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## OFFICE OF THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL

Date of transcription 08/03/98

RICHARD S. "DICK" MORRIS, white male, born [REDACTED], home address [REDACTED], home telephone [REDACTED], was interviewed in the presence of DAVID LENEFSKY, Attorney and Counselor at Law, 18 East 48<sup>th</sup> Street, New York, New York 10017, office telephone [REDACTED].

MORRIS was immediately advised of the personal and official identities of the interviewers and the purpose of the interview. MORRIS thereafter provided the following information:

MORRIS is currently employed as a Political Consultant and a Commentator for FOX TV NEWS. During 1995 and 1996, MORRIS was employed as Chief Strategist for the CLINTON-GORE Campaign. MORRIS has never been a government employee.

MORRIS first met BILL CLINTON in November 1977. MORRIS was employed as a consultant for CLINTON during the Arkansas Gubernatorial Campaigns of 1978, 1982, 1984, 1986, and 1990.

MORRIS has never met MONICA LEWINSKY and first heard her name on January 21, 1998 when the matter broke in the news.

MORRIS has had conversations with President CLINTON, NANCY HERNREICH, and BETTY CURRIE about LEWINSKY.

MORRIS recalled on January 21, 1998, he received a page from NANCY HERNREICH and when MORRIS responded to the page, HERNREICH requested that MORRIS telephone the President.

At about 12:00 p.m., that same day, MORRIS telephoned President CLINTON and LEWINSKY was discussed during this conversation. MORRIS recalls being told by President CLINTON something to the effect of "The charges aren't true. I didn't do what they say I did. What they said, I didn't do, but I did do something. I am not sure I can prove my innocence."

MORRIS telephoned President CLINTON again at about 11:15 p.m., that same day. In response to MORRIS' inquiry, President CLINTON said: "I told you these charges aren't true."

Investigation on 08/01/98 at New York City, New York File # 29D-LR-35063

SA [REDACTED]  
by CI [REDACTED] Date dictated 08/03/98

[REDACTED]

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During one of the above telephone conversations, MORRIS recalled telling President CLINTON that the President had a reservoir of forgiveness by the American public, and that NIXON had made a grave mistake by "hunkering down," and that the President should consider "playing outside the foul lines of the legal process by going around it, by going to the American people and asking for forgiveness." MORRIS recalls telling the President that even if there was a technical violation, the American people would forgive the President, if the President appealed to them frankly.

When MORRIS inquired about the legal situation, the President mentioned there might be gifts and taped messages. MORRIS recalled telling the President to not think like a lawyer, but to think like a politician and as long as the American people are on your side, STARR would not be able to hurt you, even if there was a technical violation. The President made no response to MORRIS' advice.

MORRIS telephoned President CLINTON at about 7:30 p.m. on January 22, 1998, and spoke briefly with the President, who requested MORRIS to call back later.

At about 9:00 p.m., that same day, MORRIS again telephoned President CLINTON. During this conversation, President CLINTON told MORRIS something to the effect of, "There are some people who think they can run me out of office over this, but you don't think they can, do you?" MORRIS agreed that "they" probably could not.

On either January 23 or 24, 1998, MORRIS again telephoned the President to wish the President well, advise that he understood the scandal, and that he was only calling as a friend. MORRIS recalls these comments were made to the President briefly, and the remainder of the conversation involved the President's State of the Union address and whether or not the LEWINSKY matter should be mentioned in the speech.

On January 26, 1998, MORRIS again attempted to telephone President CLINTON, but rather spoke with NANCY HERNREICH, who told MORRIS that the President would like to speak to him directly, but that the President could not. HERNREICH also told MORRIS that HERNREICH had been instructed to tell MORRIS that all future conversations would have to go through MICKEY KANTOR.

MORRIS also recalled sending flowers to, and having a

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brief telephone conversation with, BETTY CURRIE after CURRIE's first Grand Jury appearance. This conversation was not really to discuss LEWINSKY, but rather a support call to wish CURRIE well.

MORRIS has no recollection of a telephone conversation with President CLINTON on April 7, 1996, at 5:10 p.m. MORRIS mentioned during 1995 and 1996, he probably spoke to President CLINTON approximately 500 times. Just before the elections in 1996, MORRIS spoke with the President almost on a daily basis and has no recollection of this specific conversation. MORRIS speculated the telephone conversation was related to campaign issues, probably advertising. It would not have been a general conversation call.

MORRIS has spoken to no one, except his wife, his priest, and his attorney about the interview today.



UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

----- X  
IN RE: :  
GRAND JURY PROCEEDINGS :  
----- X

Grand Jury Room No. 2  
United States District Court  
for the District of Columbia  
3rd & Constitution, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Tuesday, August 18, 1998

The testimony of RICHARD S. MORRIS was taken in the presence of a full quorum of Grand Jury 97-2, impaneled on September 19, 1997, commencing at 1:43 p.m., before:

JACKIE M. BENNETT, JR.  
SOLOMON WISENBERG  
Deputy Independent Counsel  
JAY APPERSON  
Associate Independent Counsel  
Office of Independent Counsel  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 490 North  
Washington, D.C. 20004

1 PROCEEDINGS

2 Whereupon,  
3 RICHARD S. MORRIS  
4 was called as a witness and, after having been first duly  
5 sworn by the Foreperson of the Grand Jury, was examined and  
6 testified as follows:

7 EXAMINATION

8 BY MR. BENNETT:

9 Q Good afternoon, Mr. Morris.  
10 A Hi.  
11 Q My name is Jackie Bennett and seated to my left is  
12 Jay Apperson, my colleague. We just met with you a moment  
13 ago in the hallway for the first time. Is that correct?  
14 A Yes.  
15 Q All right. Before we begin, you're appearing today  
16 pursuant to a subpoena, is that correct?  
17 A Yes.  
18 Q And I assume you've been told that you've been  
19 asked to appear as a witness only, you're not a subject,  
20 you're not a target of this investigation.  
21 A Yes.  
22 Q All right. Nonetheless, it's our practice to  
23 advise you of your rights. You are aware that you have a  
24 right to refuse to answer any question the truthful answer to  
25 which might tend to incriminate you personally; you're aware

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1 of that?  
2 A Yes.  
3 Q If you do answer our questions, those answers could  
4 be used against you in some future proceeding; you understand  
5 that. You have a right to consult with an attorney.  
6 A Yes.  
7 Q And I understand you have an attorney present with  
8 you outside the grand jury room today. Is that correct?  
9 A Yes.  
10 Q And what is his name?  
11 A David Lenefsky, L-e-n-e-f-s-k-y.  
12 Q And he is your local attorney? Is that correct?  
13 A From New York.  
14 Q New York? All right. Mr. Apperson is going to be  
15 conducting the questions, at least here at the beginning.  
16 We may be joined by Sol Wisenberg in a few moments. In fact,  
17 I expect we will. Do you have any questions before we begin?  
18 A No.  
19 Q Would you like a cup of water?  
20 A Yes. Actually, I'd like a diet Coke, but I'll take  
21 water.  
22 MR. APPERSON: Water is all we have to offer.  
23 A JUROR: Regular Coke, no diet.  
24 THE WITNESS: I'll take regular Coke.  
25 MR. BENNETT: Okay. Do we have ice?

1 A JUROR: Ice?  
 2 A JUROR: No. There's no ice.  
 3 THE WITNESS: I don't need ice, just caffeine.  
 4 MR. BENNETT: Okay.  
 5 A JUROR: It's hot.  
 6 MR. APPERSON: It's warm.  
 7 A JUROR: It's hot.  
 8 A JUROR: There are Cokes in here.  
 9 A JUROR: Yes, but I don't know if we have any ice.  
 10 A JUROR: He said he didn't need ice.  
 11 A JUROR: He didn't need ice.  
 12 A JUROR: He wants the Coke.  
 13 MR. APPERSON: Warm is fine. I want the water.  
 14 A JUROR: Don't confuse me, Jay.  
 15 THE WITNESS: Thank you.  
 16 BY MR. APPERSON:  
 17 Q All right, sir. Give us your name, please, for the  
 18 record.  
 19 A My legal name is Richard S., as in Samuel, Morris,  
 20 M-o-r-r-i-s, but I'm known as Dick.  
 21 Q All right, sir. And you're currently residing in  
 22 New York? Is that correct?  
 23 A Yes.  
 24 Q And how are you employed?  
 25 A Self-employed. I'm a political consultant and a

1 commentator.  
 2 Q Okay. I guess let's start by asking how long  
 3 you've known Bill Clinton and in what capacity have you been  
 4 involved with Mr. Clinton.  
 5 A I first met him in early November of 1977 and I've  
 6 served as his political consultant on and off for the entire  
 7 intervening period. I handled his first race for governor in  
 8 1978. I did not work with him in 1980. I handled his races  
 9 in '82, '84, '86 and '90. I was not involved in the '92  
 10 campaign. And I handled his reelection in '96.  
 11 Q All right, sir. And as far as non-specifically  
 12 campaign, official campaign related contacts, since  
 13 Mr. Clinton has become president, have you been in contact  
 14 with the President and, if so, in what capacity?  
 15 A Yes. During the first two years of his  
 16 administration, '93 and '94, I met with him about 10 or 12  
 17 times. Every two or months we would get together just for a  
 18 chat and general advice.  
 19 Then in November of 1994, after the Republicans  
 20 took over Congress, he asked me to come back and work for him  
 21 full time to help him get reelected. And then for the  
 22 balance of '94 and through '95 and '96, we were in constant  
 23 contact. I was working on his campaign. And since the  
 24 election of 19 -- since my resignation in August of 1996,  
 25 we've spoken probably 20 times by phone. We haven't met each --

1 other since then.  
 2 Q Okay. In a face-to-face meeting.  
 3 A Right.  
 4 Q All right. Let me ask you with respect to your  
 5 comments about after the '94 elections and you coming to work  
 6 for him full-time, who actually were you employed by and in  
 7 what capacity in connection with that request?  
 8 A I was employed by the Clinton-Gore campaign as a  
 9 strategist and I was a consultant to the Clinton-Gore  
 10 campaign and the Democratic National Committee.  
 11 Q Okay. Did you have offices at the White House?  
 12 A No.  
 13 Q Where were your offices?  
 14 A And I was never on the public payroll.  
 15 Q Okay.  
 16 A My offices were at the campaign headquarters at  
 17 21st and M.  
 18 Q Okay. And did you meet with the President between  
 19 1994 and the reelection?  
 20 A Yes.  
 21 Q Where would you generally meet with the President?  
 22 A Generally in the residence, but sometimes in the  
 23 Oval Office.  
 24 Q Okay. Now, how about the First Lady? Did you have  
 25 contact with her during this time period?

1 A Which time period?  
 2 Q Between '94 when you were asked to come back full  
 3 time to work on the reelection through the election.  
 4 A Yes.  
 5 Q Okay. What was the nature of your contacts?  
 6 A I would call her frequently to brief her on what  
 7 was going on, to get her advice. I tried to make a practice  
 8 during much of the period of meeting with her every week or  
 9 two weeks and we were in pretty constant contact.  
 10 Q All right. Were there ever meetings with the three  
 11 of you, the President, the First Lady and yourself?  
 12 A Yes.  
 13 Q How often was that and was that the norm?  
 14 A No. There were only four or five such meetings  
 15 and they occurred in November, December and January of '94,  
 16 '95. After the end of January, I never had a meeting to my  
 17 recollection alone with the President and the First Lady.  
 18 There were some larger group meetings where both  
 19 were present together, but relatively few. Most of the  
 20 meetings that I had with the First Lady were directly with  
 21 her or with the President, not with the two of them together.  
 22 Q Okay. When you say the larger group meetings, who  
 23 was present for those?  
 24 A Well, there was a weekly, supposedly weekly, met  
 25 about 35 or 40 times in each year, strategy meeting that was

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1 typically convened on Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday nights  
 2 in the White House residence and it began as just the  
 3 President and myself and then the membership of it gradually  
 4 expanded over the two-year period until by the time I left  
 5 there were about 25 people that were in the meetings.  
 6 Q Okay. And were the subjects of these meetings in  
 7 general terms?  
 8 A Campaign strategy, advertisements, polling,  
 9 political rhetoric, issue positioning, responding to you all,  
 10 and working on the President's reelection.  
 11 Q Okay. Let me ask you, when was the first time you  
 12 ever heard the name Monica Lewinsky?  
 13 A January 21, 1998.  
 14 Q All right. Prior to that time, do you recall any  
 15 discussions with anyone at the White House concerning the  
 16 President's involvement with an intern?  
 17 A No.  
 18 Q All right. How on January 21st did you hear the  
 19 name Lewinsky? Was that from press reports?  
 20 A In the media, just like everybody else. Yes.  
 21 Q All right. And let's direct your attention to that  
 22 day when you read that and found out through the media  
 23 reports. Did you have occasion to speak with anyone in the  
 24 White House that day?  
 25 A Yes.

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1 Q Okay. Tell us how that came about.  
 2 A I had been -- I had not really been in touch on a  
 3 constant basis with the President for some time until about  
 4 the middle of December of 1997. We just have gone through  
 5 periods where we're in touch and periods where we're not and  
 6 this was one of the nots. And around the middle of December  
 7 of '97, we began to talk to each other a fair amount and  
 8 largely looking toward the state of the union speech at the  
 9 end of January of 1998.  
 10 On the morning of the 21st of January, when I woke  
 11 up, I heard about the Lewinsky scandal and at about 11:00 in  
 12 the morning, I received a page from the President. Actually,  
 13 I think it was 11:25 in the morning.  
 14 And, as it happened, I was on the subway at the  
 15 time and I was literally on a train and when I got off the  
 16 train, I got another page at 11:38 and I was just below the  
 17 place where I was going so I figured I'd return it when I got  
 18 to that office. And I called at about 11:45 on Wednesday  
 19 morning.  
 20 His habit was to page me through Betty Currie or  
 21 Nancy Harnreich, old friends of yours, and the number they  
 22 would give out is [REDACTED], which was the President's number,  
 23 and I responded to the page and Betty Currie answered the  
 24 phone. Yes.  
 25 Betty Currie answered the phone. And she said, --

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1 "He wants to speak with you," and then I held on for a moment  
 2 and then the President came on the phone.  
 3 Q Okay. Did you speak with Nancy Harnreich that day?  
 4 A Yes.  
 5 Q Okay. Tell us -- we'll come back to the events  
 6 with Betty Currie.  
 7 A First, I have no clear recollection as to  
 8 whether -- I wouldn't be certain that Betty as opposed to  
 9 Nancy answered the phone when I first called in. I think  
 10 it was Betty, but I'm not sure.  
 11 Q All right. If it was not Betty, it would likely be  
 12 Ms. Harnreich?  
 13 A Yes. If it were not Betty, if I got anybody other  
 14 than Betty or Nancy, I would ask to speak to Nancy.  
 15 Q All right.  
 16 A And then Nancy would take care of it.  
 17 Q Okay.  
 18 A Nancy was basically my contact person. Betty was  
 19 someone who I would go through really only for the direct  
 20 purpose of either speaking to the President or passing a  
 21 message to him.  
 22 Q All right. Okay. So tell me -- I'm sorry --  
 23 A And then I did speak to Nancy.  
 24 Q Tell me briefly when you --  
 25 A And then I did speak to Nancy later that day.

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1 Q Okay.  
 2 A When we were arranging how the President and I  
 3 would speak at the end of the day.  
 4 Q Okay.  
 5 A Which was our second conversation of the day.  
 6 Q Okay. But your best recollection is probably Betty  
 7 that you spoke to initially when you returned the page.  
 8 A Yes.  
 9 Q Okay. And what exactly did she say to you when you  
 10 returned the page?  
 11 A "He wants to talk to you."  
 12 Q All right. "He" meaning the President.  
 13 A The President.  
 14 Q All right. And did you then speak to the  
 15 President?  
 16 A Excuse me. Something just came into my mind.  
 17 I think -- I think that early in the morning, like around  
 18 9:30 or 10:00 in the morning when I first read the Lewinsky  
 19 thing I called -- I think Nancy and I said, "If he wants to  
 20 talk to me, he can page me."  
 21 And it wasn't a message for him to call me back,  
 22 but I would frequently do that and still do, when there's a  
 23 time that the President's under any kind of stress or any  
 24 kind of difficulty and I feel that I might be of help, I  
 25 usually just call in and leave my number and say, "If he

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1 wants to reach me, he can." Or "I'll be out of the country,"  
2 or "I'll be in Argentina," or whatever and that way they can  
3 reach me. So it was that kind of a thing.

4 And I frankly didn't expect to hear from him,  
5 but then he did reach me. And that was probably -- I would  
6 typically leave the message with Nancy, not with Betty.

7 Q All right. So when you returned -- thereafter,  
8 when you got the page and returned the page and spoke with  
9 Betty Currie, as best you recall being Betty Currie, she  
10 said, "The President wants to speak with you."

11 A Just "He wants to speak with you."

12 Q "He wants to speak with you." Did you then hold  
13 and speak with the President?

14 A Yes. Yes.

15 Q Okay. How long did that conversation last?

16 A It's hard to tell when you're talking to him, time  
17 seems to -- you know, you're always feeling like you're  
18 keeping him from a nuclear war or something, so you're not  
19 sure how long it is, but my guess would be 10 to 15 minutes.

20 Q All right. What do you recall was the discussion  
21 as specific as you recall?

22 A So what are you asking?

23 Q Tell us what your conversation was.

24 A You mean tell you the words as nearly as I can  
25 recall?

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1 Q Yes. Please.

2 A Okay. This is -- this may not be completely  
3 accurate because it's memory, but it went something like  
4 this. He got on the phone and I said, "You poor son of a  
5 bitch. I've just read what's going on. I feel for you  
6 tremendously. I know just what you're going through, I've  
7 been there. I've been through it and my heart just goes out  
8 to you incredibly."

9 And he said, "Oh, God. This is just awful."

10 And I said, "All I can tell you is I've been  
11 through it and if you live through it, you can improve."

12 Then he said, "I didn't do what they said I did,  
13 but I did do something. I mean, with this girl, I didn't  
14 do what they said, but I did -- but I did do -- but I did do  
15 something." He repeated it like twice.

16 And then he said, "And I may have done enough so  
17 that I don't know if I can prove my innocence."

18 And I said, "There's a vast capacity for  
19 forgiveness in this country."

20 He said, "There may be gifts. I gave her gifts,  
21 but only after she gave them to me. And there may be  
22 messages on her phone answering machine."

23 I said, "Entry and exit records from the  
24 residence?"

25 And he said, "There won't be any."

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1 And I said, "Look. This is a he said/she said  
2 situation."

3 The President said -- it may be at that point that  
4 he said there may be gifts or something like that, it was in  
5 that -- that frame of the conversation.

6 Then -- okay. Then I said, "Look. You may have  
7 to play this thing outside the foul lines," which means  
8 transcend the legal process, "go over the head, go over  
9 Starr's head and go to the public and ask them for  
10 forgiveness, tell them what you did and ask them for  
11 forgiveness. There's a great capacity for forgiveness in  
12 this country and you should consider tapping into it."

13 And he said, "But what about the legal thing?  
14 You know, the legal thing? You know, Starr and perjury and  
15 all that?"

16 And I said, "This is not a legal process, this is a  
17 political process. You're the only human being in the  
18 country -- "

19 I'm sorry, let me interrupt my narrative to go back  
20 to the beginning of the conversation.

21 MR. APPERSON: Certainly.

22 THE WITNESS: After -- like as the second or third  
23 thing that I said to him, I said, "It occurred to me that I  
24 may be the only sex addict you know and maybe I can help  
25 you."

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1 And then -- yeah. And then we -- and then we  
2 talked about "I didn't do what they said I did."

3 BY MR. APPERSON:

4 Q All right. As you've already revealed.

5 A Yeah.

6 Q All right, sir.

7 A Then he said, before we got into the bit about  
8 forgiveness and that stuff, he said, "You know, ever since  
9 the election, I've tried to shut myself down. I've tried to  
10 shut my body down, sexually, I mean."

11 Q All right. He said "sexually, I mean"?

12 A Yes.

13 Q All right, sir.

14 A "But sometimes I slipped up and with this girl I  
15 just slipped up."

16 And I said -- I said, "I know. You know, addicts  
17 fall off the wagon." I said, "This is an addiction just  
18 like drugs or alcohol and you just have to recognize it and  
19 fight it."

20 And then he repeated, "I didn't do what they said  
21 I did, but I did something."

22 And I said, "You just got to confront it and you  
23 just got to deal with it personally and politically and  
24 you've got to ask for the country's forgiveness.

25 Then we got into the forgiveness issue. And I



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1 said, "The one thing you've got to avoid is getting trapped  
2 like Nixon into a rigid posture of denial because that gives  
3 you no flexibility, no room to maneuver, and you get stuck.  
4 And presidents only get killed when they get stuck. But on  
5 the other hand, if you play this outside the foul lines and  
6 you really let it out, people are going to cut you slack on  
7 it."  
8 Then he said, "You think so?"  
9 And I said, "I think so." Kind of tentatively.  
10 And he said, "I don't know."  
11 And I said, "Why don't we poll it?"  
12 And he said, "How would you do that?"  
13 And I said, "Same way we poll everything."  
14 And he said, "What do you mean?"  
15 And I said, "I'll read them," meaning the voters in  
16 the sample, "paragraphs of different scenarios and see how  
17 they react. Maybe you -- I hesitate to suggest that I do it,  
18 but maybe this isn't something you want to do with your  
19 regular pollsters."  
20 And he said, "When could you do it?"  
21 And I said, "Tonight."  
22 And he said, "Call me late tonight with the  
23 numbers."  
24 And I said, "Yup."  
25 And he said, "Okay." Click.

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1 So that was the first conversation.  
2 Q All right, sir. Let me ask you, did he mention, as  
3 you've indicated, his concern about the legal aspects and  
4 perjury?  
5 A (Nodding affirmatively.)  
6 Q I want to focus on that. Was there any -- did he  
7 at that time reveal to you that he had been deposed in the  
8 Paula Jones case concerning Ms. Lewinsky?  
9 A No, but I had read that in the newspaper and that  
10 was the reference he made.  
11 Q Okay.  
12 A But he didn't elaborate that. No.  
13 Q Okay. So there was no specific discussion of his  
14 deposition.  
15 A No.  
16 Q Did he say anything else about perjury? Was that  
17 the only reference as you've given us, "the legal thing" and  
18 the perjury?  
19 A No, just what I've said. I appreciate your  
20 prompting because it may help me remember other stuff from  
21 it, but I've tried as much as I can to give you the actual  
22 text of the conversation.  
23 Q All right, sir. And thereafter, you had understood  
24 that the President had authorized you to do the polling that  
25 you suggested.

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1 A That's correct.  
2 Q Did you thereafter do that?  
3 A Yes.  
4 Q Okay. What exactly did you do after that?  
5 A I typed up a questionnaire and I faxed it to the  
6 company that I use to do polling and I asked them -- and I  
7 asked them if they could do this poll tonight, Wednesday  
8 night the 21st. They said they could.  
9 I said, "Be careful who you have as interviewers on  
10 this, because we'd better have good security." And the  
11 people at the polling company assured me that there would be  
12 good security.  
13 And I wrote up a questionnaire and I faxed it to  
14 them and I told them do as many interviews as you can get and  
15 I think they did 400 or 500 interviews.  
16 Q All right. What was the polling company that you  
17 used?  
18 A Action Research.  
19 Q Is that in New York? Located in New York?  
20 A No.  
21 Q Where is that located?  
22 A Melbourne, Florida.  
23 Q All right, sir. And thereafter, did you -- when  
24 were you expecting to get the returns from the polling data?  
25 A That night.

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1 Q All right. You subsequently had a late-night  
2 conversation with the President. You indicated you spoke  
3 again. Is that correct?  
4 A Yes.  
5 BY MR. BENNETT:  
6 Q Before we get into that, for those of us who  
7 don't know, what particularly does the polling company do?  
8 I assume they call, but is it a blanket, nationwide kind  
9 of --  
10 A It's a national sample, a statistically balanced  
11 sample of the country. And I send them the questions to be  
12 asked. They have 50 or 100 people at phone banks every night  
13 who do these surveys around the country. They ask the  
14 questions and then late at night after they've finished they  
15 send me the results.  
16 MR. BENNETT: Okay.  
17 A JUROR: Well, could you tell us some of the  
18 questions you asked?  
19 THE WITNESS: Yes. First I want to emphasize that  
20 the President had no role in designing these questions. He  
21 very rarely did have a role in designing questions, except at  
22 the very beginning of our relationship while he was  
23 President. Of the roughly maybe 150 polls I've conducted for  
24 him, probably 145 of them he never saw the questions until it  
25 was over.

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1 And this was a situation in which I felt that it  
2 would be the better part of discretion for me not to show him  
3 the questions because I didn't want to be forcing him to make  
4 admissions to me in the course of approving or disapproving  
5 the questionnaire. I had read enough of the public stuff  
6 that I could summarize things in the questionnaire without  
7 his approval.

8 So the first time that he actually heard the  
9 questions that I'm going to tell you about was when I gave  
10 him the results of the questionnaire, after it had been  
11 asked.

12 I'd be happy to provide you with the questionnaire,  
13 if you want. My attorney has it.

14 BY MR. APPERSON:

15 Q That would be helpful, but if you could -- for the  
16 grand jury's benefit, give us a sense as best you recall at  
17 this point and we will take that later on.

18 A Sure. It was about four single spaced pages. It  
19 began by asking, you know, do you have a favorable view of  
20 Clinton, rating his job performance as president? Do you  
21 think that he committed adultery in the past? Do you think  
22 he frequently committed adultery in the past? Do you think  
23 that he has committed adultery while he is president? Do you  
24 think that he frequently has committed adultery while he is  
25 president?

1 told Monica Lewinsky to lie.

2 None of these were based on his information to me,  
3 it was all based on my suppositions of the worst case  
4 scenario. And that's a frequent thing that I've always done  
5 with Clinton. Whenever things are bad, I always sort of  
6 imagine the worst and see if he can survive it and then kind  
7 of work back from there. So that's what I did.

8 Then I said do you believe there's such a thing as  
9 sexual addiction, do you believe that Bill Clinton is a sex  
10 addict, do you believe John Kennedy was a sex addict, do you  
11 believe that if John Kennedy -- if you knew now -- if you  
12 knew then -- if you had lived at the time John Kennedy was  
13 president and knew of the sexual involvements that you now  
14 know that he's had, would you like to have seen him removed  
15 from office?

16 And I think that was it. And then I asked them  
17 their race and age and sex and income and educational level  
18 and party so I could analyze the data. That was roughly the  
19 questionnaire, but I'll give it to you, you can -- you'll  
20 see it.

21 Q All right. And the reason I asked you at this  
22 point, your subsequent conversation with the President was  
23 approximately 11:15 that night? Is that correct?

24 A Yes, roughly.

25 Q Okay. Did you have the poll results at that time

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1 Then I read them the public newspaper accounts of  
2 the Lewinsky affair, the Paula Jones deposition, the  
3 relationship with Lewinsky, the -- everything that was in the  
4 public -- the Linda Tripp tapes, the Linda Tripp -- whatever  
5 was in the public sector on January 21st, I put into the  
6 questionnaire and I read it to them.

7 And I said based on these facts, do you think that  
8 the President -- do you approve -- do you disapprove or  
9 approve of the President's conduct, do you think he should be  
10 removed from office, do you think he should resign in office?

11 Then I read them a statement that I said is a  
12 statement the President might give in which -- which was my  
13 words, not his -- in which he said I did have a sexual  
14 relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, I was involved with her, I  
15 shouldn't have been, I fell, I was a flawed human being and I  
16 did this and I ask for your forgiveness, I've asked for my  
17 wife's forgiveness, and a statement that expressed a great  
18 deal of contrition. Not quite like last night, but getting  
19 there.

20 And it was a -- and I read that to voters and said  
21 if the President said this, would you be inclined to forgive  
22 him or not? Do you think he should be removed from office or  
23 not? And then I said if the President admitted to committing  
24 perjury, should he be removed? If the President admitted to  
25 obstruction of justice, if the President admitted that he had

1 when you spoke to the President?

2 A Yes.

3 Q All right. Okay. We'll get to that in a minute.  
4 I want to ask you before we leave this earlier conversation,  
5 before you started the polling, he mentioned to you that  
6 there were gifts and taped messages. Did he expound on that  
7 at all?

8 A No.

9 Q Did you ask him further about any of that?

10 A No.

11 Q So you had no idea what the nature of the gifts  
12 were?

13 A No.

14 Q Or the nature of the recorded messages?

15 A No.

16 Q What did you understand him to mean when he said  
17 that -- in response to your question of visitor logs and his  
18 response that there would be none? What did you understand  
19 that to mean?

20 A That if he saw her, he did so in the West Wing, not  
21 in the East Wing.

22 Q Okay. And how -- in your mind, how would that  
23 affect whether or not there were visitor logs?

24 A That they would be less likely for there to be  
25 visitor logs because if you visit the residence, you have to

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1 get waved in, whereas if you're a staff member you can hang  
2 around the White House without any real record of where you  
3 go.

4 Q Okay. Did you understand from the public press  
5 reports that at this time Monica Lewinsky was an employee not  
6 of the White House, but at the Pentagon?

7 A I did not understand that then, no. I mean, I  
8 don't know if I understood it then, but it didn't enter into  
9 my thinking. No.

10 Q All right. Okay. Approximately what time did you  
11 receive the poll results from the company?

12 A About 10:30 or 10:45. I was at the ballet that  
13 night and when I returned I called them and they didn't quite  
14 have them ready and then they had them ready a little bit  
15 later, 10:30, 11:00, something like that.

16 Q Okay. Did they fax that to you?

17 A No.

18 Q Read it to you over the telephone?

19 A Over the telephone.

20 Q All right. And did you record the poll results?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Did you ever receive a hard copy printout from the  
23 company of this?

24 A No.

25 Q It was simply conveyed by telephone to you?

1 phone."

2 And I said I wouldn't fax them, "Thanks for telling  
3 me, but I wasn't planning to fax them anyway." And I said,  
4 "So when should I call and where should I call?"

5 And Nancy said, "Don't call -- " there's a private  
6 number that I had for the President that rang in his bedroom  
7 without it going through any switchboard and she said, "Don't  
8 call on that number because you'll wake Hillary up, call on  
9 [REDACTED]" which is the switchboard number for the White House.

10 I did and the President -- I told the operator that  
11 I wanted to speak to the President. The President picked up  
12 the phone and said -- either said, "Let me call you back from  
13 another phone," or "Let me take this call in another room."  
14 I forget which, but he somehow switched phones. And then  
15 either he called back or -- actually, I think he did call  
16 back on another line. And then I had a conversation with him  
17 about the results of the poll.

18 Q All right. Approximately how long was this  
19 conversation?

20 A About 15 to 20 minutes.

21 Q All right, sir. And tell us as best you recall  
22 what was said during that conversation.

23 A I said, "Well, I'm wrong. You can't tell them  
24 about it, they'll kill you." He said nothing. You have  
25 to -- just --

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1 A By telephone.

2 Q All right.

3 A I told them not to give me a hard record of it.

4 Q All right.

5 A Because I didn't want there to be one.

6 Q Okay. Did you keep your notes of the results of  
7 the poll?

8 A Yes.

9 Q Do you still have those?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Would you provide those to us as well?

12 A Yes. It's written down on the questionnaire.

13 Q Okay.

14 A The only document there's ever been was the  
15 questionnaire with the handwritten notes on it.

16 Q All right, sir. After you received the poll  
17 results and made the notations, is it -- thereafter I'm  
18 assuming that you called the President with the results.

19 A Yes.

20 Q And we've established the time. Tell us how that  
21 conversation began. Who did you call? Did you call the  
22 President directly or Ms. Hernreich or who?

23 A Nancy Hernreich had told me earlier in the day,  
24 at about 4:00 or 5:00 she paged me, and she said, "Don't fax  
25 the results to us, just give them to him verbally over the --

1 Q He did not say -- he did not respond?

2 A He didn't respond.

3 Q All right, sir.

4 A Typically, when I was giving the President advice,  
5 he would often not respond. He would often just listen in  
6 silence and interrupt me if he wanted to.

7 So then I said -- then I went through the  
8 questionnaire and I began to read him each question and read  
9 him the results of each question verbatim. And he was silent  
10 during virtually the entire process.

11 At one point, one of the questions I asked was do  
12 you think he should go to jail and, as I recall, 35 percent  
13 of the voters said yes. And then I said -- I think either  
14 he said or I said, "They didn't ask you about capital  
15 punishment, did they? You didn't ask them about capital  
16 punishment, did you?" But there was a little banter at that  
17 point.

18 And I said, "They're just too shocked by this.  
19 It's just too new, it's too raw." And I said, "And the  
20 problem is they're willing to forgive you for adultery, but  
21 not for perjury or obstruction of justice or the various  
22 other things."

23 And I said, "They're even willing to forgive the  
24 conduct. They're not willing to forgive the word. In other  
25 words, if in fact you told Monica Lewinsky to lie, they can

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1 forgive that, but if you committed subornation of perjury,  
2 they won't."

3 In other words, it was kind of -- almost a -- if  
4 you were convicted of a crime that sounded that bad, we  
5 won't. And you'll see the results.

6 After each question, we asked about removal from  
7 office and I think it got up to about 48 or 49 percent that  
8 said yes and that was just too high. I thought it would be  
9 in the low thirties, the group that basically hated Clinton.

10 I do not recall if there was discussion back and  
11 forth as I read him each of the numbers. I mean, it may well  
12 have been -- he may have asked, "Is that 35? What did you  
13 say, 35?" Or "Read me that again," or something like that.  
14 But there was no substantive comment from him.

15 Q All right, sir. If I may, while you're at that,  
16 giving his comments, did you have the impression he was  
17 making notes at his end?

18 A Yes.

19 Q All right. Go ahead, sir.

20 A Yes. I don't -- not in the sense that he said,  
21 "Wait a minute, let me get that down," but in the sense that  
22 he would often ask me to repeat a number or something like  
23 that.

24 Q All right, sir.

25 A Then we -- I continued to go through it and I

1 And I said, "You bet your ass."

2 Then the conversation proceeded for about three or  
3 four minutes, talking about the state of the union, we might  
4 have talked about Iraq, but there was nothing more on the  
5 Lewinsky matter.

6 Q All right, sir.

7 A I think he may have asked me, "Should I allude to  
8 this in the state of the union?"

9 And I said, "Either in a very cursory fashion at  
10 the beginning or not at all, the key thing is to punch  
11 through with your state of the union."

12 And then I probably said, "The best defense to the  
13 Lewinsky scandal is a good state of the union speech."

14 Q All right. What was your next contact with the  
15 President after this conversation that night?

16 A On Thursday evening, at about seven p.m., roughly,  
17 I was in my apartment in New York --

18 Q This is January 22nd?

19 A Yes.

20 Q All right.

21 A And I got a telephone call from a newspaper, I  
22 believe it was USA Today, but over the last couple of months  
23 I've gotten phone calls on the same subject and it could have  
24 been one of these publications, from USA Today, the Daily  
25 News, the New York Post, the Washington Post.

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1 was analyzing it and I was saying, "You see how it falls  
2 off when we talk about a specific crime or a specific  
3 offense."

4 I remember in particular that I read him that  
5 paragraph about how I lied and I had sex with Lewinsky and  
6 that stuff and I was sort of waiting for him to interrupt  
7 me and say, "But that isn't true," or "That goes too far,"  
8 or something like that, and he was silent throughout the  
9 whole thing. Then --

10 Q Let me just get this clearly because we don't have  
11 the particular document. What exactly was the --

12 A I'd be happy to give it to you. My attorney has it  
13 outside.

14 Q Okay. But we'll be able to identify clearly what  
15 the statement was?

16 A Yes. Sure.

17 Q All right.

18 A I'll point it out to you, if you don't.

19 Q All right.

20 A And then I said, "So you just can't do this."

21 And he said, "It just won't fly. It just won't  
22 fly."

23 And I said, "They're just not ready for it,"  
24 meaning the voters."

25 And he said, "Well, we just have to win, then." --

1 I've gotten at least four or five different outlets  
2 that have asked me the same question, so I'm not sure which  
3 it was, but I think it was USA Today.

4 Q All right, sir.

5 A And the reporter said that there's a line on the  
6 tape, meaning the Linda Tripp tape, the Monica Lewinsky/Linda  
7 Tripp tape, there's a line on the tape that refers to a  
8 moment when the President was with Monica Lewinsky having sex  
9 and he was on the telephone with you in the Jefferson Hotel  
10 where I lived during this period and that you were with the  
11 prostitute who I was subsequently exposed to have a  
12 relationship with and that you were having sex with her while  
13 he was having sex with Lewinsky and you were talking to one  
14 another.

15 And I said, "That's ridiculous. That's absolutely  
16 crazy. It never happened. It could never have possibly  
17 vaguely happened."

18 The President had no idea that I was doing what  
19 I was doing and if he had known I would have been fired in  
20 a heartbeat. And I had no idea he was doing what he said  
21 he was doing. So it was just completely fanciful.

22 And then I said, "If you print that, it's reckless  
23 and untrue." And the word "reckless" is the word you use to  
24 kill a news story because that means libel suit.

25 And I said, "So you'd better have --" I said,

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1 "If you have it on hard evidence, which is you have heard the  
2 tape and you can say that it's on that tape, then you can  
3 print it and you'd better print my denial. But if you do not  
4 know of yourself that it's on the tape, I'm telling you that  
5 it never happened and if you print it, the fact that you're  
6 printing it will be reckless and defamatory," which means  
7 I'll sue.

8 So they didn't publish the story. When he hung up  
9 the phone, I was absolutely gleeful and I picked up the phone  
10 and I called the President because I felt that this was proof  
11 that Monica Lewinsky was making all this garbage up because  
12 this had never happened. You know, she was telling Linda  
13 Tripp that this had happened and she must be a nut, which I  
14 hoped that she was.

15 So then I called the President and he was in the  
16 White House. They told me he's in the White House theater.  
17 I believe I subsequently learned that he was with Arafat, but  
18 I'm vague on that.

19 And the usher said, "He can't come out, he's in the  
20 White House theater."

21 And I said, "Can Hillary come out?"

22 And he said, "Just a minute."

23 And then the President came out and said, "I can't  
24 talk now. What's up?"

25 And I told him about the USA Today call and he

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1 said, "This is fantastic. This is great." You know, because  
2 we were both really happy about it. And he said, "That's  
3 great. I'll call you back in 45 minutes." And I said -- or  
4 "Call me back in 45 minutes."

5 And I said, "Fine."

6 About an hour later, I called him back and we --  
7 I got him, I don't recall the circumstances of it. I mean,  
8 at his end. And I said -- and I said, "Let me read the  
9 statement I gave to USA Today." I had in the meantime  
10 written a statement and called them back.

11 And I said, "If you go with it, which is reckless  
12 and dangerous," and whatever the words are, "this is my  
13 statement, but only if you go with it. This isn't your  
14 license to go with it." And the statement said that -- I  
15 said, "This is the fevered fantasy -- this is the fevered  
16 fantasy of a teenage mind."

17 And I said, "If all of Monica Lewinsky's charges  
18 are as accurate as this one, then she owes the nation a  
19 massive apology for completely taking us down fantasy lane,"  
20 or something like that.

21 And I told them that I was planning to have a press  
22 conference the next day, Friday morning, releasing this fact  
23 and blasting Monica Lewinsky "out of the water." Because I  
24 said, "Nobody's going to believe this and this will destroy  
25 her credibility on everything else she's saying." --

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1 And he said, "Yeah, when I heard about it, I was  
2 just ecstatic. It was great."

3 And I said -- I said, "This is wonderful. And, you  
4 know, when the country hears the other garbage on her tape,  
5 if it's as fanciful as this, her credibility will just be  
6 destroyed."

7 And he said, "Yeah."

8 And I said, "The country's never going to impeach  
9 a president over the word of a 21-year-old girl on some kind  
10 of fantasy trip." And we talked in that vein for a moment.

11 Then he said -- and I said, "I'm going to really  
12 just rip her tomorrow."

13 And he said, "You'd better be careful. Don't be  
14 too hard on her because there's some slight chance that she  
15 may not be cooperating with Starr and we don't want to  
16 alienate her by anything we're going to put out."

17 And I said, "Oh, okay. Well --"

18 And he said, "Don't do anything until we talk in  
19 the morning."

20 And I said, "Fine."

21 Then he said, "By the way, Dick, do you know the  
22 date of the, uh --" this is his "uh," it's not mine,  
23 "The, uh, the time with the woman?"

24 And I said, "What do you mean, sir?"

25 And he said, "The time, you know, with the woman at

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1 your hotel, the prostitute, you know, listening in on the  
2 calls?" And he was referring to an allegation that the  
3 prostitute who I had an affair with made which is that I had  
4 let her listen in and eavesdrop on conversations with the  
5 President.

6 And I told the President that that was not true,  
7 I said, "As I've said before, this was not true. I never had  
8 her eavesdrop on a conversation with you. What I did was to  
9 put the phone up to her ear for one minute so I could be a  
10 big shot and have her hear that I was talking to you and she  
11 just caught the sound of your voice."

12 And he said, "Well, what date was that?"

13 And I said, "Sir, a dozen times."

14 And he said, "Oh, all right."

15 And that was the conversation.

16 Q All right. Let me ask you just a question with  
17 reference to that while we're here. During the times that --  
18 those dozen times when you may have put the phone up, you  
19 were speaking with the President on the telephone and may  
20 have put the phone up to the woman's ear for a brief time, as  
21 you've testified, during those conversations you do not know  
22 who may or may not have been with the President when you were  
23 speaking with him. Is that fair to say?

24 A Yes. Fair. I mean, sometimes I would have the  
25 impression that he had staff with him or something, but I

1 never had the slightest idea, impression or inkling of the  
 2 rumor that that story indicated, that there was a time when  
 3 he was talking to me while he was having sex with anybody.  
 4 Q But you're not able to exclude that possibility.  
 5 A No. I would consider it remote. He would  
 6 constantly engage in conversation and talking and back and  
 7 forth and byplay and there probably were times when he was  
 8 less than attentive in 150 phone conversations, but sex  
 9 would be a little farfetched.  
 10 Q All right, sir. Now --  
 11 A Maybe it would be one of the times he indicated  
 12 pleasure at my speech draft. Anyway, go ahead.  
 13 Q All right. You indicated the President -- you left  
 14 the conversation, the President left it by "Don't do anything  
 15 until you talk to me in the morning."  
 16 A Right.  
 17 Q "Until we talk in the morning." Did you talk with  
 18 the President the next day?  
 19 A Yes.  
 20 Q All right. How did that conversation come about?  
 21 A I called him in the morning and my wife and I had  
 22 spoken about it and we had decided not to do a press  
 23 conference because ever since the scandal, we're both  
 24 publicity averse in terms of, you know, being at the center  
 25 of a firestorm. And we -- and she -- she felt that it would

1 his page.  
 2 And he said, "Listen. My people don't think it  
 3 would be a good idea for you to have that press conference  
 4 because we're not at all sure that Lewinsky is going to  
 5 cooperate with Starr, we think there's some chance that she  
 6 won't, and we don't want to alienate her."  
 7 And I said, "Well, that's good because we've just  
 8 talked about it and, you know, Eileen isn't all that anxious  
 9 for me to put my neck on the chopping block again, so we're  
 10 not going to do that."  
 11 And he said, "Good. You know, my attorneys have  
 12 talked to me," it was obvious to me at that point that he had  
 13 spoken to his staff and his attorneys and that he had caught  
 14 hell from them for talking to me.  
 15 I've always felt -- my relationship with the  
 16 President has always been a very direct one and it's always  
 17 been the object of animus and concern on the other people  
 18 around him that I do that because I don't ever go through  
 19 channels or that stuff. So it was clear that they had kind  
 20 of read him the riot act about that.  
 21 And he said, "My attorneys don't think it's a good  
 22 idea for me to talk to you. You can say anything you want to  
 23 me, but I can't say anything to you."  
 24 And I said, "Because this conversation isn't  
 25 privileged."

1 be a bad idea to do that.  
 2 So I called him back to tell him we were not going  
 3 to do the press hit. Before --  
 4 Q And approximately what time was that call made?  
 5 A I just don't know.  
 6 Q In the morning? Early?  
 7 A I just don't know.  
 8 Q All right, sir.  
 9 A I know that the other calls -- I know the times of  
 10 the Wednesday and the Thursday calls because there are  
 11 outside events that related to it, I was at a restaurant for  
 12 one and with company for another, but the Friday call, I have  
 13 just no idea what time of day or night it was.  
 14 And I said to him -- and actually, I cannot tell  
 15 you whether I called him or he called me, I just can't tell  
 16 you that, I just don't know. That call was different than  
 17 the others in that it was the last of the five phone calls  
 18 and he had -- I got the impression he had more or less gotten  
 19 his act together and he had been with his attorneys and he  
 20 had talked to his staff.  
 21 And before I could tell him I was not going to have  
 22 the press conference, he said to me either "I'm glad you  
 23 called," or "Here's why I called you." I mean, I would  
 24 always call him because he would never call me, he would page  
 25 me, and I don't know if I called him on my own or returning --

1 And he said, "Right."  
 2 And I said, "Okay."  
 3 And then he said, "In all the conversations, I've  
 4 made clear to you that these charges aren't true, haven't I?"  
 5 And I said, "Yes, you have."  
 6 Excuse me. In our conversation on Wednesday night,  
 7 after I read through the questionnaire with him, he said to  
 8 me explicitly, "And I've told you that these charges aren't  
 9 true."  
 10 And I said, "Yes, sir. You have."  
 11 Because earlier he told me, "I didn't do what they  
 12 said I did." And I got the impression that he was saying it  
 13 kind of for the record because, you know, he'd been fairly  
 14 vague in his early conversation and in my reading him the  
 15 questionnaire, I was taking some liberties and presuming that  
 16 the charges were true in the thing and he was kind of just  
 17 asserting that they aren't true.  
 18 Then he said to me on Friday, "I've told you these  
 19 charges aren't true, haven't I?"  
 20 And I wondered at that point if there was  
 21 somebody else in the room, if his attorneys were with him,  
 22 because sometimes he would do that. And then I said,  
 23 "No, I don't --" I said, "Yes, you've told me that."  
 24 And he said, "You know, there are some people that  
 25 believe they can run me out of office over this thing, but

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1 you don't think they can, do you?"

2 And I said, "No, sir. I don't think they can."

3 And I said, "Because it's just your word against her word

4 and, you know, given what we know is on the tapes, she'll

5 come across as a nut."

6 Then he said -- and then I think he said, "Okay.

7 Talk to you later. Goodbye." Click.

8 Then my next contact was on Saturday morning.

9 Q If I may, just to clarify --

10 A Yes.

11 Q When he told you, reiterated again as he had said

12 in his previous conversation, but said once again, "I've told

13 you these charges aren't true, right?" Or "correct?"

14 A Yes.

15 Q He told you that after he had told you that the

16 lawyers had told him not to make statements to you?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Okay. Go ahead.

19 A But to be fair to him, he has told me -- in those

20 five conversations, he probably used the line "These charges

21 aren't true" five or six times. You know, I may not have

22 recounted each of them in my seriatim discussion, but it was

23 a constant recurring theme of his, that these conversations

24 were not true.

25 At the time, I had no idea of what he was talking

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1 about in saying that "I didn't do what they said I did, but

2 I did do something." And I had no notion of what he was

3 talking about. And I didn't understand how it could be a

4 sexual relationship and then not.

5 So I was -- I just didn't understand it, but I

6 wasn't about to ask him questions about it.

7 Q Did you have the sense of when he said, "You know

8 these charges are not true," that that was said to you to

9 reassure you, to take any actions? For example, the polling

10 or to continue to give advice?

11 A No, I think it was -- I think he deeply believed at

12 the time, and I guess still does, that the charges weren't

13 true. I think that he has a deep seated, fundamental belief

14 in his own innocence.

15 The President is -- there's a lawyer running around

16 inside of his brain and he's very precise, if sometimes

17 inaccurate, in his terminology which means that sometimes he

18 uses words that we all assume to mean one thing but "Black's

19 Law Dictionary" says they mean something else and it's the

20 "Black's Law Dictionary" in his mind.

21 And subsequently as I've watched this elaborate,

22 I would imagine, which I did not think then, I didn't know

23 it then, that he may not have considered oral sex to be

24 sexual relations and that he was hanging things on that and

25 I think that's probably what he meant when he said that to me

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1 in the morning. You know, in the Wednesday morning

2 conversation.

3 Q Okay. Let me ask you with reference to the poll

4 that you took, who paid for the poll?

5 A I did. It was about a \$2000 thing, you know, we

6 didn't have a huge sample and we didn't run it through the

7 computer and stuff. And I didn't want there to be a record

8 of it, so I just paid the interviewing company myself.

9 Q Okay. Did you have discussions with the President

10 about your doing that?

11 A No.

12 Q Or who would pay for the poll?

13 A No. I didn't even bother him with the money.

14 Q All right.

15 A I'm unsure of the legal situation because there was

16 no campaign at that point and therefore it's really not a

17 campaign contribution in that sense, but in any case the 2000

18 is within my wife and my legal limit, so I thought it was

19 okay.

20 A JUROR: Did you write a check?

21 THE WITNESS: Well, I have an account with them and

22 I keep paying them checks for all the polling that I do and

23 it was one of the -- it was included in a \$10,000 check that

24 I sent them for a bunch of different polls. I'm not sure it

25 was 10, but it was something like that.

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1 BY MR. APPERSON:

2 Q So it's fair to say that that would potentially --

3 and I don't know whether it does, but potentially it could

4 count as an in-kind contribution, could it not?

5 A It could. I mean, it could. I don't know. I'm

6 not an attorney.

7 Q I understand. And I'm not in a position to know at

8 this point based on that alone, but it's fair to say that

9 there is no record at any campaign entity or otherwise --

10 A Right.

11 Q -- of that fact, having been perhaps an in-kind

12 contribution.

13 A Correct.

14 Q All right, sir.

15 A I never told anybody else in the White House or the

16 Clinton campaign that I did this poll.

17 Q All right. And you've received no personal

18 reimbursement from the Clintons for that?

19 A No. Nor have I sought it.

20 Q All right. You were going to turn to your next

21 contact with the President.

22 A Yes.

23 Q What happened after this conversation?

24 A Right. Well, it -- then I called back, I think, on

25 Saturday morning and Nancy took the call and said, "Listen,

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1 he just can't speak with you. He's just not -- the lawyers  
 2 don't want him to speak with you. You have to talk to Mickey  
 3 Kantor." And I placed a call to Kantor at about 5:00 on  
 4 Saturday. He never called back and I never called him again.  
 5 And my next contact with -- my only other contact  
 6 with Clinton over the phone since then was that on Tuesday  
 7 morning at about 11:00 before the Tuesday night state of the  
 8 union speech, Nancy Hernreich called me and asked me to fax  
 9 another copy of the draft I had sent him for the state of the  
 10 union because he'd apparently lost the first one.  
 11 Q All right.  
 12 A And I did. And that's the -- that's it.  
 13 Q All right. In the draft that you prepared for the  
 14 state of the union, did you include any reference to the  
 15 Monica Lewinsky matter?  
 16 A No.  
 17 Q All right. Were there any notations on the draft  
 18 with respect to not addressing the Lewinsky matter? You  
 19 mentioned that you had --  
 20 A No.  
 21 Q All right.  
 22 A It was a draft that actually predated the Lewinsky  
 23 matter.  
 24 Q All right. And you didn't make any changes with  
 25 respect to that.

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1 A (Shaking head negatively.) He didn't use much of  
 2 it.  
 3 Q All right. You had a conversation with Betty  
 4 Currie after this matter of Lewinsky broke. Is that correct?  
 5 A Yes.  
 6 Q All right. Tell us about that contact with Betty  
 7 Currie.  
 8 A I called her, I think, right after she testified  
 9 here and I was just so moved by how harried she looked  
 10 going in. I've always liked Betty and I sent her a big  
 11 basket of flowers and I just called her to say hang in  
 12 there.  
 13 Q Okay. Had you had any discussions with her about  
 14 her testimony or the Lewinsky matter before her grand jury  
 15 testimony?  
 16 A No. Nor since. The phone call lasted five  
 17 seconds, probably.  
 18 Q Anything other than her thanking you for the  
 19 flowers?  
 20 A I don't know if she called me to thank me or I  
 21 called her just to say, you know, hang in there. I don't  
 22 even know if she had got the flowers at the point at which I  
 23 called. I may have decided to send the flowers after I hung  
 24 up, but I sent her flowers that day.  
 25 Q And there was no discussion about the substance of --

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1 her knowledge or her testimony?  
 2 A No.  
 3 THE FOREPERSON: Now might be a logical time to  
 4 take a break.  
 5 MR. APPERSON: All right. We'll take a break.  
 6 THE FOREPERSON: A ten-minute break.  
 7 MR. APPERSON: And I'll get you to get the document  
 8 from your attorney while we're on the break.  
 9 THE WITNESS: Yes. Sure. Right.  
 10 MR. APPERSON: Thanks.  
 11 THE FOREPERSON: Thank you.  
 12 Ten minutes, everybody.  
 13 MR. APPERSON: You'll need to step out.  
 14 THE WITNESS: Yes.  
 15 (Witness excused. Witness recalled.)  
 16 BY MR. BENNETT:  
 17 Q Mr. Morris, you are still under oath and you  
 18 recognize that?  
 19 A Yes.  
 20 MR. BENNETT: And we have a quorum?  
 21 THE FOREPERSON: Yes, we do.  
 22 MR. BENNETT: And there are no unauthorized persons  
 23 present?  
 24 THE FOREPERSON: Absolutely no one that is not  
 25 authorized to be here.

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1 BY MR. APPERSON:  
 2 Q All right, sir. You've provided the Office of  
 3 Independent Counsel a five-page document. Is that correct?  
 4 A Yes.  
 5 Q And is that the polling questions?  
 6 A Yes.  
 7 Q And your notations that you've already testified  
 8 about today?  
 9 A Yes.  
 10 MR. APPERSON: Can we mark that as an exhibit?  
 11 MR. BENNETT: We will mark this with today's date,  
 12 which is August 18, we'll mark it -- is this Grand Jury  
 13 Exhibit 1 today?  
 14 THE FOREPERSON: Yes.  
 15 MR. BENNETT: Okay. Grand Jury Exhibit 1 with  
 16 today's date, 8/18/98, and we'll put your initials, RSM.  
 17 (Grand Jury Exhibit No. RSM-1  
 18 was marked for identification.)  
 19 BY MR. APPERSON:  
 20 Q While that's being done, let me go back to your  
 21 conversation when you got back to the President and told  
 22 him --  
 23 A Excuse me --  
 24 Q Yes, sir?  
 25 A I think my attorney mentioned that I wanted to



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1 clarify an answer I gave this morning.

2 Q Certainly.

3 A Or elaborate on it. It relates to how I paid for  
4 this poll, how I paid the interviewing house to do it.

5 I had just finished a poll with them on the  
6 President's state of the union speech before the Lewinsky  
7 scandal broke, which was a much more extensive survey and a  
8 much more high-minded one, I might add, and it polled the  
9 various themes that he might use in the state of the union  
10 speech. And I had the same interviewing house do this poll  
11 as did that poll. And then I paid, as I can best recall, for  
12 both of the polls together with one check which was either  
13 for 7000 or 10,000, I forget which.

14 But I left the impression before, I think, that  
15 there was a discrete \$2000 payment for this poll and there  
16 was not, it was part of the larger payment for the entire  
17 project. This was in a sense kind of a tack-on to that poll.

18 Q All right, sir. Let me explore that a little bit  
19 with you. Did you bill anyone for the polling with respect  
20 to the state of the union?

21 A No. I did it mainly for a column that I write for  
22 the Hill Magazine which is a weekly publication on Capitol  
23 Hill and I published the results of the poll in the  
24 newspaper, so it was only incidentally -- the material in the  
25 poll was of some use to the President in the state of the

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1 union speech, but it was not a poll designed for the state of  
2 the union speech, it was primarily designed as a public  
3 column of what the President should say in his state of the  
4 union speech.

5 In other words, it was not proprietary in that  
6 sense and the President received the results along with  
7 everybody else who bought a copy of the Hill.

8 Q Okay. I still don't understand clearly the \$7000  
9 and the \$2000 figures.

10 A I don't recall if the cost of the first poll that  
11 I did for the Hill was \$5000 or \$8000, but it was one of the  
12 two. This poll was \$2000 and I gave them a check for either  
13 7000 or 10,000 to pay for the \$8000 poll for the Hill and  
14 then this \$2000 tack-on that I did at the President's  
15 request.

16 Q I see. Okay. But you paid regardless of --

17 A Yes.

18 Q -- which amount went to which poll.

19 A That's right.

20 Q You paid for both of them.

21 A Yes.

22 Q All right. Okay. Getting back to when you got  
23 back to the President, I think, the next morning after one of  
24 your telephone calls, after he said, "Don't do anything until  
25 you talk to me," and you indicated you did not plan to go

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1 forward with the press conference and he indicated, as you've  
2 testified, that "My people don't think it's a good idea." Do  
3 you recall that?

4 A Yes.

5 MR. APPERSON: Okay. That's what I want to ask you  
6 about.

7 MR. BENNETT: One moment.

8 (Pause.)

9 BY MR. APPERSON:

10 Q Did he indicate who the particular persons were  
11 that thought it was not a good idea?

12 A No.

13 Q He simply used that phrase, "my people"?

14 A Yes.

15 Q Who did you understand based on the context of the  
16 conversation to whom he was referring to as "my people"?

17 A I assume he probably at least meant Kendall, his  
18 lawyer, and he probably meant some of his senior staff.  
19 I have no idea who. I have no idea as to who it is, I can  
20 guess, but it would just be a guess.

21 Q All right, sir. During your conversations as  
22 you've described them and testified with the President, did  
23 you have any contact with the First Lady during this time  
24 period?

25 A No.

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1 Q Okay. So the one attempt that you -- when they  
2 were in the theater to speak to Hillary, you never did in  
3 fact speak to her.

4 A That's right. And I was only trying to speak with  
5 her to get her to put Bill on the phone.

6 Q All right.

7 A The President.

8 Q All right. Did you have any discussions with the  
9 President about your speaking or not speaking to the First  
10 Lady during that time?

11 A No.

12 Q All right. Prior to January 21st, did you ever  
13 have any discussions with the President concerning the  
14 Paula Jones lawsuit and that litigation?

15 A Yes. Frequently.

16 Q All right. What were the nature of your  
17 conversations with respect to that?

18 A Well, they were mainly occupied with how to escape  
19 political damage in the lawsuit. I spoke with him -- I  
20 really couldn't even count the number of times, 50, 60, 100.  
21 It was kind of a constant topic of conversation and it would  
22 always relate to what did he estimate the odds were that we  
23 could get it delayed until after the election.

24 I spoke with him at one point about whether --  
25 I felt that it was unwise that he -- that Bennett, his

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<p>1 attorney, put in the defense that as commander-in-chief he 2 couldn't be tried, which was one of the grounds, I think, 3 for not trying it.</p> <p>4 I urged him constantly throughout it to just make 5 sure it's handled after the election and not before. But I 6 don't -- I don't believe -- but -- and he would always tell 7 me "I don't know who this woman is; I've never had contact 8 with her; the charges are totally untrue."</p> <p>9 Q With respect to Paula Jones.</p> <p>10 A Yes.</p> <p>11 Q All right, sir.</p> <p>12 A The Lewinsky stuff I can be very precise about 13 because it was only six or seven months ago and it was a 14 discrete period of conversations over a period of three days. 15 The Paula Jones stuff was over the whole period of time and, 16 you know, there were constant conversations.</p> <p>17 Q All right. Did you ever have a discussion with the 18 President prior to his deposition in the Paula Jones 19 litigation about the deposition?</p> <p>20 A No. And I'm pretty sure I didn't speak to the 21 President about the Paula Jones case during all of '97 or 22 '98.</p> <p>23 Q Okay. So in other words --</p> <p>24 A It only was during my tenure there, basically.</p> <p>25 Q I see. And so I think that it flows from your</p>	<p>1 Q And how about the billing for those polls?</p> <p>2 A Those were all paid for by either the campaign or 3 the Democratic National Committee.</p> <p>4 Q Okay. And what was the set up with respect to who 5 you would bill?</p> <p>6 A Well, actually, when I say "I took the polls," 7 that's a broad "I." The polls were actually conducted by 8 Penn &amp; Schoen, the polling firm that the President hired for 9 the election, and they functioned under my direction, but 10 they did that polling. This was done outside of that 11 framework.</p> <p>12 Q All right, sir. Have you ever discussed Kathleen 13 Willey with the President?</p> <p>14 A No.</p> <p>15 Q When is the first time you heard the name Kathleen 16 Willey?</p> <p>17 A When everybody else did, when it was public.</p> <p>18 Q Okay.</p> <p>19 A I might have heard it earlier on the Drudge Report 20 or something like that, but nothing other than that.</p> <p>21 Q Okay. Have you ever had any discussions with 22 anyone at the White House or with the President's lawyers 23 concerning the release of Willey documents?</p> <p>24 A No.</p> <p>25 Q Do you remember after the 60 Minutes interview</p>
<p>1 answer but let's make it clear, you don't recall ever having 2 any discussion with the President after his deposition --</p> <p>3 A No.</p> <p>4 Q -- about his deposition.</p> <p>5 A No. Except for the comments I made to you about my 6 conversation with him on the 21st.</p> <p>7 Q Yes, sir.</p> <p>8 A Yes.</p> <p>9 Q Did you do any polling for the President with 10 respect to the Paula Jones litigation?</p> <p>11 A Yes.</p> <p>12 Q Matters connected with that?</p> <p>13 A Like that.</p> <p>14 Q Okay.</p> <p>15 A But never on any of the factual issues as here, 16 just have you heard of the case, do you think that she's 17 right, do you think he's right, does it make you less likely 18 to vote for the President, if the President agrees to 19 apologize and X, Y, Z, do you think that that would affect 20 your vote, if the President paid her a sum of money to settle 21 the lawsuit, do you think that would affect it. There were 22 questions of that nature.</p> <p>23 Q All right. And I take it it's fair to say you 24 shared the results of those polls with the President?</p> <p>25 A Yes.</p>	<p>1 there was a release of documents from the White House?</p> <p>2 A No. I've in public been very critical of that, but 3 I didn't speak to them about it.</p> <p>4 Q Okay. When you say you've been very critical, what 5 do you mean?</p> <p>6 A Well, I've in public and in the media referred to 7 this as the secret police, the investigative operation that 8 the White House runs to savage these poor women whose only 9 sin is that they said yes.</p> <p>10 Q All right.</p> <p>11 A Or no.</p> <p>12 Q All right. Now, is that observation that you make 13 based on -- limited to the instance of the release of the 14 Willey documents?</p> <p>15 A No. I've been very concerned about the release of 16 Linda Tripp's Pentagon file. I wrote a column criticizing 17 that. I've been very concerned about the published accounts 18 of things that Bruce Lindsey has said to women who have been 19 considered to be -- who have been looking at testifying. And 20 the theme of my various columns in the New York Post has been 21 that this is all way overreaction and it will get him in far 22 more trouble than the sex ever would.</p> <p>23 Q Okay. Have you had any discussions with any 24 persons in the White House about your observations with 25 respect to this practice that you've observed and written</p>

1 about in your column?

2 A Yes. I had a -- no, I'm sorry. No. The answer  
3 to that question is no.

4 Q All right. Have you ever discussed with the  
5 President or anyone else at the White House the issue of  
6 whether or not to invoke executive privilege as part of the  
7 Independent Counsel investigation?

8 A I'm not sure. Any discussion that I had with them  
9 would have been in '95 or '96 and, at that time, there were a  
10 whole series of discussions about whether to give the  
11 committee's documents or whether to assert a privilege and I  
12 don't recall if that related to a witness privilege or a  
13 document privilege vis-a-vis Starr or vis-a-vis one of the  
14 congressional committees.

15 They were not extensive discussions and my advice  
16 always was to give out more rather than less, to give it --  
17 I never thought any of those fights made any political sense.  
18 But I can't recall back then if there were any executive  
19 privilege issues vis-a-vis your office and witnesses, so I  
20 don't think there were, so I don't think I did, but I might  
21 have.

22 BY MR. BENNETT:

23 Q Could I back up a moment? I don't think this  
24 question's been asked this way yet, but you've described  
25 conversations you had with the President beginning January 21

1 [REDACTED]  
2 [REDACTED]

3 And then, you know, he stopped asking for advice  
4 and I stopped offering it and we just went our separate ways.  
5 The only contact that I've had with him since then has been I  
6 periodically fax him advice on stuff, including a variety of  
7 faxes, to urge him to give the speech he gave yesterday. But  
8 those are just one-way communications of me to him with no  
9 reply from him.

10 Q And so your direct communication or indirect  
11 communication with the White House, such as it was, was only  
12 for the very limited time in the first few days of the matter  
13 after January 21.

14 A Yes. There were some prior to January 21, not  
15 about Lewinsky, but --

16 Q Right.

17 A Subsequent to January 21, that's correct.

18 Q All right. And then since that time, whether it  
19 was tied to the Los Angeles comments or not, the public  
20 comments that you made that relate to the White House seem to  
21 be more critical in some ways. You mentioned the secret  
22 police reference.

23 A Yes.

24 Q Who are you referring to when you talk about the  
25 White House secret police operation?

1 as the starting date for this matter, scandal. And I had the  
2 sense that at some point you gave the President advice and  
3 had communication with him and that that changed at some  
4 point. Is that correct or not correct?

5 A Some -- I'm sorry, I don't understand your  
6 question.

7 Q What is your relationship with the White House now,  
8 with Mr. Clinton, the President?

9 A Oh. I've not had a conversation of any sort with  
10 President Clinton since Friday, January 23rd.

11 Q All right. Since a couple of days after this  
12 broke.

13 A Yes.

14 Q Why is that?

15 A I think initially it was because his lawyers told  
16 him not to and when they told me to call Kantor, I took  
17 the hint. Clinton is always kind of flitting in and out of  
18 my life or me in and out of his and when we're on, we're on,  
19 and when we're not, we're not, and you just learn to accept  
20 that.

21 [REDACTED]  
22 [REDACTED]  
23 [REDACTED]  
24 [REDACTED]  
25 [REDACTED]

1 A Terry Lenzner. Palladino, Jack Palladino. Betsey  
2 Wright. To some extent Bruce Lindsey. The White House  
3 Filegate episode. And I believe there's been a pattern of  
4 attacking people who are witnesses who in some way have  
5 implicated the President and I think that it's Nixonian and  
6 counterproductive and I believe it stems more from Hillary  
7 Clinton than from Bill and --

8 Q Why do you say that?

9 A Because I know them both and I don't think Bill  
10 does that sort of thing. Hillary often does. And I  
11 think that there's a -- and it's a pattern that I feel can  
12 consume the administration, just as it consumed Nixon's  
13 administration, and I've written a lot of columns warning  
14 about that.

15 Q You mentioned a moment ago that you took the  
16 hint about calling Mickey Kantor. I'm not sure I understand  
17 that.

18 A Well, they told me to call Mickey and then I did  
19 and he didn't return the call and that was a message, that  
20 I should not be in touch with him any more, and I didn't.

21 Q There were articles that I think were published in  
22 the course of the 1996 campaign that described the breach  
23 within the campaign for reelection and sort of pitted you on  
24 one side and you had mentioned earlier your ability to have  
25 direct contact with the President dating back to your, you

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1 know, days in Arkansas in the late '70s, versus some of the  
 2 President's then current advisors. I recall George  
 3 Stephanopoulos, Harold Ickes --  
 4 A Yes.  
 5 Q I thought Mickey Kantor was in that --  
 6 A Mickey was more with me than him.  
 7 Q He was more with you?  
 8 A Yes.  
 9 Q All right. And that's really the gist of my  
 10 question. What is your relationship, what was your  
 11 relationship, with these various other advisors of the  
 12 President?  
 13 A During the time I worked there?  
 14 Q During the time you worked there and since then.  
 15 A Since then, none. During -- well, I've had  
 16 occasional contact, but not much. I'll tell you that. When  
 17 I worked at the White House, I was -- there was -- it was a  
 18 constant state of war between Ickes on the one hand and  
 19 myself on the other.  
 20 I had been brought in after the President  
 21 was defeated in the 1994 election and the President in  
 22 effect didn't fire anyone, but he sort of hired me to  
 23 replace them and they didn't like it very much and we had  
 24 fundamentally different views about what the President  
 25 should do.

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1 I advocated much more of a centrist course and  
 2 balancing the budget and issues of that sort and his advisors  
 3 were much more liberal and I felt that they had gotten him  
 4 into the hot water that he was in and --  
 5 Q I think it's been reported that you were sort of  
 6 the author of the so-called triangulation strategy of  
 7 positioning the President between the Republican Congress and  
 8 the Democratic Congress, I suppose.  
 9 A Yes.  
 10 Q And so that would have been sort of ideological.  
 11 A Yes.  
 12 Q In terms of your dispute with the other advisors.  
 13 A Yes.  
 14 Q Is that fair?  
 15 A That's correct.  
 16 Q But I'm just trying to get a sense for whether any  
 17 rift that arose from the '96 campaign has had any impact on  
 18 your relationship with the White House since this matter  
 19 broke.  
 20 A Yes. Not in my relationship with the President,  
 21 but my relationship with the White House staff has always  
 22 been bad. When I was there, it was bad and it has been bad  
 23 since because I was sort of the interloper and the person  
 24 from the outside and they used to call me Rasputin or Houdini  
 25 or all kinds of -- Machiavelli. And it was -- and I never

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1 went through the chain of command.  
 2 I never dealt with him through his advisors, I  
 3 worked directly with the President, usually circumventing t  
 4 advisors, usually disagreeing with their advice.  
 5 Q And you had also represented Republican candidates  
 6 for office.  
 7 A Yes.  
 8 Q So there was distrust.  
 9 A Right.  
 10 Q In part, based on that.  
 11 A Yes. My only contact with the people I served with  
 12 on the White House staff since then is that I called Harold  
 13 Ickes, who was my chief adversary, two or three times just to  
 14 tell him that I felt that -- that I felt badly that we had  
 15 been fighting that much, that while I disagreed with the  
 16 positions that he took, I said, "How can I be so mad at you  
 17 when the only fight you and I ever had was different views of  
 18 how to help poor people and how to get a good man elected?"  
 19 So we -- it was kind of a -- then I said, "I would  
 20 at some point like to have dinner with you and just offer my  
 21 apologies for the vitriolic nature of the fighting between  
 22 us."  
 23 He said, "That'll be a long dinner." But then we  
 24 never actually did it because we were a little worried that  
 25 if we did it, you all and the committees might think we wer

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1 cooking up testimony, so we never did that.  
 2 Q When was that conversation?  
 3 A Probably some time around -- I would guess October,  
 4 November, December, January -- '97, '98.  
 5 Q And you haven't really had contact with him since?  
 6 A No. I just decided that it was better not to have  
 7 contact until this whole thing was over because nobody would  
 8 believe we weren't doing something nefarious.  
 9 Q All right. Now, you mentioned Mickey Kantor's name  
 10 was somebody who was more on your side.  
 11 A Yes.  
 12 Q And by that did you mean more on your side in terms  
 13 of the advice you were giving the President on --  
 14 A Yes. Yes. Mickey was more a centrist and more of  
 15 an ally of mine vis-a-vis Ickes. Ickes had been involved in  
 16 dumping Mickey in the 1992 campaign and George Stephanopoulos  
 17 had also been antagonistic to Mickey Kantor at that point and  
 18 Kantor was more an ally of mine. But I've had no contact  
 19 with him since I resigned.  
 20 Q You say "dumping." Was that because, again, an  
 21 ideological --  
 22 A Well, I wasn't there in '92, but I've heard that  
 23 Mickey Kantor was in effective control of the campaign for a  
 24 while and then there was kind of a coup that ousted him led  
 25 by George and Harold, Stephanopoulos and Ickes.

1 Q And what prompted that coup?  
 2 A I don't know. I wasn't there, but I've just heard  
 3 that.  
 4 Q All right. Well, would you agree that Mickey  
 5 Kantor seems to remain one of the President's key advisors?  
 6 A Yes.  
 7 Q Not in the White House, but outside?  
 8 A Right.  
 9 Q And it's also been reported that Harold Ickes has  
 10 remained as an advisor, in fact, was brought back after this  
 11 matter broke in the news. And so they both seem to be on the  
 12 same team again, at least to some extent.  
 13 A Sure.  
 14 Q And so I'm trying to get a sense -- not because we  
 15 care about petty factions or anything like that, but how this  
 16 can come to be if there was a coup as you've told us --  
 17 A Well, I just don't know. I don't really -- I don't  
 18 know. Kantor could have been misleading me and have been  
 19 closer to Ickes than I thought. They might have kissed and  
 20 made up. I have no idea, really. I have observed the same  
 21 thing, though.  
 22 Q You mentioned not really speaking to Ickes since  
 23 October or so of 1997. How frequently do you communicate  
 24 with Mickey Kantor?  
 25 A I've never spoken with Mickey, to my knowledge,

1 the President, I basically in effect caused Carville and  
 2 Begala to be fired or relegated to minor roles in the  
 3 campaign. And I caused George to be excluded for a long time  
 4 and then ultimately reached out to him and we developed a  
 5 modus operandi to work together.  
 6 Actually, the President was more the one who  
 7 excluded George after the '94 defeat, but in any event, there  
 8 was a lot of bad blood between Begala and myself.  
 9 My relationship with Erskine Bowles and Sidney  
 10 Blumenthal has always been a warm one and a close one. We  
 11 worked very closely together, Sidney and I, during the  
 12 campaign and Erskine and I worked very closely together while  
 13 he was Deputy Chief of Staff and I've always considered both  
 14 of them to be allies.  
 15 Q [REDACTED]  
 16 [REDACTED]  
 17 A [REDACTED]  
 18 Q [REDACTED]  
 19 A [REDACTED]  
 20 [REDACTED]  
 21 [REDACTED]  
 22 [REDACTED]  
 23 [REDACTED]  
 24 [REDACTED]  
 25 [REDACTED]

1 since I've resigned and, to my knowledge, I've only spoken to  
 2 Harold once.  
 3 Q So it's been right at two years for Mickey Kantor.  
 4 A Yes.  
 5 Q Okay. You said you regarded him as being more  
 6 allied with you ideologically, philosophically. Are you on  
 7 good terms with him?  
 8 A With who?  
 9 Q With Mickey Kantor.  
 10 A No, I've told you I've not spoken with him for two  
 11 years.  
 12 Q But on what --  
 13 A I feel friendly toward him. I don't -- I feel -- I  
 14 like him, but we just haven't had contact.  
 15 Q Is there any heartburn, if you will, to your  
 16 knowledge on the part of the current group of presidential  
 17 advisors after the comments you had commented on in Los  
 18 Angeles?  
 19 A Yes.  
 20 Q Is that in the equation somewhere?  
 21 A Yes. Well, with -- it's mainly an excuse. There's  
 22 a lot of history between me and a lot of the people that are  
 23 currently on the White House staff. Paul Begala was in  
 24 effect -- he and George Stephanopoulos and James Carville  
 25 were sort of my predecessors and when I came in to work with--

1 [REDACTED]  
 2 Q Okay. You also mentioned Bruce Lindsey. What is  
 3 your status with him?  
 4 A Well, I've always been very close to Bruce.  
 5 We first met each other in 1978 when he was in David Pryor's,  
 6 P-r-y-o-r's, Senate campaign. And he was always one of  
 7 Clinton's inner circle in Arkansas and as such I was in  
 8 constant touch with him. I've had some dealings with Lindsey  
 9 over the last year or two, all related to the tobacco deal.  
 10 The only contact that would be outside of that is  
 11 that at one point after -- I think there was one point at  
 12 which Webb Hubbell, the issue came up as to whether Webb  
 13 Hubbell had gotten hush money or not and I was asked about it  
 14 on a TV program or in a print interview and I said I doubted  
 15 the President would arrange for hush money to Webb Hubbell  
 16 because he's too much of an ingrate. And Bruce called me and  
 17 said the President really bristled at that comment.  
 18 And I said, "He is." So that was that comment.  
 19 But there was a tone in Bruce's commentary to me of you'd  
 20 better watch out, you're pissing the President off, there was  
 21 a tone. And my comment back to him was "Who cares?"  
 22 Q Was it your sense that the President was defensive  
 23 of Webb Hubbell on that issue or defensive about the issue?  
 24 A He was defensive about my calling him an ingrate.  
 25 Q Why would he care? --

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1 A Well, because he doesn't think he is.

2 Q So he doesn't think Webb Hubbell is an ingrate?

3 A No, the comments related much less to his view of  
4 Webb Hubbell than his view of -- my view of him as an  
5 ingrate. Once I called him and he said, "You really  
6 shouldn't have called me an ingrate."

7 And I said, "You are ingrate, you're just so  
8 focused on doing what you want to do on public policy, when  
9 you're finished with people you throw them away and you move  
10 on to new people and that's the way a president has to be."  
11 And that was our conversation on that.

12 Q Given that Webb Hubbell arguably brought a lot of  
13 embarrassment on the President in that he was convicted the  
14 first time of having embezzled money from the law firm at  
15 which the First Lady was a partner and when that fact became  
16 known there was a lot of criticism and that sort of fallout  
17 that followed that and given that part of the money embezzled  
18 came from the First Family, why would there be a charitable  
19 view of him at all, given that he had stolen from them to  
20 some degree and had embarrassed them by having been at a very  
21 high level in the Justice Department?

22 A I don't know. I mean, I -- I have no -- I really  
23 know nothing about the President's relationship with Hubbell.  
24 I never met Hubbell until just once at a White House  
25 function, a social gathering, and I went over and introduced

1 relationship with other advisors. We've talked about Bruce  
2 Lindsey. Rahm Emanuel.

3 A A distant one. I have a high regard for Rahm and I  
4 recommended to the President that he be promoted to fill  
5 George Stephanopoulos' place, which he did. And I had a  
6 couple of conversations with him after the election to try to  
7 get him to stay on. And during the period I was there, he  
8 was a very -- he worked very well with me, although he was  
9 always much closer to Stephanopoulos than to me.

10 Q We've seen Harry Thomason referred to recently.  
11 Do you know him and how?

12 A Yes. I worked closely with Harry during the  
13 preparation for the 1996 convention. I had not met him  
14 before. And we worked together for about a two or  
15 three-month period. It was a very good, close working  
16 relationship. He was, I thought, very creative and very  
17 good.

18 Q Have you had any contact with him since the Monica  
19 Lewinsky matter broke?

20 A No.

21 Q Do you know the name Cody Shearer?

22 A No.

23 Q You don't know that name?

24 A No.

25 MR. BENNETT: I think that's it.

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1 myself and said, "Hi, we've never met each other." And I've  
2 never called nor spoken to him by phone and I really have no  
3 idea what the relationship was between them.

4 My view in the discussions with the President was  
5 always to fire people sooner rather than later and I think in  
6 1993 or early '94 I recall meeting with the President and  
7 Hillary and urging them to fire Hubbell, Kennedy and Altman.  
8 And I said, "You're going to have to do it sooner or later,  
9 do it sooner rather than later."

10 And then I think when Hubbell resigned, I met him  
11 at this White House function and I went over and I said,  
12 "You were really a man for doing something the President  
13 would never have the guts to do, quitting. Good for you.  
14 You kind of fell on your sword like a man," is the way I  
15 phrased it.

16 Q And when was this conversation?

17 A Some time around -- some time in '93 or '94. It  
18 was shortly after he resigned.

19 Q Okay. So that would have been before he was  
20 convicted, before he pled guilty.

21 A Yes.

22 Q Okay. And the details of his conduct became  
23 public.

24 A Yes. I don't think I knew much about it then.

25 Q I guess we should ask you at this point about your

1 BY MR. APPERSON:

2 Q When's the last time you talked to Sidney  
3 Blumenthal? You indicated you were close to him.

4 A Yes.

5 Q Have you kept in contact with him?

6 A No. Last year, early -- I've had very little  
7 contact with him since I resigned and I'm not quite sure what  
8 time, but it was just like a brief social call, just to  
9 congratulate him on his appointment or something like that.  
10 I haven't had any substantive discussions with him.

11 Q When you were talking about the secret police  
12 aspect and trashing of women, you indicated two  
13 investigators, one Palladino and the other --

14 A Lenzner.

15 Q Lenzner. What information do you have as to their  
16 connection with persons in the White House associated with  
17 the Clinton White House?

18 A Well, I don't really have information. I don't  
19 know either of them, I've never met either of them and I've  
20 never spoken with either of them.

21 I've read the same public accounts that everybody  
22 has, but perhaps with a little bit more attention because I'm  
23 interested in it. But I don't think I have anything to add  
24 to the published accounts of the Haitian contract and -- you  
25 know, all that stuff.

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1 BY MR. BENNETT:

2 Q You mentioned Betsey Wright as part of that group  
3 earlier and I don't think we questioned you about her. What  
4 can you tell us? How do you know her?

5 A Well, Betsey and I worked very closely together  
6 in the 1980s in Arkansas and the meetings that I would have  
7 with Clinton when he was governor were traditionally with  
8 Bill, Hillary, Betsey and me and then David Watkins, who did  
9 a lot of the advertising, and then toward the end Bruce  
10 Lindsey would join us and then toward the end Betsey left.

11 But Betsey and I were both hired at the same time,  
12 I rehired after he had fired me in '79, to try to get him  
13 back in '82 and Betsey and I were originally fairly  
14 antagonistic, but then I came to recognize her value and I  
15 think she felt more warmly about me and we began -- we  
16 developed a very fast and a very good friendship during the  
17 1980s.

18 I felt that Clinton really dealt shabbily with her  
19 after '86 when she resigned as his chief of staff and I felt  
20 that she was very ill used by him. And I continued a social  
21 relationship with Betsey and then at the time that I was  
22 working at the White House, I went out of my way to try to  
23 include her in things because I have a very high respect for  
24 her ability and I felt that she deserved a lot better from  
25 the President than she had gotten.

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1 Our relationship ended when my book was published,  
2 "Behind the Oval Office," because she disapproved of my, as  
3 she phrased it, kissing and telling in the book.

4 Q There have been reports that you had knowledge of  
5 her destroying documents after the Whitewater matter first  
6 became public in the course of the '92 campaign.

7 A No. None. None whatsoever.

8 Q You know nothing about that?

9 A No.

10 BY MR. APPERSON:

11 Q Are you aware of any efforts by her to gather  
12 documents or identify documents or trash documents?

13 A Only vis-a-vis women involved with the President,  
14 the bimbo patrol that she ran in '92.

15 Q Okay.

16 A But I know nothing about Whitewater or any  
17 connection she had with Whitewater documents.

18 Q Okay. What knowledge do you have of her efforts in  
19 what is generally described as the efforts to control the  
20 bimbo eruptions?

21 A Well, the first -- I had two conversations with  
22 Betsey about that. One was kind of right after she had been  
23 hired, probably -- I'm guessing that it was around March or  
24 April -- February, March, April of 1992, and the other after  
25 election day.

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1 And in the period right before, in the first  
2 conversation, we were just chatting and I said, "So what are  
3 you doing for him, for Clinton?"

4 And she said, "Well, I kind of make sure that I  
5 know what negative stories are being cooked up about him and  
6 I work on rebutting them and containing them."

7 And I said, "How do you do that?"

8 And she said, "Well, I kind of keep track of every  
9 reporter that's in Arkansas, keep them on my radar screen,  
10 figure out who he's working with, what story he's developing,  
11 and I work on trying to stop the story."

12 And I said, "How do you do that?"

13 And she said, "Well, sometimes it's just a question  
14 of giving him material and sending over a fact sheet and  
15 rebutting it and sometimes it involves trying to persuade  
16 women not to talk to reporters."

17 And I said, "Well, how do you do that?"

18 And she said, "Well, most of the women that  
19 Clinton's been involved with are pretty savvy types, they're  
20 career types, and they've got a lot to lose and they  
21 generally don't want to be public and they don't want a lot  
22 of attention."

23 And she said this actually prior to the Jennifer  
24 Flowers episode, I believe this conversation. I maybe mixing  
25 up two conversations.

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1 In this one, she said, "And what we do is we work  
2 on getting material on them to try to induce them not to  
3 compromise the President." And she gave me to believe,  
4 whether she said -- I don't recall her exact words, that that  
5 involved detectives digging up material on women.

6 I believe that prior to the Jennifer Flowers affair  
7 erupting in public, before I knew the name Jennifer Flowers,  
8 Betsey and I had had another conversation where I asked her  
9 whether any women were going to embarrass Clinton during the  
10 '92 election and she said to me, "Well, most of the women  
11 he's been involved with are -- " what I just said, "fairly  
12 classy types, career type women and stuff, who aren't going  
13 to want to be embarrassed and maybe they're married and they  
14 have a reason not to let it out, but there's one that I'm  
15 particularly worried about who's really just a bimbo and I'm  
16 just worried that she's going to be a loose cannon." That  
17 was that conversation. And I believe she was referring to  
18 Jennifer Flowers.

19 Q I don't mean to cut you off, but it wasn't  
20 really my intention to go that far back, except to set the  
21 groundwork for my next question, and that is did -- you  
22 indicated that when you got to the White House, you attempted  
23 to involve Betsey Wright in activities there.

24 A Yes. Right.

25 Q Did these type of activities as you've just

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1 described, the bimbo eruptions, for lack of a better phrase,  
2 continue after Mr. Clinton assumed the presidency?  
3 A I don't know. I wasn't referring to activities  
4 like that with Betsey. I was more referring to Hillary's  
5 speech in China about abortion and feminist issues and  
6 Hillary's image and stuff like that. But I have always been  
7 suspicious of the use of detectives and files and this kind  
8 of almost blackmail to try to get women not to implicate  
9 Clinton and I have avidly followed all of the newspaper clips  
10 on it because I'm very concerned about it.

11 It's something that really was not in his life in  
12 the '80s when I worked with him and it certainly wasn't  
13 anything I knew about in '95 and '96 and we never needed  
14 garbage like that to win the election. We'd just win it the  
15 old fashioned way, with ads and speeches and stuff like that.  
16 And I sort of have a professional contempt for that.

17 It's kind of the way Nixon's professionals felt  
18 about the Watergate burglar crew. I mean, the amateurs  
19 running around screwing things up. And so I've been very  
20 worried about that, but I have no knowledge about it. I  
21 never knew that it was happening when I was there. Had I  
22 known about it, I would have done everything to clamp it  
23 down.

24 Q All right. Do you have any knowledge of any such  
25 activities with respect to any persons associated with the

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1 President doing such activities in connection with the Paula  
2 Jones litigation? Once the lawsuit was brought, was there  
3 any effort to engage in similar contact with respect to  
4 potential witnesses in that lawsuit?

5 A No. Rather than answer it negatively, why don't I  
6 just -- there are --

7 Q However you prefer. That's fine.

8 A Yes. There are two episodes that I know about in  
9 which files were used against people, so why don't I just  
10 tell you about those.

11 Q Certainly.

12 A And you can -- and I don't know any others.

13 Q All right, sir.

14 A One is secondhand. Well, why don't you ask me the  
15 question? I'd rather you ask me and I answer.

16 Q All right, sir. You indicated that you have some  
17 knowledge of the use of files in connection with potential  
18 witnesses. Tell us what you know about that.

19 A Now, does your question mean that I have to tell  
20 you not just about things that I know personally, but things  
21 that I have heard from a third party?

22 Q Certainly. And please make the distinction of how  
23 you have that knowledge.

24 A Okay.

25 Q If it's firsthand as opposed to someone telling

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1 you. Just be clear about that.

2 A Okay.

3 Q That's fine.

4 A A political consultant who is a friend of mine  
5 named Ed Rollins who became well known when he worked for  
6 Kathy Whitman in New Jersey in the governor's race and he was  
7 involved in some dispute where he claimed that he had done a  
8 lot to suppress minority turnout and it turned out he didn't  
9 say that, but there was a big brouhaha for a couple of  
10 months.

11 Rollins told me some time in late '97 or early '98  
12 when we appeared together on a TV show which we do frequently  
13 that he believed that Sidney Blumenthal had used his White  
14 House file to -- his FBI file --

15 Q Mr. Rollins' FBI file?

16 A Mr. Rollins believed that Sidney Blumenthal had  
17 used his FBI file --

18 Q I'm sorry. Believe that he had used Mr. Rollins'  
19 file?

20 A Ed Rollins believed that Sidney Blumenthal had used  
21 Ed Rollins' FBI file to embarrass Ed Rollins.

22 Q All right.

23 A And he specifically referred to an article that --  
24 an article which Blumenthal had written when he was still a  
25 reporter that attacked Rollins using information that could

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1 only have come from his FBI file. And several times since  
2 then, I've asked Rollins if he would give me the details of  
3 it and permit me to use it in my columns and he said no and  
4 then he did explain the nature of the material and asked me  
5 not to use it in my column and I did not.

6 Q Did you ever have any contact with Mr. Blumenthal  
7 about that matter?

8 A No.

9 Q And you don't have any firsthand knowledge of  
10 whether or not that happened or not?

11 A Correct.

12 BY MR. BENNETT:

13 Q Mr. Rollins had previously been -- you said he was  
14 a political consultant now but he had previously been a  
15 staffer in the --

16 A Reagan White House.

17 Q In the Reagan White House.

18 A He was Reagan's campaign manager in '84.

19 Q All right. And therefore he had an FBI background  
20 file.

21 A I guess.

22 BY MR. APPERSON:

23 Q Are you aware of any other instances of the use or  
24 misuse of government files?

25 A Yes. My own.



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1 Q All right. What do you know about that?

2 A When I went to work for President Clinton in 1995,

3 Erskine Bowles -- several months into the tenure in early

4 1995, Erskine Bowles, the Deputy Chief of Staff, came to me

5 and asked if there was any information about me or anything

6 in my past that might embarrass the President. And I

7 indicated to him three or four different things which I

8 explained in depth which he made handwritten notes about.

9 And during the -- about which he made handwritten notes.

10 I strongly suspect, although I do not know, but

11 I have reason to suspect and I'll be happy to spell it out

12 for you, that that material was used against me during the

13 scandal which precipitated my resignation.

14 Q All right. Do you have any knowledge of what

15 Mr. Bowles did with the notes or the information that you

16 provided him?

17 A He told me that he put them in a safe place, in

18 storage, in the White House archives, I think was the phrase

19 he used. And that nobody had access to them.

20 Q All right. And how is it that you came to believe

21 that that information had been compromised or shared?

22 A One of the pieces of information became the subject

23 of a National Inquirer story in which the reporter for the

24 National Inquirer made a telephone call to one of the people

25 involved in July or August of 1996. And then the -- and

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1 while I have no evidence of how the National Inquirer got

2 that story, I have always noted that David Kendall is the

3 counsel for the National Inquirer.

4 Q Had you identified to Mr. Bowles the person that

5 was subsequently contacted by the National Inquirer?

6 A No. Then -- oh, I'm sorry. Explain your question?

7 Did I in my earlier briefing name this person?

8 Q Yes, sir.

9 A Yes.

10 Q All right.

11 A Then subsequent to the exposure by Star Magazine of

12 the relationship I had with Sherry Rolands, the prostitute,

13 one week later, there appeared in the National Inquirer an

14 expose of the material that I had shared with Deputy Chief of

15 Staff Bowles and there could be two ways that the National

16 Inquirer got that information.

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 Q I want you to -- we don't need to know all the

22 details until you want to share that. So I leave that to

23 you.

24 A Okay. A story appeared in the National Inquirer --

25 actually, could I -- is it possible for me -- I wasn't aware --

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1 of that. Is it possible for my elaboration of the details of

2 this not to be on the record of this proceeding?

3 Q Absolutely. We don't --

4 A I mean, can I erase what I've just said?

5 MR. BENNETT: No.

6 THE WITNESS: No. Okay.

7 MR. BENNETT: Our record is our record.

8 THE WITNESS: Okay. That's fine.

9 MR. BENNETT: But as --

10 THE WITNESS: I'll continue, then.

11 MR. BENNETT: Well, if you don't want to go any

12 further, you can do that, too, but --

13 THE WITNESS: Okay.

14 MR. BENNETT: Everybody here has an obligation to

15 maintain secrecy and we will not --

16 THE WITNESS: Okay. The information that I had

17 told the prostitute about this relationship and it is

18 possible that she told Star Magazine and it is possible that

19 Star Magazine told the Inquirer and that's how it got

20 published.

21 BY MR. BENNETT:

22 Q That's a competitor, though, isn't it?

23 A Yes.

24 Q It's not the same --

25 A No, it's a competitor. So I doubted that. The

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1 more likely scenario, however, was that some of my enemies at

2 the White House had obtained the information from Bowles'

3 notes and had given it to the Inquirer.

4 I lean toward the second explanation. When the

5 story was broke in the newspapers, Mike McCurry, the

6 President's press secretary, was asked at a press conference

7 whether the President was aware of the relationship that was

8 revealed in this in questioning and he answered, no, the

9 President was not aware of it.

10 And the next day, McCurry corrected himself and

11 said, yes, the President was aware of it, that I had

12 disclosed it to him when I joined the White House operation.

13 And that led me to believe that my file, which was the only

14 place where that disclosure existed, was in play. I never

15 told the President of this relationship and I never told

16 anybody other than Erskine Bowles.

17 Then one week later, Newsweek Magazine called me

18 about -- asking me about two other episodes in my life which

19 were in my disclosure that I made to Erskine Bowles and ran a

20 story on those and, again, they were two other episodes which

21 while in one case -- in both cases conceivably publicly

22 available, it was just too coincidental that it was the week

23 after it appeared in Newsweek.

24 And one of the episodes, after I had shared it

25 with Bowles I had checked to see if it was publicly

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1 available. I spoke to an attorney who represented me at  
2 the time and he told me that the file was not in the  
3 court, he didn't remember the case, and he couldn't dig it  
4 up.

5 So I was worried that that would become public  
6 and he said there's no way anyone would ever find that.  
7 "I don't even remember it," he said. And then it appeared in  
8 Newsweek.

9 And then the final thing that led me to believe  
10 that my FBI -- my file, whatever it was, had been --

11 Q It was not an FBI file.

12 A I have no idea what it was. I don't know --

13 Q Well, the FBI didn't do the background, this was --

14 A Erskine Bowles. Right.

15 Q -- an Erskine Bowles interview.

16 A Okay. And I had no idea -- the other thing that  
17 led me to believe this material had been released is rather  
18 amusing. At the same time Newsweek called me, a Time  
19 Magazine reporter called me, Eric Pooley, P-o-o-l-e-y, and he  
20 said, "We have information that you had an affair with  
21 another woman," and he named a woman, "and that you had a  
22 child with her."

23 And I said, "That was my first wife." But in the  
24 interview with Bowles, he may have just written the name down  
25 and not written that I was married to the person at the time,

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1 so that killed the story, but all of these hit at the exact  
2 same moment.

3 So I believe that my file was released and that's  
4 one of the reasons why I've been so sensitive to what I  
5 believe they did to Linda Tripp and all of that. But, again,  
6 I only have secondhand -- from journalism knowledge of the  
7 Tripp situation.

8 Q Did you ever talk to Erskine Bowles about this  
9 matter?

10 A Yes. I called him in September 1996 right after  
11 the release of this material and I complained vigorously to  
12 him about it. He said that he didn't have the notes, that he  
13 put them in the archives. He said he was shocked that the  
14 material was released but there was nothing he could do about  
15 it.

16 I also called Jack Quinn, who had been the former  
17 White House counsel, and I had negotiated when I resigned  
18 with Quinn and Bowles an agreement that there would be no  
19 attack on me by the White House staff, and I said this  
20 violated our agreement, but I decided not to pursue it in  
21 public because I didn't want to compromise the President's  
22 chances for reelection.

23 BY MR. APPERSON:

24 Q When you provide the information to Mr. Bowles, did  
25 you understand you were providing it to him in his official --

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1 capacity as the Deputy Chief of Staff?

2 A Yes.

3 BY MR. BENNETT:

4 Q By the way, when you did confront Mr. Bowles --

5 A I'm sorry, I don't know what you mean. No, I was  
6 not applying for a government job, but he told me the  
7 President asked me to -- actually, he said Leon Panetta,  
8 Chief of Staff, asked me to ask you this question, is there  
9 any material in your past that could be embarrassing to us.  
10 And so it was through the White House chain of command.

11 BY MR. APPERSON:

12 Q While counsel's conferring, what did you understand  
13 the archives to mean?

14 A I didn't know. I assumed it was some deeply buried  
15 place.

16 MR. BENNETT: For the record, by the way,  
17 Mr. Wisenberg has entered the grand jury.

18 (Pause.)

19 MR. BENNETT: Could we take a break?

20 THE FOREPERSON: Yes.

21 MR. BENNETT: Just for two minutes.

22 THE FOREPERSON: No, why don't we take a  
23 five-minute break.

24 MR. BENNETT: Okay.

25 THE FOREPERSON: Just in case the grand jurors need

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1 to go somewhere.

2 (Witness excused. Witness recalled.)

3 MR. BENNETT: Okay. We're back on the record.

4 We have a quorum and there are no unauthorized  
5 persons present.

6 THE FOREPERSON: That's correct.

7 MR. BENNETT: And the witness is still under oath.

8 THE WITNESS: Yes.

9 THE FOREPERSON: Yes, he is.

10 MR. APPERSON: We appreciate your patience. We'll  
11 try to wrap up here and get you out of here.

12 THE WITNESS: That's okay.

13 BY MR. APPERSON:

14 Q Let me start, you mentioned your use of Action  
15 Research to conduct the polling on the 21st.

16 A Yes.

17 Q Have you used that outfit previously for polling?

18 And, if so --

19 A Yes.

20 Q What is the extent of your relationship with Action  
21 Research?

22 A I've used them for polling for 10 or 15 years.

23 Q Okay. Are you aware of any other persons  
24 associated with either the Clintons or the Clinton White  
25 House that uses Action Research for polling other than

1 yourself?

2 A Not specifically, but they're a very well known

3 company and most pollsters use them at one time or another.

4 The way it works is that you have a pollster who writes the

5 questionnaire and then he contracts with an interviewing

6 house to do the survey and Action Research is one of eight or

7 ten major research houses in the country and it would not be

8 uncommon for many consultants to work with them.

9 Q Okay. And have you used Action Research with

10 respect to other polling you've done for the President and

11 the First Lady?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Has the First Lady ever asked you or authorized you

14 to conduct polling for her?

15 A During what timeframe?

16 Q At any time.

17 A In her life? Yes.

18 Q Well, since she's been First Lady.

19 A Since she's been First Lady, no.

20 Q All right. How about in her life?

21 A Yes.

22 Q When are we talking about? During the

23 gubernatorial --

24 A 1990.

25 Q When he was governor?

1 Tucker, the former governor of Arkansas, and were his polling

2 firm for a long time. And continued, I think, to poll for

3 him straight through the trial with you. But during the --

4 but they work for a number of clients at once and I brought

5 them in to work for the President.

6 Q Okay. Do you know of any instances in which they

7 have essentially provided polling data or taken on polling

8 projects for either the President, First Lady or others in

9 the White House gratis as you did on the instance with the

10 \$2000?

11 A No. It would be atypical.

12 Q [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 A [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 Q All right. With respect to what you've described

24 as the secret police and about which you've written columns,

25 do you have any information that any persons associated with

1 A Yes.

2 MR. WISENBERG: Could I ask one or two more

3 questions about that?

4 MR. APPERSON: Sure.

5 BY MR. WISENBERG:

6 Q Since January of 1998, Mr. Morris, do you know of

7 anybody specifically who has used Action Research?

8 A No.

9 MR. WISENBERG: That's it.

10 BY MR. APPERSON:

11 Q Do you know of anyone else that occupies a similar

12 position to yourself with respect to either the President or

13 the First Lady, and that is in connection to having informal

14 contacts, seeking advice and doing subsequent polling and

15 getting that information back to either of them?

16 A Yes.

17 Q Who are those persons?

18 A Well, the main persons are Mark Penn, P-e-n-n,

19 and Doug Schoen, S-c-h-o-e-n, who are the firm of Penn &

20 Schoen.

21 Q All right. And you've referenced them with respect

22 to the contract with the --

23 A Yes. I had brought them in to work for President

24 Clinton in the presidential campaign. They had never worked

25 for Clinton before, but they did work extensively for Jim Guy

1 persons in the White House or the Clintons were involved in

2 any efforts to get information or otherwise with respect to

3 Kathleen Willey?

4 A No.

5 Q Have you ever talked to Linda Tripp?

6 A No.

7 Q Let's go back to your discussion with the President

8 when he indicated to you that "I didn't do what I'm accused

9 of" or "I didn't do what they're saying, but I did

10 something." What did you think he was saying at that

11 time?

12 A I had absolutely no idea. I -- I -- it was like he

13 was speaking a foreign language to me. I didn't understand

14 how you could be accused of having sex with somebody and have

15 done something and be worried about not being able to prove

16 your innocence, but I felt that it was not appropriate for me

17 to probe him because, first of all, if he wanted to tell me

18 something he would and, secondly, the conversation was not a

19 privileged one and I felt that at some point I might have to

20 answer your question about it and I didn't want to be

21 compromising him based on anything he told me and I didn't

22 ask him.

23 Q Okay. Going back to your conversation with the

24 President on the 21st, maybe that same conversation, I'm not

25 certain, but with respect to his telling you that there may

Page 93

1 be gifts and recordings of messages, did he sound concerned  
2 when he told you this?

3 A Yes.

4 Q Tell us what his demeanor was.

5 A Well, his demeanor throughout the whole  
6 conversation, the first conversation on Wednesday, the 21st,  
7 was one of shame and contrition and self -- I would almost  
8 say self-loathing.

9 He said -- as I said, he said, "Ever since I was  
10 elected, I've tried to shut my body down, I mean, sexually,  
11 and sometimes I just have failed. This woman, I didn't do  
12 what they said I did, but I did do something and I don't know  
13 if I can prove my innocence." There was really this feeling  
14 of having screwed it up and there was this tremendously  
15 heartfelt remorse and shame that came through in the  
16 conversation.

17 I believe that the President, in my experience with  
18 him, he has always attached an undue importance to the actual  
19 legal definition of what he did at a given time. And I  
20 believe that in his deepest being he believes that he was not  
21 inaccurate in saying that he did not have sexual relations  
22 with her and he believes that he did do something and he  
23 believes that he cannot prove his innocence. And everything  
24 else would be opinion on my part, but those are the facts of  
25 the conversation.

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1 Q Okay. What I'm hearing from you, and you correct  
2 me if I'm wrong, is that while you did not press him on what  
3 the "something" was or you didn't ask specifically what the  
4 "something" was, you interpreted the "something" nevertheless  
5 to be sexual in nature. Is that correct?

6 A Yes.

7 Q And that was based on the context of the  
8 conversation?

9 A Yes. Had it not been a sexual relationship, he  
10 would have said, "I had a crush on her and I never acted on  
11 it," or something, but he didn't. It was clear that -- he  
12 said, "And I did something." But he was constantly saying  
13 "The charges against me are not true. I didn't do what they  
14 said I did."

15 BY MR. BENNETT:

16 Q Mr. Morris, I'd like to go back to the references  
17 to the conversations you had with Betty Currie and Nancy  
18 Harnreich on the first day of this. Tell us everything you  
19 recall about those. Again, you had earlier described them as  
20 they're being sort of the conduit.

21 A Yes. You're talking about on the 21st of January?

22 Q Mm-hmm.

23 A I don't think I have anything to add to what I  
24 said. I called -- I returned the page and Betty answered and  
25 I said, "He paged me."

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1 And she said, "He wants to talk to you."

2 And earlier that day, I had called Nancy to say,  
3 "I'm in New York, I'm pagable today if he needs me."

4 Q Okay. After that day --

5 A I did that frequently.

6 Q After that day -- well, those were the only  
7 conversations on the 21st?

8 A No, no. And then after the conversation with the  
9 President some time later in the day, Nancy called, paged me,  
10 and I returned the call and she said, "He wants to -- don't  
11 fax anything to us, just go over anything you have in mind  
12 verbally with him." Actually, she also said he's going to be  
13 at some event that night and "Do you need to talk to him at  
14 night?"

15 And I said, "Yes."

16 And she said, "He'll be out until really late.  
17 Can it wait until the morning?" Nancy's function is always  
18 to make sure that one minimizes demands on the President's  
19 schedule and to try to get him as much rest as possible.

20 And Nancy probed me on that and I said, "I've got  
21 to speak to him tonight."

22 And she said, "All right. Well, then, don't call  
23 on the private line because you'll wake Hillary up. Call on  
24 the switchboard."

25 Q Okay. Since that date, you indicated that within a

Page 96

1 short time your communications with the White House ended.

2 A Right.

3 Q But since that day, did you have other  
4 conversations with Betty Currie or Nancy Harnreich about this  
5 matter?

6 A Well, not really about this matter per se, but  
7 whenever I faxed something to the President, I would always  
8 call Betty or Nancy and say, "I've just faxed something,  
9 please pull it off."

10 Q So sort of ministerial in nature, rather than  
11 substantive.

12 A Yes. That's right.

13 Q And then you told us about --

14 A The flowers.

15 Q -- the flowers and talking to Betty in concert with  
16 her grand jury appearance.

17 A Right.

18 Q Any other conversations involving either of those  
19 two women?

20 A No.

21 A JUROR: Can I ask a point of clarification?

22 When you spoke with Nancy Harnreich and she said  
23 fax it, was it -- whatever you're sending us, fax it,  
24 don't fax anything to him, I'm relaying that message from the  
25 President or was your understanding that she had some

Page 97

1 knowledge of the work you were doing for the President?  
 2 THE WITNESS: I would say the first.  
 3 A JUROR: Thank you.  
 4 BY MR. BENNETT:  
 5 Q Mr. Morris, we'd like to go over the questionnaire  
 6 that you developed for this. We've got documents in your own  
 7 handwriting and the grand jury can't really see this, but  
 8 we've got, as you had indicated, a series of questions you  
 9 developed to take this poll, and then beside some there are  
 10 handwritten numbers. I don't know if we've got the ability  
 11 to really understand this without a technical background in  
 12 statistics and that kind of thing, but --  
 13 A I can explain it fairly easily.  
 14 Q Yes. Would you do that for us?  
 15 A Sure. First, there are two page ones here because  
 16 the fax was screwed up, I guess. I mean, this is literally  
 17 as I took it down raw on that night. There are two page  
 18 ones.  
 19 Q Did we cut off part of that? I think we cut off --  
 20 A Yes. I can see it, 11 --  
 21 Q Yes, but it appears --  
 22 A Yes, you all cut it off in your Xeroxing.  
 23 Q Okay.  
 24 A But this is the way it actually looked.  
 25 Q Okay.

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1 A Yes. Okay. And then -- no, no, you've got it  
 2 right. You have it right -- oh, no. Wait. You cut off the  
 3 opening part of this, but it doesn't matter.  
 4 BY MR. APPERSON:  
 5 Q So just for the record, the copy we've made which  
 6 has been marked as an exhibit here does not contain the fax  
 7 information that is on your original. Is that correct?  
 8 A That's correct.  
 9 MR. APPERSON: All right.  
 10 MR. BENNETT: We probably ought to get that because  
 11 that refers to the time and the date.  
 12 THE WITNESS: Sure. The time.  
 13 MR. APPERSON: We'll make a copy of this again and  
 14 submit it to the grand jury.  
 15 THE WITNESS: Are you asking me to explain how to  
 16 read the numbers on it?  
 17 MR. APPERSON: That would be helpful, if you would.  
 18 THE WITNESS: Okay.  
 19 MR. APPERSON: Just kind of go through it quickly.  
 20 THE WITNESS: Take question 4, for example, "Do  
 21 you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat  
 22 unfavorable or very unfavorable view of Bill Clinton?" And  
 23 then you'll note that it says 17-30-20-22. And then there's  
 24 a space and it says 47-42?  
 25 MR. APPERSON: Yes, sir.

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1 THE WITNESS: What that means is 17 said very  
 2 favorable, 30 said somewhat favorable, 20 gave the third  
 3 response, somewhat unfavorable, and 22 gave the last  
 4 response, very unfavorable. And then the number on the  
 5 right-hand side represents the first and the second  
 6 responses, very and somewhat favorable, added together, 17  
 7 and 30 is 47. And the last two, the unfavorable categories,  
 8 20 and 22 is 42. So it's a two-way collapsing of the data.  
 9 MR. APPERSON: All right, sir.  
 10 THE WITNESS: And in question 5, by the same token,  
 11 19 percent strongly approve, 42 somewhat, 19 somewhat  
 12 disapprove, 18 strongly disapprove and 19 and 42 is 61 and 19  
 13 and 18 is 37 and that's why it says 61-37.  
 14 MR. APPERSON: Okay. I understand. Drop down  
 15 to 7. That's a little different.  
 16 A JUROR: Would you read the question for us?  
 17 THE WITNESS: Okay. On question 7, it says "Do  
 18 you think that President Clinton has committed adultery?"  
 19 I'm sorry, on question 6, it says, "In general, do you think  
 20 President Clinton has committed adultery at one time or  
 21 another?" Okay? And the 49 percent said yes, 17 no and 34  
 22 undecided.  
 23 MR. APPERSON: All right, sir.  
 24 THE WITNESS: Okay? Then on question 7, we asked  
 25 the 49 percent that said yes in question 6, "Do you think

Page 100

1 that the President has committed adultery with many different  
 2 women or just with a few?" And 17 percent of the 49 percent  
 3 said many different women, 44 of the 49 said a few and 18  
 4 didn't know. So the 37 percent is 37 percent of 49 percent  
 5 and that's why I have 19 percent in parenthesis there.  
 6 MR. APPERSON: All right.  
 7 THE WITNESS: Because it's 19 percent of the whole  
 8 sample. And then on question 8, "Do you think President  
 9 Clinton committed adultery while he has been serving as  
 10 president?" Again, we asked that only of the 49 percent that  
 11 think he's committed adultery in the first place and 50  
 12 percent said yes, 33 no. So 50 percent of the 49 percent is  
 13 25 percent, which is what is in parentheses.  
 14 MR. APPERSON: All right, sir.  
 15 THE WITNESS: On question 9, "If President Clinton  
 16 did commit adultery, would it make you more or less likely to  
 17 support him or make no difference?" LL means less likely,  
 18 40; no difference, 55. I didn't copy down any that might  
 19 have said more likely.  
 20 MR. APPERSON: Okay.  
 21 THE WITNESS: In question 10, "If President Clinton  
 22 committed adultery frequently and did so while he has been  
 23 serving as President, would it make you less likely to  
 24 support him or make no difference to you?" 51 less likely,  
 25 44 no difference.

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1 Going to question 11, it's the same. Less likely  
 2 and no difference.  
 3 Question 12 I think is self-explanatory. Pardon my  
 4 not reading them all, but this question is a long one and  
 5 it's an exhibit so --  
 6 And 13 and 14 I think are self-explanatory.  
 7 Fifteen, the 21 is strongly support, 22 somewhat  
 8 support. Eighteen is somewhat opposed, 29 strongly opposed.  
 9 And, again you add them and it becomes 43 to 47.  
 10 The same on question 16.  
 11 The same on question 17.  
 12 The same on question 18.  
 13 Nineteen and 20 is the yes versus the no.  
 14 On 24, "Do you think President Clinton's adultery  
 15 is more extensive than President Kennedy's, about the same or  
 16 not as extensive?" More extensive 9, the same 33, not as  
 17 extensive 23. I'm not quite sure why that doesn't add up to  
 18 100 but it does not. There must be a not sure category or  
 19 something.  
 20 The 25 is yes versus no.  
 21 Twenty-six I think you understand.  
 22 Twenty-seven, 28 -- to 27. Okay. And the words  
 23 written on the back page here were the demographics that I  
 24 wanted them to break the survey out into after they did the  
 25 results, but I told them not to, to disregard that once I got

Page 102

1 the numbers because I saw that the poll indicated that an  
 2 apology and a mea culpa wouldn't work politically and  
 3 therefore there was no point in either going to the extra  
 4 expense of, frankly, creating a document which would be a  
 5 computer run and so I told them to disregard the instructions  
 6 on the last page.  
 7 MR. APPERSON: All right, sir. We will --  
 8 MR. WISENBERG: We're going to need to get the  
 9 original back and we'll make a copy for you.  
 10 THE WITNESS: Okay. I believe this is --  
 11 MR. BENNETT: This is the original.  
 12 THE WITNESS: -- the original.  
 13 MR. BENNETT: Okay.  
 14 MR. APPERSON: You're handing that to us now.  
 15 THE WITNESS: Yes.  
 16 MR. APPERSON: And we'll get you a copy or get that  
 17 back to you.  
 18 A JUROR: Excuse me. Mr. Morris, did you ever  
 19 share the results of this poll with anyone other than the  
 20 President?  
 21 THE WITNESS: No.  
 22 BY MR. WISENBERG:  
 23 Q What was the answer?  
 24 A No.  
 25 Q Did you -- and I apologize if you've answered

Page 103

1 this -- did you physically give that in any way to the  
 2 President?  
 3 A No.  
 4 Q Or anyone at the White House?  
 5 A No.  
 6 Q Okay.  
 7 A As far as I know, there's only one copy of that in  
 8 existence and that's it.  
 9 Q You relayed the information to him, though,  
 10 correct?  
 11 A I went through that. Yes.  
 12 MR. WISENBERG: All right. Anything else?  
 13 MR. APPERSON: If there are no other questions of  
 14 the grand jury, we'll excuse the witness.  
 15 MR. WISENBERG: And stick around so you can get a  
 16 copy.  
 17 THE WITNESS: Okay.  
 18 THE FOREPERSON: Thank you, Mr. Morris.  
 19 MR. BENNETT: Or we can mail it to you.  
 20 THE WITNESS: No, I'll take it with me.  
 21 MR. BENNETT: Okay. We'll be out in a moment.  
 22 THE WITNESS: Okay. Thank you.  
 23 THE FOREPERSON: Mr. Morris, I'd like to thank you  
 24 for your testimony.  
 25 THE WITNESS: Well, thank you. Thank you.

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1 MR. BENNETT: One question we always ask --  
 2 THE WITNESS: Thank you, by the way, for giving up  
 3 your lives for this.  
 4 BY MR. BENNETT:  
 5 Q Mr. Morris? Before you go. One question we always  
 6 try and ask. Did you have a full opportunity to answer all  
 7 of our questions?  
 8 A Yes.  
 9 Q Is there anything -- okay. We didn't cut you off  
 10 before you had an opportunity to fully answer?  
 11 A No.  
 12 MR. BENNETT: Okay. Thank you. Thank you, sir.  
 13 (The witness was excused.)  
 14 (Whereupon, at 4:28 p.m., the taking of testimony  
 15 in the presence of a full quorum of the Grand Jury was  
 16 concluded.)  
 17 \*\*\*\*\*

To Manor

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4. Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of Bill Clinton? 17-30-20-22 47-42
5. How would you rate the job Bill Clinton is doing as President? Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job he is doing? 19-42-19-18 61-37
6. In general, do you think President Clinton has committed adultery at one time or another? 49-17-34
7. (If yes in Q6) Do you think that President Clinton has committed adultery with many different women or just with a few? (19%) Many-37 few-44 0418
8. (If yes in Q6) Do you think President Clinton has committed adultery while he has been serving as President? (25%) Y 50 N 33 17
9. If President Clinton did commit adultery, would it make you less likely to support him or would it make no difference to you? 22-40 NO 55
10. If President Clinton committed adultery frequently and did so while he has been serving as President, would it make you less likely to support him or would it make no difference to you? 22 51 NO 44



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11. If President Clinton committed adultery while serving as President with a member of the White House staff, would it make you less likely to support him or would it make no difference to you?  
*ll 53 wd 41*
12. Yesterday, a woman named Linda Tripp, who used to be on the White House staff, said that she had spoken with a woman named Monica Lewinsky (lou-inn-ski) and that Monica had told her she had had an affair with President Clinton for the past year and a half. Monica is 23 years old and unmarried. While Monica denied, in a sworn affidavit, that she had a sexual relationship with Clinton and Clinton himself denied it under oath in a deposition this past weekend, Tripp has tape recordings of Monica telling her about the affair and admitting to it. Monica also told Tripp that the President and Clinton's friend, Vernon Jordan, asked her to lie about the affair. Kenneth Starr, the Whitewater special prosecutor is investigating the question of whether the



he committed the crime of obstruction of justice. In view of these facts, do you think Clinton should be removed from office? 60-30

15. Now I'd like to read you a statement the President could possibly make and get your reaction to it:

For many, many years, I have been personally flawed and have had sexual relations outside of my marriage. This has caused Hillary great pain and I have tried and tried to curb my behavior as I saw the pain it caused her. After I became President, I was determined to mend my ways. For the most part, I did, but sometimes I fell short and gave into temptation. I did, in fact, have sexual relations with a 23 year old woman named Monica Lewinsky while I've been President. I regret my behavior more than I can say. I apologize for it. I take responsibility for it. I wish I were a better man and better able to cope with the pressures of life and work and I am going to redouble my efforts to walk a straight line. When the allegations first surfaced, I did, indeed, lie about them and urge Monica to lie. I was wrong and I am sorry for it. I am especially sorry for the pain I have caused my wife and my daughter. If the American people want me to step down as President, I will do so. With a heavy heart, but I will do so. If they can forgive me and want me to continue to lead our great nation, I'll do that too. I've tried to be a good President and I think I've succeeded. I've tried to be a good husband and I'm afraid I've sometimes failed. As President, as a repentant sinner, and as a Christian, I ask your forgiveness, God's forgiveness, and my wife and daughter's forgiveness. My future is in your hands my fellow Americans.

If President Clinton made a statement saying this would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose his staying in office? 43-47

16. If President Clinton made a statement like this would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose an effort to impeach him and remove him from office? 21-22 - 18-29

17. If President Clinton made a statement like and pleaded guilty to the crime of perjury and obstruction of justice would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose his staying in office? 26-20 - 16-24  
46-40

19-17 - 19-37  
36 - 56

22. Do you think Bill Clinton is a sex addict? 45-53

23. Do you think President John F. Kennedy was a sex addict? 25-48

24. Do you think President Clinton's adultery is more extensive than President Kennedy's, about the same, or not as extensive as President Kennedy's? more 9 same 33 not 23

25. Had you known about President Kennedy's adultery while he was President would you have thought that he should be removed from office? 431 N46

26. Lets assume for a minute that Clinton did have an affair with Monica, did lie about it under oath and by doing so commit perjury, and did encourage Monica to lie about it also thereby committing the crime of obstruction of justice. Lets assume Clinton admits the crimes, pleads guilty and asks for forgiveness. Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose his staying in office? 19-22 - 18-32 41-50

27. Again assuming Clinton had the affair and committed perjury and obstruction of justice by lying about it and encouraging the woman to lie and assuming that he admitted his crimes, pled guilty and asked for America's forgiveness, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose an effort to impeach him and remove him from office? 27-25 - 16-23 52-38

28. Again, assuming these facts, some people say that that Clinton should be removed from office not for adultery, but for perjury and obstruction of justice.. They say that we need a President who obeys the law and that we cannot have a man who has admitted to having an affair, committed perjury by lying about it, and committed obstruction of justice by encouraging the woman to lie about it. Other people say that Clinton only did what tens of millions of men and women do -- commit adultery and lie when they are caught. They say the guy is human and that he didn't do anything terribly wrong. They say that we shouldn't remove a man who the nation elected as President just because he was caught with his pants down and blurted out a lie when he was confronted with it. They say we can't just be like a banana republic, ousting Presidents from office without the consent of the voters. They say we should accept his apology, practice the Judeo-Christian act of forgiveness and move on. Would you strongly

22-21 - 18-31  
43 6151

30 Race

31 age

32 income

By Abreviation -

Region

Banner

1- Total

2- approve Clinton in Q 5

3- disapprove Clinton in Q 5

4. Think C should stay in office in Q 13

5. " " " not " " " " " "

6- Support C staying in office in Q 17

7 Oppose " " " " " "

2/6

ma

~~11 some college or less~~

~~12 college grad +~~

12 ~~12~~ men

13 ~~13~~ women

14 ~~14~~ under 40

15 ~~15~~ 40-64

16 ~~16~~ 65+

17 ~~17~~

18 ~~18~~

19 20 regions

20 20

21 21

\*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\* TX REPORT \*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Clinton

TRANSMISSION OK

TX/RX NO 0506  
 DEPT. ACCESS CODE 2222  
 CONNECTION TEL 14077233382  
 SUBADDRESS  
 CONNECTION ID  
 ST. TIME 01/21 13:29  
 USAGE T 02'03  
 PGS. SENT 4  
 RESULT OK



To Manor

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to Manor Clinton

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President lied under oath or encouraged Monica to lie. Do you believe President Clinton either lied himself or encouraged Monica to lie or do you believe that President Clinton didn't either lie or encourage Monica to lie?

Clinton lied or encouraged Monica to lie 37

Clinton did not lie or encourage Monica to lie 34

13. If President Clinton did lie and encouraged Monica to lie, do you think he should be removed from office?

48 - 41

14. If President Clinton lied, he committed the crime of perjury. If he encouraged Monica to lie, he committed the crime of obstruction of justice. In view of these facts, do you think President Clinton should be removed from office?

60 - 30

15. Now I'd like to read you a statement the President could possibly make and get your reaction to it:

For many, many years, I have been personally flawed and have had sexual relations outside of my marriage. This has caused Hillary great pain and I have tried and tried to curb my behavior as I saw the pain it caused her. After I became President, I was determined to mend my ways. For the most part, I did, but sometimes I fell short and gave into temptation. I did, in fact, have sexual relations with a 23 year old woman named Monica Lewinsky while I've been President. I regret my behavior more than I can say. I apologize for it. I take responsibility for it. I wish I were a better man and better able to cope with the pressures of life and work and I am going to redouble my efforts to walk a straight line. When the allegations first surfaced, I did, indeed, lie about them and urge Monica to lie. I was wrong and I am sorry for it. I am especially sorry for the pain I have caused my wife and my daughter. If the American people want me to step down as President, I will do so. With a heavy heart, but I will do so. If they can forgive me and want me to continue to lead our great nation, I'll do that too. I've tried to be a good President and I think I've succeeded. I've tried to be a good husband and I'm afraid I've sometimes failed. As President, as a repentant sinner, and as a Christian, I ask your forgiveness, God's forgiveness, and my wife and daughter's forgiveness. My future is in your hands my fellow Americans.

If President Clinton made a statement saying this would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose his staying in office?

16. If President Clinton made a statement like this would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose an effort to impeach him and remove him from office?

21-22 - 18-29  
46-40

17. If President Clinton made a statement like and pleaded guilty to the crime of perjury and obstruction of justice would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose his staying in office?

19-17 - 19-37  
36 - 56

18. If President Clinton made a statement like this and pled guilty to these two crimes would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose an effort to impeach him and remove him from office?

30-20-17-23 50-40

19. If President Clinton made a statement like this and pled guilty to these two crimes do you think he should be sent to jail?

35-53-

20. Do you think that there is such a thing as sexual addiction?

63-23

21. Some people say sexual addiction is like drug addiction or alcoholism. The person may want to stop but finds it very, very difficult and sometimes impossible. Do you think there is such a thing as sexual addiction?

64-27

22. Do you think Bill Clinton is a sex addict?

15-53

23. Do you think President John F. Kennedy was a sex addict?

25-48

24. Do you think President Clinton's adultery is more extensive than President Kennedy's, about the same, or not as extensive as President Kennedy's?

more 9 same 33 not 23

25. Had you known about President Kennedy's adultery while he was President would you have thought that he should be removed from office?

431 1146

26. Lets assume for a minute that Clinton did have an affair with Monica, did lie about it under oath and by doing so commit perjury, and did encourage Monica to lie about it also thereby committing the crime of obstruction of justice. Lets assume Clinton admits the crimes, pleads guilty and asks for forgiveness. Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose his staying in office?

19-22-18-32

27. Again assuming Clinton had the affair and committed perjury and obstruction of justice by lying about it and encouraging the woman to lie and assuming that he admitted his crimes, pled guilty and asked for America's forgiveness, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose an effort to impeach him and remove him from office?

41-50  
27-25-18-22 52-38

28. Again, assuming these facts, some people say that that Clinton should be removed from office not for adultery, but for perjury and obstruction of justice.. They say that we need a President who obeys the law and that we cannot have a man who has admitted to having an affair, committed perjury by lying about it, and committed obstruction of justice by encouraging the woman to lie about it. Other people say that Clinton only did what tens of millions of men and women do -- commit adultery and lie when they are caught. They say the guy is human and that he didn't do anything terribly wrong. They say that we shouldn't remove a man who the nation elected as President just because he was caught with his pants down and blurted out a lie when he was confronted with it. They say we can't just be like a banana republic, ousting Presidents from office without the consent of the voters. They say we should accept his apology, practice the Judeo-Christian act of forgiveness and move on. Would you strongly

22-21-18-31

43

6101

support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose his staying in office?

27. Again, assuming these facts and after hearing these arguments, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose an effort to impeach him and remove him from office?

26-22 - 17-25 / 48-42

Barnes cont.

- 28 Party Vote Habits
- 29 education
- 30 Race
- 31 age
- 32 income
- By Abreviation -
- Region

8	Dem
9	Rep
10	Ind
11	<del>4 some college or less</del>
12	<del>42 college grad +</del>
13	men
14	women
15	under 40
16	40-64
17	65+
18	<del>regions</del>
19	20
20	20
21	20

9  
4  
26

Barnes

- 1- Total
- 2- approve Clinton in Q 5
- 3- disapprove Clinton in Q 5
- 4. Think C should stay in office in Q 13
- 5. " " " not " " " " " "
- 6- Support C staying in office in Q 17
- 7 Oppose " " " " "