN=paul oetken/OU=who/O=eop@eop [who])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Julian- thanks for your reply. I added the "witch hunt" bullet to lead into the topic of the Naval Criminal Intelligence issue. I thought the pre-trial agreement topic blended well with this subject so I also included it for purpose of discussion.

Brian

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUN-2000 13:10:34.00

SUBJECT: Re: Draft Talking Points for DADT Meeting

TO: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: roseanne m. hill (CN=roseanne m. hill/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: lisa m. brown (CN=lisa m. brown/OU=ovp/O=eop@eop [ovp])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: johannes a. binnendijk (CN=johannes a. binnendijk/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: paul oetken (CN=paul oetken/OU=who/O=eop@eop [who])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

looks good, hope the meeting is productive...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jeff Trammell <JTrammel@HillandKnowlton.com> (Jeff Trammell <JTrammel@HillandKnowlton.com> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-JUN-2000 23:34:47.00

SUBJECT: RE: RESPONSES TO CARPENTER

TO: Jeff Trammell <JTrammel@HillandKnowlton.com> (Jeff Trammell <JTrammel@HillandKnowlton.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: 'Mark Spengler' <spengler@dnc.democrats.org> ('Mark Spengler' <spengler@dnc.democrats.org> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

CC: MikeColby1@aol.com (MikeColby1@aol.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I spoke to Randy Shulman, who said they are signed up for Q syndicated columns -- four glbt columnists of whom Dale Carpenter is the conservative one....and they have no control of what is sent them (yes but they don't have to run it.) He will run as many letters to the editor as we send him.

-----Original Message-----

From: Mark Spengler [mailto:spengler@dnc.democrats.org]
Sent: Thursday, June 08, 2000 2:39 PM
To: JTrammel@HillandKnowlton.com
Cc: MikeColby1@aol.com; Elizabeth_J_Potter@who.eop.gov
Subject: RESPONSES TO CARPENTER

Following HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED ON PLANET OUT. FUCKING MW SHOULD'VE SOUGHT OUR RESPONSE AND PRINTED THEM

Do you want me to call or do you want to call Randy Shulman at MW and request equal time and space next week. Not just a letter to the editor, but equal column space.

Also see Andy's exchange with him on Planet OUT

<http://www.planetout.com/news/feature.html?sernum=46>

FIRST REPSONSE

In response to Dale Carpenter's "Don't Be Fooled by Gore Hoopla":

When trashing the Clinton-Gore Administration, conservative gay ideologues like Dale Carpenter are fond of pointing to Democratic blunders without disclosing their considerable accomplishments. Despite a hostile Congress,

Clinton and Gore have endorsed and fought for passage of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) and the Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA). Gov. Bush has remained silent on these issues, and his record in Texas indicates that he rather see both bills go away than become law.

Clinton and Gore have appointed 150 openly gay people to federal posts, including the first-ever openly gay U.S. ambassador, James C. Hormel. They stood firm when Jesse Helms attempted to block his nomination in the name of bigotry. Clinton issued an executive order ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the civil service, granted asylum for gays and lesbians facing persecution in other countries, and provided unprecedented presidential leadership and action on HIV/AIDS. Gore has pledged to continue and expand Clinton's legacy on these issues.

In the spirit of non-disclosure, Carpenter cites Clinton's support for the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) without exposing DOMA for what it really was - a homophobic scare tactic concocted by the Gingrich Congress. Sure, Clinton signed the bill, but only in a political reality created by Republicans, who use anti-gay rhetoric to turn out the right-wing vote.

Carpenter also wails about Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) - by all accounts a failed policy. Accordingly, Clinton has urged a re-examination of DADT and Gore has endorsed its elimination, favoring an open-door policy for gays in the military. Meanwhile, Gov. Bush clings to DADT, claiming - incredibly - that it "works."

Political specifics aside, Carpenter misses the mark in a more philosophical way. Gay and lesbian activism is not a political movement, but a social movement in which politics is used to achieve some of its goals. The Clinton-Gore Administration has played an immeasurably positive role in promoting gay and lesbian citizens as vital and valuable members of the American community. Under the leadership of the President and Vice President, Americans have begun a fundamental reexamination of their perceptions of gay people.

But Carpenter prefers to talk in terms of action, so let's do: While Vice President Gore will continue affirming gays and lesbians - not to mention fighting for its legislative priorities - Gov. Bush will perpetuate an anti-gay agenda by remaining silent while his most ardent right-wing supporters fight us every step of the way. Shame on you, Carpenter, for giving comfort to those who would force us back into the closet.

Mike Colby
National Stonewall Democratic Federation

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SECOND RESPONSE

National Stonewall Democratic Federation
733 15th Street, NW Suite 700A

Washington, DC 20005-6008
www.stonewalldemocrats.org

June 6, 2000
Op-ed for print
Contact Daniel McGlinchey, 202-246-8523

I write in response to Dale Carpenter's column ("Don't Be Fooled By Gore Hoopla") in which he asserts the Al Gore and George W. Bush are "indistinguishable" on the issue of gay and lesbian rights. Best to be direct. No Administration in US history has been as strong an advocate for the right of gay and lesbian people to be free from prejudice as the Clinton-Gore Administration. Even former congressman Steve Gunderson, who is Republican and openly gay, has praised the Clinton-Gore Administration, calling Clinton "a real moral leader on behalf of justice and fairness for gay and lesbian people." And any serious assessment of Vice President Gore's public statements, actions, and progress in understanding our issues would show that he's clearly prepared to move the country even further in the direction of fairness for gay and lesbian people. It's equally clear that any rational analysis of George W. Bush's record and views would show that gay and lesbian rights under a Bush administration would either be ignored or seriously diminished.

I find Carpenter's assertion that Al Gore has done little more on the issue of gay and lesbian rights than "smother us with soothing words" puzzling. I

can't think of any school of thought that equates public expressions of support for gay civil rights with smothering, but then perhaps "thought" is too strong a standard when considering Carpenter's views. Carpenter is critical of Gore for not speaking out against Don't Ask Don't Tell in 1993 and states that Gore's "acquiescence to it while in a position of considerable influence makes his actual record worse." But as the Republican Party's presumptive presidential nominee, Gov. Bush is obviously in a position of considerable influence as well, and he in fact supports the current Don't Ask Don't Tell policy that Carpenter condemns Gore for supporting back in 1993. Today, Gore now understands that the policy is wrong, repudiates it, and he supports allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military. Bush does not.

Clinton-Gore was also the first administration to support the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, a federal law to ban job discrimination based on sexual orientation. But Clinton-Gore went even further and used executive powers to make this kind of discrimination illegal throughout the entire federal civilian workforce. The Clinton-Gore Administration also issued an executive order banning the use of sexual orientation as a factor in granting government security clearances. Since the Eisenhower Administration in the

1950s, security clearances and jobs that require them were denied to people based on their sexual orientation, and Clinton-Gore ended that terrible injustice. The Clinton-Gore Justice Department also issued an executive order that made gay, lesbian and bisexual people who face persecution in their home countries eligible for asylum in the U.S.

By contrast, Bush has refused to adopt a non-discrimination policy that includes sexual orientation in his state administration, and he stated in a candidate questionnaire that he would oppose a sexual orientation anti-discrimination statute at the state level. Bush has also refused to

state whether or not he would uphold any of the Clinton-Gore executive orders that protect gays and lesbians, and as president he could easily strike out all of these advances with the stroke of a pen.

The Clinton-Gore administration has appointed more openly gay and lesbian officials than any previous administration, while Gov. Bush in his five years plus as governor of Texas apparently hasn't met any qualified openly gay individuals to appoint to his administration. When pressed recently on the

question of whether he would ever appoint an openly gay official, Bush dodged the question, claiming he wouldn't know if someone is gay because he wouldn't ask them because "someone's sexual orientation is their private business."

Bush's alleged support for individual privacy might be more reassuring if it

weren't directly and unfortunately contradicted by his very vocal support of

Texas's sodomy law, which criminalizes private consensual adult sexual activity between same-sex couples. In fact, Bush called the Texas sodomy law a "symbol of traditional values" and said he would veto any attempt to overturn it.

While it's true that Gore and Bush are both opposed to gay marriage, to assert that Gore's record is actually worse on this issue simply because Bush was not in the position to cast a vote on DOMA is pure political science fiction. Moreover, Carpenter fails to note that Gore has publicly supported

domestic partnership rights for gay and lesbian couples, which is another first in presidential election politics. Bush has been conspicuously silent

on the issue of domestic partnerships, but that's not particularly surprising. After all, Bush as governor supported a bill that would bar

gays
and lesbians from adopting children, and as a presidential candidate it
took

months of public wrangling for him to even agree to meet with gay people so
he could "listen to their stories." But that did little good. Gov. Bush
refused to speak out against the Texas Republican Party's recent decision
to deny gay Republicans an official presence at the state convention. By
remaining
silent, Gov. Bush allowed it.

The fact is that at the national level one of the greatest differences
between the two major political parties continues to be their position on
gay
and lesbian rights. When people like Dale Carpenter assert that Al Gore
and

George W. Bush are virtually indistinguishable from each other on our
issues,
it shows not only an abominably bad sense of history, but also a very
questionable hold on the political present as well.

Daniel McGlinchey is political director of the National Stonewall
Democratic

Federation, the national organization of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and
transgender Democrats.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: LGBT Activists List <doug.case@sdsu.edu> (LGBT Activists List <doug.case@sdsu.edu> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:11-JUN-2000 20:13:13.00

SUBJECT: [lgbt-politics] How Good Is Gore?

TO: queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu (queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: lgbt-politics@egroups.com (lgbt-politics@egroups.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

TEXT:
HOW GOOD IS GORE?

Exchange
How Good is Gore? -- Part 1
by Andrew Tobias and Dale Carpenter

In the May 25 installment of Out Right, Dale Carpenter argued that Al Gore does not deserve the enthusiastic support of gay and lesbian voters. Author and Democratic National Committee treasurer Andrew Tobias took issue with Carpenter's claims. Following is their e-mail exchange.

Dale,

Someone forwarded your piece from PlanetOut about how terrible Gore is and why no one should care about the election. It is a fine piece of writing, and as a law professor, you must take justifiable pride in being able to argue any position brilliantly. But just to be clear: the effect of this piece, and anything you do like it, will be to help elect George W. Bush. Electing Bush (who has said he would not knowingly appoint gays to his administration, in unbelievably sharp contrast to Gore) very likely means Republicans will keep control of the House. (If you succeed in discouraging Democratic turnout, and Bush wins, it's not likely that Bush voters will vote for Democrats.)

That leaves you with Trent Lott and Jesse Helms running the Senate . . . un-vetoed. And Tom Delay and Dick Armey (of "Barney Fag" fame), and Bob Barr (who introduced DOMA to protect his third marriage), et. al., running the House . . . un-vetoed.

And, very likely, the appointment of four hostile Supreme Court justices we will have to live with for the next 25 years. (Bush was explicit on Meet the Press: Clarence Thomas and Antonin Scalia are the two sitting justices he considers models for the appointments he would make.) All of which may be what you want for America. You are entitled to that view!

But in the interest of fairness, I would implore you to make this explicit to your readers in future pieces. Otherwise, by damping readers' enthusiasm to register and get involved, to give money and vote, you will lead them to a result -- the above -- that I suspect many will NOT be happy with. And as regards the Supreme Court, the earliest "do-over" will not come for 20 or 30 years.

That's a long time to have people hating you for leading them to think that "Bush" justices and "Gore" justices would view gay families in the same light -- that they would be equally likely to find DOMA unconstitutional. Leading them, in other words, to think this election isn't worth their getting "all lathered up about," as you put it.

PLEASE let people understand when you write these things that -- unlike them -- you oppose a woman's right to choose, oppose gay marriage, stand with the gun lobby and so forth . . . Or, if you do not, then PLEASE frame it more like, "OK, I am about to savage the Democrats and Al Gore, but it goes without saying that it is, nonetheless, desperately important that they win in November, and that you help."

THEN rip us to shreds -- and conclude, "All that notwithstanding, let me be very clear: it is, nonetheless, DESPERATELY important that they win in November, and that you help."

Thanks for listening. I don't mean this to be hostile, and I hope you won't take it that way.

--Andy

Andy,

Here's a slogan for November: Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me.

In 1992 Clinton promised we were part of his vision and then signed two of the most viciously anti-gay laws ever -- DADT and DOMA. Shame on him. In 2000, Gore promises much but has a thin record. If we fall for this again, shame on us.

Significantly, you spend little time arguing why Gore is good and lots of time arguing why Bush is bad. That's reasonable, but the specifics don't support your conclusion.

First, you frighten me with the congressional Republicans. I don't care for Trent "Kleptomaniacs" Lott or Dick "Barney Fag" Armey any more than you do. But for all their hostile rhetoric, the GOP majority has passed exactly one major piece of anti-gay legislation (DOMA). Clinton signed it and Gore supports it. Clinton has never vetoed a bill because it's anti-gay.

Where's the beef?

Second, you frighten me with the Supreme Court. I have addressed the weaknesses of this common argument: Supreme Court appointments are rare and, when made, unpredictable. What makes you think the next president will appoint four justices? Clinton got two. The average age on the Court is lower now than in 1990.

Your argument amounts to this: There (1) might be a vacancy that Bush might fill with an appointee who (2) might face a gay-rights issue on which the appointee (3) might vote badly, which (4) might decide the outcome. That's a lot of contingencies to cobble together into a nightmare.

So gay voters basically have a choice between Democrats who talk good but do nothing and Republicans who talk bad but do nothing. Given that, it hardly seems "desperately important" that Gore win in November. The best outcome, long-term, for gay equality might be a narrow Bush win with a historically high percentage (say, 40%) of the gay vote going to him. That way, Democrats might realize we can't be taken for granted and Republicans might glimpse a lasting majority based on principles of tolerance and moderation. And both sides might learn we won't be made fools again.

--Dale

Dale,

Bush has said he favors the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" compromise. Gore has said it is a failure and has vowed to fix it. That's quite a contrast. Like you, everyone hoped it would work better. But this was the first administration in history that at least TRIED to make things better for gays in the military.

DOMA, as you surely know, was specifically designed by the Republican leadership to trap the president into vetoing it, so he might lose the election in 1996. (Unfortunately, gay marriage is something voters do not favor. They favored it even less in 1996.)

It was a clever trap, because although the president didn't fall for it, it weakened his support among gays and lesbians. (Witness, for example, your column.) HAD he vetoed it, his veto would have been overridden, so we would still have had DOMA ... and the Republicans would have had their dream campaign issue. They sought a clean sweep: A Republican running the White House, Trent Lott running the Senate, Tom DeLay running the House.

If you succeed in dampening gay and lesbian voter turn-out based on this issue, the trap may have worked after all, one election later. Regarding the Supreme Court ... It is generally believed that Bush would get either three or four appointments in his first term. One liberal Justice has colon cancer, and three others, including the Chief Justice, are in their 70s and 80s and might well want to make way for young conservatives. Not to mention all the appointments Bush would get to the lesser courts.

You write: "So gay voters basically have a choice between Democrats who talk good but do nothing and Republicans who talk bad but do nothing." I disagree. The Republicans introduced the hateful Defense of Marriage Act and the hateful Hefley amendment. The Republicans refused to confirm a gay

ambassador and refuse to allow ENDA to come to a vote in the House. The Republicans block a Hate Crimes statute.

The Democrats, by contrast, have done a great deal. For starters, they've told the whole world NOT that we're mistakes of nature (or "some damn dyke," as Jesse Helms described Roberta Achtenberg), but that we are valuable citizens whose participation should be welcomed and whose talents should be celebrated. This is done in speech after speech, in the State of the Union message, in presidential proclamations for Gay Pride, at the MMOW.

To you, this may seem trivial. But to a kid searching for self-respect and acceptance -- or for parents trying not to feel ashamed of their kids -- this is a huge deal.

Specific measures include endorsement of ENDA and Hate Crimes, appointment of the nation's first openly gay ambassador, appointment of scores of talented gays and lesbians to posts of serious responsibility throughout the administration, a successful drive to repeal of the Dornan amendment (which expelled HIV-positive service members), the granting of asylum to gays and lesbians facing persecution in other countries, the lifting of the "security-clearance" ban on gays and lesbians, and an executive order banning discrimination in the federal workplace based on sexual orientation.

You just can't tell me that Trent Lott and Jesse Helms and Dick Armey as committee chairmen will fight for us the way Tom Daschle, Teddy Kennedy, and Barney Frank would. Or that the presidential vetoes would be about the same, or that the behind-the-scenes concessions Congress makes to AVOID vetoes would be the same. Or that the bully pulpit and "tone" of the administration would be the same, or that the Supreme Court nominees would be about the same. The VP and most Democrats in Congress genuinely "get it." They genuinely feel we've gotten a raw deal. They feel a genuine commitment to stand up to the bullies and help enlighten those, like Dan Quayle, who tell the press that our orientation is "the wrong choice."

I was there when Al Gore swore in the openly gay head of the Small Business Administration, with his lover holding the Bible, as hundreds (including the Chairman of the S.E.C.) looked proudly on. I was there when about 10 minutes into the new administration in 1993 the VP and Mrs. Gore invited 200 gays and lesbians into their home for a party. I was there when Mrs. Gore a few weeks ago brought down the house playing the drums in front of 45,000 people at Equality Rocks.

Why on earth would you want to dampen people's enthusiasm to put Al and Tipper Gore in the White House? Or dampen their sense of urgency about this election?

Lather? Hell, yes! On lots of issues -- but none more starkly than the issue of equal rights and respect for gays and lesbians -- this is the most important election of our lives.

Help us!

--Andy

How Good is Gore? -- Part 2

by Michael Colby and Dale Carpenter

In the May 25 installment of Out Right, Dale Carpenter argued that Al Gore does not deserve the enthusiastic support of gay and lesbian voters.

Michael Colby, Executive Director of the Stonewall Democrats, disagreed.

Following is their exchange.

In response to Dale Carpenter's "Don't Be Fooled by Gore Hoopla": When trashing the Clinton-Gore Administration, conservative gay ideologues like Dale Carpenter are fond of pointing to Democratic blunders without disclosing their considerable accomplishments. Despite a hostile Congress, Clinton and Gore have endorsed and fought for passage of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) and the Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA). Gov. Bush has remained silent on these issues, and his record in Texas indicates that he'd rather see both bills go away than become law.

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In the spirit of non-disclosure, Carpenter cites Clinton's support for the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) without exposing DOMA for what it really was -- a homophobic scare tactic concocted by the Gingrich Congress. Sure, Clinton signed the bill, but only in a political reality created by Republicans, who use anti-gay rhetoric to turn out the right-wing vote.

Carpenter also wails about "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) - by all accounts a failed policy. Accordingly, Clinton has urged a re-examination of DADT and Gore has endorsed its elimination, favoring an open-door policy for gays in the military. Meanwhile, Gov. Bush clings to DADT, claiming -- incredibly -- that it "works."

Political specifics aside, Carpenter misses the mark in a more philosophical way. Gay and lesbian activism is not a political movement, but a social movement in which politics is used to achieve some of its goals. The Clinton-Gore Administration has played an immeasurably positive role in promoting gay and lesbian citizens as vital and valuable members of the American community. Under the leadership of the president and vice president, Americans have begun a fundamental reexamination of their perceptions of gay people.

But Carpenter prefers to talk in terms of action, so let's do so: While Vice President Gore will continue affirming gays and lesbians -- not to mention fighting for our legislative priorities -- Gov. Bush will perpetuate an anti-gay agenda by remaining silent while his most ardent

right-wing supporters fight us every step of the way. Shame on you, Mr. Carpenter, for giving comfort to those who would force us back into the closet.

-- Michael E. Colby, Stonewall Democrats

Given their avowedly partisan mission, the Stonewall Democrats may be forgiven for having a, shall we say, selective memory about the recent past. But the rest of us can maintain a critical distance from the Clinton-Gore administration.

Stonewall excuses Clinton and Gore's support for DOMA by arguing that the congressional Republicans made them do it. In fact, Clinton publicly agreed to sign the bill before it was even drafted, much less introduced in Congress. Then Clinton and Gore trumpeted their support of DOMA on Christian radio stations. Did Gingrich make them do that, too?

I'm glad Gore realizes the error of his ways on DADT. It's about time. After thousands of discharges of gay military personnel, complete with witch-hunts and gay-bashings, Gore says, "Oops, we goofed," on the eve of a tough primary fight. Thanks for small favors, I guess. Stonewall insists Clinton and Gore have done some good things, though. Clinton's executive order prohibiting anti-gay discrimination in federal employment was saved from congressional evisceration only by the tireless work of legislators like the openly gay Republican Rep. Jim Kolbe. Still, the executive order was good (and Bush should be pushed to state whether he'll retain it).

And I'm sure Gore, like Clinton, would reward more openly gay campaign contributors with jobs in his administration than Bush would. Bully for them.

But "leadership and action" on AIDS? Please. Remember the promised "Manhattan Project" to end the disease? Neither do Clinton or Gore. The bad old Republican Congress increased the administration's meager budget to subsidize drugs for AIDS patients.

Stonewall and I agree on one thing: Progress in gay equality is made primarily through increasing social acceptance of gays, not through politics. That cultural movement has been underway for some time. It did not begin, as Stonewall comically suggests, "under the leadership of the president and vice president." There are serious problems with Bush's public positions on gay issues. But we needn't close our eyes to Gore's shortcomings, as Stonewall does, in order to see them.

-- Dale Carpenter

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lgbt-politics@eGroups.com

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lgbt-politics-unsubscribe@eGroups.com

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lisa M. Brown (CN=Lisa M. Brown/OU=OVP/O=EOP [OVP])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JUN-2000 19:06:41.00

SUBJECT: DADT Meeting 12 June

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

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

let's talk about this

----- Forwarded by Lisa M. Brown/OVP/EOP on 06/12/2000

07:06 PM -----

David B. Peterman

06/12/2000 01:57:12 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elizabeth J. Potter/WHO/EOP@EOP, Laura S. Marcus/WHO/EOP@EOP,
Paul Oetken/WHO/EOP@EOP, Lisa M. Brown/OVP/EOP@EOP

cc: Johannes A. Binnendijk/NSC/EOP@EOP

Subject: DADT Meeting 12 June

Today Hans and I met with the new Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, Dr. Bernie Rostker , in his office to discuss the DADT policy. This meeting was primarily an information exchange. We stressed that DOD continues to have the lead on DADT policy implementation and that we were pleased with recent actions in regard to the DOD IG climate assessment and strong statements supporting the DADT policy made by the Services' senior leadership. We reviewed four ideas that had been discussed earlier with Rudy on how to improve implementation of the current policy.

There are two important DOD initiatives now underway in regard to DADT; a Task Force to recommend ways to eliminate harassment noted in the DOD IG climate assessment, and an Army IG investigation of the command climate at Fort Campbell where an alleged homosexual soldier was killed. The senior-level Task Force is analyzing the DOD IG climate assessment data and seeking ways that DOD might better implement the DADT policy in order to reduce harassment. Their report is due no later than July 31. Dr. Rostker offered us seats in an upcoming Task Force status report brief. The Army IG report is due for completion in early July. This report will comment on the DADT climate at Fort Campbell and how it might have contributed to the beating death of a soldier perceived by his peers to be homosexual. Dr. Rostker will attempt to have these two reports released

simultaneously, perhaps in mid-July. He asked if there were any political considerations (i.e. Democratic convention) to be considered with this release timing?

I had briefed you earlier that there was also an Army IG climate assessment being done world-wide. This information was incorrect. The only Army IG DADT investigation is being done at Fort Campbell. My apologies for the confusion.

Brian

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JUN-2000 12:38:21.00

SUBJECT: weekly for last week: MBC

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

My apologies for not putting in Word Format. I had a networking error....

WEEKLY REPORT: Week ending June 9th

GAY AND LESBIAN: Julian Potter

Meetings:

ú Met with the National Security Council, White House Counsel and the Office of the Vice President to review implementation of the "DADT" Policy. A civilian/military Task Force is reviewing the results of the Department of Defense's IG Report and will give recommendations to Secretary Cohen on July 31st. The White House working group is meeting with DOD and the Taskforce to encourage the following recommendations:

ú Broadening the categories of people with whom service members can have protected communications;

ú Find ways service members can be rewarded for supporting the DADT policy (e.g. specific positive comments in evaluation reports.);

ú Ways to prevent & witch hunts & or limit use of pre-trial agreements to gain information on homosexual activities of others;

ú Examining DOD's definition of & homosexual statement & to determine if it is more restrictive than the law's definition.

ú Met with Congressional candidate Gerrie Schipske who is an open lesbian running for a seat in Congress to represent Long Beach, CA. She wanted to make sure that we are aware of her broad constituent and issue area background representing nurses, education and the unions.

ú Met with White House Personnel to discuss the continuing appointment of gays and lesbians to the Administration.

ú Met the 'ad hoc' DC appropriations committee that was represented by the ACLU, HRC, and gay republicans. We discussed what potential riders might be offered on DC's 2001 appropriations bill. General consensus is that the leadership is interested in moving the bill forward and will encourage members to avoid amendments.

ú Met with Federal GLOBE, to discuss a more effective implementation of OPM's Executive Order to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation. There are still concerns that the EO has not been distributed widely; there is no clear avenue of redress for a person that has been discriminated against; lacks uniform procedures and training for staff.

NEXT WEEK:

Hate Crimes Conference Call with the Hill

Meeting with OPM on concerns about the implementation of non discrimination Executive Order

GLESN: Gay and Lesbian and Straight Education Network: annual dinner

HHS meeting to discuss gay and lesbian peer review panels for federal funding

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JUN-2000 13:57:14.00

SUBJECT: DADT Meeting 12 June

TO: Lisa M. Brown (CN=Lisa M. Brown/OU=OVP/O=EOP@EOP [OVP])

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Paul Oetken (CN=Paul Oetken/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Today Hans and I met with the new Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, Dr. Bernie Rostker , in his office to discuss the DADT policy. This meeting was primarily an information exchange. We stressed that DOD continues to have the lead on DADT policy implementation and that we were pleased with recent actions in regard to the DOD IG climate assessment and strong statements supporting the DADT policy made by the Services' senior leadership. We reviewed four ideas that had been discussed earlier with Rudy on how to improve implementation of the current policy.

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apologies for the confusion.

Brian

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "eva holtz :)" <eholtz@fas.harvard.edu> ("eva holtz :)" <eholtz@fas.harvard.edu> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JUN-2000 15:06:56.00

SUBJECT: more nadine...

TO: Todd E. Plants (CN=Todd E. Plants/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

my dearest one,

im reading up on nadine on aclu.org right now, and am reading some of her old interviews. below is a Q from 1995, w/ her response, and i was wondering if you'd be able to tell me what it's referring to, cuz i dont know.

—
Question: How do you feel about the rubber glove incident at the White House?

Acluprez: How completely consistent with the Clinton Administration's abdication of its campaign promises on lesbian and gay rights! You know that Clinton campaigned on getting rid of the military exclusion, but quickly "repented." I hope you also know that the ACLU (working with Lambda) has successfully challenged the "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" Clinton policy in the lower court. But the Clinton Administration is too often on the wrong side--our opponents -- on L/G rights issues. Most recently, they refused to file a brief in the Supreme Court in support of our challenge to Amendment Two from Colorado. So the glove travesty was more of the same.

—
merci,

eva

2.718 * 617-448-3821 * www.fas.harvard.edu/~eholtz

CONTACT INFO:

* [til Aug 20] Eva Holtz, c/o ADP, 351 Mass Ave, Cambridge MA 02139

* [work hours] 617-876-1228

* [nite/wkend] 617-448-3821

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JUN-2000 14:14:55.00

SUBJECT: Re: DADT Meeting 12 June

TO: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

thanks for the update.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-JUN-2000 18:56:57.00

SUBJECT: Re: Draft Talking Points for DADT Meeting

TO: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: roseanne m. hill (CN=roseanne m. hill/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: lisa m. brown (CN=lisa m. brown/OU=ovp/O=eop@eop [ovp])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: johannes a. binnendijk (CN=johannes a. binnendijk/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: paul oetken (CN=paul oetken/OU=who/O=eop@eop [who])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

You never really said what their response was to our recommendations. We need to have some movement on creating a "sphere of privacy" where servicemembers can report harrassment--and not trigger the policy.

We have to have some movement towards the President's original intent with the policy.

Do you think DOD is so inclined?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-JUN-2000 10:38:58.00

SUBJECT: Re: DADT Meeting 12 June

TO: Lisa M. Brown (CN=Lisa M. Brown/OU=OVP/O=EOP@EOP [OVP])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: monica m. dixon (CN=monica m. dixon/OU=ovp/O=eop@eop [ovp])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Would you like to discuss. I am free this afternoon, thurs am and friday
midday...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-JUN-2000 07:47:34.00

SUBJECT: Re: Draft Talking Points for DADT Meeting

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

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: roseanne m. hill (CN=roseanne m. hill/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: lisa m. brown (CN=lisa m. brown/OU=ovp/O=eop@eop [ovp])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: johannes a. binnendijk (CN=johannes a. binnendijk/OU=nsc/O=eop@eop [nsc])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: paul oetken (CN=paul oetken/OU=who/O=eop@eop [who])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Julian- We have found that the folks in DOD are more than willing to consider expanding the "sphere of privacy" but they must do it carefully to stay within the law. For that reason, their lawyers and medical ethicists are looking at options closely. Also, Dr. Rostker intends to present our 4 remaining proposals in the talking points to the Task Force for their consideration. This will help move this concept along. I think we are on track.

Brian

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: GayLawyer@aol.com (GayLawyer@aol.com [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-JUN-2000 21:11:11.00

SUBJECT: IOWA DEMOCRATS ELECT GLBT DELEGATES

TO: stonewalldems@egroups.com (stonewalldems@egroups.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: nsdf-region8@egroups.com (nsdf-region8@egroups.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: ichr-talk@grizz.avalon.net (ichr-talk@grizz.avalon.net [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

Cameron N. Cohen (CN=Cameron N. Cohen/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Iowa Stonewall Democrats
5661 Fleur Drive
Des Moines, Iowa 50321
515-244-7292

For Immediate Release
June 18, 2000

Contact: Randall Palmer
515-244-9202

GayLawyer@aol.com

IOWA DEMOCRATS ELECT GLBT DELEGATES

Des Moines, IA -- On Saturday, Iowa Democratic Convention elected Mary Goodwin, a lesbian from Ames, as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in August. Goodwin joins the 56 member delegation that includes Rayme Nuckles, a gay man from Fort Dodge, who was elected at the Fifth District Convention in May. The delegation includes Senator Tom Harkin, Congressman Leonard Boswell, Governor Tom Vilsack, Lieutenant Governor Sally Pederson, Attorney General Tom Miller, Secretary of State Chet Culver, State Treasurer Mike Fitzgerald and Secretary of Agriculture Patty Judge. Iowa's National Delegates also ratified Vice President Gore's designation of Randall Palmer, a gay man from Des Moines, as one of Iowa's two members on the National Platform Committee.

Goodwin is Vice Chair of the Iowa Stonewall Democrats, a board member of the Iowa Coalition for Human Rights and co-moderator of VOICE -- Voters Organized for Iowa Civil Equality. She is a member of the Society of Women Engineers and is Advising Coordinator in the College of Engineering at Iowa State

University.

Nuckles is a member of the Steering Committee of the Iowa Stonewall Democrats and Executive Director of the Fort Dodge Housing Authority. Palmer is Chair of the Iowa Stonewall Democrats and an attorney for MidAmerican Energy Company.

In other action, Iowa Democrats approved a platform that calls for laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity, repealing "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," and recognizing same-gender civil unions. The 2000 Iowa Democratic Party platform opposes restrictions on child custody, adoption, foster parenting and reproduction that are based on sexual orientation or gender identity. In addition, the platform also calls for passage of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, and funding for the Ryan White CARE Act and for research to find a cure for HIV/AIDS.

The Iowa Stonewall Democrats, an official unit of the Iowa Democratic Party, represents gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered and allied Democrats.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Paul Oetken (CN=Paul Oetken/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:22-JUN-2000 13:49:33.00

SUBJECT: Re: DADT Meeting 12 June

TO: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

D. Brian --

Thanks for the update. I'm sorry I wasn't able to join you and Hans for the meeting with Dr. Rostker. I'm back in the office now, and would appreciate being kept involved with future meetings, and, if possible, with the upcoming Task Force briefing.

Thanks,

J. Paul

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: David B. Peterman (CN=David B. Peterman/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

CREATION DATE/TIME:22-JUN-2000 13:51:43.00

SUBJECT: Re: DADT Meeting 12 June

TO: Paul Oetken (CN=Paul Oetken/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Paul- Hope all is back on track for you. Interestingly, we just had some blow-back on our last meeting. Some at DOD thought we were directing them to take the actions listed on our memo. Both Hans & I remember making it clear that these were only ideas for them to consider and that we had already discussed them with Rudy DeLeon in earlier meetings. I think we have that resolved now.

Will keep you advised.

Brian

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	rschulman ro Cheryl Mills at 14:10:23.00. Subject: FW: Nightline (2 pages)	06/22/2000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[06/09/2000 - 07/09/2000]

2015-0017-F
ab1554

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-JUN-2000 15:02:11.00

SUBJECT: Nightline tonight: gays in the military

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

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: David B. Stockwell (CN=David B. Stockwell/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip J. Crowley (CN=Philip J. Crowley/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

ABC

11:35 p.m. Nightline. Topic: Don't Ask Don't Tell: Nightline
looks at the record number of gay discharges from the Fort Campbell Army
Base. Guest: Louis Caldera, Secretary of the Army

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: INSIDESCOOP INSIDESCOOP <INSIDESCOOP@CBSNEWS.COM> (INSIDESCOOP
INSIDESCOOP <INSIDESCOOP@CBSNEWS.COM> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 23-JUN-2000 15:19:00.00

SUBJECT: INSIDESCOOP AT CBS NEWS

TO: INSIDESCOOPATCBSNEWS@HOTSHEET.CBSNEWS.COM (INSIDESCOOPATCBSNEWS@HOTSHEET.CBSNEWS.COM [UNKNOWN])
READ: UNKNOWN

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

TEXT:
INSIDE SCOOP @ CBS NEWS
June 23, 2000

"To be somebody you must last." Ruth Gordon

***To our KCBS viewers: Due to the riots in Los Angeles on Monday, June 19th, 48 Hours was pre-empted in Los Angeles, California. KCBS will re-broadcast the show on Sunday, June 25, 2000, from 4pm-5pm Pacific Time.

A NOTE FROM DAN RATHER: "Good afternoon. Dan Rather here, with an early look at some of the things we're working on for tonight's CBS Evening News...

Gasoline prices are dropping quickly in the Midwest, on both the wholesale and retail level, with oil companies blaming unexpectedly high demand in the spring months and supply problems caused by pipeline breaks for the price spike. There is little sign, meanwhile, that high gas prices are affecting our driving habits, and the AAA is projecting that Americans will take to the road in record numbers this Fourth of July. Correspondent Cynthia Bowers will have that story for us...

High prices at the pump have had many wondering why OPEC hasn't done more to provide relief, and why America hasn't done more to force the hand of oil exporting countries. In a CBS News "Reality Check", Eric Engberg will take a look at the limits of our influence, and why anti-trust legislation just proposed in Congress isn't likely to provide a solution...

And with Gore taking some of the heat for high fuel prices, Correspondent Bill Whitaker will look at presumptive Republican nominee George W. Bush's ties to the oil industry...

I'll be taking a comprehensive look at the troubled continent of Africa, and why even the man on the street in America should care about the many problems, such as the rampant incidence of AIDS, facing so many African nations...

Finally tonight, we'll have the second part of our "Eye on America" look at teenage millionaires. Wyatt Andrews will tell us why the dot-com search for top teen talent is creating a brain drain of sorts at some American colleges and universities...

It's all a part of our world? I hope you'll join us." Dan Rather

WEEKEND EVENING NEWS: SATURDAY June 24, 2000: Russ Mitchell Anchors

Lee Cowan will join us from Washington DC to look at the Green Party convention and their nomination of Ralph Nader... PLUS, Jerry Bowen will look at an emerging trend of people having full body CAT scans to see if they have any lurking tumors. Many doctors think it is overkill and will lead to unnecessary exploratory operations..., AND, Russ Mitchell's Weekend Perspective looks at how some families are now demanding that schools and other organizations schedule less activities for kids, so families can spend some time together... And, we'll show you the latest hot trend in the auto showrooms: luxury station wagons.

SUNDAY: June 25, 2000: John Roberts Anchors

Jackie Adams will have a report on the Presbyterian Church's debate to allow gay ministers... PLUS, Lee Cowan will report on the ceremonies commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Korean War.. AND, Barry Petersen will look at the future prospects for peace between the two Koreas... ALSO, John Robert's Cover story will take an in depth look at the veterans of the Forgotten War.

LATE NIGHT WITH DAVID LETTERMAN: It's the hysterical Keenan Ivory Wayans .

The Saturday Early Show on June 24, 2000: Russ Mitchell and Thalia Assuras co-anchor in New York.

Tired of sore feet? Find some relief with the advice of Dr. Ronald Lepow, from the American Podiatric Medical Association. He says that you do need to wear different shoes for different types of activities.

Plus, get the latest fashion tips from "Mode" magazine fashion editor Catherine Schuller, along with four plus size models who will show us sexy fashions for Saturday night.

The craze continues! Get the inside scoop on our newest hit, Survivor, when we talk with the latest tribe member to get kicked off the island.

And, the perfect garden for city slickers...Georgia Raimondi has tips on "container gardening."

Also, digital photography editor Robin Raskin, of "Family PC" magazine, shows us the latest in digital cameras and printers. And even better, they're all in different price ranges!

And for all you Spike Lee fans, experience the music of his famed films with Terence Blanchard on our own 2nd Cup Cafe.

Finally, tantalize your tastebuds with our weekly Chef on A Shoestring, Gerry Hayden, of Aureole. He's making green grape gazpacho, pancetta, porcini and arugula risotto, and blueberries in lemon caramel and buttermilk granita.

Don't forget to remind your viewers to look for the Chef's recipe on the CBS website at WWW.CBS.COM every week!

SUNDAY MORNING: Sunday, June 25, 2000: **COVER:** Over one million American children do their learning at home. So does the winner of this year's National Spelling Bee. But is home schooling overrated? Join Correspondent Rita Braver this Sunday morning as she explores this topic.

ART: Travel back in time to one hundred years ago just by going to the Guggenheim Museum. "1900: Art at the Crossroads" highlights the stylistic and cultural diversity of the beginning of the 20th century. It exhibits more than 170 artists from 26 countries. As Correspondent Morley Safer reports, "...electricity lit up the night and ideas sparked the intellect."

JOHN LEONARD REVIEW: Before you head to the movie theater, find out what Correspondent John Leonard thinks of The Patriot, starring Mel Gibson and Joely Richardson.

SUNDAY BEST: Harold Edgerton combined his love for photography with his knowledge of electrical engineering to perfect strobe photography in 1931. Now, ten years after his death, the MIT Press celebrates his work with a new CD-ROM called Exploring the Art and Science of Stopping Time.

POSTCARD FROM ALTHORP: Take a trip to the childhood home of Princess Diana. Correspondent Richard Roth reports from Althorp.

A NOTE FROM BOB SCHIEFFER: "With the execution of Texas prisoner Gary Graham last week, the death penalty once again is being debated nationwide. Is it fair? Should there be a moratorium? And how much of a political issue is it? We'll have a debate, between Jesse Jackson and Rep. Asa Hutchinson, Republican of Arkansas. Then we'll turn to the Social Security/Retirement plans of the Bush and Gore campaigns. Who would benefit? What would the respective plans cost? Which one is best for you? We'll talk with Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, Gore Advisor Laura D'Andrea Tyson, and Newsweek Columnist Jane Bryant Quinn. Gloria Borger will be here, as always. So for the latest on the Death Penalty and the Campaign 2000 retirement plans, watch Face the Nation this Sunday." Bob Schieffer

60 MINUTES SUNDAY (7:00-8:00 PM, ET/PT): June 25, 2000: **DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL:** The recent murder of a gay soldier is driving home a point that even one of the authors of the military's policy about gays now believes: "don't ask, don't tell" doesn't work. Ed Bradley reports. **CRUISING FOR FUN AND PROFIT:** The people who own the cruise lines catering to U.S. customers may be having more fun than the vacationers. As Morley Safer finds out, they pay no income tax on billions of dollars in revenue. **PRISON INC:** From Patriot Missile parts to bullet-proof vests to the towels in your bathroom, prison labor makes it all with annual sales approaching \$500 million in federal prisons alone. But some say this federal program

is working too well -- that robbers, rapists and murderers are taking jobs away from tax-paying citizens. Lesley Stahl reports.

MONDAY ON THE EARLY SHOW: In what is being called a genetic milestone...scientists have decoded the human genome - the bits and pieces of what makes a human a human... We'll have the latest on how this discovery came about and what it will mean for the future of medicine...

Also, former NBA star Julius Irving joins us to discuss his son's disappearance... Plus, we'll preview some of the major SCOTUS decisions that are expected to come down in the next several days, including late term abortion and the "Miranda v. Arizona case... And, we'll talk with author Barry Gifford about his newest book, "Wyoming"... Plus, national correspondent Hattie Kauffman joins us with a report on Olympic hopeful Lenny Krayzelburg who began his swimming career in the Ukraine...But is now well on his way to the Sydney Olympics as a member of Team USA...

Also, we'll have a report on the latest efforts to increase safety on roller coasters around our nation's amusement parks... And, Jim Carrey's comedy "Me, Myself and Irene" opened in theaters across the country this weekend... In our "Box Office Plus" segment, we'll tell you if the movie was a hit at the box office... We'll also look at the ups and downs of Jim Carrey's film career... Plus, the author of "Living In Style", Marco Pasanella, joins us in the studio with tips on how to select the perfect sofa... And, last but not least, hair stylist to the stars Sally Hershberger will be here to show us how to achieve the perfect celebrity "do".

For all the latest news and Campaign 2000 coverage...visit www.cbs.com.
For transcripts of our CBS News broadcasts, please call 1-800-777-TEXT.
To order VHS copies, please call 1-800-934-NEWS. If you do not want to receive this Newsletter, just send an e-mail to listserv@peach.ease.lsoft.com and type into the body of the message UNSUBSCRIBE INSIDESCOOPATCBSNEWS. Or, you can e-mail us at insidescoop@cbsnews.com. And yes, we are also interested in hearing from you.

****All stories subject to change**

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Josh Stull to Jared Powell at 13:27:55.00. Subject: Wednesday. (1 page)	06/28/2000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[06/09/2000 - 07/09/2000]

2015-0017-F
ab1554

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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SUBJECT: [lgbt-politics] More details on Boy Scouts decision

TO: queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu (queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: lgbt-politics@egroups.com (lgbt-politics@egroups.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

TEXT:
Associated Press
June 28, 2000

Court Says Boy Scouts Can Bar Gays

By LAURIE ASSEO

Washington, DC -- The Boy Scouts can bar homosexuals from serving as troop leaders, the Supreme Court ruled Wednesday, placing a limit on how far the courts should go to force open admissions upon private organizations.

The 5-4 decision said forcing the Scouts to accept gay troop leaders would violate the organization's rights of free expression and free association under the Constitution's First Amendment.

"The Boy Scouts asserts that homosexual conduct is inconsistent with the values it seeks to instill," Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist wrote for the court. Requiring them to accept a gay scoutmaster "would significantly burden the organization's right to oppose or disfavor homosexual conduct."

The ruling reversed a New Jersey Supreme Court holding that the Scouts wrongly ousted assistant scoutmaster James Dale when the organization learned he is gay. The state court had said the scouts' action violated a New Jersey law banning discrimination in public accommodation.

Dale, who was an Eagle Scout, had sued the Scouts under the New Jersey law. But the Supreme Court said Wednesday that law must yield to the Scout organization's right of "expressive association" under the Constitution's First Amendment.

Rehnquist's opinion was joined by Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Antonin Scalia, Anthony M. Kennedy and Clarence Thomas.

Dissenting were Justices John Paul Stevens, David H. Souter, Ruth Bader

Ginsburg and Stephen G. Breyer.

Writing for the four, Stevens said the New Jersey law "does not impose any serious burdens" on the Boy Scouts' goals, "nor does it force (the Boy Scouts) to communicate any message that it does not wish to endorse. New Jersey's law, therefore, abridges no constitutional right of the Boy Scouts."

Dale was 19 and an assistant scoutmaster of a Matawan, N.J., troop when in 1990 he was identified in a newspaper article as co-president of a campus lesbian and gay student group at Rutgers University.

The Scouts' Monmouth Council revoked Dale's registration as an adult leader, telling him the organization does not allow openly gay members. Dale sued, contending the Scouts violated New Jersey's anti-discrimination law.

The New Jersey Supreme Court ruled in his favor, saying the expulsion of Dale was based "on little more than prejudice."

During oral arguments in April, the Scouts' lawyer, George Davidson, said the group had a right "to choose the moral leaders for the children in the program."

The Scouts relied on a 1995 Supreme Court decision in which the justices let the private sponsor of the Boston St. Patrick's Day Parade exclude a group of gays and lesbians, saying parades are a "form of expression."

Dale's lawyer, Evan Wolfson, said giving public accommodations the broad freedom to exclude people who do not match their message could swallow the civil rights laws.

Dale's attorneys cited Supreme Court decisions during the 1980s that let states force the Jaycees and Rotary International to admit women as full members. The court also let New York City bar large private clubs from discriminating against women and minorities.

Rehnquist's opinion said "it appears that homosexuality has gained greater societal acceptance" in recent times.

"But this is scarcely an argument for denying First Amendment protection to those who refuse to accept those views," the chief justice wrote. "The First Amendment protects expression, be it of the popular variety or not."

The Supreme Court has dealt with gay rights infrequently. In 1996, the justices struck down a Colorado measure that barred ordinances giving gays legal protection from discrimination, such as in housing or employment. But the court also has repeatedly turned away challenges to President Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" policy on gays in the military.

Dale now lives in New York City and is advertising director for a magazine for people who are HIV-positive.

The case is *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale*, 99-699.

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TO: queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu (queerpolitics@abacus.oxy.edu [UNKNOWN])
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Elizabeth J. Potter (CN=Elizabeth J. Potter/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
Washington Blade
June 30, 2000
<http://www.washblade.com>

A place in the platform
Democratic, Republican activists pursue Gay-friendly planks as conventions
near

by Lou Chibbaro Jr.

With the Republican and Democratic presidential conventions scheduled to take place in August, officials with both parties have begun their quadrennial process of drafting a platform, and officials with the two parties are cautiously assessing platform language on Gay civil rights.

Gay Republicans, noting that the platform approved by their party four years ago is marked by hostile, anti-Gay language, say their aim this year is to persuade GOP leaders to remove that language. Most Gay Republicans, including officials with the national Gay GOP group, Log Cabin Republicans, will be happy if this year's Republican Convention in Philadelphia adopts a platform that is silent on Gay issues while espousing the general principle of inclusiveness and diversity, according to D.C. Gay Republican activist Carl Schmid.

Gay Democrats, meanwhile, note that the Democratic Party has included pro-Gay language in its platform since 1980. The challenge this year for them will be to avert attempts to "water down" the language and, instead, to push for more specific positions.

The 1996 GOP platform, which remains in effect today, calls for enforcing laws that ban discrimination based on "sex, race, age, creed, or national origin" but adds, "We reject the distortion of those laws to cover sexual preference, and we endorse the Defense of Marriage Act to prevent states from being forced to recognize same-sex unions." The platform goes on to

praise Republicans in Congress for having "passed" the Defense of Marriage Act and notes that the act, among other things, "prevents federal judges and bureaucrats from forcing states to recognize other living arrangements as 'marriages.'"

In a separate section, the GOP platform states, "We oppose Bill Clinton's assault on the culture and traditions of the armed forces, especially his attempt to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military. We affirm that homosexuality is incompatible with military service."

The 1996 GOP platform includes a single sentence on AIDS: "We remain committed to and place a high priority on finding a cure for HIV disease," the platform says.

This year, Log Cabin officials are pointing to what they see as hopeful signs that the Republicans favor moderating their platform in an effort to help Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush broaden his electoral base. Kevin Ivers, the Log Cabin group's political director, said GOP leaders indicated that they favor rewriting and overhauling the 1996 GOP platform during a June 23 Republican National Committee platform hearing in Billings, Montana, which Ivers attended.

"We are cautiously optimistic that we can have an impact on this process," Ivers said, adding that he is hopeful that party officials will agree to scrap some or all of the current platform's anti-Gay language.

The current Democratic platform, adopted in 1996, following President Clinton's implementation of his controversial "don't ask, don't tell" policy on Gays in the military, backed off slightly from the party's 1992 platform, which called for ending discrimination against Gays in the military. The 1996 platform deleted any mention of the Gays in the military issue.

In a section called "fighting discrimination and protecting civil rights," the 1996 Democratic platform states, "we must renew our efforts to stamp out discrimination and hatred of every kind, wherever and whenever we see it."

"We continue to lead the fight to end discrimination on the basis of race, gender, religion, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation," it states. " ? We support continued efforts, like the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, to end discrimination against Gay men and Lesbians and further their full inclusion in the life of the nation." The 1996 platform also calls for "vigorously" enforcing the Americans with Disabilities Act, which, among other things, prohibits discrimination based on HIV status.

In a lengthy section on health care, the 1996 Democratic platform devotes a full paragraph to AIDS, boasting that the Clinton-Gore administration "dramatically shortened" the approval process for life-saving AIDS drugs, increased AIDS research funding by nearly 40 percent, and more than doubled funding for the Ryan White CARE Act.

"We are committed to finding a cure for AIDS, combating HIV-related

discrimination, supporting HOPWA funding to help with housing for people living with AIDS, and working to ensure that all Americans living with AIDS have access to new and potentially lifesaving drugs," the platform states.

In the area of women's health, the 1996 platform includes language noting the administration increased breast cancer research funding by 65 percent. It says the Democrats "pledge to continue supporting funds for innovative research, and access for all women to high quality health care."

This year, some Gay Democrats, including openly Gay U.S. Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), are calling for restoring the Gays in the military "plank" to the 2000 Democratic Party platform. Frank points out that, unlike four years ago, when President Clinton and many Democratic lawmakers opposed lifting the ban on Gays in the military, Democratic presidential contender Al Gore has stated that he favors lifting the ban.

But according to one source familiar with the Democratic platform process, some officials with the Democratic National Committee are urging Gays to accept a "watered-down" platform section on Gay issues, with the goal of stressing broad civil rights principles rather than specific issues. The DNC officials reportedly have said an overly detailed platform on Gay issues, as well as other issues, might be used by the Republicans to attack Gore as being too far afield on social issues.

Michael Perez, an openly Gay Gore delegate from Northern Virginia and the co-chair of the National Stonewall Democratic Federation, which represents Gay Democrats, said the Stonewall group favors more specific language in the platform on such issues as a Gay civil rights bill, hate crimes legislation, domestic partners rights, and Gay adoption. Perez said Stonewall members will push for these issues next week at a Democratic platform drafting committee hearing in St. Louis.

While many Gay Democrats want the platform to address the Gays in the military issue, far fewer of them support platform language on same-sex marriage. Frank and Kurt Vorndran, president of the Gertrude Stein Democratic Club in D.C., said they do not support a same-sex marriage plank in the platform. Vorndran, who will attend the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles as a member of the convention's credential's committee, said he believes Gore will be better served by a platform that calls for supporting same-sex relationships but avoids mentioning same-sex marriage.

Frank noted that a Gay marriage plank would be at odds with the positions held by Gore, Clinton, and most Democratic Party members of Congress, who oppose legalizing same-sex marriage.

Winnie Stachelberg, political director of the Human Rights Campaign, the nation's largest Gay political group, said she will join Stonewall Democrats in testifying on July 6 before the Democratic platform drafting committee in St. Louis. Stachelberg said her group will urge the party "not get too prescriptive on how we go about strengthening Gay and Lesbian families in a platform."

Kevin Ivers, Log Cabin Republicans' political director, said he spoke to key GOP platform drafting officials on June 23 at a Republican National

Committee policy hearing in Billings, Montana. He said Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, the chair of the GOP platform drafting committee, has agreed to meeting with Log Cabin members during the next several weeks to discuss Gay-related platform issues.

Despite all the hype by both parties over their platforms, most political pundits have noted that U.S. presidents are not bound by party platforms and presidents often completely ignore them. Party operatives often argue that, while the general public rarely pays attention to the party platforms, candidates often use them as fodder to attack their opponents. That's why party pragmatists often favor a bland, watered-down platform rather than a specific one.

"The platforms are less a cause than they are an effect," said Rep. Frank.
"They are a mark of where you are. They give you a pretty good sense of the difference between the two parties."

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TO: lgbt-politics@egroups.com (lgbt-politics@egroups.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

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

TEXT:
The Nation, July 10, 2000
(<http://www.thenation.com>
)

Search and Destroy
Gay-baiting in the military under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"
by Doug Ireland

In the wake of Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy's high-profile sexual harassment case against another Army general (who himself had just been put in charge of investigating sexual harassment!), the mainstream media have given a substantial amount of coverage to the appalling rates of sexual harassment of women in the armed forces. But you would be hard pressed to find in these news reports any mention of one of the principal spurs to this harassment: the policy on gays in the military, popularly known as Don't Ask, Don't Tell.

"You can't separate this policy from sexual harassment," says Michelle Benecke, a former captain of US Army defense artillery -- and a Harvard-trained lawyer -- who is the co-founder and co-director of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN). "A lot of the perception that women in the services are gay stems from the fact that they're not sleeping with anyone in their unit," Benecke says. "The Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy pressures young women into sexual activity with their superiors by making them subject to the threat of discharge as gay."

The Defense Department's own discharge figures support Benecke's contention that women are being disproportionately targeted by the policy: Women accounted for 31 percent of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell discharges in 1999, even though they are only 14 percent of the uniformed services. The numbers are most striking in the Army, where women are only 15 percent of the force but 35 percent of the gay discharges; in the Air Force, where they are

18 percent, compared with 37 percent of discharges; and in the Marines, where women are 6 percent of the Corps but account for 21 percent of those discharged. Since lesbian-baiting is the military man's best defense against charges of sexual harassment, these numbers help explain why many women in the military are afraid to report such conduct, let alone tell their superiors about antigay harassment.

Nicole B. was 21 when she joined the Navy in 1995 and became a second-class petty officer in the weather-forecasting service. At a Navy forecasting school in Biloxi, Mississippi, her Marine instructor in oceanography "was constantly making antigay jokes. Rumors had circulated that I was gay, and this instructor would make cracks about 'dikes in the water' and turn to me saying, 'Don't get too excited about the word.'" Things got worse when Nicole was sent to a small base in Texas after she told her chief about the antigay harassment of a male sailor friend in her unit, who was constantly being "baited as a 'fag,' 'a woman,' a 'guy who wears makeup.'" Then someone "wrote a message on my car that said, 'You suck dick and eat pussy,'" Nicole says. "I was terrified and fearful for my life. It just got worse, and I cried every day." After Nicole finally reported the harassment to her chief, she says, "He told me, 'I just want to reach over and slap your face.'" Since three superior officers had harassed Nicole, she

"didn't feel there was anybody among my chiefs who'd back me up if I was assaulted. I loved the Navy, but it's so difficult when you have to hide, make up a boyfriend, censor your social conversation. Then I got into a relationship, and that's when it became clear to me that I wasn't going to be able to deal with this, that I had to give it up. That was very hard." Nicole got in touch with SLDN, which helped her write a coming-out letter to her commanding officer. She was discharged last year, but says, "I still miss the Navy -- I'm encouraging my little nephew to become a Navy pilot."

Petty Officer Nicole B.'s experiences typify the ways in which even gays who try to be discreet have been increasingly subject to harassment and expulsion under the current policy. Not only has the policy -- its correct name is "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Harass, Don't Pursue" -- failed to diminish discharges of gay servicemembers; it has actually increased them, from 617 in 1994 to 1,034 in 1999, at a cost of more than \$161 million (based on General Accounting Office figures) in training replacements for those discharged. And the policy has spurred soaring rates of verbal abuse and physical violence, even murder.

* * *

This disastrous policy was born out of Bill Clinton's refusal to honor his 1992 campaign pledge to let gays serve openly in uniform. In large part because of his own reputation as a draft dodger, Clinton knuckled under to pressure from the generals and admirals and their allies in Congress, thus betraying the principle of civilian control of the military and sending a

signal to the Pentagon crowd that he could be rolled (as ever-increasing military-procurement budgets in his two terms have shown).

Moreover, Clinton's capitulation forced the gay movement to fight on a battleground not of its own choosing. The 1993 gay-run Campaign for Military Service not only strained the movement's limited resources; the losing effort was also a PR disaster for gay politics that undercut the chance to pass the critically important Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) while Democrats still controlled the Congress.

Many left-wing gays were uncomfortable at seeing precious energies squandered in combat for the right to serve in a military they disdained and distrusted. But once the issue was joined, the movement had no choice but to confront the tidal wave of slurs against same-sexers deployed by four-star homophobes like Colin Powell and bigoted politicians like Senate Armed Services Committee chairman Sam Nunn. And all the more so because military homophobia is also a class issue: The overwhelming majority of its victims are young recruits who joined up to get an education or career, lured by the bright promises of flashy ad campaigns and aggressive high school recruiting, often before they admit to themselves they're gay.

Even the Department of Defense itself has now been forced to admit that harassment of uniformed gays remains widespread. In March the DoD Inspector General released a survey of 71,570 active-duty servicemembers revealing that 80 percent of those who filled out questionnaires reported hearing "offensive" antigay remarks. Nearly 10 percent said they had witnessed physical assault. Significant numbers also reported "offensive or hostile gestures," "threats or intimidation," graffiti, vandalism, "limiting or denying training and/or career opportunities," and "disciplinary actions or punishment" not of the bigots but of their victims ("for example, being punished for something when others were not"). Most telling, of those who said their "cited situation" was witnessed by someone senior to either the person being harassed or the harasser, 73 percent said "the senior person did nothing to immediately stop the harassment."

If the Clinton Administration had really been serious about protecting gays in the military, the Pentagon would have conducted such a survey long ago. That it happened at all was due to two things: increased pressure from SLDN, which has documented rising harassment and discrimination in a series of meticulous annual reports for the past six years; and the particularly grisly antigay murder of a soldier at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, on July 5, 1999.

Pvt. Barry Winchell was only 21 when, after enduring four months of verbal and physical assault, he was bludgeoned to death with a baseball bat by a fellow soldier. Winchell, who had been asleep in his cot, was left with

his skull shattered "like an eggshell," according to an Army investigator, his eyes black and swollen shut, his brains oozing from his head. Winchell had confided to two friends that he was afraid to report the escalating daily harassment that led to his murder, because he would risk being kicked out of the Army.

It was five months after Private Winchell's murder when Defense Secretary William Cohen finally ordered the IG survey of antigay harassment throughout the armed services. But even now, the Army is refusing to release its IG's report on the antigay climate of terror that reigned at Fort Campbell under its commander, Maj. Gen. Robert Clark. "We provided a lot of evidence of antigay harassment there and how it was tolerated by superior officers," says SLDN's Benecke.

* * *

To take just two examples: Fort Campbell Pvt. Javier Torres gave a sworn statement to SLDN that, just months after Private Winchell was murdered, his unit's staff sergeant led them on a run singing in cadence, "Faggot, faggot, down the street/Shot him, shot him, till he retreats." Another Fort Campbell sergeant, assigned to brief a unit on the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy, repeatedly called the training session the "fag briefing" and referred to gay soldiers as "fags."

"We asked the IG conducting the Fort Campbell investigation, 'How can servicemembers contact you?' and he told us to our faces that he believed that he was obliged to turn in as gay any servicemember who said he was a victim of antigay harassment," says Benecke. Although the IG report on Fort Campbell was due to be released on May 1, the Army has postponed giving the report to the Secretary of the Army until July 1 -- conveniently after General Clark's June 9 advancement to a prestigious Pentagon post as Vice Director (J3) of Plans and Operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As Benecke points out, "This is the man who allowed the harassment at Fort Campbell to exist, and to continue even after Private Winchell's murder. As of February 20, twenty soldiers at Fort Campbell have come out because of their fear. Clark deserves to be dismissed." Retaining Clark in uniform -- and even rewarding him -- sends a clear signal that servicemembers can continue to harass with impunity.

That's certainly the impression that Clinton Administration policy has left with many military commanders and their subordinates. Not until March 1997 did the DoD get around to issuing "Guidelines for Investigating Threats Against Service Members Based on Alleged Homosexuality," by Under Secretary of Defense Edwin Dorn, designed to implement the 1993 Don't Harass, Don't Pursue policy. But SLDN forced the Pentagon to admit in April 1998 that it

had never distributed the guidelines to the field. And it was not until after Private Winchell's murder fifteen months later that the Dorn report was finally distributed. In the IG harassment survey this past March, 57 percent of respondents said they had received no training on the policy; of the 54 percent who claimed they understood it, only 26 percent were able to answer the three most basic questions about it.

* * *

"The new policy is worse than the old, much worse," says Professor Janet Halley of Harvard Law School, who last year published *Don't: A Reader's Guide* to the Military's Anti-Gay Policy (Duke). "Under the old policy, you could be discharged if it was found out you had a 'homosexual orientation.' The new policy says you can be discharged if you have manifested a 'propensity' to engage in homosexual acts. 'Propensity' is judged by 'conduct,' but that can mean anything from having a Melissa Etheridge poster on your wall to wearing short hair and a thick, black watchband to refusing to have sex with a man," she says, citing real examples from discharge cases. Moreover, Halley says, to escape expulsion "you have to prove that you have no propensity, so the only defense is an identity defense, a status defense -- you have to prove you're straight." And the judgment about "propensity" is an entirely subjective one, which means treatment of gay military personnel varies greatly from command to command.

That was the experience of Petty Officer First Class Larry Glover, who was discharged February 25 from the Navy after fifteen years for being gay: "I went from two commands that were not too bad to one that was pure hell," he says. Like so many others, Glover says he "didn't figure out that I was gay until I'd been in the Navy for three years -- I had fought it up until then." For Glover, joining one of the uniformed branches was an escape route from both a stunted economic situation and from "a small town in East Tennessee in the middle of the Bible Belt -- for me, it was a way of getting out to see the world." Glover has earned ten medals -- "I rattle when I walk," he chuckles. He even has a Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal for having risked his life to save a \$77 million plane from going over the side of an aircraft carrier in high seas.

In his first two commands, Glover was eventually accepted by the sailors he worked with -- "Once I told them, 'Yes, I'm gay, so what?' the issue went away." But on his last shipboard posting, the antigay atmosphere was particularly virulent. Glover found himself having to stand up for younger sailors who were being harassed as gay: "It was my job as a person in a leadership position. I put myself on the line every day. I witnessed spray-painting of the word 'fag,' destruction of private property or of uniforms in lockers -- things like filling the lock with glue so sailors couldn't get to their uniforms, which caused them to be late, which got them punished. I witnessed chief petty officers using terms like 'the little

fag,'the little butt-bandit,' 'ball breath.' One kid had a complete nervous breakdown -- I took him off the ship crying." Glover's attempts to protect younger sailors led to his "being threatened" with negative performance evaluations. By this time he was in a relationship, and the effects of harassment and the pressure to be closeted "limits your compatibility with your partner; the job just wasn't worth what I was putting in. A friend high up in the military that I'd met at a gay bar told me about SLDN and gave me their number. They helped me write my coming-out letter to my commander. The day I heard they were going to process my discharge papers, I put a rainbow sticker on my locker." Glover, who had to give up \$850,000 in pay and retirement benefits when he chose to stop hiding, now says, "I'm distraught with the Defense Department and government in general," adding, "We've got to fix this policy -- we just have to."

Most of America's major NATO allies now allow gays to serve openly in the military, including France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Canada. Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland and Israel do as well.

Britain was forced last fall by the European Court of Human Rights to end its military ban on gays and has now embraced them, even inviting gay soldiers who had been discharged to apply for reinstatement. Dr. David Segal, who directs the University of Maryland's Center for Research on Military Organization -- which studies comparative military institutions -- says that "there is no evidence from any country we've looked at that lifting the ban on gays impacts negatively on either unit cohesion or performance." He adds, "There's no question that the direction of social change will eventually deal with sexual orientation as irrelevant in terms of the military."

The Pentagon's brass hats know this is true. Aaron Belkin, who directs the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military at the University of California, Santa Barbara, points out that "gay discharges always go down in wartime. During the Korean and Vietnam wars there were about half as many such discharges as in peacetime. In World War II the discharge rate was substantially lower than in the postwar period. In the Persian Gulf War, the military had a 'stop-loss' order that suspended gay expulsions. What the Pentagon is saying is, when unit cohesion is most important and our survival is at stake, we'll keep them in. There is no intellectually honest case to be made that gays undermine cohesion in the military." Quite the reverse: The current US policy saps unit cohesion by subjecting gay servicemembers to career-ending blackmail.

The hypocrisy of the Pentagon's attitude is underscored by one of the Army's first African-American generals, Maj. Gen. Vance Coleman, who retired in 1989: "Gays have been serving honorably in the military ever since it existed. It's never a problem until the leadership makes it one." Coleman compares the arguments against openly serving gays to those deployed against lifting the ban on racial segregation in the armed forces: "It's the same

thing. Close your eyes, sit in a room and listen to the generals' discussions -- you hear the same reasons." The right of gay people to serve openly is, Coleman says, "a legitimate civil rights and human rights question. It shouldn't even be an issue."

However, given the current conservative composition of our judiciary, it is unlikely that court challenges to the military's antigay policy will prevail in the foreseeable future. The Supreme Court has declined to hear five cases challenging the constitutionality of Don't Ask, Don't Tell, and all four of the eleven federal circuit courts in which the policy has so far been challenged have upheld it. That kicks the ball back into the political arena.

* * *

In the most recent Gallup poll on the question, in January, 41 percent of Americans said gays should be allowed to serve openly; 38 percent -- most of whom wrongly believe the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy is a tolerant one -- said gays should be able to serve under the current policy; while only 17 percent think gays should not be able to serve under any circumstances.

The issue flared into the news briefly during the presidential primary campaigns. Bill Bradley, who in 1993 had voted as a senator for outright repeal of the military ban before Clinton signed Don't Ask, Don't Tell into law, reiterated his position in his campaign last September and said he'd expect the military to follow his policy. Until then, Al Gore had said only that he'd implement Don't Ask, Don't Tell with "more compassion."

But competing with Bradley for the gay vote, in December Gore finally came out against Don't Ask, Don't Tell and said he would lift the ban entirely and make this a litmus test for his appointees to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (after the Republicans jumped on him for that last statement, Gore backpedaled somewhat, saying there would be no "political opinion" test for his military appointees). Even President Clinton got around in December to admitting that the current policy was "out of whack" (an unfortunate locution that led to a spate of raunchy jokes by late-night TV comedians). On the GOP side, George Bush declared in the primary debates that "I'm a Don't Ask, Don't Tell man," while John McCain likewise supported the current policy because it's "working."

But, of course, it isn't, as the rising discharge rates and the DoD's own harassment statistics show. Moreover, the Don't Ask and Don't Pursue elements of the current policy are continually violated by commanders, investigating officers and even legal personnel. SLDN, in its March annual report, "Conduct Unbecoming," documented 194 Don't Ask violations from February 1999 to February 2000, a 20 percent increase from the preceding year and the sixth consecutive increase since the policy began. In the same period the SLDN report also detailed 470 Don't Pursue violations, a 34 percent increase. This year, there was an antigay witch hunt at the

Defense

Language Institute in Monterey, California, which ensnared fourteen enlisted personnel, mostly female. And at the beginning of June, SLDN forced the Navy to admit that for the past two years it has been sending undercover agents into five Washington, DC, gay bars and nightclubs to seek out patrons who are in the military. The Navy claims it's only going after illegal drug use, but SLDN's Benecke calls this "a ruse -- our information shows they're only targeting gay establishments."

Congressional supporters of lifting entirely the ban on open gays in the military are deeply pessimistic about any positive legislative changes. "This Congress is not going to overhaul this policy," declares

Representative

Marty Meehan, the liberal Massachusetts Democrat who is a member of the House Armed Services Committee and the ranking member of its subcommittee on personnel. Meehan says that "there's no way even to have hearings on harassment now -- we'd go backward, not forward." On the Senate side, another longtime opponent of the ban, Massachusetts's John Kerry, likewise paints a bleak picture, at least "until we [the Democrats] get a majority." About all he and his like-minded colleagues can do at this point, he says, is

"turn up the heat a notch" on the Pentagon and the Administration. Kerry says that "what's missing is the investigative component" to identify those who engage in or tolerate harassment, and he wants Clinton to issue an executive order for an investigation that would root out violations of the Don't Ask, Don't Harass and Don't Pursue sections of the policy and hold military leadership accountable. In May he and Senator Max Cleland, a paraplegic veteran from Georgia, sent a tart letter to Defense Secretary Cohen pointing up the failure to implement antiharassment training in the armed forces in a meaningful way.

Even Representative Barney Frank, one of the Administration's most visible defenders, says he is "deeply disappointed with the way Bill Cohen has handled the harassment issue." On June 7 Frank and thirty colleagues (including minority leader Dick Gephardt and two GOPers -- Connie Morella and

Mark Foley) sent an even stronger letter to Cohen calling the Pentagon's failure to curb harassment "disgraceful"; denouncing the promotion of General Clark, the Fort Campbell commander; attacking the Navy and Air Force for trying to recoup training costs from servicemembers discharged as gay, even though this violates the DoD's own policy; and asking for a White House meeting. To date, neither the Kerry/Cleland nor the Frank et al. letters have received anything more than a "we'll get back to you" acknowledgment.

* * *

Coming to grips with one's homosexuality when already in uniform is a terrifying experience. The Pentagon has to be forced to take seriously its obligation to provide comprehensive antiharassment training (the training materials are thoroughly confused); to provide a safe way in which victims can report harassment without fear of losing their careers; and to punish

not
only harassers but those commanders who tolerate harassment (not a single
one
has been disciplined). Until then, SLDN is the gay servicemembers' only
protection.

It's amazing how much this small legal-aid group has accomplished
already. Founded in 1993 on a shoestring, SLDN -- which has already
handled

2,300 cases -- is today struggling along on a \$1.4 million budget and
desperately seeking additional funds for more legal staff to handle the
soaring number of harassment complaints. Its "Survival Guide" is the only
document that tells military gays how to cope with the current policy and
what their rights are (the DoD provides no such material). Jeff Cleghorn,

a
retired major in US Army military intelligence who got a law degree after
he

left the service in 1996, is one of SLDN's legal-aid intake staff; he says
that the organization's clients "are mostly young people concerned about,
if

not their physical well-being, then their emotional well-being." SLDN
counsels active targets of investigation on "what they can do to minimize
the

risk of those investigations being either initiated or expanded," Cleghorn
says. "If there's harassment or physical threats, we contact base
commanders

and legal officers and remind them of the investigative limits in the
current

policy." The group has just under 200 open cases at any one time -- but
the

number is growing. And there's no question that SLDN has saved lives.

"Just

the other day I had a call from a kid at a naval base in Florida who'd been
assaulted physically by several sailors," says Cleghorn; "he was in tears
and

suicidal. I called the Metropolitan Community Church [a gay denomination]
in

the city he was in to arrange counseling in a safe space, and contacted the
chaplain at his base. He survived. We go with what's there -- even if
it's

just someone who'll give 'em a big hug and listen to their problems."

Bill Clinton, Bill Cohen, Al Gore and their lame-duck Administration
still have six months to do something to protect kids like that sailor in
Florida. But will they act?

For information or to make a contribution to SLDN: Servicemembers Legal
Defense Network, PO Box 65301, Washington, DC 20035-5301 (or www.sldn.org).
For free, confidential counseling, call (202) 328-3244.

-- Doug Ireland writes frequently on politics for The Nation. Research
support was provided by the Investigative Fund of the Nation Institute.

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OA/Box Number: 500000

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: GayLawyer@aol.com (GayLawyer@aol.com [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-JUL-2000 21:42:14.00

SUBJECT: NSDF Testifies At Platform Committee

TO: ichr-talk@grizz.avalon.net (ichr-talk@grizz.avalon.net [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

Cameron N. Cohen (CN=Cameron N. Cohen/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

National Stonewall Democratic Federation
733 15th Street, NW Suite 700A
Washington, DC 20005
www.stonewalldemocrats.org

For Immediate Release
July 7, 2000

Contact: Michael Colby
(202) 783-8670

NATIONAL STONEWALL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION TESTIFIES BEFORE DNC PLATFORM DRAFTING COMMITTEE

NSDF's Inclusion in Platform Drafting Process in Stark Contrast to GOP's Continued Exclusion of Gay Republicans

St. Louis, MO - A representative of the National Stonewall Democratic Federation (NSDF) testified yesterday before the Democratic National Committee's Platform Drafting Committee. This committee will draft the proposed platform that will be voted on and adopted at the Democratic National Convention in August.

Dr. Bob Whitelaw, a member of the NSDF Board of Directors from Atlanta, Georgia provided the testimony to the committee meeting in St. Louis, Missouri. In it, he called on the committee to include five issues in the party's statement of goals:

1. Support for the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.
2. Support for expansion of the Federal Hate Crimes Act to include GLBT citizens.
3. An end to the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy in the U.S. military.
4. Support for legal recognition of same-sex partnerships.
5. Support for adoption of children by gay and lesbian individuals and couples.

Dr. Whitelaw's full testimony is included below.

The inclusion of input from the NSDF by the DNC is particularly striking considering the exclusion of any input on GLBT issues in the Republican

platform. The gay Republicans have not provided testimony to the Republican platform committee. In fact, the Republican National Platform continues to oppose any sort of civil rights legislation for GLBT Americans.

"This contrast demonstrates how committed Al Gore and the Democratic Party are to including all Americans under legal protection and ensuring basic civil rights for all," said Michael Colby, Executive Director of the NSDF. "The GOP and George W. Bush continues to hold gay Republicans at arms length and refuses to even consider any sort of protection of our basic human rights. The choice this fall for GLBT voters is quite clear: Al Gore and the Democratic ticket are the only choice for us."

The National Stonewall Democratic Federation is the national organization of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender Democrats, with over 10,000 members and 55 affiliated clubs across the country. NSDF is committed to improving the record of the Democratic Party and educating voters about the vast difference that exists between the two major parties on issues of importance to our communities.

TESTIMONY DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF
The NATIONAL STONEWALL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION
July 6, 2000

Good afternoon. My name is Dr. Bob Whitelaw, and as a member of the Board of Directors, I am here representing the National Stonewall Democratic Federation. National Stonewall is composed of over 55 affiliated lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender Democratic clubs in states across the country, including here in Missouri. We have over 10,000 individual members. National Stonewall and its affiliates work for the election of Democrats who support the rights of the sexual minority community, and we work for a broader understanding of LGBT issues within the Democratic Party. We see ourselves as representing the Democratic Party to the LGBT community, and representing the LGBT community to the Democratic Party. It is in that spirit that National Stonewall appears before you today, hoping that you, the Democratic Platform Drafting Committee, will consider carefully including in our Party's statement of goals the five issues that are of the most importance to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community nationwide.

Of course we continue to be committed to passage of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would ban firing of lesbian and gay employees solely on the basis of their sexual identity. This provision lost by just

one
vote in the Senate several years ago, and we believe that with a Democratic majority in the House and the election of Al Gore as President, passage of this vital piece of legislation is achievable during the next Congress.

We also remain firmly committed to expanding the Federal Hate Crimes Prevention Act to include acts of violence against the LGBT community. Although everyone is aware of the murder of Matthew Shepard two years ago in Wyoming, his was not the first death motivated by homophobia, and it has certainly not been the last. We were encouraged by passage in the Senate of the Kennedy amendment to the Defense Authorization Bill, and believe, once again, that when Democrats regain the majority in the House of Representatives, LGBT inclusion in the Federal Hate Crimes Statute will pass in the next Congress.

The issue of Gays in the Military continues to be of paramount importance to the sexual minority community. President Clinton, himself, acknowledges that the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" compromise has not worked as well as the Administration had hoped. Recognizing this dilemma, and cognizant of the support of Vice President Al Gore for a lifting of the ban, we urge the Platform Committee to consider including an end to the ban in our Statement of Goals.

We understand the religious significance that Marriage has for many people and are sensitive to these beliefs, but Marriage is also a legal contract enforced by the Government. Marriage helps stabilize society. That is why opposite-sex couples who marry are given many privileges that unmarried couples do not have. It is only fair that same-sex couples who enter into such a contract, no matter what it might be called, should have these same privileges. The Democratic Legislature and the Democratic Governor of the State of Vermont have taken a major step in the legal recognition of lesbian and gay partnerships in the United States by enacting legislation allowing civil unions between same-sex couples. In spite of the possible legal challenges to this legislation, in spite of the continued opposition to "Gay Marriage", and in spite of the effusion of State "Defense of Marriage Acts" that have been passed, we nonetheless urge the Platform Committee to consider our rights as citizens and as couples to legal recognition of our relationships. We would urge support for legislation which would accord lesbian and gay couples who are in loving, committed, stable relationships the same legal rights conferred on married couples.

Finally, in light of the numerous attempts by the "Religious Right" to limit our abilities to form families, we ask that you affirm the right of lesbian and gay individuals and couples to adopt children. The world is full of children who need loving homes, and many lesbians and gay men have already

created families through adoption. We believe that those who condemn us for our natural sexual orientation should not limit our rights and our ability to form families.

We recognize that when Democrats are in the majority, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community wins. We are committed to working for the election of a Democratic President, a Democratic Majority in the House of Representatives, a Democratic Majority in the U.S. Senate, and increased Democratic majorities in state legislatures throughout the country. We hope that you will take into consideration our requests for inclusion in the Democratic Party platform. Thank you for hearing our testimony.

###

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard L. Siewert (CN=Richard L. Siewert/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUL-2000 19:32:24.00

SUBJECT: the klein opus

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

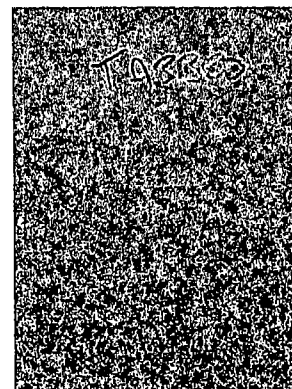
TEXT:

please review -- and pass on to melann who requested it as well. i gather
mrs. clinton may speak to him as well.

----- Forwarded by Richard L. Siewert/WHO/EOP on
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Klein



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript July 5, 2000

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY JOE KLEIN

New York, New York

5:00 P.M. EDT

Q Do you essentially agree with my sense that you had --
that the big issue has been moving from the Industrial Age to the
Information Age, and that -- I mean, the toughest thing --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. The short answer to that is yes.

Q -- to explain to people is, you take something like -- how can being in favor of affirmative action and being in favor of welfare reform be part of the same vision? How can being in favor of free trade and being in favor of universal health insurance be part of the same vision? There are people on the right or the left who would say, you can't do that. And yet, I think that they are part of the same vision.

But my first question is, how would you describe that vision?

THE PRESIDENT: I think my view -- I saw my presidency as a transformational period, and basically, America has gone through two before. Maybe it could start if we did it in historical times. There were basically -- I look at American history in the following -- we had the creation -- how we got started. And sort of filling out the elements of the national government and defining what it meant. And that basically went from the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution, Washington's presidency and the appointment of John Marshall as Chief Justice, which is a very important thing.

And then, ironically, through Jefferson's presidency, with the purchase of Louisiana and the Lewis and Clark expedition, and then the next big challenge was, how would we adapt that to our growing industrialization, and how did we get rid of slavery, which was inconsistent with our principles. So obviously, that's what Lincoln and the Civil War and the constitutional amendments and everything that happened on civil rights after that was about slavery.

But there was no single president that managed the process, if you will, or laid out a framework from the agricultural society to an industrial society, but that's part of what the railroads, the canals was all about, and it's part of what -- and Lincoln was a part of that with the Moral Land Grant Act, with the colleges.

Q This happened too slowly for --

THE PRESIDENT: But it happened over a long period of time. Then, there was the transformation from the -- you know, it happened over a long period of time as we slowly became a balanced society. But then, when we burst onto the world scene as a major national industrial power, that process was basically defined by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. And I sort of saw this period in parallel with that.

The rest of the 20th century was mostly about dealing with the rise of -- first, the Great Depression then the war and the need to defeat totalitarian systems, which was part of the war and the Cold War, and dealing with the specific challenges at home -- principally, civil rights, the women's movement and the growth of environmental movement in America.

So here, we are moving into basically from an industrial society -- an industrial economy to an information economy. And at the same time, moving into an ever more globalized economy, which also is more and more of a global society and that we share common challenges and common

interests that go beyond economics. And the globalization of the media has accelerated that.

So I saw my challenges trying to, first of all, maximize America's presence in the information economy. Second, to try to maximize our influence in the welfare of our country and like-minded people around the world in a globalized society. And then, the other -- and I'll get to your questions. And then the third big thing for me was trying to make people have a broader and deeper vision of the American community and how to handle diversity and how we would finally get a chance to see in ways we never had before what it meant to make one out of many, what our national motto meant.

And I think the -- and you ask me: Well, how can you reconcile those things? It seems to me that the two operational strategies we had to pursue those three great goals were: One, the Third Way political and social philosophy. If you believe in opportunity and responsibility and community, then it's perfectly clear why you would be for affirmative action and a global trading system -- you know, why you would be for health care for everybody and whatever else you said -- what was the other thing?

Q Free trade. No, I said that.

THE PRESIDENT: Welfare reform.

Q Welfare reform.

THE PRESIDENT: Welfare reform, because first of all, work is the best social program. Secondly, it is imperative to have a basic work ethic if you believe in individual responsibility and you believe it gives meaning and direction to life, and I do. But if you do, you also recognize that there is no society -- no society has succeeded in providing access to health care to everybody without some governmental action.

Q But there have been people all along, as you know -- I mean, you and I had this same conversation in 1991. People all along said, this is just an electoral strategy, it isn't a government strategy.

THE PRESIDENT: It was never just an electoral strategy to me.

Q Well, me, neither, as you know. And the question -- I guess my question is, do you feel that you were ever able to really communicate the depth and breadth of this to the public?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but only -- probably only at the State of the Union Addresses, because it's probably the only time I ever got to say it unfiltered. If I made an error in those, even though they always received very high public approval ratings, they said it always took me so much time to explain my specific ideas in education or whatever, I'm not sure I ever took full advantage of the opportunity to lay the coherent philosophy out. Because I do think at those points, that people got it.

But what I was going to tell you, if I could go back -- I think we had the transformation from the industrial economy to the information economy, from the idea of a national society to an idea of a more global society in which nation states matter. I think the nation state will matter more in some ways in the 21st century. We can talk about that some.

And, thirdly, the whole idea of defining America where our diversity was something to be cherished and celebrated because -- because our common humanity and common values were more important. And then, operationally, I think, the two things I think that mattered, I made some -- the whole Third Way political and social philosophy, one, and second is sort of a relentless focus on the future, making people always -- trying to force people to always think about not only what we're doing, how does it affect today, but what's it going to be like five years from now, ten years from now, 20 years from now. And I think that is often -- that hasn't often been the business of the government.

But if you go back to Roosevelt's focus on conservation or Wilson's struggle of -- failed attempt at the League of Nations, I think what made them both great presidents for the transformational period America was in is that they were not only successful in the moment, by and large, but they had this focus on the future; they kept trying to spark the public imagination with the future. And that's, I hope very much, that the announcement of this genome project, although I think it fills people with foreboding as well as hope, will tend to spark future orientation on the part of the voters.

So the issues that are plainly before us, but won't be felt for a few years will have more effect on the debate and also on people's voting rights.

Q But it's a difficult thing. Charlene Barshefsky said to me that there are times that you've really been concerned, that the expression you used was that you hadn't found your voice on trade, which is the equivalent of --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, one of the things -- she, of course, has to deal with it. But the two things in trade that have frustrated me most, although I think we've got a great record -- and you can go from NAFTA to the WTO, to the Africa CBI, to launching the free trade of the Americas to -- China.

Q The reason I raised it was because what just said about the genome reminded me -- I just read your remarks about NAFTA in October '93, and it was very similar, too.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. And then, of course, China, and then in between we had 270-odd agreements, and we had the Mexican financial crisis and the Asian financial crisis. But the thing that bothered me about trade -- the two things that have bothered me about trade, I think, are, one, I have so far not created a consensus within my own party, at least among the elected officials, for the view of trade which I hold; and, two, and I think it's genuine -- that is, I don't think this is just politics.

I think it's how people view the world.

The second thing, and closely related to that, is that -- I went to Geneva twice and I went to Davos once, and then I went out to Seattle to try to make the case that you can't have a global trading system apart from a global social conscience, anyway, where there is a legitimate place for the voices of those who care about the rights of workers, the condition of children in the workplace, the impact of economic development on the environment, both nationally and globally.

I haven't yet, at least, been able to convince people that there is a synthesizing vision here that has to drive not only a global trading system, but these other initiatives as well. And I suppose I shouldn't be surprised, because it's a fairly new debate. And one of the great things that always struck me is, if you look at the people who were demonstrating in Seattle, while I think they were all sincere, that is, they believed in what they were demonstrating against, their sense of solidarity was truly ironic, because they had completely conflicting positions.

Q What?

THE PRESIDENT: I mean, for example, a lot of the labor union people that demonstrated believe that even though -- for example, they think that even though this China deal is a short-term benefit to American industry because China drops their barriers, that they're so big that there will be so much investment there that they will develop a great deal of industrial capacity and that wage levels will be so low that it will cost the developed world, and particularly America because our markets are more open than the Europeans, a lot of our industrial base within a fairly short term, and that's what they really believe. I don't believe that, but that's what they believe.

And then you have the people that are demonstrating on behalf of the Third World, and they believe our concern for labor and the environment is a protectionist ruse to protect American high-wage jobs. But they're all out there in the streets in Seattle demonstrating together, because they're genuinely frustrated about the way the world is going and they kind of don't like this whole globalization thing. They think it's going to lead to further loss of control by ordinary people over the basic circumstances of their lives, and that bothers them.

Q I think that this is -- to kind of put a cap on the first question -- I mean, that's so much at the heart of what you've been trying to overcome. I was talked to Zoe Baird, who said that she always remembers the statistics that you used I think in around '95 that more jobs had been created by companies owned by women than had been lost by Fortune 500 companies. You always tried to make the future less frightened for folks.

And yet, I'm not sure you're convinced that you made the case.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think I made the case to the people that were open to it, but I believe that -- I think that it's hard -- everybody's for change in general, but normally against it in particular.

You know, what's that Dick Riley used to say? Let's all change, you go first. (Laughter.) That's his sort of formulation of it. It shouldn't be surprising, but I still believe, first of all, I think that what I said to the American people is true and right. Secondly, I don't think there is any alternative to change. So I think the real question is, how do you bring your -- basically, values that don't change, how do you translate them into specific approaches and policies that have the greatest chance of enhancing those values in the world you're going to live in. That's the way I look at this.

And I think that for the United States to have essentially turned away from this world, I think, would have been a terrible mistake. And in fact, I think the only mistake we've made in this whole thing is not accelerating the integration of the free trade area of the Americas more -- more rapid.

Q Let me ask you some specific questions. Let's take a walk; start in '93. The First Lady said to me the other day that she believed that deficit reduction was a predicate for doing all the rest of the stuff.

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

Q She compared it to education in Arkansas when you were reelected.

THE PRESIDENT: The '93 Economic Plan made all the rest of this possible.

Q There were a fair number of people on your staff that were saying -- you know, it would throw the economy into recession, and you were dealing -- it was a theory at that point that if you lowered the deficit, interest rates would come down and you would achieve the kind of growth that you have achieved. I mean, what made you think that --

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, let me back up a little bit. The people on the staff who favored somewhat -- there was nobody on my staff that was against vigorous deficit reduction. There were some who were afraid that to make the decisions we would have to make to get the \$500 billion, which is what Lloyd Bentsen and Bob Rubin felt was sort of the magic psychological threshold we had to cross to get the bond markets and the stock market to respond in an appropriate way, they were afraid that if we did that, we would have to shelve too much of our progressive commitments in the campaign.

Now, what finally happened was, we came up with a plan that raised income taxes only on the top 1.2 percent of the people, which I had, after all, promised to do in the '92 campaign. It wasn't like I didn't tell upper-income people who supported me I wouldn't try to raise their taxes. But we had to raise them at the very end. Bentsen came in with a plan that essentially lifted the income cap off the Medicare taxes, which closed the gap. And we stuck with the gas tax, which Charlie Stenholm and some of our conservatives who were big deficit hawks were worried about, because they were afraid it would make our guys vulnerable, and I think it

did -- it was the only thing that average people had to pay, except that there were, I think, 13 percent of the Social Security recipients paid more because we began to tax Social Security income more like regular pension income.

But it was the Republicans who believed that tax increases by definition were recessionary, and that -- so they unanimously opposed the plan. You asked me what convinced me. What convinced me finally was that I believe fundamentally, unless we got interest rates down and investment flowing, that we would never be able to see a decline in unemployment and growth in new businesses, particularly in this high-tech sector, which depended on vast flows of venture capital, confidence capital, if you will, that it seemed to me was just out there bursting, waiting to happen.

I think -- and maybe it was my experience as a governor that informed all this -- but I really did believe there was this huge, vast, pent-up potential in the American economy that had been artificially repressed ever since the deficit spending recovery at the end of President Reagan's first term. Basically, what happened at the end of the first Reagan term is, interest rates weren't too high because we had such a terrible recession and so much inflation and such high interest rates at the end of President Carter's term, so when the interest rates came down, then inflation -- naturally inflation around the world came down.

Those huge deficits brought us back a little bit. But the long-term potential of the American economy, I was convinced, could never be unleashed until we got rid of the deficit. So finally, I just decided that if I didn't get the economy going, nothing else would matter in the end, and I believe that the pent-up potential of the American economy was so great, that if we did get the interest rates down and we did get investment up, everything else would fall into place. And I thought that I ought to listen to Bentsen and Rubin because they knew a lot more about it than I did.

Q But you didn't listen to Bentsen on the EITC. That was one place where you absolutely didn't bend at all.

THE PRESIDENT: No, but we had promised that, and I believed in it. I thought -- and again, I'm confident that not only what I saw in the campaign, but my experience as governor of a state that was always in the bottom two or three in per capita income, had an impact on this. But I just believe that we had to use the tax system to dignify the work of low-wage workers, and to make it possible for them to raise their children more successfully. I didn't think I could go out there and argue for a tough welfare reform bill and a tough deficit reduction package, and say I was going to have to slow down my increases in education spending and some other -- social spending, housing and all these other things that I would otherwise like to do -- if we weren't prepared to give lower-income working people more income.

I also thought it was good economics, because they were going to spend it, they needed to spend it.

Q Did you ever think that -- was there any way that you

could have gotten Republicans to go along with this?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know, and I'll tell you why. In retrospect, maybe there were some things I could have done.

Q What if you had invited Dole and Michel to that dinner in Little Rock?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Or invited them down even on their own, it might have worked. The real problem I see with it -- in retrospect, the reason I say I don't know, first of all I wish I had done that, because later on I started bending over backwards. I had Gingrich in and Armey in and I met with them exhaustively, and I tried. Often, it didn't work, but we did get some things done from time to time.

I think they had made a decision to oppose all tax increases because of the Gingrich position vis-a-vis President Bush. And he was pretty well in the ideological saddle, the political saddle in the House then. And I think because Senator Dole obviously hoped to run for president in '96, I think the Republicans in the Senate were going to be reluctant to break ranks once it was obvious that the House Republicans were going to oppose any kind of deficit reduction package that had any tax increases in it.

And I didn't believe -- if we hadn't gone for some upper income tax increases, then number one, we would have had to adopt cuts that the Democratic Majority in the House would not have supported, even under me, and number two, we could not have kept our commitments on the earned income tax credits on education, where we did have a substantial increase, or on the empowerment zones or a lot of the other things I did that I believed in.

Q Did the atmosphere surprise you -- the vitriol, the difficulty?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, it did. I think basically -- but I now know things I didn't know then.

Q What do you know now?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they really believed -- first, I know now something I didn't know, which is that some of the people on the Republican side -- actually, I did know this, but I didn't believe it when I got a call from the White House early -- before I decided to run in the summer of 1990 -- from a guy I knew who worked there who was saying, you know, you shouldn't run. Bush was at like 80 percent then or something; I couldn't believe -- so I had this serious talk with him about how President Bush had used his popularity to try to deal with the economy.

And after about five minutes, the guy said, now, let's just cut the crap. We've looked at this crowd and we can beat them all. All the guys in Congress have votes; we can beat them all. And we think Governor Cuomo's too liberal, but you're different. You might beat us, and so if you run we're going to take you out early.

Then, I realized that they somehow thought it was serious. Then, after I got up here and started dealing with them, what I realized is that they had been in for 12 years, but they basically had been in since President Nixon won, except for the Carter interregnum, which they thought was purely a function of Watergate, and therefore they saw it as an historical accident that they had quickly corrected, and that's the way they saw it. I actually think Jimmy Carter and before him Bobby Kennedy were the precursors of the sort of New Democrat, Third Way stuff I've tried to do here. And I think, therefore, it's not fair -- but that, exactly to diminish -- but that's the way they viewed it, anyway.

So I think they believed that there would never be another Democratic president; I really think a lot of them thought they could hold the White House forever until a third party came along to basically offer a competing vision. And so, they just never saw me as a legitimate person; they just thought I was, in President Bush's words, "the governor of a small southern state." And as I often crack on the trail, I was so naive that I actually thought that was a compliment. (Laughter.) And I still do.

So anyway, it did surprise me. I mean, I knew it was there, and I'd seen the Democrats do things -- in my view, I guess I've got a warped view, but I never thought it was nearly as bad as what they did to me. But from time to time, the Democrats did things I didn't approve of. I didn't like the nature of their arguments against John Tower or the fact that somebody checked out the movies that Bob Bork -- and I knew there was some of this up here.

But I never thought I would see it in the kind of systematic way that I saw it unfold. But when I got to know Newt Gingrich and actually had a lot of candid conversations with him, I realized that that's just the way they thought politics worked.

Q War without blood.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that's what they thought.

Q That's what Newt called it.

THE PRESIDENT: I had a fascinating conversation with one Republican Senator in the middle of the D'Amato hearings when they were impugning Hillary. And I asked this guy who was pretty candid, I said, do you really think that my wife or I did anything wrong in this Whitewater thing? Not illegal, even wrong? And he just started laughing. He said, oh, you've got to be kidding, he said any fool who misread the record would know you didn't do anything wrong. He said, how could you do anything wrong? You didn't borrow any money from the S&L which failed; it was a very small S&L failure. And you lost \$40,000 or whatever you lost on the real estate deal. He said, of course, you didn't do anything wrong. He said, that's not the point of this; the point of this is to make people think you did something wrong.

But, so, it was funny. Yes, I was surprised by their vitriol, and

yes, I was surprised, and I must say I was surprised that they believed -- and they had an electoral -- and they turned out to be right, but I made a mistake or two that helped them. They believed that they could win the Congress if they could just say no to everything. And they did. And I think it rested on basically three things. One is, we did the economy, the budget plan, which we had to do. And we had to expect some loss of midterm seats. And some of those seats we had for a long, long time were naturally Republican seats, anyway. So that was the first thing.

The second thing is, but the people hadn't felt the benefits of it. Then the second thing we did that cost us some seats, but I am absolutely convinced is the right thing to do, was the Brady Bill and the Crime Bill, which had the assault weapons ban. But there again, we got that done in 1994; had it happened in '93, I think it would not have hurt us so bad. But in '94, there wasn't enough time between the time that bill passed and the time people voted to convince the world people that voted against our congressmen on the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban, that there wasn't anything going to happen to them and their hunting and sport shooting and all that.

By '96, the issue was working for us, because I could go to places like New Hampshire and say I want everybody that missed a day in the deer woods to vote against me; but if you didn't, they didn't tell you the truth and you ought to get even. That's what I said. And our winning margin in New Hampshire went from one point to 13 points or something.

But in '94, my party's members bore the brunt of that. Then the third problem we had, and this is where I think you were right, is I was trying so hard to keep all of my campaign commitments and the way I made them, I should have done welfare reform before health care; you were right about that.

Q I don't know that I took that position. In fact --

THE PRESIDENT: I thought you were saying that.

Q Well, I might have said it, but --

THE PRESIDENT: And it was right.

Q I'll tell you where I was wrong, is that when it came to doing welfare reform, I chickened out, and I wrote a column the week you signed it telling you not to sign it. I talked to Elwood last week, and he's turned around on it as well; we were both wrong.

THE PRESIDENT: But the reason is, I think, if you go back, there's one thing that nobody in the press has picked up and we ought to talk about this later -- is why I vetoed the first two bills and signed the third one -- we'll come back to that.

But if I hadn't done welfare reform first, that would have given the Democrats a chance to appeal to more conservative and moderate voters, and the system -- one thing I've learned is, since I've been there, is actually the system is capable of great change, but it can only digest so

much at once. So in '93, they did a big economic plan and NAFTA, and in '94 they did this big crime bill. And they might have been able to do welfare reform, but there's no way the system could digest the health care thing. Either that, or if we were going to do health care first, then the mistake I made was saying I would veto anything short of 100 percent coverage, because --

Q Why did you say that?

THE PRESIDENT: -- it was one of those decisions we made practicing for the State of the Union and I just shouldn't have done it. It was a mistake. I was trying to bring clarity to the debate, and I was afraid that they would try to run something bogus by.

Q You're saying that you think there is no way you could have gotten a health insurance deal in '94?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q You don't think so?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q What about --

THE PRESIDENT: Let me tell you what happened.

Q What if you had gone and just dumped your bill and gone over to Chafee's press conference and said "I'm with him"?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, maybe, but --

Q He had universality. He had a tax increase to pay for it, and he had Bob Dole.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, he sort of did, but let me tell you what happened. What happened was, I offered and Hillary offered not to submit a bill. We offered to do two different things. We offered to submit sort of a generic bill and let Congress fill in the blanks, and Rostenkowski asked us -- this is a little more detail, but -- then we offered not to submit our own bill at all, but instead to submit a joint bill with Dole, which I thought was good politics for him, because then he couldn't lose anything --

Q What was the time frame for this? When did you make that --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, before we introduced a bill. I can't remember exactly when --

Q So this is while the task force was --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, before we introduced the bill. And Dole said to me -- I'll never forget this, because we were at a leadership meeting

in the Cabinet Room and he said, no, he said that's not the way we should do it. He said, you introduce a bill, we'll introduce a bill, then we'll get together, we'll put them together, we'll compromise and pass them.

Then after that, Dole got the memo from Bill Kristol, I think, which said -- which basically took the Gingrich line. The way you guys are going to win in the Congress and weaken them is to have nothing happen. If anything happens, the Democrats will get credit for it, so you guys have to make sure nothing happens. After that, I don't think we really had a chance. Because Mitchell killed himself to try to figure out a way to get to Chafee, do something and -- maybe if I had gone to Chafee's press conference, maybe that would have worked.

Q Or if the First Lady had.

THE PRESIDENT: You know, I hadn't thought of that, but all I can tell you is that I really believed because Dole -- with that single exception, all my other dealings with Dole, whatever he said, was the way we did it. In other words, not the way we did it, but I mean, if I made a deal with him, it always was honest.

Q He was as good as his word.

THE PRESIDENT: Exactly. And in this case, I just think, you know, he saw a chance to win the majority, saw a chance to get elected president, Bill Kristol told them don't do it; they didn't do it. And that's what I think happened.

Q But this is the thing that people on the left point to, that would have been your big achievement, the big, new deal kind of achievement. And when you look back on it, do you regret the substance of what you did? Do you think that going with an employer mandate was the wrong thing? And also, do you regret the detail in which you did it, the fact that you did the 1,300 pages and --

THE PRESIDENT: I think politically it was bad politics. On the substance, I think basically it was a privately-financed plan that relied on managed care, but had a patients' bill of rights in it. And I think the two things that made it unpalatable to Republicans were the employer mandate and the patients bill of rights. I think the thing that made it unpalatable to Democrats, a few of them, was the employer mandate.

But if you're not going to have an employer mandate, then you have to have a subsidy where people buy into either Medicare or Medicaid. And probably, that would have been simpler.

Q That's what you're going to have eventually.

THE PRESIDENT: That's what you're going to have eventually. And if I could do it now, that's what I would offer. But the problem is, I couldn't do it in '94 with the deficits the way they were without a tax increase. And I didn't feel that I could ask the Congress to vote for another tax increase even if it was a dedicated thing after we had just had that big one in '93.

Q Plus the reporting was way out of whack at that point, because you weren't getting credit for the savings, the managed care --

THE PRESIDENT: We were getting killed by the scoring. The scoring was all wrong, and we knew it was wrong. But I was stuck with the scoring. So if you look at it, the position I was in is, I was stuck with the scoring, I didn't want to ask for another tax increase; I didn't think that was right. So I had to try stay with the private insurance system. And I would have thought that the insurers would actually have liked that, because they were going to get a lot more customers.

But basically, they didn't like it because we couldn't just let them have all those mandated customers and have no patients' bill of rights and no restrictions on managed care, so they then developed this whole argument that it's a Rube Goldberg machine, it's a government takeover of health care and all this stuff, and that sort of stuck because they had all that money to put behind it.

But the truth is, in defense of what we offered, if you go back and look at all the early soundings from all the experts when we first laid it out there, everybody said this is a moderate plan, this is not too far left, they've tried to keep their private insurance system, they've certainly left the private health care delivery system intact, because nobody said it was some big government takeover until all the people spent whatever they spent, \$100 million, \$200 million, whatever they spent in their later to try to perform reverse plastic surgery on it.

But I think that in the context you ask the questions, to go back, I think that the combined impact of the economic plan with people not fully feeling the benefits in '94, the gun deal where people had their fears fully allayed, and the health care thing where the people that wanted it didn't get it and the people that didn't like it knew what they didn't like about it. That tended to depress the Democratic voters, and the three things together produced -- plus the fact that the Republicans had this Contract on America, and people didn't really know what it was, they just knew they had a plan, gave them the big win they got.

Q Just to stay with health insurance for a minute, do you regret structurally the way you went about doing it? If you had to do it all over again, would you give it to the First Lady? Was that a mistake?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think it was a mistake to give it to her; I think the mistake I made was, I either should have insisted on having her say, okay, here's all of our work, look at it. Here are the basic principles we want, you guys draft the bill. Or, I would have insisted that we had a joint bill. If we were going to draft the bill, I would have made the Republicans draft it with me. That was the mistake I made.

Neither one of those things was her doing. She gets a total bum rap on this. The plan she came up with, which was, she was told, we ain't going to have a tax increase, right, and therefore it's not going to be a total government program, but you have to try to get 100 percent coverage, so there was no other way to do it except with an employer mandate. And

she was also told that managed care is going to happen and we favor it, which she did favor it, but we've got to have some protections in there for people.

I don't know how many doctors I've had come up to me since then, tell me that we were right and that basically it was a good plan. So in a way, I think she really got a bum rap on that deal because she was operating within constraints that were -- we now know impossible. What I should have done is to let her do all the work, publish all the findings, say here are our principles, you guys write the bill.

Or, I should have said, if you want me to do a bill, I will only do it if we have a bipartisan agreement on the bill. That would have produced something less than 100 percent of coverage, but at least it would have produced something that would have passed and gotten us up to 90 or maybe above 90 percent. That was the mistake I made.

But it was my mistake, not hers. She, I think, has gotten a totally bum rap on this deal. All she did was what she was asked to do.

Q I asked Ira about it, and he pointed to his e-commerce protocols, and he said, what I did was, I decided to do everything the exact opposite of what we did with health insurance, and it worked.

THE PRESIDENT: But the interesting thing there was, it worked because number one, we didn't have to pass a big bill because of the Telecommunications Act, which was a great success, which we ought to talk about later, was a big part of the economic program, was operating on a parallel track. And all we had to do there was to basically invite them to help us make government policy that would maximize economic growth. It was a much simpler problem.

There was absolutely no way to get to 100 percent of coverage, to have universal health coverage -- unless you had an employer mandate or the government filled in the difference. If we were doing it today, we could do it. And the next administration could do it, because now we have the money to do it; but then, we didn't.

Q You're going to come down closer to get what you want in reconciliation if you move the CHIPS program to cover the parents, and only --

THE PRESIDENT: The CHIPS program -- the parents, and you let people between 55 and 65 buy into Medicare, then the only people that won't be able to get health insurance are young, single people who think they'll live forever and just don't want to do it, or very wealthy people who just would rather go ahead and just pay their doctor.

Q The reason why I was always for universal was because I thought those people had a moral responsibility to pay in to help the risk pools.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know if I can get this CHIPS thing, but if I can, it will make a huge difference.

Q I don't want to stick on the bad stuff in the first term too long, but -- things -- in retrospect, things seemed pretty much a mess in the White House for the first couple of years. And there were times -- several people have said to me that you came to them at various times and said, look, I'm in the wrong position; I'm to the left of where I should be, or things just don't feel right or things are out of control. And I guess two or three questions you could answer in a bunch.

How did that happen? I mean, how do you come out of the box doing gays in the military, for example, which I assume -- well, you believe in the policy -- it probably wasn't the best thing to come out of the box with -- why did you surround yourself with -- why were there so few --

(end of tape one, beginning of tape two -- no overlap)

Q At what point did you get a White House that you were really happy with the way it was working?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I think that in retrospect, I think if you compare the functioning of our White House, for example, with the Reagan White House in the first term, I think ours looks pretty good. And I think that the problems we had were fundamentally -- most of the mistakes we made were political, not substantive.

I mean, Bruce Reed was there, Sperling was there, McLarty was there, and Rubin was there. So I don't think -- I don't think it's fair to say -- and Laura Tyson agreed with us -- I don't think we had a bad -- I think we did have people who were philosophically and substantively and on policy terms, consistent with our New Democrat philosophy. And I think that budget from the empowerment zones to the charter schools we got in the beginning, to the Goals 2000 program to what we did on the student loan program, which was terrific -- it saved \$8 billion in student loan costs for kids -- to the overall economic plan, I think it was consistent.

I think the economic plan was consistent -- I mean the crime bill was completely New Democrat. I think family leave and the Brady Bill were. A lot of the most important things that were done that made possible all the stuff we've done in the last four years --

Q You left out NAFTA and reinventing government.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we had NAFTA and we did RIGOB and we did the WTO -- all that in the first two years.

Q But even given all that --

THE PRESIDENT: But what was wrong was that the political image was different from the reality. The substantive reality I think was quite good. I've heard Bob Rubin defend the White House repeatedly and talk about how the things that worked well later, especially the sense of comradery and team work and joint decision-making, were all put in place

in that first year and a half.

But let's just go through the problems, and you'll see. Part of it was I think none of us were sensitive to the way -- sufficiently sensitive to the way Washington works and to the way little things would look big to other people. Now, let's just start with the gays in the military. How did that happen? It is not true that we brought it up first.

Q Andrea Mitchell brought it up in a press conference on November 11th.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but why? What happened? Dole introduced legislation -- Dole deserves credit for this. The Republicans should give Dole credit for this. They always say he was too moderate and all that -- they should give Dole credit for this. And I give him credit for it. I've thought a lot of times about how I could have out-maneuvered him on it. But I had two things going -- and the Joint Chiefs obviously agreed with him, which helped.

But what put this on the front burner early? Not me, it wasn't my decision. Dole introduced a bill in Congress which was going to fly through there, because Nunn agreed with him, to keep the present policy. That was like the first thing he did. And then the Joint Chiefs demanded a meeting with me. The President can't refuse to meet with the Joint Chiefs. So it was those two things that put this thing front and center. I did not want this --

Q The bill came in after you said -- after Andrea Mitchell asked the question and you responded the way you did. I always thought that was because she needed a vacation and hadn't taken it.

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, it was because -- but he was going to put that in anyway. We knew what he was doing. So what happened was between the Joint Chiefs and the Dole bill, we were forced to put it up. I was going -- what I intended to do was to get all the stuff, my basic stuff organized, lead with that, and figure out how to handle the gays in the military. And they basically forced me to deal with it from the beginning.

And then the thing that -- then I got a lot of heat, obviously, from the gay community for what I did. But everybody ignores what precipitated "don't ask, don't tell," which was a vote in the Senate essentially on the Dole position that passed 68-32, i.e. by a veto-proof margin. There was no vote in the House.

In retrospect, given the way Washington works, what I probably should have done is issued a clean executive order, let them overturn it and basically let them live with the consequences of it. And I might have actually gotten a better result in the end, more like the one I wanted.

But when General Powell came to see me about the "don't ask, don't tell" policy, the commitments that were made were very different from the way that it worked out in practice later on. And so there was no question

in my mind, given the way they laid out what their policy was going to be, that gay servicepeople would be better off under the new policy than they were under the old one. It didn't work out that way, but the commitments that I got and the descriptions that I gave when I announced it at the War College, there's no question that if that had been followed through, the gays in the military would have been better off than they were under the old policy.

And the thing that I didn't understand about the way things play out in public, because I really was inexperienced in the way Washington worked when I got there, is that sometimes you just need clarity. And even if you lose, it's better to lose with clarity than ambiguity. And what had not sunk in on I think even the press writing about this was that once the Senate voted 68-32, the jig was up, it was over, because everybody knew there were more than 300 votes in the House against the policy. So we had a veto-proof majority in both Houses in favor of legislating the present policy unless I could find some way to go forward. So that's what I tried to do.

But the reason it came up first was essentially because the Joint Chiefs and Dole were determined --

Q So it wasn't the Andrea Mitchell question on November 11th?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q It was up --

THE PRESIDENT: Because I had lots of options there. I mean, Harry Truman basically -- if you go back and look at what he did with integration of the military, he basically signed an order that said, integrate; come back within three years and tell me how you did it.

Q You could have signed an executive order.

THE PRESIDENT: I could have done that. And like I said, in retrospect, we would have had greater clarity. And since there had been so many problems with implementing the policy, I'm not sure that for the past six years it would have been better. Now I think Secretary Cohen has really taken hold of this thing and there have been some changes in the last six months that I think really will make the future better than the previous policy was.

Q But to go back to the original question, I have a strong sense that during that first year, year and a half, you weren't satisfied with the way the White House was working --

THE PRESIDENT: No, because I thought we were often -- first of all, we had to do some stuff that was tough, that was going to get us out of position. Our foreign policy team I think was working very well, and except for it took us too long to build an international consensus in Bosnia, but we eventually did it and did the right thing there. We were doing well in the Middle East. We took a big, bold step away from the

traditional American position to get involved in the Irish peace process. And on balance, I was pleased with that.

And actually, a lot of people have forgotten this, but when I came back from Jordan from the signing of the peace agreement in the Wadi Araba in Jordan in late '94, right before the election, we were still in reasonably good shape because my numbers went back up and that helped the Democrats.

But I still believe that the underlying problems were the reasons for the election results. But the political problems of gays in the military hurt. I think that we had a lot of -- I was more frustrated by operational things, like leaks on Supreme Court appointments that weren't even accurate, and I thought that the White House was not operating politically in a way that I thought was effective.

I thought, policy-wise, we weren't out of position on anything except the retrospective on health care. And I've already said what I thought the political mistake was there, about how I should have handled it, given the fact --

Q If you had to do it over again, you would have done welfare reform in '94 and the crime bill?

THE PRESIDENT: If I had to do it over again, I would have tried to do the welfare reform and the crime bill in '94, together, and started a bipartisan process on health care. I would have had Hillary up and meeting, issue the report with basic principles -- that whole 600-page, however long it was, the stuff we did -- I would have given it all to the Congress and said, either you write a bill or we write a bill together.

Q Let me give you another, I think a tough "if you had to do it all over again." When I look back on this period, you were rolling at the end of '93. You did NAFTA, you gave the speech in Memphis. I mean, even I was writing positive stuff about you at that point. And then came the wave of stupid scandal stories -- the Troopergate story, the Whitewater stuff. That December, the Washington Post asked for all the documents. And there was a meeting that you had, maybe the only time in recorded history that George and David Gergen agreed and said you should turn over all the data, everything.

And you didn't do it. Do you regret that? Do you think that that changed things?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe, given the subsequent coverage of the Whitewater thing, it would have made any difference. What I regret is asking for the special counsel, because under the law that existed before and the law that existed after, under neither law could a special counsel be called. They had one --

Q Why did you do it? I was there the night you did it. You were in Ukraine -- Kiev.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I did it because I was exhausted, because I

just buried my mother and I had poor judgment. And I had people in the White House who couldn't stand the heat of the bad stories and they suggested that I do it, and that I'd have to do it. And I knew that there was nothing there. I knew it was just one guy lying. And I had Bernie Nussbaum and Bruce and a few other people screaming at me not to do it. They said, you don't understand.

I knew that Janet Reno would appoint a Republican, even though all other Presidents had been investigated by people who had basically supported them. Lawrence Walsh supported Reagan; Sirica -- no, what's his name?

Q Sirica.

THE PRESIDENT: No, Sirica was the judge. Jaworski (sp) supported Nixon. I knew Reno wouldn't do that. I knew Reno would appoint a Republican, but I knew that there was nothing there. I knew she'd appoint an honest, professional prosecutor. So I just did it. But it was wrong. Because the decision to appoint a special counsel is a decision to bankrupt anybody who's not rich. I mean, by definition, there's a penalty associated with it. But if Fiske had been allowed to do his job, this whole thing would have been over in '95 or '96, and, of course, that's why he was replaced, because he was going to do his job.

Q Just staying on this for a minute --

THE PRESIDENT: But do I think so? No, because I think -- I mean, I don't want to get into this. I shouldn't talk about this much until I'm out of office. But I believe that the desire, the almost hysterical desire to have something to investigate was so great that it wouldn't have made any difference.

Because, look, what did this thing hang on? There was nothing in those private papers that we -- we gave it all to the Justice Department -- there was nothing in there that did anything other than support what the report said, which was that we lost money on a real estate investment. And if you noticed, when Starr got a hold of this, he immediately abandoned that and just went on to other stuff. There was never anything to it.

And I do not believe -- I have no reason to believe, given the coverage of the events of Whitewater, that it would have made any difference. I think they would have found some way to say, oh, there are questions here, let's have a special counsel. But do I wish I had done it? I mean, I don't know.

Q Last week you talked about the clanging tea kettle, and you know I've written this continuum -- I've wrote that this era is going to be remembered more for the severity -- for the ferocity of its prosecutions than for the severity of the crimes. And there's never been anything proven. And yet, the hatred and the vitriol has been relentless.

What do you think it is about you? Do you think it's you? Do you think it's us, our generation? And what about the Steve Skeronick (sp)

theory, the Yale professor who talked about third way Presidents like you, like Wilson, substantively like Nixon, people who take the best of the opposition's agenda, sand off the rough edges, implement it, and are therefore, distrusted by their own party and hated by the opposition?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that that -- I read his book and it's a very good book. But I think, in this case that's not accurate, for the following reasons. Number one, if you go back to '93 and '94, the Democrats in Congress supported me more strongly than they had supported -- a higher percentage of Democrats voted for my programs than voted for Kennedy, Johnson or Carter. It was that the Republican opposition was more unanimous.

Number two, the Republicans never owned crime and welfare. They owned them rhetorically, but they didn't do much about it. And at least in the tradition that I came out of as a governor, we thought we were supposed to act on crime and welfare. Nobody -- when you check into the morgue, they don't ask for your party registration. And I never knew that anybody had a vested interest in poor people being out of work.

And so I just never accepted that. And I found that there were a lot of Democrats in the Congress that were eager to deal with those issues. And if you look at it, we had -- I don't know -- more than two-thirds of the Democrats in the House and more than 75 percent of the Democrats in the Senate voted for welfare reform. And we had a higher percentage of Democrats than Republicans in the Senate voting for it, and slightly higher percentage of Republicans than Democrats voting for it in the House, but not huge.

So I think that maybe transformational figures generally inspire that, because most times people like to deal with folks they can put in a box. Maybe it's just -- maybe it's something about me that made them mad. You know my favorite joke about the guy that's walking along the edge of Grand Canyon and falls off -- so this guy is hurdling down hundreds of feet to certain death, and he looks out and he grabs this twig and it breaks his fall. He heaves a sigh of relief. Then all of a sudden he sees the roots coming loose. He looks up in the sky and says, "God, why me? I'm a good person. I've taken care of my family, I've paid my taxes, I've worked all my life. Why me?" And this thunderous voice says, "Son, there's just something about you I don't like." (Laughter.)

I don't know. I don't think --

Q The folks like you. They never cared about this stuff.

THE PRESIDENT: But I believe the Republicans thought -- I told you -- I think that they thought --

Q It wasn't just them, it was us, too.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. The press I think -- I wasn't part of the Washington establishment, and I think that the press didn't know what to make of me. I think this travel office deal, it was largely a press deal. I mean, I didn't know that they thought they owned the travel

office. It was a weird deal. And, of course, all I ever heard was one guy in the press who happened to be the head of the White House Correspondents at the time said, I wish you'd have somebody look into this because the costs are going up and it's not working well. I didn't realize that everybody else didn't care what happened. It was a strange thing.

But I think that -- all I can tell you is that the same guy that told me -- the same senator that told me that it was about making people think I'd done something wrong in Whitewater also said that the Republicans had learned a lot from my presidency. He said, before that they thought there was a liberal press, and he said, now we have a different view, we think that they are liberal and that they vote like you, but they think like us and that's more important.

And I said, what do you mean? And he said, well, we just don't believe in government very much, but we love power. And he says, you know, the press wants to be powerful and we both get it the same way, by hurting you. There could be something to that.

But I'm sure -- maybe there were times when I didn't handle it all that well in the early going. But all I can tell you is, if you look back over it, the Whitewater thing was a total fraud. Now, I've got a friend named Brandy Ayres who is the editor of a little newspaper in Addison, Alabama -- do you know who he is?

Q I've met him, yes.

THE PRESIDENT: He wrote an editorial that said, this is what always happens when Republicans get in the majority. They did it when they got in the majority after World War II, they tried to convince us Harry Truman and Dean Acheson were communists. And then the second time, they gave us McCarthy and now they gave us this.

I don't know. I think part of it is how you view power. But for whatever reason, there is something about me that they didn't like very much. But it all worked out all right. Like I said, I'm sure that my not being familiar with Washington mores may have had something to do with the way I didn't handle the press right. Maybe I didn't --

Q Yes, you know -- I mean, I've said this in print, so I can say it to your face -- you're the most talented politician I've ever come across. And you're not a slow study. That's the other thing we know about you.

THE PRESIDENT: But I think in the beginning, for the first two years I thought I was pushing a lot of rocks up the hill. I was obsessed.

Thomas Patterson, who has written books about the presidency and the media and all that, he said in '95 that I'd already kept a higher percentage of my campaign promises than the previous five Presidents, which I felt really good about. We had just lost the Congress, I needed something to feel good about.

But I do believe in '95 I was -- and '93 and '94, I was just fixated on trying to get as much done as quickly as I could, and also on trying to learn the job, get the White House functioning, all that kind of stuff. And I think that I did not spend enough time probably at least working with the media, letting them ask me questions, at least trying to get the whole -- letting them get something in perspective. And I think maybe I was just the last gasp of 25 years of scandal mania. We may be swinging the other way on the pendulum now.

Q I think after '98 maybe we've learned -- I think we're doing a little bit better this year. You might see that in a different way.

Let's talk about '95 for a second. To my mind, the period of this presidency that is most touching to me, I think, are the weeks after -- well, the two days, April 18, 1995 --

THE PRESIDENT: Oklahoma City?

Q No, the press conference the night before Oklahoma City when you said the President is still relevant here. I thought, oh, my God, that must be the rock bottom for him.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, actually, it wasn't -- I didn't have the same reaction to it than maybe -- you know, we often don't perceive ourselves as others see us. But that question, I learned something from that, which is, if someone asks you a question that you want to answer directly, but there's a word in it that's dynamite, you should answer it without using the word. Because actually, what I was doing in April of '95 in my own mind was prefiguring the fight which occurred at the end of '95 and the end of '96.

That is, I honestly didn't feel pathetic or irrelevant or anything. I knew that in the end, if a veto-proof minority of my party would stay with me, after the terrible licking they'd taken in '94, if they would stay with me, I believed in the end we'd have our chance to make our case to the American people. In other words, I believed it would turn out the way it did turn out at the end of '95 and the beginning of '96.

So, actually, to me, it wasn't the worst point of the presidency. When they asked me that question, a light went on in my head. I actually felt good about it. But because I used the word, it came out -- people perceived it differently than I did. I didn't feel that about it.

Q But then, a week later, you said -- at Michigan State, you said, you can't love your country and despise its government. And that's when a light went off in my mind, he's figured out how he's going to go up against these folks.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that's what I believed. I think the Oklahoma City thing was awful, it was awful. But I think it began a kind of reassessment, a kind of breaking of the ice. And I don't mean that -- God

knows --

Q Someone told me that you said, you told them that you wouldn't use the word "bureaucrat" again in a speech after that.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I did. It affected even me. I realized that I had played on the resentments people feel about government, and I thought that when government did something stupid or indefensible, they ought to be taken on. But I realized that even when you do that, you have to be careful what word you use. And I did say that. I said, how many times have I used the word "bureaucrat," and there are people there. And I didn't mean to say that I or even Newt Gingrich was responsible for Timothy McVeigh. I don't want to get -- that's what he did. Are the liberals responsible for Susan Smith -- the one throwing her kid out the window? I didn't want to get into that. But Oklahoma City had a profound impact on me, too.

I went down there and I was sitting there with the relatives, and one of the people that was killed had been in my inaugural and I was talking to his kinfolk. And I said, you know -- I just made up my mind I would try never again to discuss the government, even people's frustrations with it, in a way that could be directed against categories of people. It really had a big impact on me. And I think it did on the country.

Q Would it be fair to say that by the time you gave that speech at Michigan State, you were ready for battle?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes.

Q Now, this is a really interesting part of your presidency to me. You had at that point a brilliant strategy in place to screw them. It was, smoke them out. You could have just sat there and said, well, what's your plan? You could have done to them what they did to you in '94. And yet, you insisted, ultimately, against, from what I can gather, your entire staff, including people like Bob Rubin, you insisted on coming out with your own budget, your own balanced budget that June. Why did you do that? I mean you didn't have to politically, right?

THE PRESIDENT: No, probably not. In other words, I could have done to them what they did to me. And that was the argument, that we'd just say no to them like they just said no to us. But governing is important to me. And I thought that in the end we would all be judged by how we had performed, and by whether we had performed. And this may sound naive, but I believed that in the end we could change the politics of Washington.

See, one of the reasons I ran for President is I didn't just want to prove that I could play the game they'd all been playing with each other -- "I got an idea, you got an idea, let's fight and maybe we can both get our 15 seconds on the evening news." That's basically the operative mode. I didn't want to do that. I came here to do things. I wanted to be President to do things, to change the country, to be relevant. And I thought that the Democrats -- I didn't think the

Republicans would take us up on it initially, because Gingrich had basically made it clear that he wanted to basically be prime minister of the country and turn me into a ceremonial and foreign policy President. We'd have the French system, in effect.

Q Not only that, he told me on the phone one night he was personally going to lead a Wesleyan revolution that year.

THE PRESIDENT: So that's basically what he wanted to do. But I just felt that the Democrats could not sacrifice -- what I was trying to do was to build the Democrats as a party of fiscal responsibility. I wanted to prove that you could be socially progressive and fiscally responsible. And for us -- and I went out there saying, look, our credo is opportunity, responsibility, community. I just didn't see that I could stand there and say, what do you expect of me, I'm just the President, they're in the majority. That's just not my way. I believe that you have to do things if you can. And my own view of politics is that there's always plenty that the parties are honestly divided about at election time, no matter how much you get done.

Furthermore, I really did believe that the Democrat Party, in the end, would be successful by developing what is now known as the Third Way, but which I really saw as basically an information age version of what we'd always been for.

Q What was your fantasy for a second term? If you'd had everything you wanted the day after you were reelected, what would it have been?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the validation of the economic strategy has been a part of it. I would have finished the job in health care and enacted my entire education budget. And the rest of it is still sort of pending. The Irish peace process worked out the way I'd hoped. I'm still hoping that we'll get more done in the Middle East. It's very difficult, but I'm hoping we will. And then, on the foreign policy front, it's going to pretty much work out the way I'd hoped it would I think.

Q When I look back at your speeches, if there were a couple of paragraphs where you best describe your political philosophy, the Third Way, they were in the 1998 State of the Union address, and nobody paid any attention. And you know why?

THE PRESIDENT: Because I was standing -- what I got credit for there was just getting up, standing up. (Laughter.)

Q What was the opportunity cost of that scandal? what did it cost you?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know yet, because actually we did -- in '98 we won seats in the House of Representatives, the first time a President's party has done that since --

Q I mean, substantively.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know. Because I don't know whether

the Congress, the Republicans would have been more willing to work with me, or not.

Q What about things like Social Security reform -- could you have made a --

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe. What I wanted to do with Social Security -- I am disappointed there. We still may get some Medicare restructuring reform out of this. And in any case, Medicare is going to be okay for 30 years, which is the longest it's been okay for in forever and ever. And I think --

Q Yes, but that's a problem, for god sakes. I mean, the generational transfer issue I think is something that you're really concerned about.

THE PRESIDENT: I am concerned about it. But --

Q You can't keep a fee-for-service --

THE PRESIDENT: But, but, but both Medicare taxes and Social Security taxes, in fairness, since 1983 have been paying for everything else. So we've had a little of that in reverse.

Q That's very good.

THE PRESIDENT: Everybody has forgotten that. We've been dumping all these Social Security and Medicare taxes into the general economy all this time. I personally believe, though, that -- I regret we didn't get to do Social Security because I would have -- what happened was I think maybe we could have gotten it if we hadn't had that whole impeachment thing. But there was more resistance in both parties to do anything than I had imagined there was.

They'll have to come to terms with this. It will have to be done. And I think you've either got to raise taxes, cut benefits, or increase the rate of return. What I proposed in '98 on Social Security I think was a very good beginning, and I really thought we'd get something. Was that '98 or '99?

Q That was '98. And there was also the Breaux-Thomas, later Breaux-Frisk commission on Medicare. You could have, with your abilities, you could have gotten some kind of deal if you'd been able to at that point.

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe. But they --

Q Breaux was your guy, right?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't agree with what he wanted to do there. And he knows that. I mean, I thought -- I agree with some of what they proposed, but some of what they proposed I think would not be good for Medicare. On policy grounds, he and I have had long discussions about it. I think there are a couple of things in that report that I just simply didn't agree with.

Q In general, when you talk about an information age safety net, what would it be and what would be the guiding principles? I don't think that you can have the kind of centralized, top-down sort of programs that Social Security and Medicare --

THE PRESIDENT: I think if you had -- yes, but there's a great article -- let me just say this -- there's a great article in the New York Times Sunday Magazine the day before yesterday --

Q The Sarah Moseley article?

THE PRESIDENT: About volunteerism. And I don't believe -- I think you have to have some sort of -- if you believe there should be a safety net, there has to be some sort of safety net. Now, there's all kinds of options to get it done, and I think there should be more -- you can have some more room for private initiative, but if you had a safety net that worked, you'd have something for the poor and the disabled, the people who through no fault of their own were in trouble. You would have genuinely world-class education for everybody who needed it, which is everybody. You would have access to health care at an affordable rate, and decent housing, and you'd have to have a lifetime learning system.

And then I think you'd have to have some more generous version of the New Markets Initiative I proposed, because there will always be unevenness in the growth of the market economy. That's part of its genius because you have to have opportunity for new things to branch out. But in my view, this New Markets thing has been under-appreciated.

Q I was out there a year ago watching Al From and Jesse Jackson cavort along beside you.

THE PRESIDENT: And it may be one of the great opportunities for bipartisan achievement in this session. It may be one of the great opportunities because Hastert is completely committed to it, he's been as good as his word on everything. And I think Lott knows it's the right thing to do. I've talked to them both a lot. We do have a good working relationship now, even though we have our differences. I think the Senate has been far too grudging on the judges, particularly since I appointed basically mainstream judges, but they want more ideologues, and they hope they can get them next year. And I hope they can't, and we'll see what happens.

But anyway, I think a part of the safety net ought to be viewed as a willingness of the government to make continuing extraordinary efforts including big tax incentives to keep the people in places that are left behind in the emerging global economy, keep giving them a chance to catch up.

And I think this whole digital divide is a -- I prefer to think of it as a digital bridge. I think if you think about what this means, basically, this information economy can collapse distances in a way that telephones and railroads and electrical -- I mean, I think about it in terms of Arkansas. When they brought us REA and the interstate highway

system, and I put all these little airports up in remote towns and all that -- it all helped to bring, like, small-scale manufacturing to places that had been left behind. But there was always the factor of distance.

And then I got to a place like the Ship Rock Navaho Reservation where they make really beautiful jewelry, for example, where the unemployment rate is 58 percent and only 30 percent of the people have telephones. And you realize that if they really were part of an information age economy, there are ways in which they could do -- I remember when I became President there were a lot of banks in New York shipping their data processing to Northern Ireland every day -- every day. And then bringing it back. There are all kinds of opportunities that we never had before. And I think people ought to start thinking about that as a part of the safety net.

Q You know, this raises an interesting point about you, personally. Shalala said to me that she thought that just as you were obsessed and voracious about social policy when you were government in the '80s -- that's one of the things I first noticed about you, is that you knew everything. I mean, you knew about the schools up here in East Harlem, more than Cuomo did, in fact. But as you were to social policy in the '80s you've been hungry in the same way for knowledge about science and technology in the '90s.

And I talked to Herald Farmus (sp) about it, and other people have said the same thing. Is that true? And in that regard, talk to me a little bit about the policy that you pursued in high-tech and information age things that I don't understand that well, like telecommunications and --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let's talk about that. The one thing in our mantra about our economic policy which we always repeat, fiscal responsibility, expanded trade, and investing in people -- those three things really were the sort of three stools of our economic policy. But one thing I think that tends to understate is the role that technology, particularly information technology has played in this remarkable growth, and the productivity growth and the long economic expansion.

And I think our major contribution to that, apart from getting interest rates down so capital can flow to that sector, was in the Telecommunications Act of '96. And there were -- our major contributions to that act, I might say, Al Gore deserves a lot of credit for because he was our front guy on it -- were two. One is we insisted that the Telecom Act would be very much pro-competition, which required us to get into a very difficult political fight principally with the RBOCs, -- operating companies -- many of whom I've had very good relationships with because they do great stuff. They've helped us on all of our digital divide stuff, a lot of the New Market stuff. But I just thought that we had to bend over backwards to maximize the opportunity for people with ideas to start new companies and get in and compete.

And we fought that through, and it delayed the passage of the Telecom Act, but eventually we got what we wanted. And as I remember, while there were more Democrats than Republicans for our position, there

were actually people on both sides of both parties. But we very much wanted to have a pro-competition bias.

The other night, interestingly enough, I was at dinner in New York with a friend of mine who was in the telecom business and then got in the venture capital business with telecom. He had a dinner for me and I had dinner with like 40 people, all of whom headed companies that didn't exist in 1996. I went out to UUP, which is an Internet connection company, which had 40 or 80 employees, something like that, in 1993, when I became President, and they have 8,000 now. I mean, it's amazing.

So that was good. And the second thing we did was to fight for the e-rate, which democratized the Internet and democratized the telecommunications revolution. We've got 95 percent of our schools have at least one Internet connection, and 90 percent of the poorest schools have an Internet connection.

So I think that those are the two things that happened. And then I also continued to push relentlessly these last eight years for greater investment in science and technology.

It was interesting, I've had an interesting relationship with the Congress since the Republicans won the majority because they look around for things that they can spend more money on than me.

Q NIH.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. And it's been very interesting. They knew they would always be -- whatever defense number I proposed, they'd always be for more. And they liked to -- I'm always for a balance between mass transit and highways, and they're always a little more on the highways side. But the big area was NIH. And Herald Farmus (sp) did a brilliant job -- when the Republicans won the Congress, he brought all these freshmen congressman out, showed them the NIH, showed them what they were doing, explained the genome project to them. And I think John Porter was the head of the subcommittee in the House that had this. He's a good man. He's smart and he wanted to do the right thing. And so, anyway, I figured out after the first go-round that whatever I proposed, they propose more, which suited me fine because I basically don't think you can spend too much on those things.

But the problem I had early on, and the problem I still have is, notwithstanding how much money we have, the Republicans do not, in my view, spend enough money on non-NIH research. For example, they just took out all the money that I proposed for nanotechnology, this highly microscopic technology which could increase the power of computer generation by unfathomable amounts.

Now, why is that a mistake? Because as -- one night Hillary had -- we had all these millennial evenings at the White House and then we had one the other day on outer space and the deep oceans. We did it in the afternoon. But we had one on the Human Genome Project, and we had Eric Ladner from Harvard, who is a biological scientist, and we had Ben Cerf, who was one of the developers of the Internet.

He actually sent the first e-mail ever sent, 18 years ago -- or 19 years ago now -- to his then profoundly deaf wife, who now can hear because she's got a microdigital chip that's been planted deep in her ear. She heard at 50 -- she said she's sure she's the only person who's ever heard James Taylor sing "Fire And Rain" at the age of 50 for the first time. She came and sort of stood up and was exhibit A.

But the point they were making is that the biomedical advances that would flow out of the Human Genome Project, which the Republican majority will support lavishly, depended upon the development of the computer technology. And that without the development of the computer technology, you could never parse something as small as the human genome, and get into all these genes and understand all the permutations.

For example, there was a fascinating article the other day about one of the implications of the human genome, saying that -- talking about these two women who had a form of cancer, and that basically, if you look at the historical studies of all women in this category with this kind of cancer, diagnosed at this point in their illness, that you would say they had a 45-percent chance of survival. But now they can do genetic testing showing that they actually have very different conditions, and that one of them had a 20-percent chance of survival, the other had an 80-percent chance of survival.

Now, the reason they can do that is because not only of the biological advances, but the non-biological advances that make it possible to measure the biological differences. And I could give you lots of other examples.

And, again, I owe a lot of this to Al Gore. He convinced me in 1993 that climate change was real. And he wrote that book in '88 and they're still making fun of his book, and I remember as late as last year we had a House subcommittee that treated climate change like a conspiracy to destroy the economy of the United States. But now you've got all the major oil companies admitting that it's real, that the climate really is warming at an unsustainable rate. And that's why we pushed the Kyoto Protocol and why I want to spend a lot more money, and also have tax incentives, for people to keep making advances in energy technologies and environmental conservation technologies.

So my frustration about where we are now is that I'm really grateful that the Republican majority has embraced NIH, because it's been good and it's enabled me to present budgets under the old budget caps that I knew they would break, so I could get adequate funding for education, for example, and still know we're going to do a really good job on NIH. But I think we need a much broader commitment in the Congress to research in other areas of science and technology, going beyond the biological sciences.

(end of tape 2, beginning of tape 3 -- no overlap)

Q -- when it became clear to you -- I mean, I know this is prompting you to sound braggart, but so be it. There must have come a

time when you realized, hey, our economic policy worked, this whole thing is taking off, and my larger sense of us moving from the Industrial Age to the Information Age is really true, and all of a sudden we have these surpluses. Was there a moment when the bolt of lightning hit and knocked you off the donkey on the way to the West Wing? Was there a day when you realized that --

THE PRESIDENT: I spent a lot of '98 trying to dodge bolts of lightning. (Laughter.)

Q Well, that's the irony of this, I think, is that that was probably going to be the moment that the press was going to realize that there had been a coherence to this whole project all along, and we managed to work our way out of that.

THE PRESIDENT: In '98, I spent a lot of '98 --

Q Is it fair to say '98 was the time that this --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes. And I spent a lot of '98 sort of wrestling with three overwhelming feelings. One is, obviously there was a lot of pain involved because I had made a terrible personal mistake, which I did try to correct, which then a year later got outed on -- or almost a year later -- and had to live with. And it caused an enormous amount of pain to my family and my administration and to the country at large, and I felt awful about it. And I had to deal with the aftermath of it.

And then, I had to deal with what the Republicans were trying to do with it. But I had a totally different take on it than most people. I really believed then and I believe now I was defending the Constitution. And while I was responsible for what I did, I was not responsible for what they did with what I did -- that was their decision -- and that I had to defend the Constitution.

And so I felt that -- I still believe historically two of the great achievements of my administration were facing down the government shutdown in '95 and '96, and then facing this back; and that those two things together, essentially, ended the most overt and extreme manifestations of the Gingrich revolution.

And then the third thing I felt was this "gosh, it is all working and it's coming together and all these things will be possible." And I still believe if we can get one or two things straight for the future, that a lot of the good stuff is still ahead.

Q I'm not going to let you off that so easily. Were there days, were there moments that you remember where you saw, hey, this is happening?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I was really happy. I just was happy because I thought -- to be fair, I don't think any of us thought in '93 -- if you asked me in '93, what level of confidence do you have this economic plan is going to work, I would say, very, very high. And if you asked me, what do you mean by "working," when I started in '93, I would say we'd probably have between 16 million and 18 million new jobs. I never would have

guessed 22.5 million, and maybe more.

I would have said -- I was fairly sure that we'd get rid of the deficit by the time I left office. I didn't know in '93 that we'd be paying off nearly \$400 billion of the national debt when I left office, and we'd be looking at taking America out of debt, which is a goal I hope will be ratified by this election and I hope the American people will embrace that, because I think that's quite important.

So in '98 I began to imagine just how far we could go, you know, and to think about that.

Q There's another aspect to this that we haven't talked about that I think has really been central. In '93 would you have predicted that the state of race relations would have gotten to the point that it's gotten to now? I mean, I don't know whether you can sense -- I sensed it out on the trail this year. Bob Dole went to Bob Jones in '96 and didn't pay any price at all, did he? This year you couldn't do it, and everywhere you go in this country, people of different races are having lunch together and holding hands.

THE PRESIDENT: I confess, you know, I like Senator Dole very much, but I would have made him pay a price if I had known he went to Bob Jones University. I just didn't know.

Q You didn't know about the dating policy?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't know he went to Bob Jones University. I didn't know about the dating policy, but I knew about Bob Jones because I'm a white southerner. And I think the Bob Jones thing -- I think Governor Bush going there mattered more maybe to white southerners my age who supported civil rights than maybe to even other Americans, because it has a whole -- because of the history there. It was a big deal to me. I just didn't know.

But I do believe we have come a long way. And I think -- I hope I made some contribution to that, because I think it's really important. I've tried to get Americans to understand that how we handle this -- I still believe how we handle this is in a way the most important thing, because we're a great country and we're full of smart people, and we nearly always get it right, unless we get in our own way. And it's just like me -- nations are like people, individuals, in the sense that very often all their greatest wounds are self-inflicted. And this whole state of racism, it's a self-inflicted wound.

Q This was where I was wrong on affirmative action, I think, in the end, when I kicked you around on that.

THE PRESIDENT: I never wanted it to last forever, and I think that we had to clean up some of the contracting policies and some of the other things. But we --

Q Have those been done?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we made some changes, and I hear a lot of complaining about it from people that have been affected by them. But I still believe that -- and to be fair to my critics or skeptics, it's a lot easier to sell and affirmative action in good economic times than in tough economic times. I believe what launched the assault on affirmative action in the beginning was that, number one, it did seem to be that nobody was ever reexamining it, its premises.

But secondly, the big start was in California because California was suffering so much from a recession in the late '80s and early '90s, and people felt that they were being disenfranchised, and they felt that the circumstances were squeezing in on them anyway and they didn't want any other burdens that they lost just because they happened to be in the majority. So I think maybe the acid test of whether I was right or not won't come until there's another period of economic difficulty.

Q People argue the same on welfare reform, as well, although --

THE PRESIDENT: But I think there's enough evidence in on that. I think if there are adversities coming out of welfare reform in the next economic downturn, or as far as there are now, it may be because -- it's largely because of decisions states have made about how to spend or not to spend properly the big extra-money they got because we grandfathered them in at the amount of money they were getting when welfare rolls were at their height in February of '94. I think that's when we did that. Maybe it was '96, but I think it was '94. I think we grandfathered them -- anyway, whatever month it was, we grandfathered their cash flow in when welfare rolls were high, on the theory that we wanted them to spend this money on education, on transportation, on housing assistance, on training people to not just take jobs, but to be able to keep jobs, or find new jobs if they lost them. And there are some stories coming in which are troubling, but which have more to do with decisions that were made at the state level.

The thing that some of the people who criticized me on the left for welfare reform never understood, I don't think -- they said, oh, gosh, he's ending this national benefit. But that was a joke, because for more than 20 years, by 1996, states had been able to set their own rate. So you had the family support, monthly support for a family of three on welfare varied anywhere from a low of \$187 a month to a high of \$665 a month -- on the day I signed the welfare reform bill.

So to pretend that there was somehow some national income safety net was a joke. Nobody was going to go below \$187 a month. And if there was a political consensus for a higher level, they weren't going to go out and gut people. And the idea of spending this money to empower people to go into the workplace, and then require people who could do so to try to get their personal act together and access the benefits and go in there, and then letting them keep their medical coverage for a while, is very, very important.

The only thing I didn't like about the welfare reform bill was not that, it was the immigrant thing. But the two I vetoed -- everybody acted

at the time -- the only thing that really disturbed me, and I realized I had not succeeded in getting people into the intricacies of welfare policy was that I had people, both liberals and conservatives, who said, well, he vetoed two of them, but he signed the third one because it's getting close to the election and he wants credit for that. That's not true.

The thing we were fighting about was whether or not, if you required people on welfare to go to work and they refused to meet the requirement -- that is, they acted in a way that violated the responsibility portions of the law -- how do you minimize the impact on their kids. And what I was unwilling to do, because there was a uniform national benefit there, was to scrap the food stamps or the Medicaid coverage for the children, where we did have a uniform national standard. And nowhere near the variations that already existed in the monthly cash payment.

So I thought that finally when they agreed to put those back in, I believed, given the way the budget fights were unfolding -- and by then I was in my second one, in '96 -- that within a couple of years I would be able to restore most of the immigrant cuts. And sure enough, we did.

So I still think that some of them are not right and that we haven't restored; but I think, on balance, the welfare reform bill was a big net advance in American social policy and the right thing to do.

Q That's an interesting phrase, "given the way the budget fights were unfolding." There seems to have been a pattern since '95, and I think that that may be part of the reason why people might not see the whole of what has gone on here -- is that a lot of the stuff you've gotten since '95 has come in budget reconciliations at the end of the year --

THE PRESIDENT: Huge. And I've got to give a lot of credit to Panetta and Bowles, who was brilliant at it, and John Podesta and Ricchetti, and all these people that worked the Congress, because they -- and the congressional leadership in our party -- keep in mind, any time that our support among the Democratic minority drops below a third plus one, I have no power in the budget process. So I think that -- but we have gotten enormous amounts done for poor people, for the cause of education -- we've gone from a million dollars a year in three years to \$445 million a year, something like that, in programs for after-school. And my budget this year, if we get that, we'll really be able to put an after-school program in every failing school in America -- if we get what I asked for this year. Amazing stuff.

I think that's one of the reasons that a lot of what we did in education has not been fully appreciated.

Q Ten million people taking advantage of HOPE Scholarships and Lifelong Learning credits this year, according to Gene.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

Q I mean, are you frustrated that this kind of stuff isn't more known?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, a little bit. But the main thing for me now is that it's happening. And the other thing that I think is really important I'd just like to mention, that I think almost no one knows, that I think is, over the long run, particularly if we can get -- it's interesting, the Republicans say they're for accountability, but they won't adopt my education accountability act, which would require more explicit standards, more explicit -- turn around failing schools or shut them down, and voluntary national tests, which they're against, but we're working on it still.

But just what we did in '94 -- in '94, in a little-known provision of our reenactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we required states to identify -- getting Title I money -- to identify failing schools and to develop strategies to turn them around. States like Kentucky the have taken it seriously have had a breath-taking result.

I was down at that little school in Kentucky, in eastern Kentucky, the other day. And it was a failing school, one of the worst in Kentucky, over half the kids on school lunches, now ranked in the top 20 elementary schools in Kentucky -- in three years.

Q What did they do.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me tell you the results they got. In three years, here's what happened -- they went from 12 percent of the kids reading at or above grade level to 57 percent. They went from 5 percent of the kids doing math at or above grade level to 70 percent. They went from zero percent of the kids doing at or above grade level in science to 63 percent. In three years. And they ranked 18th in the performance of elementary schools in Kentucky.

Well, smaller classes, good school leadership, heavy involvement by the parents, and basically measuring their performance. It's stunning. I mean, it's just amazing.

I was in a school the other day in Spanish Harlem that in two years went from 80 percent of the kids doing reading and math at or below grade level to 74 percent of the kids doing reading and math at or above grade level. Below grade level, 80 percent below, to 74 percent at or above grade level. In two years. And I know what they did there because I spent a lot of time there. They got a new principal and they basically -- they went to a school uniform policy, one of my little ideas that was falsely maligned, had a huge impact -- and they basically went to -- they established goals and results, and you either met them or you didn't. It's amazing. And these children, the pride these children felt was breath-taking.

So one of the things -- I mean, I think one of the most important accomplishments of the administration was basically opening the doors of college to everybody with the HOPE Scholarships and the direct loans. And if we could just get this tuition tax deductibility then -- we haven't made it possible for every person making \$40,000 to send all their kids to Yale, but we made it possible for everybody to send all their kids

somewhere.

Q That's not refundable, is it?

THE PRESIDENT: Not refundable, but it is deductible at the 28-percent level for people that are in the 15-percent income tax bracket.

Q Oh, I see. So it's a kind of semi-deduction.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, well, in our proposal you get to deduct up to \$10,000 at the 28-percent level even if you're in the 15-percent income tax bracket. So it's not refundable, but for the people that need refundability, they have access to the Pell Grants and to loans they can pay back now as a percentage of their income under the Direct Loan Program.

Q You're getting restless. Let me ask you one last -- well, I'm not going to guarantee this is one last, I might want to ask you -- if I have a few more over time, is there some way I can get in touch with you?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure. You've interviewed 50 people, you've taken this seriously, so I want to try to --

Q Well, it's the last eight years of my life, too, you know. (Laughter.) And I haven't even asked you about foreign policy, for god sakes. We'll do two things. Let me ask you about foreign policy. It seems to me that if you look at what you did, there are two big things you did in foreign policy. One was raise economic issues to the same level as strategic issues, which was crucial, and the other was to demonstrate over time that America was going to be involved and use force when necessary in the rest of the world.

The second one is, obviously, more messy and dicey than the first. The third thing you did was essentially not do anything wrong and do really right things when it came to the big things like Middle East, Russia, China.

The messy part of it is the dustups in places like Bosnia, Kosovo. People have told me that you really feel awful that you didn't do more in Rwanda. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I don't know that I could have. Let me back up and say, I had a -- when I came here, came to the White House, I sat down, basically, and made my own list of what I wanted to accomplish in foreign policy. I wanted to maximize the chance that Russia would take the right course. I wanted to maximize the chance that China would take the right course. I wanted to do what I could to minimize these ethnic slaughters, which basically the end of the Cold War ripped the lid off -- it's not that they didn't occur before, but now they became the main problem with the world.

I wanted to try to create a unified Europe which included an expanded NATO, supporting European unification and dealing with all the

countries around. I wanted to try to get Turkey into Europe as a bulwark against fundamentalist terrorism. That required some progress between Greece and Turkey, and we made some, not enough to suit me.

I wanted to try to minimize the turbulence -- the possibility of war and nuclear war between India and Pakistan, which is something that was not right for my involvement until rather late in my term. But one of the things that -- and I wanted to try to -- and I'll leave this until last -- I wanted to try to broaden the notion in America of what foreign policy and national security was, to include health issues, to include -- like we made AIDS a national security threat -- to include climate change; to include the globalized society, all these issues we started talking about.

So the one thing I would say to you is that I think this has all occurred kind of under the radar screen -- I'll come back to Rwanda -- but one of the things I think should be mentioned is we have spent an enormous amount of money and time and effort focusing America on how to minimize the threats of biological warfare, of chemical warfare. What are we going to do -- will the miniaturization of the information revolution lead to small-scale chemical, biological, even, God forbid, nuclear weapons; how are we going to deal with that. So we've done a lot of work on that.

And to come back to Rwanda, one of the things I've tried to do with Africa is to -- and Sierra Leone is giving us a good test case here -- is to increase the capacity of the African nations to deal with their own problems, to support the regional operations like ECOWAS or OAU. And I developed something called the African Crisis Response Initiative, where we would go in and train African militaries. When I was in Senegal, for example, I went out to the community -- to the training site there on our trip to Africa, and saw the American soldiers training with the Senegalese to dramatically increase their capacity.

What happened basically with Rwanda is we were obsessed with Bosnia and all the other stuff, and it was over in 90 days. I mean, they basically killed hundreds of thousands of people in 90 days. And I just don't think we were -- any of us focused on it and whether we could have done something. But I made up my mind that we would certainly try to increase the capacity of Africans to deal with it and we would move in as quickly as we could. And like I said, what happens in Sierra Leone is going to be a little test of that.

Q Do you think you were prepared for being a foreign policy leader when you came in? What are the things that you've learned in terms of --

THE PRESIDENT: I would say, yes and no. I think --

Q You had it in principle.

THE PRESIDENT: I think I had a very -- because I'd been interested in it since I was a student in college, and I'd always been fascinated by world affairs. So the fact that I had not been a senator or served in a previous administration I don't think was a particular

disadvantage. I think all the economic stuff I think I had right, and the fact that there was a lot more in economics involved and it was about democracy, it was about minimizing war, it was about lifting people's sights so they had something better to do than killing their neighbors because they were of a different religion or ethnic group. I think we had that right.

I think we basically had the nuclear issues right, and the big power issues right with Russia, with China, what we tried to do in the Korean Peninsula.

Where I felt -- I think where I felt some frustration is maybe where even a President with a lot of experience would have felt frustration, a lot of experience in this, which is building the post-Cold War alliances, which proved to be very frustrating. I mean, we had a lot of frustrations -- and we got panned a lot, and maybe we deserved some of it and maybe we didn't -- in '93 and '94, trying to put together some kind of coalition of our European allies to move in Bosnia.

In Kosovo, having had the Bosnia experience, even though there were differences in the alliance, I have nothing but compliments for my allies. They were basically -- we had our arguments; we should have. Nobody has got a monopoly on truth. But basically, we got together, we moved quickly, we did the right things.

And I think that the idea of how we might even go about mechanically, operationally, dealing with something like Rwanda just wasn't there. The French and others that had been more active in that part of Africa, I think they may have had a better sense of it, although they went in late.

Q But you were acting with more confidence, too. You weren't asking, you were telling.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, well, it happens once you've been around and you know people, you know what it was. But it was -- I think that some of that, when you've got to have some support from other countries, and you can have an uncertain result, but you think you have to try, it just takes a while until you get your sea legs and you get everything worked out, particularly when there aren't sort of institutional structures and policies and rules of the road there. And so I think we did get it right.

If you take another sort of sad moment of the administration, when we lost our soldiers in Somalia --

Q Almost at the same time as the ship turned around in the harbor in Port-au-Prince.

THE PRESIDENT: When we lost our soldiers in Somalia, it was a very sad thing. But that happened I think -- and I hope the Congress will never decline to put people in peacekeeping missions because of it, because basically our guys did a terrific job there. But there was an operational, I think, decision made there, which, if I had to do it again, I might do what we did then, but I would do it in a different way.

I remember General Powell coming to me and saying, Aideed has killed all these Pakistanis and they're our allies. Somebody needs to try to arrest him, and we're the only people with the capacity to do it. And he said, we've got a 50-percent chance of getting him, and a 25-percent chance of getting him alive. And so, he said, I think you ought to do it. And I said, okay.

But today, with that number of people there -- and then he retired, he left like the next week -- I'm not blaming him, I'm just saying that he was gone. So what happened was, we had this huge battle in broad daylight where hundreds and hundreds of Somalis were killed and we lost 18 soldiers, in what was a U.N. action that basically, if I were going to do it again, I would treat it just like -- if we were going to do that, I'd say, okay, I need to know what's involved here, and let's do this the way we planned out the military action we took against Saddam Hussein, for example -- or the military action I took to try to get Usama bin Laden's training camps, or anything else.

It doesn't mean America shouldn't be involved in peacekeeping, but it means if you go beyond the normal parameters that you decide on the front end, then the United States has to operate in a very different way.

Q There doesn't seem to be a uniform set of ground rules yet in place.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think there is, but we're getting there.

Q Should there be? Could there be?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it's pretty hard, but I think you -- anyway, I will always regret that. I don't know if I could have saved those lives, or not, because I think what we were trying to do was the right thing to do, and the people who were there on the ground did the best they could. But I would have handled it in a different way if I had more experience, I think. I know I would have.

The only other thing I was going to say about this is that -- we talked about earlier how I hope in the future that the Congress will give more support to science and technology, beyond NIH. I hope in the future the Congress will give more support to our national security budget beyond the defense budget. As well-off as we are, one real big problem, we should be spending much more than we're spending, in my judgment, to fight global disease, to promote global development, to facilitate global peace-making and peacekeeping.

I think that we need to succeed in getting the bipartisan majority in Congress with a much broader view, because people look at us -- and they know how much money we've got and they know what our surplus is, and all these other countries are struggling, and we shouldn't be so begrudging -- I fight with the Congress all the time -- in our contributions to peacekeeping and to creating the conditions in which democracy and peace will flourish.

I'm encouraged by how Congress voted in this Colombia package because it's a balanced package and it has a lot of non-military, non-police stuff in it. And I'm hopeful that we'll have a more -- I saw Ben Gilman had a very good article -- somebody else, he and a Democrat, I can't remember who it was -- wrote an article in the L.A. Times yesterday, talking about the importance of the United States taking the lead in the international fight against global disease. That's one thing that I hope, after I'm gone, I hope that the next President will be more successful at than I was.

Q Let me ask you -- this is it -- after you're gone, you're going to be the youngest ex-President since Teddy Roosevelt. If there was one thing that Teddy Roosevelt did absolutely awful, it was be an ex-President. I mean, he was really terrible at it because he was so engaged, so involved, and he couldn't quit kibitzing.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, he felt, to be fair to him, that the Republicans had abandoned his philosophy. He felt Taft had kind of let him down.

Q You also have a restraining amendment in the Constitution that he didn't. But do you worry about that?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Well, I do, because -- (laughter) -- but not in the way you think. I don't think that the next President, whoever it is, will have problems with me acting like I wish I were still President. I mean, I think I know how to behave, and I've been here, and I want my country to succeed, and for my country to succeed, the presidency has to function. And I don't want to complicate that.

So the challenge I have is to figure out how to have a meaningful life, how to use all this phenomenal experience I've got and what I know and the ideas I have in a way that helps my country and helps the things I believe in around the world, and doesn't get in the way of the next President. And that's what I have to do. I've got to figure out how to do it.

Q Any thoughts?

THE PRESIDENT: I've thought about it, but I'm not ready to talk about it yet. But the one thing that I -- (laughter) --

Q You've talked about everything else today. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but the one thing that I -- the reason I wanted to spend so much time with this interview -- if you want to talk to me anymore, just call and we'll talk more on the phone -- is that you always knew -- and even when you got mad at me it was because you thought I'd stopped it -- that I would take this job seriously. I mean, the basic thing that I can tell you about this is I will leave Washington, believe it or not, after all I've been through, more idealistic than I showed up here as, because I believe that if you have a serious presidency, if you have ideas and you're willing to work, and you're not so pig-headed that you think you've got the total truth, and you work with other people, and

you just keep working at it, and you're willing to win in inches as well as feet, that a phenomenal amount of positive things can happen.

And you always thought that I was trying to have a serious presidency. That's all I ever wanted.

Q I got pretty pissed off at times.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that was all right. But at least -- but when you were mad, it was because you thought I was abandoning something I said I would do, that I was trying to do. I never had any -- my frustration was with the people in your line of work that I thought didn't take all this seriously, that thought it didn't matter one way or the other, that thought it was some game or who was up or who was down, or where was the power equation, or something.

Because it really does matter. There are consequences to the ideas people have. One of the worries I have about this election is all these people writing as if there is no differences and there are no consequences. The American people should make a judgment knowing that there are differences and there are consequences and it matters what you do.

The thing that I think the last several years has shown is that a lot of these problems yield to effort. And if you're willing to just put in a few years of effort, you can push a lot of rocks up a lot of hills. People should feel really good about that.

One of the things that I hope when I leave office that people will say is, I hope that there will be a greater sense of self-confidence about what America can achieve. But it requires you -- everybody has got to play politics, and I understand all that. I don't want to get sanctimonious about that just because I'm not running for office for the first time in 26 years. That's part of the political system. And everybody will take their shots and do this. But in the end, the presidency should be informed by a set not just of core principles and core values, but ideas -- that there ought to be an agenda here; people ought to always be trying to get something done. And you shouldn't be deterred by people saying it's not big enough, or it's too big, or all that. There ought to be a broad-based view of where the world should go and what the role of the presidency is in taking America where it should go.

And as long as there is, I think our country is going to do pretty well. In that sense, I will leave office phenomenally optimistic. And everything I ever believed about the American people has been confirmed by my experience here. If they have enough time and enough information, no matter how it's thrown at them, in how many pieces and how slanted it is, or whether it's inflammatory or whether it's designed to produce sedation, no matter what happens, they nearly always get it right. That's the only reason we're around here after -- the Founding Fathers were right; democracy, if given a chance to work, really does. If there's enough time and enough information, the American people nearly always get it right.

So, in that sense, I just -- I'm grateful I've had the chance to serve. I've had the time of my life. I've loved it. Probably good we've got a 22nd Amendment; if we didn't, I'd probably try to do it for four more years. (Laughter.)

Q Well, I'll tell you something -- turning this off. Two things. One is, every last campaign I've covered since '92 I found myself judging against that one, in just big ways and little ways. And the other thing I promised my son I'd tell you -- he's just finishing up his first tour as a foreign service officer in Turkmenistan, and he said his proudest possession is his commission document with your signature on it.

THE PRESIDENT: Wow. Well, if you go back to that '92 campaign, it just shows you, though -- the only other thing I would say is I think I was so advantaged by having been a governor for 10 years when I started running, or however long I'd been serving, and having had the opportunity to develop these ideas over time, and then to measure them against the experience I've had.

I still think ideas and organized, concentrated effort mattered. No President with an ambitious agenda will fail to make errors. Things happen in other people's lives. Maybe something will happen to the next President -- God knows they won't go through what I did, but maybe their kids will get sick. Things happen in people's lives and mistakes get made. And sometimes you just make a wrong call. But if you've got -- if you're serious and you've got a good agenda, and you have good people and you work at it in a steady way, you get results.

It really is a job like other jobs. That's another thing -- I think it's important -- you said something in your letter to me, which I think is true, that maybe we had removed all the mystery around the President --

Q I didn't even get a chance to ask that question.

THE PRESIDENT: -- and maybe that's not good. And maybe that's not good, but I do believe that we need to demystify the job. It is a job. And if you love your country and you've got something you want to do, and you've thought it through and you've put together a good team, and you're willing to be relentless and to exhaust yourself in the effort, results will come.

That's what I would like the American people to know. They should be very optimistic about this.

Q You know, they are. They're in such great shape right now. I noticed it traveling around this year. It's not just everybody is getting along, but they appreciate the thing that you always said way back when, which is that diversity is a strength.

Sandy was telling me about your first G-7 conference, which I don't expect you to talk about on the record, but he was telling me about how the Japanese were lecturing you about how to run an economy. And when you took office most people believed that we were going to get taken to

the cleaners by the Japanese and the Germans, because they were homogenous and we were mongrels. And now most people -- you know, most of those Archie Bunkers out in Queens have a niece or a nephew who is dating a Puerto Rican at this point. And most people --

THE PRESIDENT: Or an Indian or a Pakistani. I went to a school in Queens the other day, and I mean I thought I was -- there was one guy there I could swear the kid was from Mongolia. There were a lot of East Asians; there were a lot of South Asians; there were all the Puerto Ricans; there were all the other Latins, you know.

But the test that -- that's not over, but I think people are beginning to feel good about it.

Q Well, I mean, kids my kids' age, your kid's age, think it's a positive value --

THE PRESIDENT: It is a positive value. It makes life more interesting. I keep telling everybody, the trick is to figure out how to respect all these people's -- other people's traditions, religions, the whole thing, cherish your own, and then -- but the only way to make it work -- which is why I keep citing this human genome finding that we're 99.9 percent the same -- is to realize that the differences make life interesting, but the similarities are fundamental.

If you can get people to think that -- what we have in common is fundamental, but the differences make life more interesting -- then I think we'll be okay. And I still think that's still the most important thing of all. It's even more important than the right economic policy -- because, eventually, we'll get all that stuff. We'll make mistakes, we'll correct it. But if your whole heart and mind and spirit is wrongly turned, then you can do everything else right and you still come a cropper. You'll have problems.

So I really -- I think this advance in race relations is profoundly important. I'll give you one -- exhibit A was old Gordon Smith's speech for the hate crimes bill. Did you see that?

END 7:10 P.M. EDT

Message Sent

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: salon-daily-html-help@salonlists.com (salon-daily-html-help@salonlists.com [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUL-2000 11:49:29.00

SUBJECT: ezmlm warning

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salon-daily-html-return-257-Rachael_Goldfarb=who.eop.gov@salonlists.com;
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by mhub.eop.gov (PMDF V5.2-33 #34437)
with SMTP id <01JR3MDBEG788X7QH1@mhub.eop.gov> for
salon-daily-html-return-257-Rachael_Goldfarb=who.eop.gov@salonlists.com;
Tue,
27 Jun 2000 14:07:32 -0500 (EST)
Date: Tue, 27 Jun 2000 14:08:48 -0400
From: POSTMASTER@lngate3.eop.gov
Subject: Undeliverable message
To: salon-daily-html-return-257-Rachael_Goldfarb=who.eop.gov@salonlists.com
Message-id: <01JR3MDBEZZA8X7QH1@mhub.eop.gov>
MIME-version: 1.0
Content-type: text/plain; charset=US-ASCII

----- Failure Reasons -----

Recipient user name not unique. Several matches found in Name & Address
Book.
Rachael_Goldfarb@who.eop.gov

----- Returned Message -----

Received: from mhub1.eop.gov ([165.119.1.23]) by lngate3.eop.gov (Lotus
SMTP MTA SMTP v4.6 (462.2 9-3-1997)) with SMTP id 8525690B.0063AA3C; Sat,
27 Jun 1970 14:08:36 -0400
Received: from e001.eop.gov ([165.119.1.19])
by mhub.eop.gov (PMDF V5.2-33 #34437)
with SMTP id <01JR3MCYUISC8X7F0H@mhub.eop.gov> for
Rachael_Goldfarb@who.eop.gov; Tue, 27 Jun 2000 14:07:15 EST
Received: by e001.eop.gov; id OAA25521; Tue, 27 Jun 2000 14:07:06 -0400
Received: from unknown(198.137.241.53) by e001.eop.gov via smap (V5.5)
id xmac23662; Tue, 27 Jun 2000 14:05:54 -0400
Received: from conversion.EOP2.EOP.GOV by EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.2-33 #41140)
id <01JR3MASSSI88WWMZV@EOP.GOV> for Rachael_Goldfarb@who.eop.gov; Tue,
27 Jun 2000 14:05:32 -0500 (EST)
Received: from salonlists.com ([204.71.206.111])
by EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.2-33 #41140) with SMTP id
<01JR3MAKZUO28WWQ3N@EOP.GOV> for
Rachael_Goldfarb@who.eop.gov; Tue, 27 Jun 2000 14:05:24 -0500 (EST)
Received: (qmail 24276 invoked by uid 1000); Tue, 27 Jun 2000 15:54:59
+0000
Received: (qmail 29261 invoked by uid 99); Tue, 27 Jun 2000 06:42:37 +0000
Date: Tue, 27 Jun 2000 06:42:37 +0000
From: Salon Daily <salon-daily-html-help@salonlists.com>
Subject: Salon Daily | Tuesday, June 27, 2000

To: salon-daily-html@salonlists.com
Message-id: <20000627064237.29259.qmail@salonlists.com>
MIME-version: 1.0
Content-type: text/html; charset=us-ascii
Content-transfer-encoding: 7BIT
Precedence: bulk
Delivered-to: mailing list salon-daily-html@salonlists.com
Delivered-to: moderator for salon-daily-html@salonlists.com
Mailing-List: contact salon-daily-html-help@salonlists.com; run by ezmlm
X-No-Archive: yes
List-Post: <mailto:salon-daily-html@salonlists.com>
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:salon-daily-html-unsubscribe@salonlists.com>
List-Help: <mailto:salon-daily-html-help@salonlists.com>

<HTML>

<head>

<title>Salon.com</title>

<LINK REL="STYLESHEET" TYPE="text/css"
HREF="http://www.salon.com/main/src/salon.css">

<!-- browser: SecretAgentMan version: 0.1 os: Unknown -->

</head>

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vlink="#666666">

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<table border="0" width="736" cellspacing="0" cellpadding="0">

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/home.html/121072@TopLeft" target="new"><IMG
SRC="http://nx1.salon.com/RealMedia/ads/adstream_nx.cgi/www.salonmagazine.c
om/home.html/121072@TopLeft" WIDTH=120 HEIGHT=60 ALT="Smarter Shoppers
Made Daily!" BORDER=0></td>

<td valign="top" align="center" width="468"><A
HREF="http://nx1.salon.com/RealMedia/ads/click_nx.cgi/www.salonmagazine.com
/home.html/937242@Top" target="new"><IMG
SRC="http://ad.doubleclick.net/ad/N339.salon.com/B18780%3Bsz=468x60%3Bord=?
937242367" WIDTH=468 HEIGHT=60 ALT="Oracle - Keep Your Business Up and
Running" ></td>

<td valign="top" align="center" width="120"><A
HREF="http://nx1.salon.com/RealMedia/ads/click_nx.cgi/www.salonmagazine.com
/home.html/653144@TopRight" target="new"><IMG
SRC="http://nx1.salon.com/RealMedia/ads/adstream_nx.cgi/www.salonmagazine.c
om/home.html/653144@TopRight" WIDTH=120 HEIGHT=60 ALT="Politics2000 Video
Search!" BORDER=0></td>

</tr>

</table>

<div align="center"><font face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif"
size="1">

Search <!-- Directory
-->About
Salon Table
Talk Newsletters&nbs
p; Advertise in
Salon Investor
Relations

</div>

<!-- table 1 -->

<table border="0" width="736" cellspacing="0" cellpadding="0">

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<td valign="top" colspan="9"><a href="http://www.salon.c!

om/mwt/index.html" >!

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</tr>

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<!-- category_path: /src/submast.mc -->

<!-- defined section: /main/src/submast.mc -->

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<!-- <col_1/> -->

<!-- left colored navigation table -->

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<td width="5" class="globalNav" valign="top"></td>

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<tr>

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<td valign="top" class="globalNav">

<!-- search -->

<form name="seek" method="get" action="http://search.salon.com/query.html"><p class="globalNav">Search


```
<input type="text" name="qt" size=8 maxlength=2047 value="">

<!-- begin search include -->

<br /><input type="radio" name="qp" value="" checked> All of Salon.com

<br />

<!-- end search include -->

<input type=hidden name=op0 value="+">

<input type=hidden name=fl0 value="url:">

<input type=hidden name=ty0 value="w">

<input type=hidden name=op1 value="+">

<input type=hidden name=fl1 value="url:">

<input type=hidden name=ty1 value="w">

<input type=hidden name=tx1 value="index.html">

<input type=hidden name=op2 value="+">

<input type=hidden name=fl2 value="">

<input type=hidden name=ty2 value="w">

<input type=hidden name=qs value="">

<input type=hidden name=qc value="">

<input type=hidden name=ws value="0">

<input type=hidden name=qm value="0">

<input type=hidden name=st value="1">

<input type=hidden name=nh value="10">

<input type=hidden name=lk value="1">

<input type=hidden name=rf value="0">

<input type=hidden name=oq value="">

<input type=hidden name=rq value="0">

<br />
```

<input type="submit" value="OK"></p>

</form>

<!-- directory -->

Directory

<p>Hot Topics

Courtney Love

Brilliant Careers

Eminem

Gays in the Military

Garrison Keillor

"Survivor"

Napster

Nothing Personal

Camille Paglia

Movie Reviews

</p>

<p>Articles by date

<!-- Only this
site -->

All of
Salon.com</p>

<!--<p class="globalNav">Most
popular articles</p>-->

</td>

<td width="5" class="globalNav" valign="top"> </td>

</tr>

<tr>

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<td width="5" class="globalNav" valign="top"> </td>

</tr>

<!-- list of sites -->

<tr>

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<tr>

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    <td valign="top" class="globalNav"><font face="Verdana,
Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif" size="1"><A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/ent/index.html">Arts & Entertainment</A><br
/>

    <A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/books/index.html">Books</A><br />

    <A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/business/index.html">Business</A><br />

    <A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/comics/index.html">Comics</A><br />

    <A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/health/index.html">Health</A><br />

    <A HREF="http://www.salon.com/mwt/index.html">Mothers Who
Think</a><br />

    <A HREF="http://www.salon.com/news/index.html">News</A><br
/>

    <A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/people/index.html">People</A><br />

    <A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/politics/index.html">Politics</A><br />

    <A HREF="http://www.salon.com/sex/index.html">Sex</A><br />

    <A
HREF="http://www.salon.com/tech/index.html">Technology</A><br />

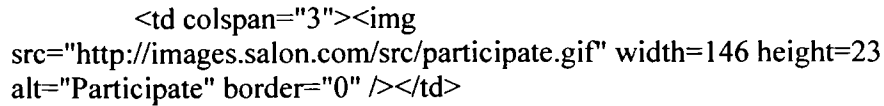
    - <A HREF="http://www.salon.com/tech/fsp/index.html">Free
Software Project</A><br />

    <br />

```

[Letters](http://www.salon.com/letters/index.html)
[Columnists](http://www.salon.com/col/index.html)
[Table
Talk](http://tabletalk.salon.com/webx?)
[Salon
Plus](http://www.salon.com/plus/index.html)
[Salon
Shop](http://www.salon.com/shop/index.html)
[Salon Radio](http://www.salon.com/radio/index.html)

<!-- left community -->

Participate

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</tr>

<tr>

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<p>Table Talk

[Freewheeling Salon forums]</p>

<!-- table_talk.mc -->

<p><p>My kingdom
for "People" and a jar of Skippy! Expats --- what do you miss most
about the U.S.?</p>

<p>Caution: Mergers
ahead Big business gets a little bigger.</p>

<p>I am what I
ham The most overrated master thespians in the business.</p></p>

<p> Posts of the
week</p>

<!-- well.mc -->

<p>
The Well

[Pioneering members-only discussions]</p>

<p>Indian
Dick who? Name that Grand Canyon landform</p>

<p>
Sound Off

E-mail
Salon

Send us a
Letter to the Editor

Today's
letters

</p>

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</tr>

<tr>

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<td valign="top" class="globalNav" width="131"></td>

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<!-- ways to get salon -->

<tr>

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<td valign="top" class="globalNav" width="131">
<font
face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif" size="1">

Newsletter

Sign up to receive free e-mail
updates from Salon -- now in 12 different varieties!

<p>
</p>

Downloads

 Get Salon.com on
<a target="new"
href="http://avantgo.com/channels/detail.html?cha_id=1392">your
PDA

 Salon.com headlines from <a target="new"
href="http://my.netscape.com/addchannel.tmpl?service=net.1357">My
Netscape More ways to get
Salon
</td>

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<!-- registration -->

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<!-- end left col navigation nested table -->

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<td valign="top">

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<p>

<p>From the wires</p>Judge leaves Mitnick to probation officer<p>

Software companies settle with pirates<p>

PETA wants Green Bay Packers to change name<p>

Webvan buys rival HomeGrocer.com<p>

Elian case reaches Supreme Court<p>

Bush: Split INS into 2 agencies<p>

Philip Morris to acquire Nabisco<p>

[IBM](http://www.salon.com/tech/wire/2000/06/26/ibm_memory/index.html)
to double computer memory capacity

[V-chips](http://www.salon.com/tech/wire/2000/06/26/v_chip/index.html)
and filters remain unused

[Court](http://www.salon.com/news/wire/2000/06/26/hatecrime/index.html)
: Juries decide on hate crimes

[Court](http://www.salon.com/news/wire/2000/06/26/miranda/index.html)
upholds Miranda warnings

[Vatican](http://www.salon.com/news/wire/2000/06/26/fatima/index.html)
reveals third secret of Fatima: Humanity can save itself!

[First](http://www.salon.com/news/wire/2000/06/26/ira/index.html)
inspections of IRA's hidden arsenals completed

[Zimbab](http://www.salon.com/news/wire/2000/06/26/zimbabwe/index.html)
we election observer: "A climate of fear"

[U.N.](http://www.salon.com/news/wire/2000/06/26/un/index.html)
holds "human misery" conference

[U.S.](http://www.salon.com/business/wire/2000/06/26/web/index.html)
domination of Web could end

<!-- col_3_top.mc -->

<!-- begin feature story -->

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<!-- loads today's date -->

<td valign="top" class="covermain">

Tuesday, June 27, 2000

<p>Blue genes
Forget the hype -- the Human Genome Project isn't even close to being

complete. And it'll be years before it results in any medical miracles

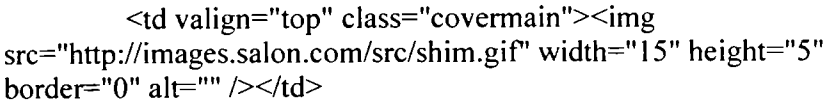
By Tabitha M. Powledge

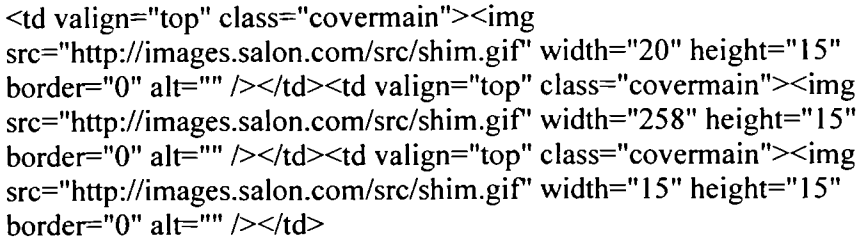
[in Health]

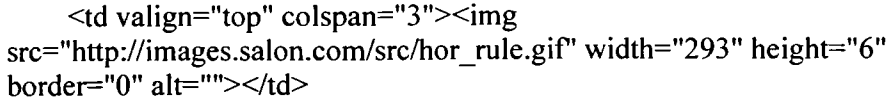
The great gene race

A private-sector company takes on the NIH -- and cleans its chromosomes

By Ralph Brave







<font face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif" size="2"
color="#CC6600">Just posted</p>

<p>
</p>

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<!-- end just posted -->

<!-- begin coverlines under cover art area-->

<tr>

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<!-- news -->

<p>
<font face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif"
size="2">News</p>

<p>What's
race got to do with it? Some men behaved badly in Central Park,
but others tried to help the

women under attack -- and they were black and Latino, too
<font
face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif" size="1">By Kathy Dobie

</p>

[Haiti's](http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2000/06/27/haiti/)
battered faith **Constant violence and corrupt elections have dimmed**
their hopes, but

the people won't give up on Aristide

By
Michael Deibert

[Sports:](http://www.salon.com/news/sports/bounds/2000/06/27/bounds/)
Out of Bounds **With nary a victory and not much of a game, Anna**
Kournikova's the

hottest ticket at Wimbledon. And she deserves to be.

By Kerry
Lauerman

<!-- politics -->

 [Politics](http://www.salon.com/politics/index.html)

[Tough times for Clinton lackeys](http://www.salon.com/politics/feature/2000/06/26/scandal2/index.html)
>Tough times for Clinton lackeys **More questions about Gore's role**
deepen the campaign fundraising scandal for the most corrupt
administration ever **By David Horowitz**

[Black and brown and Bush all over](http://www.salon.com/politics/feature/2000/06/27/bush/index.html)
The candidate sings "We Are the
World," but is there anything behind the music?

By Jake

Tapper</p>

<p>Trail Mix Hillary and Rick hit an oil slick as their Senate race brings the

national energy debate to the Empire State

By Alicia Montgomery</p>

<!-- mwt -->

<p>
Mothers Who Think</p>

<p>Space invaders Bounced from astronaut training because of their gender, the Mercury

13 still get no respect

By Martha Ackmann</p>

<!-- books -->

<p>
Books</p>

<p><a

[href="http://www.salon.com/books/col/keil/2000/06/27/tenure_track/index.htm](http://www.salon.com/books/col/keil/2000/06/27/tenure_track/index.html)
l">Dear Mr. Blue The graduate student my friend is dating has the
body of a porn star, but he's her professor

By
Garrison Keillor</p>

<p>"Aby
ssinian Chronicles" First-time novelist Moses Isegawa summons up
the violence and terror of Uganda under Idi Amin

By
Anderson Tepper </p>

<!-- MP3Lit -->

<p>
<font face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica,
sans-serif" size="2"><a href="http://www.mp3lit.com/index.html"
target="new">MP3Lit</p>

<p>Bed
head Thomas Beller, acclaimed author and founding editor of Open
City

magazine, reads from his latest collection of stories, "The

Sleep-Over Artist"
<font face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif"
size="1" color="#000000">Salon's new daily audio clip</p>

<!-- a&e -->

<p>
<font face="Verdana, Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif"
size="2">Arts &
Entertainment</p>

<p><a

<http://www.salon.com/ent/movies/feature/2000/06/27/nashville/index.html>>A movie called "Nashville" Twenty-five years ago, it looked like Robert Altman's freewheeling cinematic tapestry would change movies forever. What happened?
By Ray Sawhill

</p>

<p>The DVD Room: "Blue Velvet" As disturbing and sensuous on DVD as it was in 1986 -- with a great sick joke to boot

By Charles Taylor</p>

<p>Music Belle & Sebastian: A band that could have stepped out of a Smiths

song refuses to be a poster child for fey sensitivity
By Carlene Bauer</p>

<p>Blue Glow Ed McMahon profiled on "Biography": This Bud's for you
By Joyce Millman</p>

<!-- sex -->

<p>
Sex</p>

<p>The story of a young prostitute A teenage call girl gets her "parenting" wherever she can find it. Part 1 in a series

By Virginia Vitzthum</p>

[31 Ejaculations: No. 19](http://www.salon.com/sex/feature/2000/06/05/bogosian_intro/index.html) I know the woman across the way sits in the darkness of her place and watches me
By Eric Bogosian

[Naked World](http://www.salon.com/sex/world/2000/06/27/french_nuns/index.html) French nuns shun Viagra: They're investing like never before, but not in Pfizer
By Jack Boulware

<!-- people -->

 [People](http://www.salon.com/people/index.html)

[Brilliant Careers: Elizabeth Marshall Thomas](http://www.salon.com/people/bc/2000/06/27/thomas/index.html) Her books on dogs have made her a bestselling author, but her life as

a writer began over 40 years ago among the Bushmen of the Kalahari

Desert

By Susan McCarthy

[No thing Personal](http://www.salon.com/people/col/reit/2000/06/27/nptues/index.html) Mark Wahlberg: I'm not with Winona Ryder, I'm not with Jennifer

Aniston -- back off, Mom. Mike Tyson: Get in my belly!

By Amy Reiter

<!-- business -->

<p>
Business</p>

<p>Summer of (slightly cheaper) love Artists like Limp Bizkit, Pearl Jam and Britney Spears are keeping concert prices down, but those damn ticket fees are still going through the roof

By Eric Boehlert</p>

<p>Steve Bodow Sticker-shocked Americans, reeling from rising gas prices, boost the stock of companies producing alternative fuels

</p>

<!-- tech -->

<p>
Technology</p>

<p>Thoroughly modern Medicis Will new-economy millionaires bankroll needy artists? Several Web

companies are promoting the idea

By Janelle Brown</p>

<p>Technology Log Two more missteps by ICANN, the agency watching over domain name

registration, send critics into convulsions

By Damien Cave </p>

<!-- health -->

<!-- <p>
Health</p>

-->

<p>TRAVEL

The Salon Travel site has been discontinued. You can find an archive of our Travel stories here. Some Travel features will continue on other Salon sites.</p>

<p>
Illustration by Val B. Mina</p>

<p>
</p>

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<!-- biz widge begins -->

 Great buys in Salon's Shopping area.

<p>

Enter to Win use of a Private Jet Plane for a Year.<br clear="all" />

<br clear="all" /></p>

<p> Seeking child care or elder care? Use our convenient Carefinder

<br clear="all" /></p>

<p> Win a copy of "In a Sunburned Country."

<br clear="all" /></p>

<p><div align="center">More great offers in
Salon Plus</div>

</p>

<!-- biz widge ends -->

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<tr>

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<p>
Editor's Pick

<p>
Mad
scientist Dr. Larry C. Ford's story should have been one of millions
of lives

saved. Instead, it's a tale of attempted murder, suicide, stockpiled
machine guns and a cache of biological weapons hidden under the
steaks in his freezer

By Art
Allen [in Health]</p></p>

<p>
Letters</p><p>Will

higher gas prices help the environment? Nina Simone's fans praise her
Brilliant Career. Leave Microsoft's Clippit alone!
</p>

<p>
Comics</p><p>Story
Minute by Carol Lay He had never loved anyone, ever.
</p>

<p>
Columnists</p><p>Mr.
Blue advises a reader on how to save a self-destructive

co-worker. Steve Bodow on the new power players: Alternative fuel

producers. Amy Reiter: Marky Mark wants to lay some rumors to rest.
</p>

<!--<p>
Shop</p>

<p>Summer desserts: Fruit-filled recipes that will make you drool.
</p>-->

<!-- MP3LiT top 20 downloads -->

<p>
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<p>Today's
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by Parker Posey]

2. <a target="new"
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3. <a target="new"
href="http://www.mp3lit.com/nonfiction/millerd.html">Dennis Miller

4. <a target="new"
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5. <a target="new"
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6. <a target="new"
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7. <a target="new"
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Stiller

8. <a target="new"
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9. <a target="new"
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10. Woody
Allen

11. <a target="new"
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12. <a target="new"
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13. <a target="new"
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14. <a target="new"
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Keesling

16. <a target="new"
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17. <a target="new"
href="http://www.mp3lit.com/fiction/cisneros.html">Sandra Cisneros

18. <a target="new"
href="http://www.mp3lit.com/fiction/sweetvicious.html">R. Mattson [read by
lone Skye]

19. <a target="new"
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