

NEWS LETTER

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HILLARY STAYS ONE STEP AHEAD OF BILL

FIRST LADY FLIES IN TO APPLAUD THE WOMEN WHO MAKE A DIFFERENCE: SEE PAGE 7

'The violence we have seen must be a thing of the past, over and done with'

ADAMS: I WANT AN END TO WAR

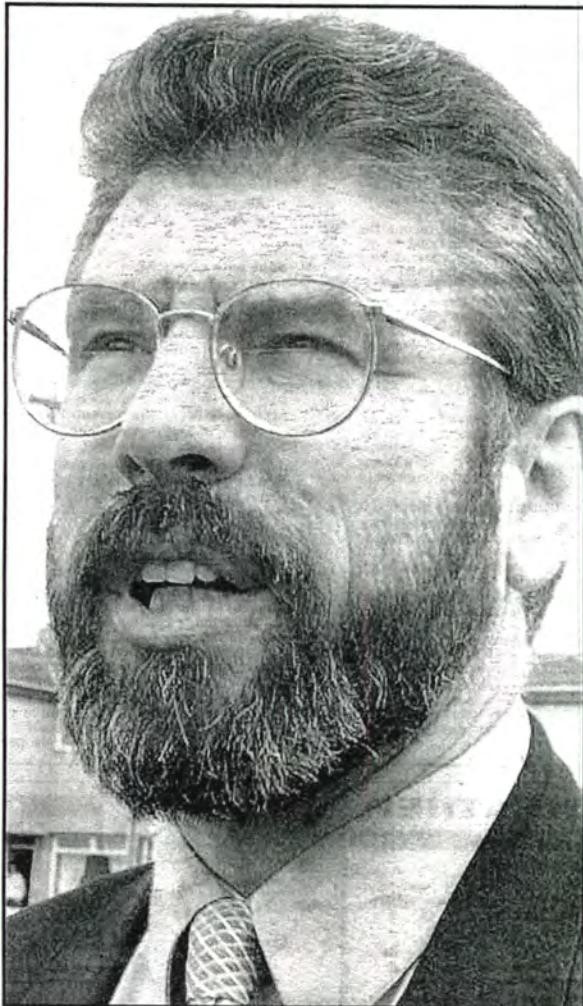
SINN FEIN President Gerry Adams last night made what many saw as an effective "war is over" statement — and immediately came under pressure to destroy the weapons of terrorism.

First Minister David Trimble welcomed the statement but added: "Carefully crafted words are not enough. Sinn

**STATEMENT IN FULL: PAGE 2
MORNING VIEW: PAGE 6**

Fein will be judged on their actions over the coming days".

Mr Adams said: "I and Sinn Fein believe the violence we have seen must be for all of us now a thing of the past, over, done with, and gone".



ADAMS: carefully-crafted statement recognised by unionists as an important first step, and by Tony Blair as "significant and welcome".

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

US President's wife flies in first for series of Ulster engagements

Hillary stays one step ahead of Bill



RUSSIA WITH LOVE: Hillary Clinton shares a lighter moment yesterday with Valentina Chernomyrdin, wife of acting Prime Minister Viktor

THE First Lady of the United States jets into Northern Ireland today for a series of public engagements.

Hillary Clinton, one of America's top lawyers, will be attending functions at a number of venues including Belfast's Waterfront Hall and in Hillsborough.

Tomorrow she will be joined by her husband President Bill Clinton for a hectic schedule which will feature visits to Belfast, Omagh and Armagh.

President Clinton, who yesterday returned from a trip to crisis-hit Russia where he met President Boris Yeltsin, will be greeted on Thursday morning by Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Mr Blair, who flies into the Province tonight with his wife Cherie, will be accompanying the Clintons on their tour.

In Belfast, the President will be making an address at the Waterfront Hall and meeting members of the new Northern Ireland Assembly at Stormont.

He will lay a wreath in Omagh for those who were murdered in the Real IRA car bomb on August 15 and talk with those who were caught up in the explosion as well as the emergency personnel who came to their aid.

His final port of call and the

By LINDSAY FERGUS

only place where members of the general public will be given the chance to meet the President, who recently admitted that he had an extra-marital affair, is Armagh.

Thousands of people from across Northern Ireland are expected to descend on the Mall in the heart of Ulster's Christian capital for the presidential address.

The Gathering for Peace, as it has been hailed by Armagh City Council, will be attended by a number of dignitaries including First Minister David Trimble and

his deputy Seamus Mallon.

The historic visit will provide the BBC Northern Ireland with its biggest-ever live coverage on television and radio.

Coverage begins with Hillary Clinton's keynote speech today at the Waterfront Hall as she addresses delegates at the Vital Voices conference from 4.50pm to 5.50pm on BBC 2 Northern Ireland and Radio Ulster.

On Thursday there will be 12 hours of live broadcasting from the moment Air Force One touches down at Aldergrove at about 9am.

There will be a full round-up of the day's events in a special programme at 10.25pm on BBC 1.



BILL CLINTON

Message of hope for beleaguered Yeltsin

WITH a message of support but offering no financial help, President Bill Clinton urged Russians yesterday to "reject the failed policies of the past" in coping with their current economic crisis.

Urging Russians to "play by the rules," Mr Clinton said they should "pay their fair share of taxes" and he admonished a defaulting government that "the people who lend money to this nation must be treated fairly" so they will extend loans again in the future.

'I'm fine' insists First Lady

HILLARY Clinton, making her first public appearance since her husband admitted an improper relationship with Monica Lewinsky, took tea with Russian businesswomen and gave a brief, firm response yesterday when asked how she's been.

"I've been getting along fine," she said, emphasising "fine" with a nod of her head.

Mrs Clinton appeared jet-lagged but otherwise happy to be in Moscow with Naina Yeltsin, wife of Russian leader Boris.

The two toured a private women's clothing factory and took part in a

discussion with women small business owners before setting off for a tour of the Tretyakov Gallery, one of Moscow's premier art museums.

The owner, Tatyana Nedzvetskaya, said she was struck by Mrs Clinton's openness and intelligence, and said it never even occurred to her to bring up the scandal surrounding the president's relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

"What goes on behind the bedroom doors is nobody else's business," she said. "If you start asking that kind of question, you have fascism, not democracy."



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Mr Blair will give Commons statement on Omagh blast

First prisoners to be released

UP to 20 Maze prisoners are expected to get letters from the Sentences Review Commission tomorrow detailing when they will be released.

They will be the first prisoners to be freed in Northern Ireland under the terms of the Good Friday Peace Agreement.

A reduction in the number of prison staff as a result of the controversial release scheme, possibly before the end of this year, was also confirmed by the Northern Ireland Prison Service.

Robin Halward, the service's new director general, said "major change" was inevitable and threatening but it is a part of the modern world," he said.

The first batch of prisoners would probably be freed early next week, he said.

Mr Halward, who replaces Alan Shannon as head of the Province's Prison Service, said arrangements for a redundancy scheme for prison staff were being worked upon as the release of up to 400 terrorist inmates gets under way.

A prison officer at the Maze said last night: "It is inevitable people here will lose their jobs, we have been treated disgracefully. No doubt we will be the last to know."

"We have been taken for a ride, they are trying to utterly demoralise staff and they are making a good job of it."

"Nobody has officially said the Maze will close, we just read speculation everywhere."

"We try not to deal in speculation but it's the only thing we have."

"Nobody has the decency to tell us anything. We are lions led by donkeys."

In a separate move it

By JULIE O'CONNOR

was announced that relatives of the victims of terrorists involved in the scheme will be informed of their release before they walk free.

Victims Minister Adam Ingram said a telephone helpline had been set up and relatives will be able to apply for information about releases which may affect them.

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Fait welcomes

GOVERNMENT plans to set up a pipeline for terrorist victims and their loved ones, the minister said yesterday by Fait, the pressure group.

Development officer Glyn Robe said it was "absolutely essential" for information to be passed on to those who exactly qualified for the early release.

"I would certainly hope that this would avoid a situation where victims' families are left in the dark about a relative in the Maze."

"However, Fait is still unhappy that the Government should continue to turn a blind eye to continuing beatings and shootings."

"They should make it crystal clear to military groups that this violence is the conditions outlined in the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Bill for early prisoner release."

Details of the Early Release Information Scheme were announced by Minister for Victims Affairs.

Trimble plot 'far-fetched'

A SHOCK claim that David Trimble is the target of an Ulster Unionist Party plot to oust him as leader was dismissed last night as "far-fetched and unhelpful".

The claim was made by Trimble's loyalist Alex Kane, who insisted the leader's enemies were working against him at branch and constituency level, as well as leaking unfavourable information.

A spokesman for Northern Ireland's First Minister rejected the assessment, stressing that the UUP Assembly group was "never more united" and adding: "Our party as a whole has shown consistently that it is behind the leader."

Mr Kane had told a Unionist meeting in Belfast that the cheerleaders of the anti-Trimble "conspiracy" were mostly the same people "who put the boot into Jim Molyneux".

see the real world."

The one-time Ulster Conservative, now a UUP member in south Belfast, said Mr Trimble had inherited a party which had known nothing but failure for 25 years.

But he had acknowledged the "brutal reality" that Ulster Unionists were not masters of their own political destiny and could not make unilateral decisions about how the Province was governed.

Mr Kane lauded Mr Trimble's "enormous political and personal courage" and his leadership qualities, but maintained that his position at the party helm was far from secure.

"I know there are people within this party who are scheming to topple Trimble. I know that members of this party have been involved in informal talks with members of the DUP and the UK Unionist Party. And I know that the 'no faction' conference on October 24."

conference on October 24."

Mr Kane added: "Mr Trimble has very little leeway for manoeuvre. His majority in the Assembly is paper thin, the pro-agreement/anti-agreement split among the unionist electorate is too close to call, and support within his own party is eroding."

"Mr Trimble's grassroots need encouragement and reassurance, they need their doubts answered and their fears calmed. If he loses them, he loses everything."

Mr Trimble's spokesman described the assessment as "absolutely inaccurate".

He said: "Mr Kane may be trying to be supportive but speeches like this are less than helpful. He is alluding to issues which have already been dealt with behind closed doors in a perfectly amicable fashion."

"There has been a good atmosphere at recent meetings of both the Parliamentary party and the

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Thursday 31
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Pedestrian Access will
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Belfast Waterfront Hall on
car parks will N

Another full page of interviews on page 28.

Last winter, The 21st Century began an interview section comprised of your interviews of family, friends and acquaintances. The "winning" interviewer(s) would have the opportunity to meet Hillary Rodham Clinton at the White House for an exclusive interview. Students from across the country submitted hundreds of interviews.

On July 21st the winners, Nadine Gorelik and Julia Cotton, met the First Lady. See below for the story of their experience.

Nadine: What has been your most memorable time at the White House?

Hillary Rodham Clinton: That is such a hard question to answer, because there are so many memorable moments, starting with the very first time you come in. (We're not permitted to come in until after the president is inaugurated). It's so exciting, but it's also very scary because you don't know what to expect.

So, I've had so many different moments here, moments of great joy and sadness and what I consider to be very historic times that I just can't pick one out.

Every day you live here, you live with such a sense of history and awe and joy

about having the privilege to be here that most days, and most moments, end up being memorable in one way or another.

Julia: What can teens do to preserve America's historic heritage?

HRC: Well, that's an especially good question, given what we're doing here in the White House to promote saving America's treasures.

Recently, I had a wonderful trip through Baltimore, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts, pointing out places that were well known and places that were not very well known.

In every community there is a place or monument, or

An Exclusive Interview with Hillary Rodham Clinton, The First Lady

by Julia Cotton, E. Greenwich, RI, and Nadine Gorelik, Setauket, NY

someone's records, that can be saved because they tell us not only about our past but also something about our future, and point us in a certain direction.

As part of history classes, extracurricular activities, and just as an individual interest, young people should find out what is in their own community and visit.

I've often thought that we don't pay enough attention to

where we live unless we have someone visiting and we show our visitors around. But we should do that for ourselves. And I would hope that every teenager learns more about his community and tries to be involved in some project to save something.

We have much more in common than we give ourselves credit for, but there are differences we should respect and honor.

We're going to be announcing a project in the fall, which will be, "Your History is Our History," because we also think that young people should interview, as you are, people in their families and in their communities to get a better sense of what's happened in the past and the struggles and sacrifices that people have made. You learn more about what life was like before and

what kind of lessons they can draw from that.

Nadine: As First Lady, you've traveled extensively throughout the 50 states. In what specific ways do we all share the same values and in what way have our regional differences and backgrounds divided us?

HRC: Well, that's another question I've thought a lot about. Certainly, as diverse a nation as we are, there are differences. Just in the short time I was on the Treasures Tour, I went to Harriet Tubman's home in Auburn, New York, where I met with African-Americans who were trying to save that treasure, and then I went to western New York where I met with people from the Iroquois Nation and talked with them about their traditions. They all have many of the same experiences as Americans in common, and have a lot of the same sense of what it means to be an American, and wear the same clothes and eat the same fast foods, but they have differences in how they see the world and what their experiences have been.

What I want to do, and what the president has been trying to do with his race initiative, is to encourage people to celebrate our unity as a

nation and be proud of what binds us together as Americans, and at the same time respect our differences and understand more about what makes people from different backgrounds think or act a certain way that wouldn't be your own experience.

So, as I travel I see many examples where we have much more in common than, sometimes, we give ourselves credit for, but there are differences we should respect and honor.

Everyone doesn't have wear the same clothes and the same food and celebrate the same holidays and get the same religious service as an American, but we have to recognize that, as Americans, we're bound together by the common ideals and founding principles in our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence.

We've been through an amazing historic experience as we've tried to bring people together to live in harmo-

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The Interview Experience

by Nadine Gorelik and Julia Cotton

Julia and I raced to our hotel room, fiddled impatiently with the key in its keyhole, and bolted inside to liberate our carefully packed interview suits from their black garment bags. Time was scarce, and excitement ran high. How could we ever be ready enough to interview Hillary? Making the transition from two frenzied teenagers who'd just met in the airport to a coordinated team of interviewers appeared implausible. Factor in the knowledge that we'd soon be perched atop a red brocade White House couch, and the scenario seemed worthy of a movie plot.

Once at the White House, it wasn't long before Mrs. Clinton's upbeat and hospitable chief personal secretary joined us in the West Wing waiting area to escort us down hallways and past the Rose Garden to the Map Room. There, she surveyed the questions we'd decided to ask, advised us on how to use our limited time most

efficiently, and helped us select our seats. Just as these formalities drew to a close, the door swung open and I was faced with an image which seemed to illuminate the entire room. "Hello," she said, "I'm Hillary Clinton" - as if her name had somehow slipped our minds. Smooth as an ocean wave, Mrs. Clinton glided across the room in her bright aqua suit toward the spot where the official White House photographer began snapping pictures before I even knew what was happening.

Nadine asked the first question. Hillary was so confident and perfect; it was so strange just being so close to her in

real life, since I have only seen her on television or in newspapers. She was like a queen. She made excellent eye contact. I concentrated my eyes on her, as if they were lenses and my mind was film. I wanted to capture every moment and retain it forever. The eye contact made me think of who else she had recently looked at. I started to think about how this eye contact creates a link through the world. I thought of myself as part of a

link of glances. She looked at the president, who looked at her, she looked at me, and I looked into the eyes of another. Strange thoughts, I'm sure, but you can't relate how electrifying the moment is unless you actually sit with someone that important. I was very impressed with how poised she was, and how she spoke. Even though we were with her for only a little less than an hour, the feeling will last me a lifetime.

While she was talking, a lot of things raced through my mind. I wanted to cherish the time and not let it slip away. I wondered how she learned such manners and such poise (from a book, from a special consultant, or from practice?). Every time I blinked, I pretended I was taking a mental picture of the room and everything that was happening. I thought about what history this room had seen. There was a red curtain; I



Julia and Nadine look on as Hillary Clinton autographs her book, *It Takes a Village*.

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Hillary Clinton Exclusive Interview Page 10

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This account of the interview experience by Nadine Gorelik and Julia Cotton is on page 10.



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our 10th year!

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Luis Ortiz, Stamford, CT
Bottom photo by
Jenn Winski, Bridgeton, NJ

Carry Me

Carry me — please
I'm a bird without wings
I've lost my will
and strength to be

Just pick me up
and carry me home
hold me high
don't let me fall
from the pedestal
that's become your arms
I can't let go
I cling to your soul

Carry me — please
I need to be held
brought forward slowly
but not through yesterday

Carry me through
I haven't the strength
because a bird without wings
cannot fly

by Kim Bilodeau, E. Windsor, CT
(More poetry on pages 18-19)



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

performance. I had to make my mind up how I wanted to live and that I then had to try to do what was right for me. I think that is still good advice today. I believe that certainly there isn't any more important investment that anyone can make than in education.

And individuals, particularly young women, have to be true to themselves and find what is best for their lives and make the decisions that will enable them to pursue their interests. We should all be supporting young people more than I

think we do, as you navigate this period toward adulthood, and give you more ways to learn about what interests you, like *The 21st Century*, by giving you a chance to write and interview. It's really saying, "We have a lot of faith in you. We think that you've got something to contribute," and I'd like to see more opportunities like that for young people.

Nadine: When you were a teenager, what was your biggest fear?

HRC: You know, I can't really remember. I think that I had fears about natural disasters or nuclear war, or something happening to my family. I don't know that I had any unique fears; it was more what kids worry about as they grow up.

Julia: As a mother, what do you perceive are your strengths and weaknesses?

HRC: I don't know. You'd probably have to ask my daughter. I just tried to do the best I knew how, and I think that it's such a challenge for any of us who are mothers or fathers. The vast majority of parents try to do the best they can, given what they were given as children, how they were raised and what they understand about themselves and the world. But no matter how hard you try, you're going to make mistakes.

That's why I think that parents and children have to develop a sense of forgiveness and support for each other. I remember when Chelsea was a baby, one night she was crying and crying (I talk about this in my book), and I didn't know how to comfort her, and I finally said to her, "I've never been a mother before, and you've never been a baby before, we're just going to have to learn how to do this together."

Well, certainly as your child grows, you have to keep adjusting that relationship because how you treat a two-year-old is not how you treat a twelve-year-old or an eighteen-year-old. But it's hard for parents, because we want so much to do what is

My mother always told me that every day I had a choice, whether I was going to be the actor in my own life or a bit player in somebody else's performance.

right and sometimes we don't always know; we think we do and we're trying very hard, but it may not be right for our child for these times. And, certainly, for parents who have more than one child, unlike me, you can't

treat any child the same as any other child because each has a different personality and what works in terms of parenting for one child with a certain temperament may not work with another child in the same family of the same gene pool.

So, it's a challenge constantly to try to be as alert and open and flexible and knowledgeable about yourself, about your child, about circumstances, to do the best job you can.

And I think everybody has to relax a little bit and try to be understanding of each other.

It's always remarkable how, as you go through stages of development, you do understand each other a little better, and as young people get older... and think what it would be like to be a parent, they also have a little more sensitivity toward what their own parents went through.

Nadine: Who have your role models been?

HRC: Well, when I was growing up, I didn't really know any women who worked, other than my teachers, the librarians and a few people like that. So, I didn't admire one individual as much as I admired characteristics of people, people who were resilient and courageous in the face of whatever life threw their way, whether it was an illness or some other tragedy.

And then, as I got older and I learned more about the kinds of contributions women like Eleanor Roosevelt had made, I grew to admire a lot of women, because of what they'd done with their lives.

So, I can't say that I had one role model, but I can say that I really learned a lot by not only watching and following the women I personally knew, but also reading about the lives of women I never had the chance to meet, but whose lives and choices I thought were either brave or admirable.

Julia: What is a myth about you or about White House life that you would like to dispel?



Nadine and Julia making notes outside the South Entrance of the White House

HRC: I think that certainly from the outside, people see the White House as a mysterious place. It's a place of history and certainly of importance, and it symbolizes our democracy. But it's hard to even imagine, until you live here, what it's like. I'd like to help people understand that my husband and I have tried to make the White House as accessible to people as possible so that it doesn't have a forbidding, formal image in people's minds, but

... parents and children have to develop a sense of forgiveness and support for each other.

a welcoming one, so people feel it is the people's house and they are invited whenever the occasion arises. We've certainly increased the numbers of people invited here for events of all kinds, because I think that in

today's world it's important for people to feel as connected as possible with their government or with their president, and this house symbolizes that for many.

So, although we obviously can't invite every American, we take every chance we can to invite as many Americans as possible, and the number of tourists has increased. The large events we've tried to have and the number of people who have been invited to something, I hope, sort of destroys the myth of it being a forbidding place.

Nadine: How can young people educate themselves

about what media reports are real and what are just allegations or rumors?

HRC: You know, that's very hard, and it's getting harder because there are so many sources of information. It certainly seems to be the case that many journalists and reporters, or people with access to the Internet, feel compelled to put anything out there that will get them attention.

I think it's becoming harder and harder for the average

people and therefore this is what I believe."

So, I'm really worried about what's going to happen. There's so much stuff for example, on the Internet that has no editing, no fact checking, which can sound good, and can convince you at first reading, but it's not true.

I hope journalists will realize they are undermining their own profession by not policing it better and not giving people ways of arriving at accurate information. If journalists don't perform that function, then I think people will see it as just entertainment. They won't take it seriously and won't use it as a basis for making decisions which undermines the journalistic enterprise for the future.

So, I think it poses a lot of very serious questions about how we're going to run our democracy because over these years, I've seen so many things printed and said that I know for a fact are true. It just becomes so overwhelming — such an enormous pile of factoids and allegations that are out there — that I worry that people just turn away from the political process and the democratic process and will say, "Who can believe any of this? I don't want to follow I'm not interested in it," I stop voting, stop caring, a don't think that's good for our country. This is something we have to work on

Julia: Have you ever pulled a practical joke in the White House? Is the anything humorous or funny that has happened in the White House?

HRC: Oh, yes, both by intention and unintentionally. We do a lot of surprise parties and surprise events and occasions around here. The best one that was ever pulled on me was in 1993. I arrived back at the White House one night after having been out working on health care

Continued on page



Official White House photo

reform and the house was dark. I got out of the car and one of the guards said there'd been a power outage and I was going to have to find my way into the House without any lights. I thought that was really odd because I know there are extra transformers, but I thought *Okay*. So, I found my way in and one of the women who worked for me met me and said, "I'm going to take you up to the second floor because all the lights are out, even in the elevator," and she had a candle.

It turned out they had planned this elaborate surprise party. I did not have a clue. They had rented costumes, and told people to come in costumes. They knew that Dolly Madison was one of my favorite predecessors, and so they cooked up this Dolly Madison costume with a wig that they made me put on. It was really a great night; we had a wonderful time.

We like to have a lot of parties and a lot of jokes. When my husband has his birthday, the people who work for him (like the medical office and the Secret Service and people in the West Wing) sometimes act out funny skits and give him gag gifts in front of hundreds of people.

So, we try to keep a light atmosphere and to keep people's morale and enthusiasm up, because working here is very hard. The hours are very long; the responsibility is rather intense, as the outside pressures and stresses are constant and never go away. So, one of the things we try to do is to humanize it and make it fun and give people some laughs and humor from time to time.

Nadine: If you could change something about yourself, what would it be?

HRC: I don't know. I think I would like to know more about the world and what happens. I'd like to have more time in the day, and be able to do all the things that I am working on that I hope will help people. I would like to be able to do all the things that I'm still working on and that I care about. So that would mean I'd have to sleep less, so I'd like to change that about myself – the number of hours I need for sleep, so I would have even more hours in the day to work and be involved and meet and spend time with people like you.

Julia: In what ways is Chelsea like you and in what ways is she like the president?

HRC: I don't talk about Chelsea so I can't answer that question directly, but I can tell you that she's had a great first year at Stanford and has made a lot of friends and in that way she's very much like her father, who makes friends everywhere he goes. And she's really having a great time with her life. And I guess as a mother, my hope is that no matter what she decides to do, she'll always be as

One Final Thought on the need to support teenagers

One of my goals of the last five and a half years has been to try to lift up the lives and experiences of young people – particularly teenagers in our country – because I think there's a lot of misunderstanding on the part of adults. It has led to a stereotyping of teenagers that is just not true. I see what is happening in neighborhoods and schools and settings all over our country, all different kinds of kids from all different kinds of backgrounds. The vast majority of American teenagers are good, decent, hard-working and caring. That is not the image that is portrayed too often in the media, where we only get the worst pictures.

A lot of the problems that teenagers have today are the same that teenagers have always had – that every one of us have gone through – but there are new challenges and problems, and I believe it is harder being a teenager today than it was when I was a teenager.

And I don't think that our society understands that and gives young people enough support. We're not there for you in the numbers we should be. We don't have the kind of commitment to extracurricular and after-school and

weekend and summer activities that can keep young people occupied and teach them skills like writing (including poetry) or sports – or whatever it might be.

So, I want teenagers to know how much the president and I value you, what you're doing and respect the challenges that many of you face, which are very tough in lots of cases.

And we want to try and persuade adults to turn off the TV images and get to know young people in schools, churches and athletic leagues and in art programs, and in every other way that we possibly can, so that we can close this gap between reality and myth that undermines an accurate view of what teenagers in America are today.

And you know, if you always feel like somebody's putting you down and expects the worst from you, you can get down on yourself.

What I want is for every young person to feel that somebody really cares about them, somebody really believes in them, and somebody's going to give them a chance to prove what they can do with their lives.

by Hillary Rodham Clinton

What I want is for every young person to feel that somebody really cares about them

... at the end of the day, what's most important is that you've been true to yourself.

The 21st Century Interview Contest

It's easy to enter:

1. Interview any person you choose.
2. Use a Question and Answer format.
3. Keep your interview between 500-3000 words.
4. Follow submission guidelines on page 3.

How do I do it?

- Call a special person you know and ask for an interview.
- Or ask your parents, teachers or friends if they can introduce you to an interesting or "famous" person.
- Ask thought-provoking questions.
- Use a tape recorder. Be sure to get your subject's permission to do this.
- When writing, be sure the answers are accurate quotations of the person you interview.

Send your interview to:
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The Winner

will have an opportunity to interview a famous person for The 21st Century.

Consider interviewing a:

- Friend, relative, neighbor
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- Business owner, contractor
- Firefighter, police officer
- Author, artist, musician, actor
- Reporter, TV personality
- Or anyone who interests you!

happy as she is right now.

Nadine: As a founder of my school's substance-free club, I've taken a position contrary to that of many of my peers.

What techniques have you used to stand up for something you believe in when it goes against public opinion?

HRC: Is this a club against drug and alcohol abuse?

Nadine: Yes – and tobacco.

HRC: Good for you. First of all, you have to do what you believe is right, and that often is very hard. Sometimes even your friends don't understand and make fun of you or give you a hard time. But you've got to live with yourself and, at the end of the day, what's most important is that you've been true to yourself. And that's advice from the ancient Greeks, and it's as good today as it was then.

I think it's also important, though, to be sure that you're communicating effectively with your friends and your fellow students.

And I've learned over the years (because there are a lot of things I feel very strongly about) that you have to be careful not to come on too strong about what you care about. Oftentimes it's not as effective to be really

adamant about something as to be matter-of-fact and humorous and constantly supportive, so you can help people make very hard choices.

I believe it is harder being a teenager today than it was when I was a teenager.

For a lot of young people, the peer pressure is so intense – they want so much to be popular and liked and not left out – that just preaching at them or coming up with a million statistics isn't as helpful or mind-changing as maybe just being there for them or providing an oppor-

tunity for alternative activities that they can feel a part of and accepted in, so that they don't have to be pressured into using drugs, alcohol or tobacco.

So, believing what you believe – and standing up for it – is critical. Then find ways of communicating your strong beliefs that will be effective with people (and not just turn them off), so they don't feel like you're judging them as much as that you're concerned about them – and you want to help them understand the consequences of choices they make now. ■



Buddy Clinton, First Dog

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PRESERVATION

Another full page
of interviews on
page 28.

Last winter, The 21st Century began an Interview section comprised of your interviews of family, friends and acquaintances. The "winning" interviewer(s) would have the opportunity to meet Hillary Rodham Clinton at the White House for an exclusive interview. Students from across the country submitted hundreds of interviews.

On July 21st the winners, Nadine Gorelik and Julia Cotton, met the First Lady. See below for the story of their experience.

Nadine: What has been your most memorable time at the White House?

Hillary Rodham Clinton: That is such a hard question to answer, because there are so many memorable moments, starting with the very first time you come in. (We're not permitted to come in until after the president is inaugurated). It's so exciting, but it's also very scary because you don't know what to expect.

So, I've had so many different moments here, moments of great joy and sadness and what I consider to be very historic times that I just can't pick one out.

Every day you live here, you live with such a sense of history and awe and joy about having the privilege to be here that most days, and most moments, end up being memorable in one way or another.

Julia: What can teens do to preserve America's historic heritage?

HRC: Well, that's an especially good question, given what we're doing here in the White House to promote saving America's treasures.

Recently, I had a wonderful trip through Baltimore, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts, pointing out places that were well known and places that were not very well known.

In every community there is a place or monument, or

someone's records, that can be saved because they tell us not only about our past but also something about our future, and point us in a certain direction.

As part of history classes, extracurricular activities, and just as an individual interest, young people should find out what is in their own community and visit.

I've often thought that we don't pay enough attention to

We have much more in common than we give ourselves credit for, but there are differences we should respect and honor.

where we live unless we have someone visiting and we show our visitors around. But we should do that for ourselves. And I would hope that every teenager learns more about his community and tries to be involved in some project to save something.

We're going to be announcing a project in the fall, which will be, "Your History is Our History," because we also think that young people should interview, as you are, people in their families and in their communities to get a better sense of what's happened in the past and the struggles and sacrifices that people have made. You learn more about what life was like before and

what kind of lessons they can draw from that.

Nadine: As First Lady, you've traveled extensively throughout the 50 states. In what specific ways do we all share the same values and in what way have our regional differences and backgrounds divided us?

HRC: Well, that's another question I've thought a lot about. Certainly, as diverse a nation as we are, there are differences. Just in the short time I was on the Treasures Tour, I went to Harriet Tubman's home in Auburn, New York, where I met with African-Americans who were trying to save that treasure, and then I went to western New York where I met with people from the Iroquois Nation and talked with them about their traditions. They all have many of the same experiences as Americans in common, and have a lot of the same sense of what it means to be an American, and wear the same clothes and eat the same fast foods, but they have differences in how they see the world and what their experiences have been.

What I want to do, and what the president has been trying to do with his race initiative, is to encourage people to celebrate our unity as a

nation and be proud of what binds us together as Americans, and at the same time respect our differences and understand more about what makes people from different backgrounds think or act a certain way that wouldn't be your own experience.

So, as I travel I see many examples where we have much more in common than, sometimes, we give ourselves credit for, but are differences we should respect and honor.

Everyone doesn't have the same clothes as the same food and celebrate the same holidays and the same religious service as an American, but we have to recognize that, as Americans, we're bound together by the common ideals and founding principles in our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence. We've been through an amazing historic experience as we've tried to bring people together to live in harm-

An Exclusive Interview with Hillary Rodham Clinton, The First Lady

by Julia Cotton, E. Greenwich, RI, and Nadine Gorelik, Setauket, NY

The Interview Experience

by Nadine Gorelik and Julia Cotton

Julia and I raced to our hotel room, fiddled impatiently with the key in its keyhole, and bolted inside to liberate our carefully packed interview suits from their black garment bags. Time was scarce, and excitement ran high. How could we ever be ready enough to interview Hillary? Making the transition from two frenzied teenagers who'd just met in the airport to a coordinated team of interviewers appeared implausible. Factor in the knowledge that we'd soon be perched atop a red brocade White House couch, and the scenario seemed worthy of a movie plot.

Once at the White House, it wasn't long before Mrs. Clinton's upbeat and hospitable chief personal secretary joined us in the West Wing waiting area to escort us down hallways and past the Rose Garden to the Map Room. There, she surveyed the questions we'd decided to ask, advised us on how to use our limited time most

efficiently, and helped us select our seats. Just as these formalities drew to a close, the door swung open and I was faced with an image which seemed to illuminate the entire room. "Hello," she said, "I'm Hillary Clinton" - as if her name had somehow slipped our minds. Smooth as an ocean wave, Mrs. Clinton glided across the room in her bright aqua suit toward the spot where the official White House photographer began snapping pictures before I even knew what was happening.

Nadine asked the first question. Hillary was so confident and perfect; it was so strange just being so close to her in

real life, since I have only seen her on television or in newspapers. She was like a queen. She made excellent eye contact. I concentrated my eyes on her, as if they were lenses and my mind was film. I wanted to capture every moment and retain it forever. The eye contact made me think of who else she had recently looked at. I started to think about how this eye contact creates a link through the world. I thought of myself as part of a

link of glances. She looked at the president, who looked at her, she looked at me, and I looked into the eyes of another. Strange thoughts, I'm sure, but you can't relate how electrifying the moment is unless you actually sit with someone that important. I was very impressed with how poised she was, and how she spoke. Even though we were with her for only a little less than an hour, the feeling will last me a lifetime.

While she was talking, a lot of things raced through my mind. I wanted to cherish the time and not let it slip away. I wondered how she learned such manners and such poise (from a book, from a special consultant, or from practice?). Every time I blinked, I pretended I was taking a mental picture of the room and everything that was happening. I thought about what history this room had seen. There was a red curtain; I



Julia and Nadine look on as Hillary Clinton autographs her book, It Takes a Village.

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

performance. I had to make my mind up how I wanted to live and that I then had to try to do what was right for me. I think that is still good advice today. I believe that certainly there isn't any more important investment that anyone can make than in education.

And individuals, particularly young women, have to be true to themselves and find what is best for their lives and make the decisions that will enable them to pursue their interests. We should all be supporting young people more than I

think we do, as you navigate this period toward adulthood, and give you more ways to learn about what interests you, like *The 21st Century*, by giving you a chance to write and interview. It's really saying, "We have a lot of faith in you. We think that you've got something to contribute," and I'd like to see more opportunities like that for young people.

Nadine: When you were a teenager, what was your biggest fear?

HRC: You know, I can't really remember. I think that I had fears about natural disasters or nuclear war, or something happening to my family. I don't know that I had any unique fears; it was more what kids worry about as they grow up.

Julia: As a mother, what do you perceive are your strengths and weaknesses?

HRC: I don't know. You'd probably have to ask my daughter. I just tried to do the best I knew how, and I think that it's such a challenge for any of us who are mothers or fathers. The vast majority of parents try to do the best they can, given what they were given as children, how they were raised and what they understand about themselves and the world. But no matter how hard you try, you're going to make mistakes.

That's why I think that parents and children have to develop a sense of forgiveness and support for each other. I remember when Chelsea was a baby, one night she was crying and crying (I talk about this in my book), and I didn't know how to comfort her, and I finally said to her, "I've never been a mother before, and you've never been a baby before, we're just going to have to learn how to do this together."

Well, certainly as your child grows, you have to keep adjusting that relationship because how you treat a two-year-old is not how you treat a twelve-year-old or an eighteen-year-old. But it's hard for parents, because we want so much to do what is

right and sometimes we don't always know; we think we do and we're trying very hard, but it may not be right for our child for these times. And, certainly, for parents who have more than one child, unlike me, you can't

treat any child the same as any other child because each has a different personality and what works in terms of parenting for one child with a certain temperament may not work with another child in the same family of the same gene pool.

So, it's a challenge constantly to try to be as alert and open and flexible and knowledgeable about yourself, about your child, about circumstances, to do the best job you can.

And I think everybody has to relax a little bit and try to be understanding of each other.

It's always remarkable how, as you go through stages of development, you do understand each other a little better, and as young people get older ... and think what it would be like to be a parent, they also have a little more sensitivity toward what their own parents went through.

Nadine: Who have your role models been?

HRC: Well, when I was growing up, I didn't really know any women who worked, other than my teachers, the librarians and a few people like that. So, I didn't admire one individual as much as I admired characteristics of people, people who were resilient and courageous in the face of whatever life threw their way, whether it was an illness or some other tragedy.

And then, as I got older and I learned more about the kinds of contributions women like Eleanor Roosevelt had made, I grew to admire a lot of women, because of what they'd done with their lives.

So, I can't say that I had one role model, but I can say that I really learned a lot by not only watching and following the women I personally knew, but also reading about the lives of women I never had the chance to meet, but whose lives and choices I thought were either brave or admirable.

Julia: What is a myth about you or about White House life that you would like to dispel?



Nadine and Julia making notes outside the South Entrance of the White House

HRC: I think that certainly from the outside, people see the White House as a mysterious place. It's a place of history and certainly of importance, and it symbolizes our democracy. But it's hard to even imagine, until you live here, what it's like. I'd like to help people understand that my husband and I have tried to make the White House as accessible to people as possible so that it doesn't have a forbidding, formal image in people's minds, but

... parents and children have to develop a sense of forgiveness and support for each other.

a welcoming one, so people feel it is the people's house and they are invited whenever the occasion arises. We've certainly increased the numbers of people invited here for events of all kinds, because I think that in

today's world it's important for people to feel as connected as possible with their government or with their president, and this house symbolizes that for many.

So, although we obviously can't invite every American, we take every chance we can to invite as many Americans as possible, and the number of tourists has increased. The large events we've tried to have and the number of people who have been invited to something, I hope, sort of destroys the myth of it being a forbidding place.

Nadine: How can young people educate themselves

about what media reports are real and what are just allegations or rumors?

HRC: You know, that's very hard, and it's getting harder because there are so many sources of information. It certainly seems to be the case that many journalists and reporters, or people with access to the Internet, feel compelled to put anything out there that will get them attention.

I think it's becoming harder and harder for the average

person and therefore this is what I believe?"

So, I'm really worried about what's going to happen. There's so much stuff, for example, on the Internet that has no editing, no fact checking, which can sound good, and can convince you at first reading, but it's not true.

I hope journalists will realize they are undermining their own profession by not policing it better and not giving people ways of arriving at accurate information. If journalists don't perform that function, then I think people will see it as just entertainment. They won't take it seriously and won't use it as a basis for making decisions which undermines the journalistic enterprise for the future.

So, I think it poses a lot of very serious questions about how we're going to run our democracy because over all these years, I've seen so many things printed and said that I know for a fact are not true. It just becomes so overwhelming — such an enormous pile of factoids and allegations that are out there — that I worry that people will just turn away from the political process and the democratic process and will say, "Who can believe any of this? I don't want to follow I'm not interested in it." That's stop voting, stop caring, and don't think that's good for our country. This is something we have to work on.

Julia: Have you ever pulled a practical joke in the White House? Is there anything humorous or funny that has happened the White House?

HRC: Oh, yes, both by intention and unintentional. We do a lot of surprise parties and surprise events and occasions around here. The best one that was ever pulled or me was in 1993. I arrived back at the White House one night after having been out working on health care

Continued on page



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IN THE GROOVE

A PUBLICATION OF

MAPS

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First Lady Records Wax Cylinder

by Jerry Fabris, Curator of Sound Recordings, Edison National Historic Site



...text of Mrs. Clinton's recording) "...This morning I am touring the Edison National Historic Site. Walking through the Edison Laboratory I feel as though he or she has stepped back in time into a place where the technological future was being made. Over one half of Thomas Edison's 93 patents were developed within these walls. But the reference books in Mr. Edison's library, the tools in his Machine Shop and the scientific apparatus in his chemistry lab represent more than the many inventions that they helped to produce. Through the legacy of a visionary inventor, the laboratory symbolized the ever-important values of innovative thinking, perseverance and determination. Ideas such as these can serve as inspiration for the people of any era. Like the Edison site, many historic artifacts, buildings and monuments throughout the United States are in need of serious attention and support. It is our responsibility to see that these irreplaceable treasures survive to educate and enrich the lives of the people of tomorrow." (Official White House Photograph by Sharon Farmer)

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, during her visit at Thomas Edison's West Orange Laboratory on July 14, 1998, became the most recent prominent person to record her voice on a wax cylinder. Edison National Historic Site was the second stop on Mrs. Clinton's "Save America's Treasures" tour, a White House initiative to encourage support for some of the country's most endangered historic artifacts, buildings and monuments.

After a live appearance on the ABC Today Show to announce a \$5 million donation from the General Electric Company to help preserve the site, Mrs. Clinton spent a few minutes

away from the TV cameras, in front of an acoustical recording horn in Edison's Building 1, formerly the physics laboratory.

Using a phonograph operated by Peter Dilg of Baldwin, New York and a replica blank record, the First Lady read from a prepared text, describing the purpose of her visit and the importance of the Edison site to future generations. Encouraged to hold her head close to the horn and speak loudly, Mrs. Clinton's voice cut a strong signal into the wax. Upon playback of the record she laughed and exclaimed, "That's amazing!" The session was an educational experience for the First Lady,

who admitted that she had been unaware of wax cylinders before her visit.

During Edison's lifetime, special guests to the West Orange Laboratory were often encouraged to record their voices for posterity on a wax cylinder. U.S. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, Prince George of Greece, U.S. Army General Nelson A. Miles, businessman John Wanamaker, and the Crown Prince of Sweden each made a cylinder record while visiting Edison in West Orange. The new cylinder will be preserved alongside the inventor's old recordings in the sound archives at the Edison site.



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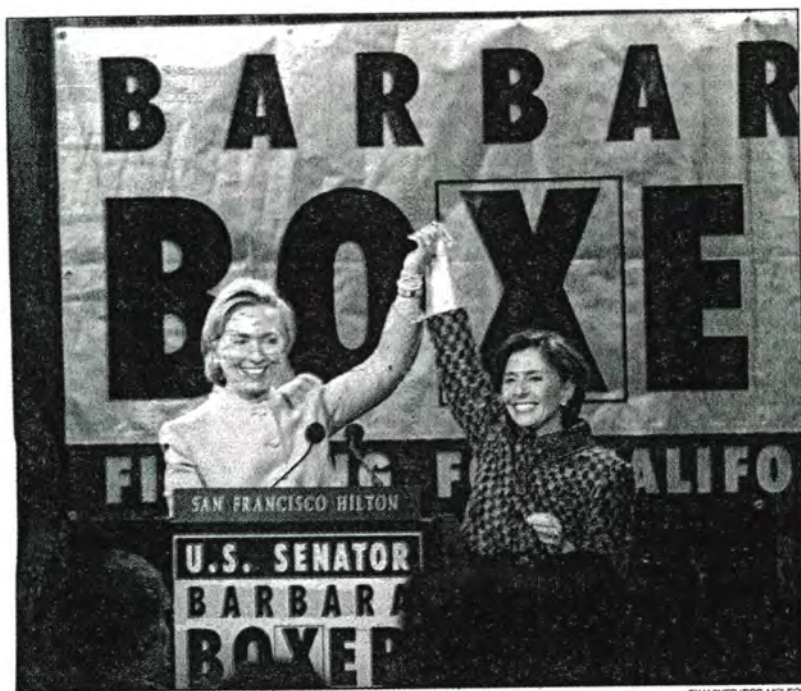
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EXAMINER/BOB MCLEOD
First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton helped Sen. Barbara Boxer raise \$400,000 Friday night at the San Francisco Hilton, warning Democrats that her husband's sex scandal threatens Boxer's re-election efforts.

Clinton's better half rallies troops for besieged Boxer

First lady visits Bay for big fund-raiser, calls scandal threat to senator's re-election

By Robert Salladay
 OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

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For this week at least, the first lady has taken over the president's

[See FIRST LADY, A-10]

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The sell-out fund-raiser Friday night at the San Francisco Hilton raised \$400,000 for Boxer from about 1,100 Democratic Party faithful. Boxer and the first lady echoed the same theme: Boxer faces a difficult race against state Treasurer Matt Fong, the Republican nominee, and if Democrats avoid the polls Nov. 3 because of the scandal in Washington, D.C., Boxer is doomed.

Polls show Boxer in a dead heat with Fong, a bad position for an incumbent with six years of experience. The first lady accused the media of ignoring the real differences between Boxer and Fong, who she said is "doing the bidding of the professional gun lobby" and "getting support from the likes of Oliver North."

"It is difficult to get that message out," said Clinton, whose brother is married to Boxer's daughter. "It is hard to get through all of the blizzard of stuff that is out there ... to engage people in conversation about what really mat-

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♦ FIRST LADY from A-1

Tough race facing Boxer, says Clinton

role as chief campaigner for Democratic candidates in difficult races: Hillary Clinton took cameras in tow, as she toured schools Friday and rallied the faithful in The City. The press coverage at the president's Silicon Valley event was restricted, while there was unlimited access to the Boxer event.

High in polls

Since the sex scandal involving the president and ex-White House intern Monica Lewinsky, Hillary Clinton has enjoyed some of her most positive ratings in polls since her husband was elected president. A CNN-Gallup-USA Today poll last week showed 61 percent of likely voters had a favorable view of her, while 33 percent had an unfavorable one. Her favorable rating had been as low as 42 percent early in 1996.

"The Clinton people are really smart," said Mark Petracca, a political scientist at UC-Irvine. "Her popularity has skyrocketed since (the sex scandal) happened. Even the people who hated her admire her. There are so many layers of irony to this. They are admiring her for doing what she said on '60 Minutes' she would not do — I'm not going to stand by my man and stay home baking cookies."

Friday night's fund-raising dinner attracted a handful of celebrities, like former "L.A. Law" stars Jill Eikenberry and Michael Tucker, and Frances Fisher from the movie "Titanic." Author Amy Tan, the Rev. Cecil Williams, various state Democratic candidates, and

San Francisco supervisors Leslie Katz, Michael Yaki and Mark Leno also attended.

Clinton's appearance also attracted about 100 protesters outside the Hilton, some carrying signs reading "Clinton's legacy: Common pervert" and "Resign, liar." A group of Clinton supporters stood nearby carrying "Welcome first lady" signs while they sang "We shall overcome."

"I think (Hillary Clinton) has been really responsible in her reaction and in maybe just letting this pass," said supporter Jaime Jenett, 22, of San Francisco. "We're here just to show our support. I know they are taking a lot of heat."

Boxer, standing just 10 feet from Hillary Clinton at the dinner, said, "Yes, the president has problems, we all know that," but implored the media and others to talk about the issues — education, abortion rights, the environment, gun control.

"I support the president's policies," Boxer said. "I've been clear, as has everyone — the American people, the Congress — that they don't approve of the president's relationship with Monica Lewinsky. We've said that, and we've said that again and again. So to wrap this up..."

First lady slammed as 'enabler'

Some protesters weren't ready to do that.

Diana Collins, 31, of Berkeley, accused President Clinton of being a "sexual predator." She carried a hand-written sign which read, "I believe you Paula."

"I think women need to stand up," Collins said. "I think most women have experienced sexual harassment in their lives and I'm

appalled that we can have the highest leader guilty of perjury in a sexual harassment case."

Pamela Andrews, 52, of Marin County carried a sign that read, "Deny, delay, destroy." "I feel she (Hillary Clinton) supports his behavior, she condones his behavior," Andrews said. "She is setting the women's rights movement back 40 or 50 years. She's an enabler."

Standing near the crowd with a bemused smile on her face was tourist Claire Picard, 26, who lives in Frankfurt, Germany. "I'm French, and I think the whole situation is just getting ridiculous. I mean, human is human, and he's a good president."

Fong has been hitting Boxer on the character issue, a theme carried by many Republican campaigns across the country. Fong says Boxer is a hypocrite for criticizing then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas over allegations he sexually harassed Anita Hill, but failing to come down just as hard on the president.

Fong spokesman Steve Schmidt said Friday he hopes Boxer and Hillary Clinton have a nice time together, but Boxer can't pretend to criticize the president and then ask him to raise money for her.

Boxer was to stand with President Clinton on Saturday at another Democratic National Committee fund-raiser in Southern California. "She'll gladly accept the president," Schmidt said, "but she'll do it behind closed doors and out of sight."

"This will be a tough race, all of Barbara's races are tough," Hillary Clinton said Friday night. "She puts her friends and her family through near-death experiences all the time."

The Oregonian

THE LARGEST NEWSPAPER IN THE PACIFIC NO

Friday,
September 25, 1998

First lady still gold to Oregon Democrats

■ Despite the president's problems, three candidates will draw on Hillary Clinton's fund-raising abilities today in Portland

By NENA BAKER
of The Oregonian staff

Oregon Democrats are turning to Clinton for help: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The first lady is scheduled to campaign in Portland today for David Wu, Rep. Darlene Hooley and Gov. John Kitzhaber. She will make no public appearances.

Many Democrats — including Kitzhaber — are distancing themselves from President Clinton, who is fighting to stay in office after

admitting an affair with Monica Lewinsky, a former White House intern.

But the first lady — typically a strong draw at partisan fund-raisers — is a different story, said Sue Fletcher, a spokeswoman for Kitzhaber's campaign.

"She's not part of the controversy, and an event with her still allows the governor to focus on the issues," Fletcher said.



CLINTON

Wu is in a close race against Republican

Molly Bordonaro for the 1st Congressional District seat opened up by the retirement of Rep. Elizabeth Furse, D-Ore.

Hooley is seeking a second term in the 5th Congressional District against Republican Marilyn Shannon; Kitzhaber is running for re-election against Republican Bill Sizemore.

Public support for Hillary Clinton has been on the upswing in polls taken since the president admitted his trysts with Lewinsky. But her schedule in Portland doesn't provide much opportunity to mingle with the people.

"Her schedule is very tight," said Toby Graff, the first lady's deputy press secretary.

Please turn to
CLINTON, Page A16

Clinton: Wu sets forum on child care

■ Continued from Page One

The stop is part of a three-day tour on behalf of Democratic candidates that began Wednesday in New York and is set to conclude tonight in San Francisco, where Hillary Clinton will rendezvous with her husband.

Hillary Clinton's plane landed at the Portland Air National guard base at 10:05 p.m. Thursday. Her first stop today is a 10:30 a.m. child-care forum at Portland State University. Wu has invited about 90 guests who are interested in child care or who work in the field. Wu supports the Clinton administration's initiatives to help working parents, including legislation to ensure that child-care workers do not have a criminal background.

The legislation, which has been mostly ignored by majority Republicans since President Clinton unveiled it in January, includes \$21.7 billion in proposed tax breaks and federal subsidies for working parents.

Wu said voters recognize the first lady's commitment to helping children and families — despite the president's problems and the specter of impeachment proceedings.

"Hillary Clinton has been one of the foremost advocates for children and families," Wu said. "People who stay true to their values, work hard year in and year out, those folks are able to be popular, weather storms and get their work done. She's a living embodiment of that."

Meanwhile, Cynthia Bergman, a spokeswoman for Bordonaro, said, "Molly recognizes and applauds the first lady for being a tireless advocate for the nation's children and

Bordonaro "also supports policies to keep child-care benefits available and affordable for all children," Bergman said, "especially for single mothers during transitional periods from welfare to work."

Democrats plan a private welcoming rally for Hillary Clinton at 10 a.m. on the east side of Hoffman Hall at 1833 S.W. 11th Ave. on Portland State's campus.

From 11:30 a.m. until noon at the Embassy Suites Hotel, 319 S.W. Pine St., Hillary Clinton will meet with 30 Kitzhaber supporters who paid \$1,000 each for the chance to have their pictures snapped with her.

"The first lady is very popular in Oregon and a great friend to the state," Fletcher said.

Last week, Kitzhaber said he would respectfully decline any fund-raising help from President Clinton. "The issue would just be the president's behavior, not the campaign," he told The Associated Press. "I'm not interested in that."

Hillary Clinton also will meet with 15 to 20 Hooley supporters, who paid \$500 to \$1,000 apiece for a photo opportunity. Hooley's campaign said. Afterward, there will be a 1 p.m. fund-raising luncheon for Wu at the hotel. About 200 tickets have been sold at \$250 each, Wu's campaign said.

Earlier Thursday, Hillary Clinton campaigned in Colorado on behalf of U.S. Senate candidate Dottie Lamm and Gail Schoettler, the Democratic candidate for governor. She then headed to Seattle for three Democratic fund-raising events.

Kate Taylor of The Oregonian staff and The Associated Press contributed to this report.

First lady's visit

First lady Hillary Clinton visits Portland today. Tickets are no longer available for a 10 a.m. welcoming rally outside Portland State University's Hoffman Hall. A 10:30 a.m. round table on child care is closed to the public, as is a 1 p.m. fund-raising event at the Embassy Suites Hotel.



The Oregonian

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1998

LOS ANGELES TIMES EDITORIALS

The First Lady Should Resign

■ **Clinton scandals:**
Enabling immoral conduct
squanders her legacy of
power and influence.

By **SUSAN CARPENTER
McMILLAN**

A vote for me is a vote for Hillary. Remember that campaign promise? While conservatives balked, liberals, especially feminists, loved it. Truth is, it was a rare moment of honesty coming from the Clintons. Hillary the ideologue, strategist and motivator. Bill the charismatic charmer with flexibility. Calculated agenda with Southern flair, an indisputably formidable team. The question now is, if half the team has no morals, does the other half have standards?

To answer that question, Hillary Rodham Clinton could do something quite courageous: Resign as first lady. Symbolic? Yes. Unthinkable? It ought not to be.

While many would argue that this would be silly and moot because her position is not an elected one, I disagree. Never before in U.S. history has a first lady been given presidential power over one-seventh of the economy by heading a task force to overhaul health care. Never before has a first lady been allowed to re-

vamp the office of travel or lay out her political agenda during a keynote speech at a national political convention. Her hand-picked Cabinet members have left more than mere fingerprints on this administration. Mrs. Clinton's influence is undeniable.

I applaud the overdue end of the coffee-pouring first lady era, but with responsibility comes accountability. The bridge to the 21st century cannot be paved with serial affairs that trivialize the institution of marriage and cast young women into the role of sexual toys. The first lady must either admit that she is a poster wife for accepted infidelity and an enabler of immoral conduct or emerge as a strong leader for this and the next generation of children, wives, mothers and professional women.

Publicly and privately, liberal feminists have begun to voice their disappointment in Mrs. Clinton's perceived tolerance of emotional abuse, fearing their icon is behaving more like Mary Jo Buttafuoco than Gloria Steinem.

From the very beginning of this shared administration, the Clintons have proved to be the most effective symbols of symbolism. So Mrs. Clinton's symbolic resignation would unite women from around the political spectrum overnight. Women from the religious right would say that she has

biblical grounds. Liberal feminists would cheer. Soccer moms might even help her pack.

In every activist's life—and make no mistake, Mrs. Clinton has been a strident feminist activist, even pre-Bill—there comes that moment of choice: to become a great leader or fade into a forgotten fanatic. For Mrs. Clinton, that moment has arrived. Will she place principle above politics and act on her beliefs, or will she help destroy the rights of women and preside over the devastating downward spiral of morality and virtue?

Infidelity is a cross many wives have been forced to bear, but reckless, obsessive sexual deviancy is inexcusable. When a private matter becomes a public destroyer of truth and justice, dramatic steps are called for. With the president's out-of-control pubescent behavior permeating this dual presidency, it is left to the first lady to take the lead. Mrs. Clinton must shun the hollow arguments of "the economy is good," because forcing this country into moral bankruptcy would be far more destructive to our children than the Great Depression was to our parents.

Susan Carpenter McMillan is a television commentator and spokesperson for the Woman's Coalition.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

LA-times 9-14-98 A-11

Humiliated wife may determine his future

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — As Americans ponder whether to forgive President Clinton's personal misconduct, one-fourth of those surveyed in a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll say they'll be influenced a fair amount by the judgment of one person: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

At the moment, the poll shows, people are inclined to believe she hasn't yet forgiven him herself.

That fuels a question being discussed by her husband's defenders: Will Hillary Clinton, described by associates as furious and humiliated since her husband's televised confession of an affair, publicly declare that she has forgiven him and urge others to forgive him as well?

While the president faces the worst political crisis of his life, he also is going through the worst personal crisis of his marriage with the release of special counsel Ken Starr's report on the Monica Lewinsky affair.

Not only does the report relate the lurid details of his escapades with a 22-year-old White House intern, it also says Lewinsky quoted him as saying he had had "hundreds" of affairs through his marriage — although he is said to have told her he was trying harder to be faithful since turning 40 — and that he suggested to her that he might get divorced after leaving the White House.

On several occasions, the report says, he had sexually charged sessions with Lewinsky in person or by phone when the first lady was traveling, making appearances on behalf of her husband's administration.

"Everybody assumes she's giving him hell," says Ernest Dumas, a veteran Arkansas political columnist who has covered Bill Clinton since his first campaign.

"She must be very torn emotionally," says Mandy Grunwald, a key adviser in

CBS' 60 Minutes Sunday, friend Linda Bloodworth-Thomason said Hillary Clinton told her she had forgiven her husband.

But six years ago, it was Hillary Clinton herself on 60 Minutes, making an impassioned testimonial for her husband that helped contain the furor over Gennifer Flowers' allegations of an affair.

Early this year, as the Lewinsky story broke, her defiant attack on a "vast right-wing conspiracy" energized his defenders.

Now, her silence is beginning to sound pretty loud to Democratic loyalists who fear that many voters, especially women, won't be willing to forgive Clinton until they are reassured that his wife does.

The USA TODAY poll, conducted Sunday, shows Americans by 42%-38% believe she has not forgiven him yet.

Asked if her forgiveness would affect their view of Clinton, 14% said it would "a great deal," 11% "a moderate amount," 22% "not much" and 52% "not at all."

The poll of 631 adults has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

"She is a huge reference point for people," says Democratic polster Geoffrey Garin, who sometimes advises the White House. "If there is a clear injured party, it's she. If she decides that she can live with this and forgive President Clinton, it makes it a lot easier for other people to come to terms with what he did."

"The converse is more powerfully true."

In other words, if Hillary Clinton can't openly forgive her husband, it makes it more difficult for other people to do so.

Garin says the first lady's recent public

appearances have helped. "She's certainly expressed her commitment to Clinton and her willingness to move forward," he says. "People are getting the picture that she's made her peace with the president."

Still, he adds, "The more the better."

But she is unwilling to do more, at least at the moment. She has always been the pragmatic political partner and shrewd adviser. But the requirements of that role are now at odds with the reservations of a wronged wife.

Associates speaking privately describe her as angry at her husband and anguished about the situation he has put her in. Associates say she may well make some more merciful public comment, but only when it would be "authentic" and reflect her true feelings.

Those close to her winced Friday when CNN briefly cut from a graphic reading of Clinton's sexual adventures in the Starr report to a picture of Hillary Clinton addressing a 4-H audience in suburban Maryland.

The idea that she is now the subject of sympathy or even pity for many Americans is especially devastating for someone accustomed to being seen as the embodiment of an accomplished, independent woman.

"She is an incredibly private person," Grunwald says. "Being forced to have her private life discussed in the most excruciating way, I would think that would make her even more private. She'll focus on her official duties, but the private stuff is going to stay just that way."

Contributing: Jill Lawrence



By Tim Sloan, Agence France-Presse
"She must be very torn": President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on the White House lawn after Clinton addressed the media Thursday to announce a tentative settlement in the Northwest strike.

determine his future

By Susan Page
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"Everybody assumes she's giving him hell," says Ernest Dumas, a veteran Arkansas political columnist who has covered Bill Clinton since his first campaign.

"She must be very torn emotionally," says Mandy Grunwald, a key adviser in the 1992 campaign who remains close to the first lady. "She has helped him when he has been in trouble for 22 years, and now he's in a lot of trouble. I'm sure there's a part of her that wants to help him — and I'm also sure there's a part of her that wants to kill him."

Friday, as the most salacious sections of the report were being aired, Hillary Clinton stood by her husband's side as he offered a public apology at a prayer breakfast in the morning and revealed in an exuberant celebration of the Irish peace accord in the afternoon. The night before, she had introduced him at a Democratic fund-raising dinner with rousing praise of his commitment to progressive policies.

But she has not uttered a word in public about the scandal since Clinton's confession Aug. 17 that he had an inappropriate relationship with Lewinsky and misled his wife and his country about it.

The only statement that Hillary Clinton still loves her husband and remains committed to her marriage was made in prepared comments issued a month ago by her press secretary, Marsha Berry. On

CBS' *60 Minutes* Sunday, friend Linda Bloodworth-Thomason said Hillary Clinton told her she had forgiven her husband.

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Contributing: Jill Lawrence

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

The First and Second Couples' Manhattan Money Hunt



BY SUSAN BROOKS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Hillary Rodham Clinton and NBC's "Today" co-host Katie Couric shared a White House stage yesterday to promote early detection of colon and rectal cancer. Couric's husband, Jay Monahan, 42, died of colon cancer in January.

Despite it all, the fund-raising show must go on.

The once fabulous four, the two boomer couples who bonded on buses while stumping the country, are back together again Monday in New York in the hugest Democratic National Committee fund-raiser this election cycle. **President and Hillary Rodham Clinton** and **Vice President and Tipper Gore** shove off to Manhattan expecting to raise more than \$3 million.

The extravaganza starts with a luncheon for 100 at the three-story, art-studded apartment of songwriter and socialite

Denise Rich. Ticket price: \$50,000 a couple. Once married to fugitive financier **Marc Rich**, who fled to Switzerland after his 1983 indictment on racketeering, fraud and trading-with-the-enemy charges, she received multitudes of millions in her divorce settlement last year.

After a decent interval for digestion, the quartet will move to the Supper Club for a larger feed, then on to the New Amsterdam Theatre for a special sold-out performance of the smash puppet musical "The Lion King." Some folks have paid up to \$150,000 for the day's trifecta, said DNC spokeswoman Melissa Bonney Ratcliffe.

In the works for a couple of months, the fund-raisers mark the first time the Clintons and Gores have spent so many hours in public together since the president admitted his affair with Monica Lewinsky.

Asked if Mrs. Gore has been in touch with the first lady, Tipper's press secretary **Jennifer Devlin** said she did not know and would not ask.

"My sense is that their communication is personal and private," said Devlin, "and she would not want to share that with the press. They are close friends."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEWSDAY, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1996

Hillary as Victim Wins Points

A revealing sidelight to the White House sexcapade is Hillary Clinton's higher approval rating in recent national polls. For the first time she has surpassed her husband's popularity, no doubt due to her role as the wronged spouse.

But sympathy factor aside, I wonder if a good part of this is because Americans, men and women alike, don't like strong women. Regardless of her involvement in Whitewater or the ill-fated health-insurance restructuring, Hillary Clinton is an exceptionally bright and accomplished attorney, a professional able to make her own way without riding her husband's coat tails. But now she has virtually withdrawn from the public eye while the First Family is trying to rebuild its shattered image.

In this enlightened age, only 16 months away from the 21st Century, how sad that society continues to prefer women in the role of victim.

Aileen L. Novick
Jericho



Clinton

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Westminster), Labour ex-cabinet minister and Chesterfield MP Tony Benn and Conservative former defence minister Alan Clark (Kensington and Chelsea).

Mr Shepherd objected: "Not in the face of terrorism or anything should we abandon the liberty and the freedom to

to push out proceedings through because of the visit of the President of the United States to Ireland."

Commons Leader Margaret Beckett strongly denied that the House was dealing with the bill in an unprecedented fashion. "It is not unprecedented," she said. "Certainly,

Mr Blair used the outrage — and the Islamic terrorist attacks on US targets in Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa — to justify standing up to what he called one of the most important challenges to modern democracy, "terrorism in all its forms".

Richard the agreement, it failed. You sought to divide the community, and you failed. You sought to win new support, and you failed. You failed because violence and terror represent the past in Northern Ireland, and democracy and peace represent the future."

The rebels

Eighty-eight MPs voted against the timetable motion: 16 Labour, 19 Liberal Democrats, 39 Tories, 6 Ulster Unionists, 2 Democratic Unionists and six minor parties.

Labour MPs: Irene Adams (Paisley N); Tony Benn (Chesterfield); Dennis Canavan (Falkirk W); Ann Clwyd (Cynon Valley); Jeremy Corbyn (Islington N); Tam Dalyell (Linlithgow); Gwyneth Dunwoody (Crewe and Nantwich); Bernie Grant (Tottenham); Dr Lynne Jones (Birmingham Selly Oak); John McAllion (Dundee E); John McDonnell (Hayes and Harlington); Kevin McNamara (Hull N); Robert Marshall-Andrews (Medway); Chris Mullin (Sunderland S); Dennis Skinner (Bolsover); Audrey Wise (Preston).

Liberal Democrats: Norman Baker (Lewes); Alan Beith (Berwick-upon-Tweed); Colin Breed

(Cornwall SE); Malcolm Bruce (Gordon); John Burnett (Devon W and Torridge); Paul Burstow (Sutton and Cheam); Vincent Cable (Twickenham); Andrew George (St Ives); Donald Gorrie (Edinburgh W); Simon Hughes (Southwark N and Bermondsey); Paul Keetch (Hereford); Charles Kennedy (Ross, Skye and Inverness W); Richard Livsey (Brecon and Radnorshire); Lembit Opik (Montgomeryshire); David Rendel (Newbury); Bob Russell (Colchester); Dr Jenny Tonge (Richmond Park); Steve Webb (Northavon); Phil Willis (Harrowgate and Knaresborough).

Conservatives: Tony Baldry (Banbury); Crispin Blunt (Reigate); Peter Bottomley (Worthing W); Graham Brady (Aldershot and Sale W); Bill Cash (Stone); Alan Clark (Kensington and Chelsea); David Davis (Haltemprice and Howden); Sir Peter Emery

(Devon E); David Faber (Westbury); Michael Fabricant (Lichfield); James Gray (North Wiltshire); Dominic Grieve (Beaconsfield); John Hayes (South Holland and the Deepings); Sir Edward Heath (Old Bexley and Sidcup); Andrew Hunter (Basingstoke); Eleanor Laing (Epping Forest); Sir Peter Lloyd (Fareham); Tim Loughton (Worthing E and Shoreham); John MacGregor (Norfolk S); Anne McIntosh (Vale of York); David Maclean (Penrith and the Border); Humphrey Malins (Woking); Michael Mates (Hampshire E); Owen Paterson (Shropshire N); John Randall (Uxbridge); Andrew Robathan (Blaby); Laurence Robertson (Tewkesbury); Andrew Rowe (Faversham and Mid-Kent); David Ruffley (Bury St Edmunds); Nick St Aubyn (Guildford); Jonathan Sayeed (Mid-Bedfordshire);

Richard Spring (Suffolk W); Desmond Swayne (New Forest West); Sir Peter Tapsell (Louth and Horncastle); Ian Taylor (Esher); Sir Teddy Taylor (Rochford and Southend E); David Tredinnick (Bosworth); Robert Walter (Dorset North); Sir Ray Whitney (Wycombe).

Ulster Unionists: Roy Beggs (Antrim E); Jeffrey Donaldson (Lagan Valley); Ken Maginnis (Fermanagh and S Tyrone); David Trimble (Upper Bann); The Rev Martin Smyth (Belfast S); William Ross (Londonderry E).

Democratic Unionists: Rev Ian Paisley (Antrim N); Peter Robinson (Belfast E).
Others: Martin Bell (Tatton); Robert McCartney (Down N); Elin Llwyd (Merionnydd Nant Conwy); Daffyd Wigley (Caernarfon); Alex Salmond (Banff and Buchan); John Swinney (Tayside N).

Women put to fore by Hillary Clinton

HILLARY CLINTON yesterday came to Northern Ireland to tell women in Belfast that they had helped bring peace, but women must play a bigger role in politics for real reconciliation to take root.

"It was women whose whispers of 'Enough!' became a torrent of voices that could no longer be ignored," the wife of the United States president told 600 women activists, community workers and politicians at a conference entitled Women in Democracy.

"It is up to you, the women of Northern Ireland, speaking out whenever injustice arises, to point out opportunities, to face up to challenges, and to speak for those who are still voiceless," she said.

"If you listen you can hear the voices of women who withstood jeers and threats to make themselves heard in a political world once reserved primarily for men."

Mrs Clinton smiled broadly when she was paid a glowing tribute by a young Londonderry student, Fiona Hughes,

who introduced her as a "role model to me and to young women around the world".

Sitting in the front of a balcony in the Waterfront Hall were Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and Pat Doherty of Sinn Féin.

Behind them sat members of the Ulster Unionist parties.

Afterward, Mrs Clinton attended a reception in Belfast city hall along with the outgoing US ambassador to Ireland, Jean Kennedy Smith.

Mrs Clinton is staying overnight at Hillsborough Castle outside Belfast as a guest of Mo Mowlam, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

Today, before President Clinton arrives, Mrs Clinton will open a playground for Protestant and Catholic children in Belfast, then appear with her husband for his keynote speech in Omagh, scene of the recent bombing.

It is Mrs Clinton's third visit. She accompanied the President during his 1995 visit to Belfast, and returned without him for more public engagements last October.



First Lady . . . Hillary Clinton greets well-wishers on her arrival at a Belfast conference

PHOTOGRAPH: DYLAN MARTINEZ

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PLEASE QUOTE

◆ INSIDE:

◆ BOOKS

IN "AT HOME IN THE WORLD," author Joyce Maynard at long last reveals her affair with the famously reclusive novelist J.D. Salinger, 35 years her senior. It is the one chapter of her life about which she always has been uncharacteristically mum.

2

◆ LIFESTYLE

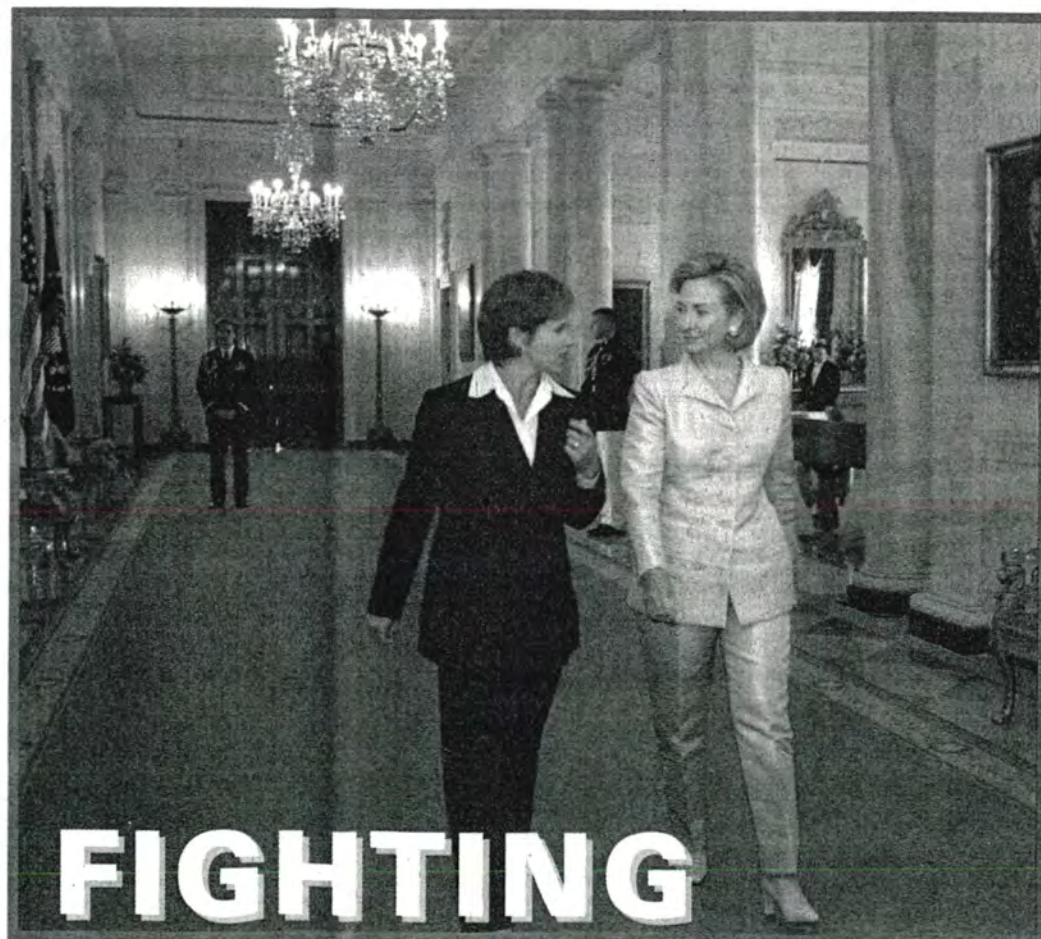
HILARY WOOD IS A FAIRY GODMOTHER to abused horses who need physical and mental rehabilitation. She has given them a new lease on life through Front Range Equine Rescue, a year-old nonprofit organization she formed to save horses from neglect and abuse. "I tell people I read 'Black Beauty' too many times," says Wood.

3

◆ RELATIONSHIPS

FROM DR. LAURA TO BILLY GRAHAM, from Kathie Lee Gifford to Hillary Clinton, a lot of people may not like to hear this. But

3



FIGHTING colon cancer

KNIGHT-RIDDER
TRIBUNE NEWS

First lady Hillary Clinton, right, talks with NBC personality Katie Couric in a foyer at the White House last week just prior to the official launching of a national colon cancer awareness campaign. Couric lost her husband to the disease months ago.

marital affairs can be good for you. Or so proclaims Luann Linquist, a San Diego psychologist who has been taking heat since she wrote "Secret Lovers - Affairs Happen ... How to Cope."

◆ LIFESTYLE

ISSUED ON JULY 29,
THE COLORFUL BREAST
CANCER RESEARCH

STAMP promises to pump an additional \$16 million into federal breast cancer programs. Called a "semipostal," the self-adhesive stamp represents a new genre for the U.S. Postal Service - a stamp with a surcharge for a dedicated program or charity.

Are you a warrior woman? W2

◆ STRESS BUSTER

Sometimes "no" is a very good word. In the right place, at the right time, "no" can be more positive than a barrel full of yeses.

Have you ever said yes to a project at work, school or church knowing that you didn't have time to do it correctly?

Ever said yes to a telephone solicitation that cost you money you didn't want to spend?

Ever said yes to an impulse purchase that you later regretted?

The ability to say no to some questions means you can say yes to others, so it makes sense to have a system that helps you recognize that no is the correct answer sometimes.

- Say no to unsolicited phone callers.
 - Set no to taking on more civic projects than you can handle.
 - Say no to bad ideas.
 - Say no to bigotry and bias.
 - Say no to negative attitudes.
 - Say no to excessive eating and alcohol consumption.
 - Say no to activities that waste your time.
 - Say no to procrastination.
- Try it. Just say no.

It's a woman's battle, too

BY LORRAINE ASH
Daily Record

Too early on a chilly December morning last year, I rolled out of bed and got dressed, noticing as I tucked my flannel shirt into my pants that my stomach was perfectly flat between my hips. It should have been. The day before I'd consumed a drink called NuLyte every 15 minutes for hours on end. Seven hours, to be exact.

My husband, my chauffeur and one-man support system, cracked as many jokes as he could on the way to the "colonosuite" at Hackensack Medical Center, our destination. At the age of 38, I had scheduled myself for my first colonoscopy, the most thorough screening procedure for colorectal cancer. All that NuLyte was designed to clean out my system to make a smooth path for the flexible colonoscope.

The idea of that thing winding its way into my rectum and up through my lower and then upper intestinal tract did not delight me. It scared me, but I had to do it. Colorectal cancer is the second leading cancer killer in the United States, and the third most common cancer overall.

'It doesn't take that much time out of your life to get tested.'

Joan Foster,
Montclair,
colon cancer survivor

yourself through that?

Way wrong.

Fact: This year colon cancer will claim the lives of more women than men.

Fact: More women over age 75 die from colorectal cancer than from breast cancer.

People asked me, can't you get a smaller, easier test?

Fact: Yes, it's called a sigmoidoscopy, and it sounds more friendly. Trouble is, a sigmoidoscopy goes into only the lower third of the colon and therefore is an incomplete test. Suppose there are polyps in the upper colon; a sigmoidoscopy won't show that.

Twenty-five percent of the U.S. population is at risk of colon cancer. Some, like me, are at risk because of ge-

See COLON / W4

Yoga is good for those midlife blues

In a school basement more than 25 years ago, a few men and women stood around a slim teacher in an Indian print sarong. They stretched and breathed for a couple of hours every week. At least I think she was wearing an Indian print. The memory fades. It was the only yoga class offered by the city recreation department. Today, the city offers dozens of classes all over town. All the ritzy health clubs offer yoga classes all day long, and private classes abound.

In fact, more than 4 million Americans regularly practice yoga, according to U.S. News and World Report. That's twice the number who practiced as recently as three years ago.

It's the greatest thing. For flexibility, strength, relaxation, energy, I can't think of a better way to indulge myself. Sometimes, when I'm feeling sane and strong, I think that yoga's what's gotten me there. If you don't have the time or money to attend a class, you can read a book or magazine, watch a TV show, rent a video or check one out from your local library. I recommend that you do.

It's one small way we women actually



BARBRALU
COHEN

GOING GRAY

can do something for ourselves.

More than 5,000 years old, yoga brings about "stronger, more toned muscles, more energy, increased endurance, improved cardiovascular health, decreased stress, improved coordination, increased flexibility, enhanced balance and grace, improved circulation." And this is not some weirdo making these claims; this is U.S. News.

Yoga may help menstruating women with cramps, writes Dr. Christiane Northrup in her book, "Women's Bodies, Women's Wisdom." She says that "gentle body-realigning techniques like yoga are a wonderful way to relax,

stretch and gently stimulate the muscles and internal organs. They also help maintain the body in proper alignment to gravity and keep the spine and joints supple."

An article in a midlife newsletter reports on studies that show yoga may help migraines, back pain, insomnia and joint pain and enhance relaxation and stress reduction, which are especially important at midlife.

In Sadja Greenwood's book, "Menopause Naturally," she recommends yoga "to impart youthful balance and grace throughout life."

"Stretching exercises also help to counteract emotional problems," adds Greenwood, who is a medical doctor. "Tension is always accompanied by physical muscular contraction. Chronically contracted muscles are tight and often sore. As we learn to stretch and relax our muscles, our minds become calmer. The amazing benefits of hatha yoga are related to this principle."

And you can do it. That's the great part. Yoga can be vigorous, even aerobic. But it also can be slow, deliberate,

rhythmical. You slowly bend, breathing out. You slowly rise and inhale. Every movement is coordinated with every breath in a beautiful, slow dance.

However far you can stretch, how "well" or "poorly" you can do a pose - none of that matters. It's the doing and the breathing that bring focus, calm, strength, health.

These days, when my little one is in school, I drop into a class whenever I can at my health club. It's filled with young college girls but also potbellied old men who can barely bend over and lots of round midlife women with various degrees of grace and sag and wrinkles.

For 90 minutes once a week I give myself the gift of yoga. If you've got five minutes a week, or more, try it. Find a teacher, check out a book or a video. Over time, I bet it will make a difference in your life.

BARBRALU COHEN writes articles and books and teaches at the University of Colorado School of Journalism. She is the mother of a college sophomore and a third-grader.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FROM PAGE W1

Colon

Continued from / W1

netics, but others are at risk in spite of genetics.

They're at risk because of their age, and yet, even today, a recent Gallup poll reports that nearly 50 percent of people over 50, the age group considered at highest risk, have never been screened. The situation is worse with women than with men; 49 percent of women age 50 or over reported not having been screened as compared to 36 percent of men in the same age group.

People are at risk because they eat high-fat diets low in fruits and vegetables, because of cigarette smoking, because they're obese or, if they're not obese, because they're sedentary. That's a lot of people, a lot of risk.

20 years ago

Even as my husband and I drove in the cold December morning, I remembered the day when I was a college freshman 20 years earlier and my father — Victor Mullica, a Hudson County attorney — visited me on campus and took me out for dinner. As we sat at our table next to a fireplace and our menus were handed to us, he told me that he had been diagnosed with colorectal cancer during a routine physical that a fellow lawyer had insisted he break his busy schedule to get. He said he was having an operation at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City. He said to carry on at school, that he would be all right, that his odds were excellent.

That physical saved his life. I'd be a fool to have the knowledge that I am genetically predisposed to this cancer, a cancer that has better than a 90 percent survival rate if detected early, and not get tested.

As things turned out, the idea of the colonoscopy was far worse than the test itself. Indeed, drinking that much bad-tasting NuLyte was the worst part.

During my test, the gastroenterologist had administered a state-of-the-art anesthesia that wiped the test experience from my memory. I was awake for it, but my brain did not record it.

I remember being hooked to an IV, being wheeled in, seeing the equipment and then waking up in

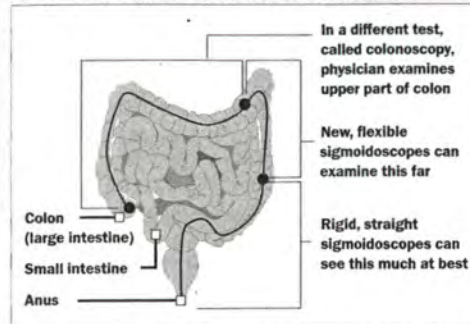


KNIGHT RIDDER-TRIBUNE NEWS

First lady Hillary Clinton, honorary chair of the new National Colorectal Cancer Roundtable, talks about the need for research dollars to better understand and fight colon cancer, which often shows no symptoms until it is too late for its victims.

What is sigmoidoscopy?

In common screening test, an optical instrument is inserted through anus and used to examine bottom part of large intestine.



Frequency: Recommended after age 50; new research found that testing once every 10 years reduces cancer risk

Advantages: Effective in detecting cancers and growths that can become cancerous; relatively safe

Disadvantages: Relatively costly and uncomfortable

SOURCE: New England Journal of Medicine

KNIGHT RIDDER-TRIBUNE NEWS

Crusades should be familiar to women. ... This particular one

a personal level, though, reinforcing that the battle also must be fought with research dollars. She announced a new \$8 million National Institutes of Health grant to the

was assured that I would be covered once I had cancer. And, let me tell you, I won't forget those words for a long time. (See insurance sidebar, this page.)

My colonoscopy came up all clear. No polyps. Not even evidence of cells that doctors have come to know can herald colon cancer.

Don't put it off

Being a high-risk person, I am especially diligent about adhering to the lifestyle factors that can reduce the chances of getting the disease — exercising regularly, not smoking, avoiding obesity and eating a high-fiber, low-fat diet. Nevertheless, I will be back faithfully in a few years to see if benign polyps, which mature into cancerous tumors, have developed. And, if they have, they will be removed during the colonoscopy and with them will go the threat of colon cancer.

As Hillary Clinton said, "Don't be embarrassed. Don't put off the test. I hope that because we have been in the White House today, there will be a change. This is not just an event. It is the beginning of a crusade."

Crusades should be familiar to women, who have fought them in streets, in courts, in back alleys, in universities, in churches and in their own homes for centuries. This particular one can only be fought in a colonosuite.

One more test

Women are conditioned to pencil themselves in for mammograms and PAP smears. Now it's time to add a colonoscopy to the list — and to persuade your male loved ones to do the same.

It takes only a few hours and, chances are, if you do it early and as often as a well-qualified doctor advises, you'll win.

SINCE TALKING ABOUT the rectum, colon and bowels is difficult for many people, the national campaign announced the opening of a new colorectal Internet chat room at www.gastro.org/adhf.html. Designed to get people talking about what traditionally has been an embarrassing subject, the room is open to consumers, colorectal cancer patients, family members, survivors and people at risk for the disease to talk in live, real time discussions about the disease. Each month the chat room will feature a guest expert.

Insurance companies won't always pay for colonoscopy

BY LORRAINE ASH
Daily Record

Not all screenings for colorectal cancer are created equal. Only one of four reigns supreme in being thorough — the colonoscopy.

Insurance companies cover several screening methods used to detect polyps in the colon before they become cancerous, but the consumer must be aware of the limitations of the other three — fecal occult blood test, barium x-ray, and the sigmoidoscopy.

Some patients whose results are positive on either the fecal or barium tests then go on to the more extensive testing — the sigmoidoscopy, which checks the lower third of the colon for polyps or cancerous tumors, or the colonoscopy, which checks the full and complete colon.

High-risk patients go directly to the colonoscopy, as Joan Foster of Montclair does these days.

She was first accidentally diagnosed in 1983 while participating in a study tracking families that may be predisposed to colon cancer. At the time she passed the fecal test and the barium test. She even passed the sigmoidoscopy and almost was given a clean bill of health until a colonoscopy revealed her cancer in the upper colon.

Foster's insurance company pays two-thirds of her colonoscopy bill, given her history.

Patients who are 50, have no family history of the disease and want to be thoroughly tested with a colonoscopy probably will find, however, that insurance companies will not necessarily consent to covering the procedure.

"I've seen guidelines from the plans of 30 or so companies," said Don White, spokesman for the Washington, D.C.-based American Association of Health Plans, which represents more than 1,000 HMOs, PPOs and other similar health plans providing coverage for 140 million Americans.

"All plans cover fecal occult tests and sigmoidoscopies for people at 50, and sometimes they'll cover

There are, he added, three scenarios under which most companies will readily pay the cost of a colonoscopy:

■ For high-risk individuals who have family members who tested positive;

■ For individuals whose fecal occult or sigmoidoscopy results show they should have a colonoscopy;

■ For individuals who are not high-risk but whose primary care physician recommends a colonoscopy.

Private companies may cover the procedure but not advertise that fact. A little persistence may be required. One major HMO contacted for this article revealed that it pays for colonoscopies but would not go on the record with that information since to do so would be to highlight coverage of an expensive procedure.

Medicare, which only covers people over 65, started covering colonoscopies for screening, not diagnostic, purposes as recently as Jan. 1, according to spokesperson Howard Coan.

Dr. Sydney Winawer of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City says he's happy about the Medicare decision, but still not satisfied overall.

"The guidelines that Congress passed for Medicare are good," said Winawer, a member of the new National Colorectal Cancer Roundtable. "They're good for people over 65. But colonoscopies are important for people under 65. They're important for anybody, even for people over 50 without symptoms and with no family history. To cover everybody, that would be wonderful."

Foster notes that covering colonoscopy screenings for the disease probably would be cheaper for insurance companies in the long run.

"If you have one and you're fine, probably your doctor will recommend you have another in three years, and that's not a lot (to expect an insurance company) to pay," she said.

"It costs less than when people get colon cancer, so it's more fi-

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Last week this family medical adventure landed my father and me at the White House. He was one of five survivors present. Another was Joan Foster of Montclair. We three and some 150 others were part of the launching of a massive colorectal cancer awareness campaign spearheaded by the new National Colorectal Cancer Roundtable, whose honorary chair is first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Clinton and her panel pulled no punches in a press conference in the East Room.

"We want to send a loud and clear message to the American public," she said. "Colorectal cancer claims 50,000 lives a year."

Couric also was on the panel, as well as Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala; Good Housekeeping Editor-in-Chief Ellen Levine, whose magazine has volunteered to run one of many public service announcements the roundtable is disseminating to all media; and Dr. Bernard Levin, National Colorectal Cancer Roundtable chair.

"I have spent too much of my professional career delivering bad news

could have been saved if they had been screened for this preventable disease," Levin said. "Widespread screening for colorectal cancer could reduce the death rate by more than 50 percent. There is no other disease about which we can make this claim."

Foster, who accidentally discovered she had colon cancer in 1983 while participating in a study tracking families that may have been predisposed to colon cancer, could not agree more. Her message for women is especially firm.

Benign procedure

"As women we are so aware of what makes us uniquely feminine — our ovaries, our breasts, our uteruses, our cervixes," said Foster, whose mother died of colon cancer and whose father had the disease but survived it.

"We also should be just as aware of what we have in common with the other sex — and that includes our colons. The procedure itself is so benign, really, and it doesn't take that much time out of your life to get tested."

Hillary Clinton and her panel went beyond discussing the issue on

first lady, who, to mighty applause, called failure to cover colon cancer screenings "unacceptable."

Insurance scenario

I understand that. Eventually, my \$3,146 bill for my colonoscopy, including the initial doctor's consultation, was paid in full but only because I found one woman inside the company who believed that coverage was right and just and pioneered the case for me. She likened the procedure to an amniocentesis, which tests for defects in an unborn fetus for no other reason than to see if there are any.

If an amniocentesis is covered, so should a colonoscopy, she reasoned. And she won.

But during my initial phone call to inform the company of my procedure and my family history, I was told that the colonoscopy would not be covered because I was asymptomatic. Just as my dad was in 1977. Just as Joan Foster was in 1983. Just as Jay Monahan was until it was too late.

Having no symptoms is part of what makes colon cancer so insidious.

During that initial phone call, I

BULLETIN BOARD

Future weeks

MADISON — The New Jersey Women's Theatre Cooperative will present classes for personal expression and growth Tuesday evenings from 7 to 9:30 on Oct. 27 and Nov. 3, 10 and 17 at Madison Community House, 25 Cook Ave. Each student's blocks, including stage fright, writer's block, procrastination and negativity, will be identified. The class will teach ways to nurture the creative self and strengthen the "muscles" (habits, lifestyle, relationships, goals) that support it. Fee is \$200. Class is limited to eight participants. Call (908) 766-0110 or (973) 443-9125.

MOUNTAIN LAKES — The American Cancer Society presents the seminar "Breast Cancer: Drugs, Genetics and Decisions" Oct. 5 at 6:30 p.m. at the Zeris Inn, Route 46. Cost is \$15 and includes dinner. Pre-registration is required by Sept. 30. Send name, address, phone number and payment to The American Cancer Society, Morris County Unit, 669 Littleton Road, Parsippany, N.J. 07054. Call (973) 331-9300.

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MORRIS COUNTY'S NEWSPAPER



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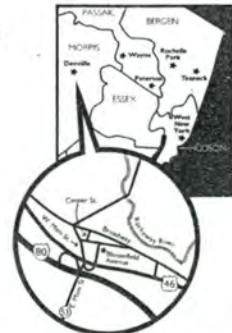
- Allergy and Immunology
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GEORGE MAGAZINE

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

THE WEEBLE BY DAVID BROCK

After seven years in the public spotlight, why does Hillary—known around the world by her first name—still fascinate? For myriad reasons. She broke the mold: She was right from the beginning about the need to

reform the health care system, and she was also right to resist the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate Whitewater.

Her national tormentors run the gamut from Rush Limbaugh to Sally Quinn; she went to Beijing—three

years ago—and spoke out about human rights; she's in the most flyspecked marriage in the history of U.S. politics, but she loves him anyway; she's the only woman to go into the grand jury without getting a makeover first; in a White House filled with smart lawyers, she's the smartest; she compared Congressman Dick Armey to Dr. Kevorkian; she used her influence to help an unprecedented number of women win appointments to the cabinet.

Senator Alfonse D'Amato dragged her through the mud, and none of it stuck. She emerged with even higher public approval ratings; at 50, she's never looked better; she turned the other cheek and invited Newt's mother to tea; she was talking about the importance of strong families, personal responsibility, and shared values long before the cultural conservative Bill Bennett did; she also knows it takes a village to raise a child, wrote a book about the subject, buried Bob Dole with it, and won a Grammy for the recording of it; she had the guts to go on the *Today* show and call the vast right-wing conspiracy by its name; Chelsea is proof that you can, too, have it all. Hillary gives a damn. And, really, who'd make a more fabulous running mate for Al Gore?



CHESNOT/STEVENS/GIPA

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Backlash at Republicans Raises Hopes

By MICHAEL JANOFFSKY

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25 — After months of enduring withering attacks for President Clinton's relationship with a White House intern, Democrats are turning the Republican zeal to punish him into a rallying cry.

Party leaders contend that a backlash against Republicans eager to embarrass Mr. Clinton and punish him with impeachment is helping to energize supporters, displace apathy and raise money. And today, the national chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Steven Grossman, said the scandal had become so good for the party that it could help hold to a minimum any Democratic losses in the House and Senate elections this fall.

"We're much stronger than we would have been," Mr. Grossman said. "Good times create complacency and apathy, which are the enemies of our party. When things are good, people tend to stay home. Sometimes you need a crisis, an existential crisis, to motivate you."

Republican Party officials, meanwhile, have said the scandal has also pumped up their efforts, especially in fund-raising. They say disgust with Mr. Clinton's behavior has helped increase fund-raising to levels well beyond what the party would normally see at this point in a year with midterm elections.

Mr. Grossman and other Democratic Party officials appeared at a briefing for journalists to discuss what they viewed as the positive developments arising from President Clinton's admission that he had an adulterous relationship and the Republican efforts to impeach him.

Around the country, they noted, polling data suggest that Democrats are fuming over Republican efforts

to target the President. Day after day, Democrats have worked to capitalize on this by criticizing Republicans for ignoring issues that Democrats claim are far more important to most Americans, like the Administration-led initiatives on education, health care and Social Security.

Governor Roy Romer of Colorado, general chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said party leaders had been especially heartened by recent polls that show Mr. Clinton's popularity rising since Monday, when the videotape of his Aug. 17 grand jury testimony was shown to the nation.

Mr. Romer said Mr. Clinton's improving stature had resulted from a backlash against tactics, which he

'Sometimes you need a crisis, an existential crisis, to motivate you.'

described as "the gross overreaching on the part of a conservative Republican-led party" and the ability of the public to "cut through the fog and smoke" of their strategy.

"Democrats," Mr. Romer said, "have the high ground."

Mr. Grossman said the polls reflected the country's "revulsion against the politics of polarization to the extent Democrats recognize that the stakes could not be higher" in the fall elections.

But at the same time, he conceded that the scandal, with its seamy details and the Republicans' campaign

for impeachment, is playing a major role in the reawakening of Democratic voters, shaking many of them out of an apathy that usually beclouds them in midterm elections. If that works to improve turnout, which generally reaches about a third of registered voters for midterm elections, then, he said, Democrats could fare better than expected.

Mark Gersh of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, a Democratic organization, said a close analysis of Congressional races had convinced him that neither party would lose more than five seats.

Some analysts have predicted that because of the scandal, Republicans could improve their majority in the House by as many as two dozen seats and their majority in the Senate by as many as seven seats.

"I'm not here to tell you Democrats will win the House or even pick up seats," Mr. Gersh said. "But there's no evidence of major erosion of Democratic support in marginal districts."

Mr. Grossman said one marketing tool producing evidence of a renewed energy among Democratic voters was a three-page mailing signed by Hillary Rodham Clinton that reached Democratic donors four days ago. He said the letter, in which Mrs. Clinton seeks support on behalf of children as "our nation's most vulnerable citizens" and invites written responses, had exceeded a fund-raising goal that generally took months to meet.

Mr. Grossman declined to say how many letters had been distributed, how much money had been raised or what the target amount was. But he acknowledged that it drew "thousands of letters" of response.

"What people are responding to," he said, "is venality and mean-spiritedness and a total absence of fairness. It has energized our base."

The New York Times

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1998

THE IMPEACHMENT PROCESS

Lawmaker Uses Own Experience to Urge Measured Approach

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25 — As a lawyer and former Federal judge, Representative Alcee L. Hastings has more than a passing familiarity with the Constitution. And his reading tells him that Congress is badly mishandling the impeachment process.

His real expertise in the subject comes not from arcane legal theory and dusty law books but from unique personal experience: Mr. Hastings, a Florida Democrat, is the only member of the House to have been impeached himself. He was removed from the Federal bench by the Senate in 1989 on grounds of bribery and perjury and three years later was elected to Congress.

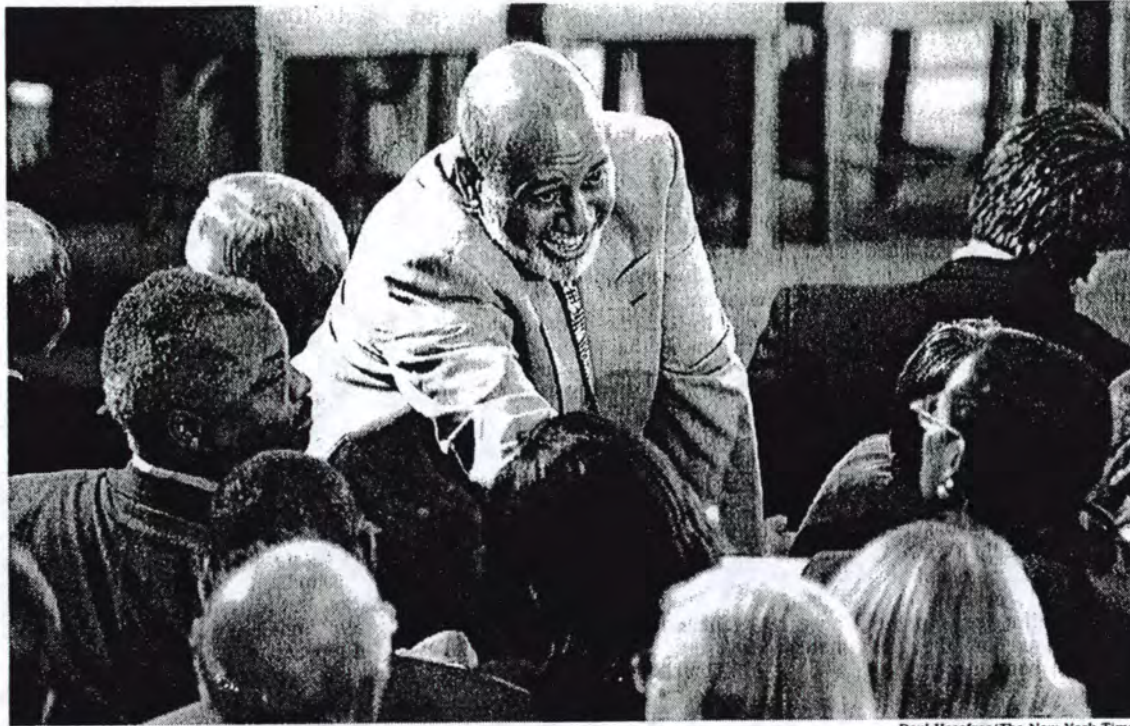
Now, as he joins his House colleagues in weighing the impeachment of President Clinton, Mr. Hastings, 62, is trying to use his familiarity with the process to protect Mr. Clinton from what he sees as the same unfair system that led to his own judicial exile.

"I have a great deal of experience in the process of impeachment," said Mr. Hastings, who became Florida's first black Federal judge when he was appointed by President Jimmy Carter in 1979.

"I also have a great deal of experience in judging whether or not prosecutors have committed prosecutorial misconduct. In this instance, firmly I come down on the side affirmatively that he has," he said, in reference to Kenneth W. Starr, the White-water independent counsel.

The Congressman said he had made no judgment on whether Mr. Clinton should be impeached, only that Congress should be more measured in its approach.

Mr. Hastings's chief complaint is that Congress abdicated its responsibility in the matter to Mr. Starr, relying too heavily on the counsel's findings, which he put forth in a 445-page report delivered to Congress on Sept. 11. Mr. Hastings likens the situation to his own case, saying the



Paul Hosefros/The New York Times

Representative Alcee L. Hastings, Democrat of Florida, was removed from the Federal bench by the Senate in 1989 on grounds of bribery and perjury. He was elected to Congress three years later.

House was swayed by an impeachment report from a panel of 26 Federal judges, an imprimatur of authority that he said lawmakers were unable to resist.

Mr. Hastings's first attack on Mr. Starr came in the form of a House resolution to impeach the prosecutor for egregious misconduct, including leaking grand jury material and "wasting" \$40 million on the investigation. It was quickly and overwhelmingly dismissed by the House on Wednesday on a 340-to-71 vote.

Some Republicans branded it an outrage. But the failed effort will not be Mr. Hastings's last.

"I am sure he is going to proceed to deal with the circumstances we

are confronted with based on his experience," said Representative Maxine Waters, the California Democrat who heads the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mr. Hastings was a rising judicial star when he was charged in 1981 with conspiracy to accept a \$150,000 bribe in a criminal case he was overseeing in Miami. He was acquitted by a jury two years later although another lawyer, charged in the case as a co-conspirator, was sent to jail. The lawyer, accused of being the go-between in the conspiracy, refused to testify against Mr. Hastings.

But that was not the end for Mr. Hastings. In 1987, a panel of Federal judges delivered a 381-page report to

Congress accusing him of having committed the original crime as well as having lied about his conduct during his defense.

The House, including many members he now serves with, voted 413 to 3 to impeach him in 1988. The Senate, in a decision that some lawmakers said was agonizing because of Mr. Hastings's argument of double jeopardy, voted 69 to 26 for conviction, as Mr. Hastings, there to make an appeal, watched.

The ousted judge passionately maintained his innocence throughout.

A hero in the black community for his persistence in fighting the charges against him, Mr. Hastings

was elected to the House in 1992 from a newly drawn, heavily minority district centered in Fort Lauderdale. Last year, questions were raised about laboratory work done by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on evidence given to the judicial panel in Mr. Hastings's case, but House leaders refused to reopen the impeachment issue.

Mr. Hastings says he made peace with many of those in the House who supported his impeachment, taking official overseas trips with Representative Henry J. Hyde, the Illinois Republican who is chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and working on legislation with Representative John Conyers Jr. of Michigan, the senior Democrat on that panel.

"One would argue one ought to dislike them," Mr. Hastings said of those who backed his removal. "But what happened is they became part of a process that was driven by constitutional abdication of responsibility that allowed the judges to drive the process."

Mr. Hastings, who generally avoids prominence in Congress, can elicit strong emotions. A Florida Republican who spoke only on condition of anonymity, said one of his most disturbing moments upon arriving in Congress was seeing Mr. Hastings, an impeached Federal judge, presiding over the House when the Democrats still held the majority.

And after introducing his Starr impeachment resolution, Mr. Hastings said a House staff member sent him E-mail, saying, "Impeach yourself, you idiot."

And to those who see his criticism of Mr. Starr and the ongoing congressional process as an effort to lash out at the system that stripped him of his judicial authority, Mr. Hastings says it is not so.

"There is no striking back at all," he said. "I have the responsibility as a citizen but even more so now as a Congressperson."

"If someone does not stop the madness, the madness continues."

POLITICS IS DRIVING JONES SETTLEMENT

Clinton Seeks Better Position as Hearings Loom in House

A1 By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25 — In an effort to give President Clinton a stronger position as Congress considers impeachment proceedings, his lawyers are in the final stages of reaching a settlement with Paula Corbin Jones in her sexual misconduct lawsuit, advisers to both parties said today.

They predicted that the agreement could be achieved within a few days.

At the center of the negotiations is the question of how much Mr. Clinton must pay Ms. Jones to settle the suit, which has led to the impeachment crisis.

Ms. Jones's lawyers today rejected a \$500,000 offer Mr. Clinton made this week, and they gave the White House until Tuesday morning to sweeten the pot, the advisers said. Earlier this month, the White House rejected a request from the Jones camp to pay \$1 million to have her withdraw the lawsuit.

A senior White House adviser said the suddenly vigorous effort to end the lawsuit was being propelled by a political calculation that doing so would help Mr. Clinton present the best case to Congress in his attempt to avoid impeachment proceedings.

"As we go before Congress on the impeachment matter, the Paula Jones suit is now still on the table," said one Clinton adviser, who like the others spoke on the condition of anonymity. "Anything we take off the table may be enormously helpful."

At the same time, associates of the President said Hillary Rodham Clin-

ton, one of the staunchest opponents of any kind of concession to Ms. Jones, has now acceded to the idea of a settlement.

Ms. Jones's advisers said she no longer felt a need to prove that Mr. Clinton behaves in a sexually irresponsible manner, given the avalanche of detailed material about his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky.

"The events of the last several weeks and months have vindicated Paula Jones's case," said John W. Whitehead, the president of the Ruth-

erford Institute, which is financing Ms. Jones's legal efforts. He said that any settlement with the President would constitute an admission of Ms. Jones's allegations, if not an apology.

Ms. Jones contends that in 1991, when Mr. Clinton was Governor of Arkansas, he invited her to his hotel suite in Little Rock and, when alone with her, made a crude sexual advance. Mr. Clinton has always denied the allegation.

Mr. Whitehead said that he was hopeful a settlement would be reached, but he cautioned that the talks could still fall apart.

Senior White House officials expressed a similar mix of hope and caution. The advisers said that Mrs. Clinton had only recently been persuaded to allow negotiations aimed at settling the lawsuit after firmly resisting such a course since the beginning, because that could be taken as evidence of his sexual misbehavior. One aide said that Mrs. Clinton has been anxious over mounting legal bills and had to be assured that money for a settlement could come out of the legal defense fund that has been created for the Clintons.

At the same time, one adviser to the Clintons said, there is a feeling that a settlement would not affect the President's standing with the public, which has already taken that part of his character into account in digesting the report by the Whitewater independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, about Mr. Clinton's liaison with Ms. Lewinsky.

"It's pretty obvious why we would like to settle now," one senior adviser to the White House said today.

Much of the case against the President now being considered in Congress stems from the lawsuit Ms. Jones filed in 1994. During a deposition taken under oath last January, Mr. Clinton told Ms. Jones's lawyers that he had not engaged in "sexual relations" with Ms. Lewinsky or had an affair with her.

Mr. Starr, in his referral to Congress about possible impeachable offenses, said Mr. Clinton had know-

ly lied when he gave those answers, and therefore that he had committed perjury.

Mr. Clinton and his lawyers have argued that while his answers may have been misleading, they were "legally accurate" because of the definition of sexual relations that was approved by the judge that day.

The settlement activity comes at a time when the White House is seeking to fashion some sort of negotiated settlement with Congress that would allow Mr. Clinton to keep his job.

In addition, a three-judge panel of a Federal appeals court is scheduled

to hear arguments on Oct. 20 in St. Paul on whether to reinstate the lawsuit, which was dismissed last April by a trial judge in Little Rock. If Ms. Jones's lawyers succeed in persuading the appeals court to reinstate the lawsuit, it could mean a new round of discovery in which the President would be subject to more embarrassing questions about his personal behavior.

Ms. Jones's lawyers have already said they intend to use the contents of the Starr report as part of their case before the appeals court. White House lawyers and advisers have said they believe there is a strong likelihood that the appeals court panel, composed of Republican-appointed judges, would rule in favor of Ms. Jones.

The President's lawyers have said that one reason he has resisted acknowledging that he misled Ms. Jones's lawyers is that such an acknowledgment could be used against him in a revived Jones lawsuit. Removing the suit might also make it easier for Mr. Clinton to acknowledge unreservedly that his answers in the Jones deposition were untrue, as many members of Congress have been demanding as part of some kind of plea bargain.

Such an admission would not eliminate in a legal sense his culpability for his misleading and possibly perjurious answers in the Jones deposition. But his advisers say it could allow the President to argue that

Congress would be proceeding with impeachment on the basis of a civil lawsuit that was now settled.

While that argument may not have any legal merit, White House officials hope that it would help with members of Congress who are wavering on whether to seek Mr. Clinton's removal from office.

It is unclear how that would actually affect deliberations. Several members of Congress canvassed today said they were unsure that a settlement of the Jones lawsuit would make any difference, but they also said it was too early to tell.

The judge in the case, Susan Webster Wright, has also raised the possibility that she would hold Mr. Clinton in contempt for offering misleading testimony in January. A settlement of the suit would not eliminate that possibility, but White House advisers said they hoped it would make it harder for Judge Wright to take such a step.

Ms. Jones's lawyers have suggested that if they do not achieve a settlement by Tuesday, they will file a petition with the judge to bolster her resolve to hold a contempt hearing.

Friends of Ms. Jones said she is eager to reach a settlement and be done with the matter. If the appeals court does not reinstate the case, she would get nothing after four years of high-profile litigation.

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ton, one of the staunchest opponents of any kind of concession to Ms. Jones, has now acceded to the idea of a settlement.

The strong possibility of a settlement that appeared elusive for years is now possible, if not likely, because of the profoundly changed political — and some would say moral — standing of Mr. Clinton since he publicly acknowledged a sexual liaison with Monica S. Lewinsky.

Ms. Jones's lawyers said that was a major reason why she has dropped her demand that any settlement include some sort of apology from the President or some explicit acknowledgment that her claim about Mr. Clinton's behavior was true. Her previous insistence on an apology had always proved an insurmountable obstacle.

The New York Times

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1998

Clinton Casts The Congress As Do-Nothing

Bolstered by Polls, He Opens Counterattack

By JOHN M. BRODER

CHICAGO, Sept. 25 — Cheered by polls that appear to show the beginnings of a backlash against Congressional Republicans for a seeming preoccupation with the Lewinsky scandal, President Clinton today criticized them for a lack of action on spending bills and other legislation.

In remarks before leaving the White House this morning for a three-day fund-raising swing on behalf of Democratic candidates, Mr. Clinton said, "By failing to meet its most basic governing responsibility, the Republican majority in Congress has its priorities wrong: partisanship over progress, politics over people."

Both in Washington and at a campaign fund-raiser here in Chicago, Mr. Clinton laced his comments with a sharp partisan edge, hoping to gain an advantage with the public as Republicans appear to be moving toward authorizing an impeachment inquiry against him. In his remarks today, as in others late this week, there were no apologies for his affair with Monica S. Lewinsky or for his seven months of misleading statements about it.

As he tries to turn attention away from the events that threaten his Presidency, Mr. Clinton has authorized his lawyers to negotiate a financial settlement of Paula Corbin Jones's sexual misconduct suit, whose dismissal is now pending appeal. If successful in putting that matter behind him, Mr. Clinton could argue to Congress that he has resolved the accusations that ultimately exposed his affair with Ms. Lewinsky, although what effect a settlement would have on the impeachment inquiry remains unclear.

Today the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott of Mississippi, resisted any notion of short-cutting the House deliberations on impeachment, saying the process should be allowed to go forward. And he returned fire on the President's criticism of Republicans, deriding Mr. Clinton as "fund-raiser in chief" and accusing him of

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neglecting his own responsibilities as he maneuvers to salvage his political future.

"The President comes out at a time when he needs cooperation with — and we need cooperation from him — with the Congress, and he takes a gratuitous slap, jumps on a plane and runs off for three days of fund-raising," Mr. Lott said. "Now, is he the fund-raiser in chief, or is he the Commander in Chief?"

"Now, we're doing our work," the Senator said. "Maybe he just hasn't noticed; he's been distracted. And what he's trying to do is distract attention from his problems by trying to, you know, push the blame off on somebody else."

Another Republican, Representative Anne M. Northup of Kentucky, said Mr. Clinton had failed to exert his influence to help win passage of fast-track trade legislation, which the President supports but a majority of Democrats oppose.

"Where is he?" Ms. Northup said. "He's out on a political junket."

Barry Toiv, the deputy White House press secretary, said it was the Republican leadership, not Mr. Clinton, that was responsible for gridlock in Washington.

"I don't know how he can say that," Mr. Toiv said of Mr. Lott's criticism. "It's not the President who has eked out a total of one appropriations bill in nine months, with only five days left to go in the fiscal year. It's not the President who is five months behind in enacting a budget. It's not the President who has failed to approve education spending."

"Look," Mr. Toiv added, "the Congress needs to get its work done. I think that's the point the President was trying to make today."

Mr. Clinton said there were still a few days left for Congress to act before breaking in early October for electioneering. But he held out little hope that Republican leaders would heed his call, and appeared delighted to have a slow-moving target at which to aim his fire.

He said he signed a stopgap spending bill this morning to keep the Government running after the fiscal

year ends at midnight next Wednesday, but called the emergency measure "a regrettable sign" that Republicans were "moving in the wrong direction."

He was particularly critical of a House Republican plan to cut taxes by \$80 billion over five years before the future solvency of the Social Security trust fund is assured.

The President appeared emboldened by recent polls that show approval of Congress slipping while his own popularity surges in the aftermath of the televising on Monday of his videotaped grand jury testimony. His most recent public comments reflect a calculation that he can gain politically by contrasting his focus on public business with Congress's heavy diet of impeachment talk.

On a separate tour with similar

The post-video polls cheer the President.

themes, Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned for Democrats in Colorado, Oregon, Washington and California this week. At an elementary school in Sheridan, Colo., on Thursday, Mrs. Clinton complained that Congress did not seem to have time to devote to issues like education.

"And I wish that I could have every member of Congress who is too busy — too busy to have a hearing about school modernization, too busy to consider adding teachers to lower classroom size — to come with me to Fort Logan," she said, referring to the school where she spoke. "They could not do that, and the result is you won't see them."

The First Lady said Congress would "rather spend time dividing our country, diverting our resources, doing anything but focusing on the real problems of America."

The President sounded the same anti-Congress theme in an appearance at an elementary school in Chicago today, accusing Republicans of

inaction on legislation concerning education, health care, the environment and the global economy.

And at a fund-raiser for the Democratic nominee for governor of Illinois — an event at which the nominee, Representative Glenn Poshard, did not appear — Mr. Clinton said that after eight months of inaction, the Republican Congressional leadership now wanted to use the first budget surplus in decades to pass a popular tax cut on the eve of the midterm elections.

"The majority party wants to make everybody happy close to the election with a tax cut," Mr. Clinton said. "But it's not the right thing to do. Before the red ink turns to black and it dries a little bit, people want to turn around and spend it again."

Mr. Poshard, who was in Washington, spoke by telephone to the \$250,000 fund-raising luncheon, held at Chicago's Mercantile Club. He said that critics would accuse him of seeking to distance himself from a President in serious political trouble but that "nothing could be further from the truth."

"I'm very proud of your work," he told Mr. Clinton. "I'm very proud of your leadership."

Mr. Poshard said he had remained in Washington to vote on Social Security and tax legislation. But he was also preparing to vote to deny the President fast-track trade authority — the power to negotiate trade agreements that Congress may then vote only up or down, without amending.

The Congressman's position on fast track is one he has held consistently, said his press secretary, David C. Gillies. Like many other Democrats, Mr. Poshard says the Administration's trade position does not insure adequate protection for workers and the environment in less-developed countries.

Mr. Clinton will appear at five more fund-raising events for Democratic candidates this weekend, three in California and two in Texas. He also plans to spend Saturday morning with Mrs. Clinton visiting their daughter, Chelsea, a sophomore at Stanford University.

He returns to Washington late Sunday night.

The New York Times

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1998

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First lady begins campaign trip

By Adam Nagourney
The New York Times

NEW YORK — Hillary Rodham Clinton started a three-day national campaign tour on Wednesday by characterizing Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y., as a "Jesse Helms clone" who has repeatedly voted to keep women "down and back" during his 18 years in Washington.

The first lady will be in the Denver area today to raise money for two Democratic candidates and to visit a school in southwest Denver.

She will be the featured guest at two events in Cherry Hills Village — an 11:30 a.m. reception and a 12:30 p.m. luncheon — on behalf of Democratic Senate candidate Dotie Lamm and Lt. Gov. Gail Schoettler, candidate for governor.

At 2 p.m., Mrs. Clinton will visit

She rips D'Amato; Denver stop set today

Fort Logan Elementary School, 3700 S. Knox St., with the two candidates to talk with school officials, teachers and parents about reducing class sizes.

None of the events is open to the public.

On Wednesday, the first lady glided from a luncheon fund-raiser at a nightclub in midtown Manhattan to a basement shelter for battered women, using every venue to assail D'Amato and talk up the credentials of his opponent in the New York Senate race, Rep. Charles Schumer.

Mrs. Clinton described Schumer, D-Brooklyn, as one of President

Clinton's steadfast supporters in Congress, crediting him with supporting legislation to curb crime and benefit women. She referred to D'Amato, who spearheaded investigations into the Clintons' Whitewater land dealings, only as "Chuck's opponent."

The trip to New York signaled a new public role for the first lady in the fall congressional races: She will campaign in five states over three days, part of what is described as "her fall initiative."

The eagerness with which Schumer embraced her Wednesday — in contrast to the reluctance many Democrats have shown to appearing with her husband since he acknowledged an affair with a White House intern — indicated the first lady will fill the campaign void.



Associated Press / Kathy Willes

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets Rep. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., and his wife, Iris, in New York. Mrs. Clinton campaigned for Schumer, who is challenging Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

While President Clinton diddles

It would be comforting if we could blame it all on Monica Lewinsky, but even before the Great Monica Sex Scandal almost drowned out all other significant news, the United States had drifted off into an isolationist dreamland unprecedented since the 1920s. The very day when Mr. Clinton's interrogation on the



Richard Grenier

Monica Affair was broadcast nationwide on U.S. television, Russia — on the verge of political chaos — devalued the ruble and defaulted on a fortune in domestic debt. Who noticed? This very week Iran announced its missiles could reach Israel, and consequently American troops in Saudi Arabia. Does anyone care?

Almost all scholars agree that Western civilization is in its most precarious state since the onslaught from Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan in the 1930s. The United States, meanwhile, comfortable in its ignorance, is cursed with the most feckless, flaccid leadership in its history. In 1992 Bill Clinton positively campaigned on a platform of international irresponsibility ("It's the economy, stupid!"), and in the troubled years of his second administration he's been improvising clumsily, always with a hint of cowardice. That the American economy cannot prosper while letting the rest of the world go down the drain should be understood even by economic illiterates like Hillary Clinton. This is not, Mrs. Clinton, a "vast right-wing conspiracy."

My suspicion is that Mrs. Clinton — the "thinker" of the family, now back on the campaign trail — has no knowledge of technology whatever. But even she should realize that the spread of international terrorism, in combination with the steadily increasing access of minor nations to weapons of mass destruction, has placed the entire world in peril. A comforting thought during the Cold War was that, while the Soviet Union was a formidable adversary, the men in the Kremlin were rational.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times. His column appears here Tuesday and Friday.

They would not turn the world into a radioactive fireball for Angola or El Salvador.

We cannot say the same of Iraq or North Korea, which (breaking its nuclear agreement with the U.S.) has just lobbed a multi-stage ballistic projectile over Japan. And our shameless recent capitulation to Baghdad on inspections of Iraq for weapons of mass destruction may cost us dearly. When Israel struck at Iraq, destroying its nuclear weapons capacity in the first Reagan administration, Jeane Kirkpatrick, then our ambassador to the U.N., told me she was simply ordered by the White House to condemn Israel. A rarely remembered detail is that if Israel hadn't destroyed Iraq's nuclear capacity for us, we'd have been totally unable to fight the Gulf War.

The fact that we live in the most unstable and dangerous world in our history hasn't even begun to sink into American minds. The Soviet Union, our great adversary, has been destroyed, Americans note happily. Doesn't that mean we can relax? But millions of Russian employees (sitting on thousands of nuclear weapons) haven't been paid for nine months. And Russia's economy and political system are in chaos. Led by financial collapse all over Southeast Asia, and still spreading, the world's whole economy is in peril.

Evil noises from North Korea have just led the U.S. to agree to assist Japan in building an anti-ballistic-missile defense system. But America itself has no such anti-missile defense system — a fact of which 74 percent of Americans are completely ignorant. A recent attempt to build such a missile defense system for the U.S. was defeated in Congress by liberal Democrats. An emotional carry-over from both World War II and the Cold War is the archaic impression that nations or alliances commanding vast economic resources win all conflicts. America, therefore, is sitting pretty.

But the world has changed drastically. Muslim nations, some very hostile to the West, have attained a military importance they haven't

enjoyed for 500 years. And recent technological advances have meant that small, nominally insignificant countries have attained the power to defy, and even threaten, what used to be called the "Great Powers." Former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger said recently that he was "scared a lot" by

what minor countries might do with the high-technology weapons they've acquired from the West. And nuclear weapons are not necessarily the No. 1 worry, yielding in potential malevolence to chemical and, above all, biological weapons. For a pittance, some minor nation wishing us ill could visit upon whole American states something like the Black Death of the Middle Ages.

The American public is quite ignorant of this, and President Clinton, because of his milk-sop, pacifist aversion to international conflict, seems to have dedicated his presidency to the proposition that the danger simply isn't there. Which leads us to the question of whether in time of crisis (nuclear, bacteriological, or economic) Bill Clinton has the moral character to lead this nation.

I'm pointedly leaving aside the Monica question. I watched all of Mr. Clinton's four-hour grand jury appearance, and for the millions of Americans who credit him with unmatched theatrical technique I can only say that I've some gold-mining stocks to sell them. Every hesitation, evasion, incoherence and hesitant, greasy smile showed Mr. Clinton for the flim-flam artist he truly is.

But the real question is: if this man ever called upon America to make great sacrifices, as in war or economic crisis, would the country follow him? Churchill swore, "We shall fight on the beaches. We shall fight on the landing grounds. We shall fight in the fields and in the streets. We shall fight in the hills. We shall never surrender."

Can we even imagine the man with the quivering lip making such a call to battle? It's embarrassing.



Blackbird in the hand

By J. Dennis Hastert
and Howard McKeon

The President's surprise bombing of Afghanistan and Sudan last month exposed a dangerous gap in U.S. intelligence capability. A week after the air strikes, the U.S. government still lacked essential bomb damage assessment and was relying instead on reconnaissance from CNN newsmen on the ground in the targeted countries.

If the U.S. had been accused in the raids of hitting an orphanage, hospital or baby milk factory, we would have had no means to prove otherwise. If we were serious about surveilling terrorist camps in remote locations, we have a unique asset for that mission — the SR-71, or Blackbird spy plane. Regrettably, last year, President Clinton line-item vetoed it. This year, Congress' defense appropriators have the opportunity to resurrect the plane by restoring last year's vetoed money and thanks to the Supreme Court, need no longer fear a presidential line-item veto.

The SR-71 was in service for more than 25 years in some of America's greatest national security challenges. Deployed to photograph Gadhafi's tent for the 1986 bombing raid on Libya, to track Cuba's presence in Grenada prior to President Reagan's rescue mission, and to trace U.S. hostages in Iran during the Carter administration, the SR-71 currently is grounded while the U-2 (which was shot down by Soviet missiles in 1960 and has a flying altitude of 15,000 feet less

than the SR-71) is inappropriately tasked with flying over Iraq and staying out of the range of anti-aircraft missile batteries and enemy fighter aircraft.

While the Air Force grumbles about the SR-71's high operating costs of \$37,000 per hour, the U-2's vulnerability to shoot-down requires additional costs of support aircraft, therefore endangering not only U-2 pilots, but the lives of pilots of escort aircraft accompanying it on overflights, and a flying cost of twice the SR-71, considering that it takes eight hours to do what the Blackbird can do in two hours. As evidence of the problem, the Clinton administration informed the U.N. that it could not supply high-resolution photographs of suspect facilities needed by U.N. inspectors in Iraq, but would try to compensate for the intelligence shortfall with space-based spy satellite images.

After 25 years of successful reconnaissance photography over hostile terrain, some Air Force and Pentagon officials decided the SR-71 was outmoded because of satellite technology. Ironically, lessons from the Iraqi war prompted Congress to revive the Blackbird. Desert Storm commander General Norman Schwarzkopf asked for the Blackbirds to be returned to service when it was evident satellites were less flexible than the spy plane and vulnerable to cloud cover and the deficiency of fixed equipment once launched.

While the Blackbird's wings were clipped in 1990, intelligence types assuaged SR-71 supporters by hinting a successor was in the works. But a subsonic drone intended to replace it was an expensive flop. Congress forgot the lesson of the "bird" in hand. Intelligence agencies also sought to preserve the plane, but the Air Force insisted that CIA, State Department and other government entities using the intelligence pay its costs. Then Air

Force chief Larry Welch argued, "If it doesn't drop bombs, we don't want it." The consequence of the budgetary squabble was something no missile could do — the grounding of the Blackbirds, until 1995 when Sen. Robert Byrd intervened to refund the program.

Optical or camera satellites are hampered because of clouds. Apparently, an all-weather satellite was not in position to reach Afghanistan or Sudan to evaluate the success of U.S. air strikes. The orbits of U.S. reconnaissance overheads are primarily set for Asia and Eastern Europe, while agreements with the Saudis negate U-2s stationed there from being involved. The SR-71 carries all-weather radar and cameras and has air refueling capability, which the U-2 lacks. Unlike satellites, which are fixed and predictable, the SR-71 is neither. With the SR-71 inoperable, the Air Force motto, "Global Power — Global Reach" rings patently false.

In an August 21 response to congressional Blackbird supporters, the DOD comptroller general claimed, "Our imagery requirements are better met with current and planned airborne and space-based systems." The truth is that the void left by the Blackbird will not be filled for 5-7 years. Without it, the Air Force has no penetrating capability and no imagery requirements.

The plane's annual budget of \$39 million is an affordable insurance policy to protect the U.S. and its allies during current tensions with Iraq, and in conflict-ridden regions such as the Korean Peninsula and the Middle East. Two CINC commanders petitioned for the plane last year in well-known trouble spots and were rebuffed by the Air Force, despite the Joint Chiefs having given approval to the requests. The plane, despite the vetoed funds, can be reconstituted in two weeks. Congress should move quickly to recommission the nation's premier spy plane to close the dangerous gap in intelligence collection and to protect American pilots at risk in Iraqi skies.

Rep. J. Dennis Hastert, Republican of Illinois, is chief deputy whip and chairman of the National Security Subcommittee of Government Reform and Oversight. Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon, California Republican, serves on the House Committee on National Security.

The Washington Times
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1998

Economies of Scale

Microcredit Arrives

In Africa, but Can It Match Asian Success?

In One Village, a Push to Get Loans to the 'Very Poor' Is Daunting but Pays Off

Outhouses as an Indicator

By KEN WELLS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
SEKORORO, South Africa — In this place of abundant sunshine and scarce opportunity, Nurse Leshabane had lived for years in a cycle of subsistence, surviving on odd jobs and the charity of family and friends.

Then this spring, hope arrived at her door in the form of Ben Nkuna. He couldn't



Nurse Leshabane

offer a job; there are virtually none to be had in this dusty village of tin shacks and grass huts in South Africa's Northern Province, one of the country's most impoverished regions. But if she could find three or four friends willing to go in with her, Mr. Nkuna would provide money to start small businesses.

This wasn't an offer of charity: Ms. Leshabane and her friends would be expected to repay the money in regular quarterly installments at an interest rate of about 20%, slightly below South Africa's prime rate at the time. After some reluctance, even fear — many Africans, by nature, avoid credit — she accepted the offer.

Today, Ms. Leshabane operates a tiny vending stand at a busy Sekororo crossroads, selling fruit and a kind of porridge called *pap* to passersby. And for the first time in her life, she has a steady income, however small, to help support her extended family of 11. "I thought it was some kind of robbery," says Ms. Leshabane of Mr. Nkuna and his associates. "But this has changed my life."

No robber or loan shark, Mr. Nkuna represents the Small Enterprise Foundation, a nonprofit organization in the vanguard of those bringing "microcredit" to Africa. Known also as microfinance, the practice provides small amounts of start-up capital to the abjectly poor as a way of helping them to bootstrap their way out of poverty. The notion has made some headway in Asia, where almost 13 million people living below the World Bank's official poverty line — defined as those subsisting on \$1 a day or less — participate in microcredit programs.

But the concept is relatively new to Africa — and, its backers say, critically important for a continent long ravaged by war, drought, disease and corruption, and mired in the seemingly intractable poverty that often accompanies those things. Though many nations, particularly in southern Africa, have swapped revolution and chaos for peace and democracy, they haven't yet been able to expand their economies fast enough to absorb their staggering numbers of poor and unemployed. Even South Africa, a country of 42 million and unquestionably the shining light of the region, has an unemployment rate of almost 50% among its black majority — and more than 200,000 new job seekers flood into the market each year.

Moreover, high illiteracy rates, the lingering scars of colonialism and, in some countries, scarce resources or inadequate infrastructure argue against the kind of manufacturing boom that has brought millions of jobs to Asia over the past four decades. Here in the Northern Province, for example, a static farm industry and some logging and tourism underpin an economy that still leaves 64% of the region's population below the poverty line. There is little chance that a job-generating Asian-style "miracle" will lift it from its economic morass anytime soon.

"It would be nice to think about bringing lots of jobs to this region," says John de Wit, founder of the Small Enterprise Foundation, or SEF, which has its headquarters in the verdant farming community of Tzaneen, about 60 miles south the border with Zimbabwe. "But realistically, we have to think loans."

That view gets support from Alistair Hodgett of Microcredit Summit, an organization based in Washington, D.C., whose mission is to nurture and track microfinance programs around the globe: "Microcredit isn't a panacea for Africa's poverty." But given the continent's problems and its prospects, "it needs to be in the African tool kit."

In fact, microcredit advocates have an ambitious goal — to reach 100 million of the world's 1.6 billion poorest families, as defined by the World Bank, with self-employment loans by the year 2005. With only about 15 million currently in microcredit programs, and the vast majority of those in Asia, much of that goal will have to be met in Africa, where only about 1.2 million are enrolled now. "If we don't

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succeed in Africa," says Mr. Hodgett, "much of hullabaloo over microcredit will have been unjustified."

Which is why Mr. Hodgett and others are watching SEF's program in Sekororo and numerous surrounding villages with keen interest, and with an eye toward perhaps using it as a model for spreading the microcredit concept throughout Africa. Of about 230 such projects already operating on the continent, SEF's, while not the largest, is perhaps the most successful by two vital measurements. Its loan default rate, key to the success of all microcredit programs, is microscopic: only seven defaults loans out of more than 21,000 loans to date. That's all the more remarkable since its 7,000-plus clients, like virtually all microcredit borrowers, had neither a bank account nor a credit history before they joined the system.

SEF also has done better than others in getting capital into the hands of what Mr. de Wit calls the "very poor" — those who get by on half or less of the 850 rand (about \$145) a month considered the poverty line for a family of five in South Africa.

Daunting and Labor-Intensive

But a close look at SEF's programs also underscores how daunting and labor-intensive these projects are to build and administer, even as proponents struggle with external problems — chief among them, the chronic need to raise capital to provide loans. They must also fend off the criticisms of some traditional aid groups that don't like microcredit precisely because it isn't charity, and because they consider the unsubsidized interest rates often charged to microcredit borrowers to be extortionate.

Such criticisms miss the point, according to microcredit advocates such as Donna Katzin, director of Shared Interest, a U.S. group that helps secure funding for South African microcredit projects. Almost all microcredit programs are run by nonprofit enterprises like SEF that do, when they can, tap into grants and donations from foundations or corporations to help cut costs to borrowers, Ms. Katzin notes. "But subsidies will never be available at the scale needed to adequately address African poverty," she says. Beyond that, the virtue of microcredit, she contends, is that its small-finance approach is tied to the very notion that the huge sums required to make a real dent in global poverty are ultimately available only in commercial credit markets.

To tap such markets usually requires microcredit lenders to borrow their funds at the prime rate in the countries where they operate, then mark them up slightly to try to cover their costs. But consider the alternative. "In villages in South Africa, for example, the only alternative to the poor is the local loan shark, who lends at interest rates of 400% to 500% a year," Ms. Katzin says.

Mr. Hodgett of the Microcredit Summit adds that while programs based on charity, welfare and disaster relief still have a place, "they have not eradicated poverty. But if you make ending poverty a commercially attractive proposition, you actually might get somewhere."



John de Wit

A Morning Meeting

On a sunny day in Sekororo, the pace of progress is both slow and edifying to Mr. Nkuna, the SEF field officer, as he comes for a morning to attend a meeting of a Tshomisano credit group that includes Nurse Leshabane. *Tshomisano* is a Zulu word that means "working together," and it is SEF's name for its program for the poorest of the poor.

Like almost all African microcredit sponsors, SEF has borrowed some of its ideas from the experience of Asian microcredit providers—such as Bangladesh's Grameen Bank, which found that loans made to individuals have a much higher default rate than loans made to communal groups. From this springs SEF's requirement that it will lend only to groups of four or five members; it further requires that all of them be friends and, when possible, neighbors, and it makes the group the ultimate guarantor of each of its members.

These loans start small—300 rand, or about \$50, per individual for first-time borrowers. This means that a group of four just starting out, such as Ms. Leshabane's, is eligible for 1,200 rand, with an understanding that the proceeds will be divided equally. "But this way, everyone understands that they are responsible for everyone else," Mr. Nkuna explains. "And you do not want to be the person who, without good reason, lets down your friends and neighbors. You must walk by them every day. So you work very hard and pay your debt."

To this mix, SEF has added some African ritual, requiring each of its village credit groups to elect leaders and to hold regular public meetings at which its borrowers must, among other things, pay their loan installments in the presence of the rest of the group. At the meeting Mr. Nkuna is attending, 30 Tshomisano members, including Ms. Leshabane, are seated in their best dresses on a grassy patch in front of a small village center, next-door to the compound where Sekororo's chief lives with his three wives. And here, as in almost all African microcredit programs, the borrowers are all women. Many of the men in this village of about 1,000 families are forced to move away to find work; beyond that, African men generally consider the occupations generated by microcredit—vending or crafts-making—to be beneath them, Mr. Nkuna explains.

A Prayer and a Pledge

The Sekororo meeting begins punctually and, like all such meetings, opens with a prayer and then a pledge, recited with the whole group standing, in which each member renews an earlier vow to repay her loans. Then Mavis Malale, the chairwoman, calls up the groups, which have been busy sorting out their simple account books and counting out their money on the grass. As each pays, and then donates a small amount of money to a communal savings fund, the others applaud.

When that is done, those seeking repeat loans must rise and make a public application; this, in turn, must be seconded by another group member, who has been assigned to visit the applicant's business as a sort of independent auditor, observing

turnover and customer traffic. Repeat borrowers, such as Grace Mogale, whose once-tiny vending stall has grown into a full-fledged *spaza*, or convenience shop, can borrow up to 1,800 rand if the group deems them fit.

Mrs. Mogale gets up and makes an impassioned plea for the money, saying she is planning to add chicken and beer to her growing inventory of items. She sits down beaming after the group, recognizing her as perhaps the unparalleled entrepreneur in the village, quickly approves her loan. The meeting goes for about 2½ hours before breaking up; Mr. Nkuna will soon move on to another village for the next one.

If the effort to keep these programs running seems painstaking, it is nothing, in Mr. de Wit's view, to the major challenge he faces: Finding clients like Ms. Leshabane. The 37-year-old Mr. de Wit came to microcredit from an engineering background, thinking he would immerse himself in disaster-relief work after collecting his degree from the University of Cape Town in the early 1980s. Gradually, though, through an aid group he worked with, he learned of the Grameen Bank's involvement in microcredit and was determined to see if its model could be applied to Africa. After a few false starts and one outright disaster—his first microcredit lending program closed when its default rate climbed to 30%—he began to add the African flourishes that have made his programs successful. He ended up in the Northern Province after realizing that it was a place so poor that "people are willing to take a job on a farm" for the salary of a monthly bag of cornmeal.

Ignorance and Shame

Still, what bothered him was walking through villages and seeing how many of the poor he had obviously missed and "wondering why they were not joining," he recalls. Mr. de Wit began investigating, and the findings were revealing: Surveys showed that most of the people who bothered to respond to traditional appeals, such as leaflets, or word of mouth, generally were people who already were at least marginally self-employed or who had previous experience in obtaining capital.

The very poor, however, usually live in ignorance and shame, and "they are afraid to take a loan because they are afraid to make a mistake," Mr. de Wit says. Recognizing that, "I realized we had to go after them more aggressively."

The result is Tshomisano, which is founded on good old-fashioned shoe leather: Mr. de Wit sent SEF canvassers into the villages to do literal house-by-house surveys, using criteria gleaned from the villagers themselves. The moderately poor, for example, live in shacks with outside toilets; the poor will have no toilet at all.

Canvassers also looked at children. Again, the moderately poor will put their kids in school uniforms, which, though not mandatory in the public schools here, are considered a mark of respectability in this proud place, where many mothers keep their children at home rather than sending them to school in rags. Kids without uniforms indicated a poor family. This intelligence was then cross-checked with a committee of knowledgeable villagers, who

went over the houses and the children by one. "Things can change. A woman who has lost her husband may live in a nice house, but she is suddenly in the ranks of the very poor," Mr. de Wit explains. "We

didn't want to miss her."

Indeed, except for such an effort, Ms. Leshabane might have been missed, shuffling as she did for years, with few prospects, between the houses of relatives. She was glad to be found. Now she can afford, among other things, school uniforms for her two children. "I feel very happy for the first time in a while," she says.

2/2

BC-CLINTON-SCANDAL-HILLARY

Mrs. Clinton campaigns in Colorado for Democrats

By Judith Crosson

SHERIDAN, Colo., Sept 24 (Reuters) - Protesters screamed ``Jail slick Willy'' on Thursday as they tried to drown out the voices of school children singing for Hillary Rodham Clinton as she campaigned for Democrats in Colorado.

But if she was upset by the protesters outside Fort Logan elementary school and the threat of impeachment that President Bill Clinton faces she wasn't showing it.

Instead, she exhorted Colorado voters to send lawmakers like Democratic Senate candidate Dottie Lamm to Washington who have promised to give education top priority. Lamm has an uphill battle against the only American Indian in Congress, Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, who was initially elected as a Democrat but switched to the Republican Party in mid-term.

``There is no more significant matter in this election,'' Mrs. Clinton told officials and parents at the school in a working class neighbourhood just outside Denver.

But indirectly she did take a stab at the Republican controlled Congress.

``Congress doesn't have time to work on bills about modernising schools or increasing the number of teachers to lower class size. Congress doesn't have time to deal with the important issues that confront our country,'' she said with a smile.

``They'd rather spend their time dividing our country, diverting our resources, doing anything but focusing on the problems of America,'' she said. Mrs. Clinton flew to Seattle after her Denver appearance.

The House of Representatives Judiciary Committee will vote on Oct. 5 or 6 on whether to launch a formal impeachment inquiry against President Bill Clinton.

Committee Chairman Henry Hyde, an Illinois Republican, said if the committee approved the inquiry, the full House would vote on the measure a few days later, probably on Oct. 8 or 9.

While the first lady ignored protesters holding signs saying ``It takes a village to raise an idiot'' and ``Foot the Bill'' others were not so pleased.

``She's here to see kids. It's rude and ill-mannered,'' Ilona Smith told reporters in explaining why she repeatedly yelled out in a loud voice ``hang in there, Hillary,'' as Mrs. Clinton left the school.

About a dozen protesters led by conservative Christian broadcaster Bob Enyart stood outside the school. ``Hillary Clinton is teaching women that if your husband fools around 'Just shut up and take it,''' Enyart said.

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 09/24/98 at 20:36EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 09/25/98 at 09:39EDT ****

AM-WA--Mrs. Clinton-West, Bjt,540 Solo first lady stumps for Washington
Demos

AP Photos

By DAVID AMMONS= AP Political Writer=

SEATTLE (AP) First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Democrats' most popular campaign star now that her husband is hobbled by a sex scandal, accused congressional Republicans Thursday night of being ``too busy doing stuff that doesn't amount to a hill of beans in the long-term future of America.''

Mrs. Clinton, mid-way through a five-state tour aimed at helping congressional candidates, told a cheering partisan audience that Democrats need to gain more seats in Congress in order to protect many of the economic and social gains her husband has brought to the country.

The barb at the Republican leaders was her only apparent reference to the possible impeachment inquiry being considered against her husband. She also called Washington, D.C. ``some kind of parallel universe.''

Her press secretary, Marsha Berry, confirmed that Mrs. Clinton has been personally contacting Democratic members of Congress to lobby on behalf of President Clinton.

``She has called to tell people how much she supports the president and how her husband has done a great job as president,' ' Berry said.

Berry said she did not know how many people Mrs. Clinton had contacted.

Mrs. Clinton offered a forceful defense of the administration's policies, frequently referring to ``the President'' and added ``the President's policies and the Democrats' policies are paying off for America. We are on the right path.''

She said by any objective measure, the country is doing well economically and more and more people are moving out of poverty. The crime rate is falling and the welfare system has been overhauled, she said.

Mrs. Clinton, who has repeatedly visited this heavily Democratic city, was the headliner at a fund-raising dinner for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and a reception at a glass-blowing studio for congressional hopeful Jay Inslee.

Sponsors said the two events raised about \$250,000. Vice President Al Gore, who has campaigned here twice this month, attended a pre-event reception on Sept. 13.

At least three of Washington's nine congressional districts are on the Democrats' national target list of Republican seats they might pick up: the 3rd District, where Brian Baird is considered the early favorite to pick off the state's only open seat; the 1st, where Inslee came close to incumbent Republican Rick White in a test-run primary last week; and the 2nd, where Grethe Cammermeyer is given an outside shot at defeating GOP Rep. Jack Metcalf, who barely won re-election in 1996.

House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt also has campaigned in the state, as he looks for a net gain of 11 seats across the country. That would catapult the Democrats back into the majority they enjoyed for the 40 years before the ``Republican Revolution'' of 1994.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the Republicans also have targeted Washington and say their only real concern is the possibility of losing in the 3rd, where Linda Smith is leaving to run for the U.S. Senate.

Mrs. Clinton, who began her campaign swing Wednesday in New York, visited Colorado earlier on Thursday. On Friday, she was scheduled to campaign in Oregon and California.

**** filed by:APW-(WA) on 09/24/98 at 23:55EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 09/25/98 at 09:37EDT ****

AM-Mrs Clinton, 1st Ld-Writethru, a0834,0359

PRECEDDE Sheridan, Colo.

Solo first lady criticizes Congress, calls D.C. 'parallel universe'

Eds: UPDATES throughout with Mrs. Clinton's comments in Seattle.

AP Photos

By DAVID AMMONS= Associated Press Writer=

SEATTLE (AP) First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Democrats' most popular campaign star now that her husband is hobbled by a sex scandal, criticized congressional Republicans late Thursday for 'doing stuff that doesn't amount to a hill of beans in the long-term future of America.'

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At an earlier stop in Sheridan, Colo., Mrs. Clinton criticized Congress for dividing the nation and ignoring important issues such as education as she toured a 75-year-old elementary school.

**** filed by:APE(--) on 09/25/98 at 00:02EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 09/25/98 at 09:36EDT ****

PM-CO--Mrs. Clinton-West, Bjt,625

Mrs. Clinton deplores lack of school funding, criticizes Congress

AP Photos

By STEVEN K. PAULSON= Associated Press Writer=

SHERIDAN, Colo. (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton received a standing ovation from school and business leaders after she jumped on Congress, accusing the nation's leaders of dropping the ball on funding for education and diverting badly needed resources.

While she wasn't specific, it was clear that she was referring to the time lawmakers are devoting to pending impeachment proceedings against her husband.

After touring a second-grade classroom at the 75-year-old Fort Logan Elementary School on Tuesday, she praised teachers and students for their achievements, despite a lack of funding for better classrooms.

"Many people in decision-making positions are not paying attention to what actually works in public education," she told a gathering of school and business leaders. "There is no more important issue facing our country than education."

Mrs. Clinton was greeted by protesters with signs saying "Time to foot the Bill" and "It takes a village to raise an idiot," which she ignored.

But she made a passing reference to Congress and its preoccupation with impeachment proceedings in the Monica Lewinsky affair, saying Congress was "too busy" to do anything about education.

"Congress doesn't have time to deal with the important issues that confront our country," she said. "There is no more important issue facing our country than education."

"They'd rather spend their time dividing our country, diverting our resources, doing anything but focusing on the real problems of America," she told a small gathering of local school and business leaders.

Ken Reiter, schools superintendent, said 90 percent of the 350 students in the school received low income lunch subsidies.

He said the school opted to spend money on education rather than on building new classrooms. The school hired more teachers and reduced class size to 17 pupils per classroom, leaving little money to replace damaged windows and doors. However, student test scores rose two levels in a year's time, showing the money was well spent, he said.

"It's a sad reminder in our nation and state that some children are not as valued as others," he said. "Our achievement may be in jeopardy."

Mrs. Clinton asked for copy of Reiter's speech to take back to Washington in her push for better funding for education.

She also took time to tour a second-grade classroom, shaking hands with the 10 boys and seven girls and praising their teachers.

Noting that one child wore a Red Sox shirt, she said "I'm a Cubs fan. I kind of like Sammy Sosa."

"It was fun meeting her," said Anthony Lucas, who noted that he also liked Sosa because "he hit long home runs."

Earlier in the day, Mrs. Clinton attended a fundraising reception at \$200 a person, and a luncheon at \$999 a plate to raise money for U.S. Senate candidate Dottie Lamm and Gail Schoettler, the Democratic candidate for governor.

Bob Enyart, who held up a sign with 200 red, white and blue balloons outside the school saying "Time to foot the Bill," said Mrs. Clinton is sending the wrong message by not speaking out about her husband's actions.

"Hillary is teaching women that if your husband cheats on you, sit back and take it. That sets back the cause of women 100 years," said Enyart, of the Derby Bible Church in Commerce City.

Mrs. Clinton praised her husband three times during her speech, noting that the president felt it was unacceptable for teachers and students to work in substandard facilities.

She said members of Congress need to get out and see the dilapidated schools she has visited, with plaster falling off the ceiling and cracks in

the floors.

"They could not do that and the result is, you won't see them (here)," she said.

Amid scandal, first lady is becoming the preferred Clinton at fund-raisers

By Zachary Coile
SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

SAN FRANCISCO — Democratic candidates needing fund-raising help for the last six weeks of the campaign have only one name to turn to: Clinton.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, that is. With President Clinton struggling to stay in office, Democrats are asking for the first lady, whose support in polls has grown since her husband admitted having an affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Mrs. Clinton launched a three-day national campaign tour Wednesday by campaigning for Rep. Charles E. Schumer, who is the Democratic nominee for Senate in New York, seeking to unseat GOP Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato.

Today, the first lady will be the featured guest at a \$250-a-person fund-raiser in San Francisco for Sen. Barbara Boxer, California Democrat. The event is expected to raise at least \$150,000 and put the media spotlight on Mrs. Boxer, who polls show is in a dead heat in her race against Republican state Treasurer Matt Fong.

The president also will be in the

Bay Area, but at a lower profile, if bigger money, event: a \$25,000-a-couple fund-raiser in San Jose for the Democratic National Committee.

The first lady's visit is welcome news to Mrs. Boxer, who has been dogged throughout the campaign by questions about the scandal. Though Mrs. Boxer has called the president's behavior wrong and indefensible, she has said she still supports his policies and has tentatively scheduled a fund-raiser with him in late October.

Mrs. Clinton's emergence as the Democrats' star fund-raiser comes, paradoxically, as she undergoes the embarrassment of seeing her husband's sex life made public.

"My personal opinion is that she would be the hottest ticket on Earth at this moment for the Democrats," said Gale Kaufman, a Democratic political consultant. "But this may also be the moment in time where she would be most resistant [to public events]."

Mrs. Clinton always has been a strong draw at party fund-raisers in California. Her most fervent supporters — liberals, feminists and partisan Democrats — re-

mained loyal even when her standing in the polls was low.

But the onslaught of the Starr report and the president's televised admission of infidelity have made her a more popular figure even among those less likely to support her, including moderate Democrats, Republicans and men.

"I just think people, regardless of how they come down on the conduct of this president, and I don't care what gender they are, really feel for her," Miss Kaufman said.

A CNN-Gallup-USA Today poll last week showed 61 percent of likely voters surveyed said they had a favorable view of Mrs. Clinton, while 33 percent had an unfavorable view.

"Women who have always liked her, still like her," said pollster Del Ali of Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research. "Women who disliked her may even feel sorry for her. She really hasn't changed her public behavior."

But Steve Merksamer, a Republican lawyer and strategist who ran Bob Dole's 1996 campaign in California, noted that the current vote of sympathy for the first lady might not translate into real political power.



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton chats with a second-grader during a visit yesterday to Fort Logan Elementary School in Englewood, Colo.

"If you can believe that she did not know about [the affair], then she shares something in common with the Congress and the American people, and that's that they all were betrayed by the same man," Mr. Merksamer said. "That makes her a sympathetic figure. That doesn't necessarily make her a popular figure."

Mr. Clinton's problems have created a quandary for Democratic candidates: They need his fund-

raising muscle, yet fear his support could give their opponents ammunition and may alienate some voters. After the Starr report was released, Maryland's Democratic Gov. Parris N. Glendening canceled a fund-raiser with Mr. Clinton, fearing the association could hurt him in a tight race for re-election.

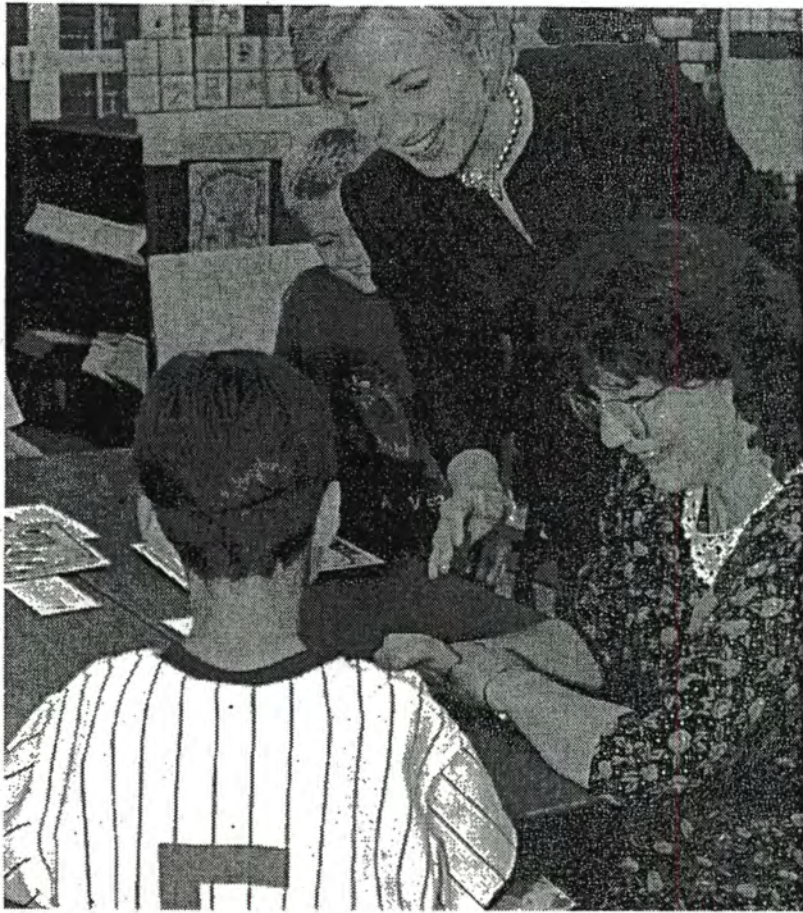
Inviting Mrs. Clinton provides a solution.

• Distributed by Scripps Howard.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1998

A20



Reuters

Hillary Rodham Clinton talked yesterday with a student, Anthony Lucero, 8, and a student teacher, Carol Shine, in Sheridan, Colo.

News with tape cues

...from the UPI Broadcast Wire and the UPI Radio Network

Call 202-898-8125 for details.

-0-

The eye of Hurricane Georges remains close to 50 miles southeast of Key West, Florida, but its strong winds and rain have been pounding southern parts of the state for several hours this morning.

Georges is producing 100 mile-an-hour winds. Eight counties are under a hurricane warning.

Reporter Mike Hibblen is in Miami:

(UPI AUDIO CUT 71 :17 A ``...storm moves through.'')

Authorities in the Florida Keys say they don't want residents and tourists on the roads when the storm hits. The storm has killed at least 250 people in the Caribbean this week; a lot of them were in the Dominican Republic.

Residents of Florida's west coast are closely watching the advance of Georges as tropical storm warnings have been posted to points well north of Tampa. Those who have decided to evacuate are finding there are few hotel rooms available in central Florida.

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Members of the House Judiciary Committee are again going behind closed doors to decide if more evidence from special prosecutor Ken Starr's report on the president should be made public.

Meantime, UPI's Don Fulsom reports first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton might soon take a more active role in her husband's defense:

(UPI AUDIO CUT 3 :44 V-F White House)

-0-

More politicians across the country are trying to pass laws that protect the public from the virus that causes AIDS. The New York Times reports at least 29 states have laws making it a crime to knowingly transmit or expose others to HIV.

One out of three of those states has passed the laws in the past two years. Similar measures could become law in 16 other states.

-0-

Stocks have nose-dived in Tokyo as bank and blue chip shares were dumped on pessimism from squabbling over the government's financial reform plan. The key Nikkei index fell almost 482 points at 13-thousand- 723.

-0-

Stock prices plunged in New York yesterday as investors worried about the health of the U.S. financial services industry. UPI's Ed Silk reports:

(UPI AUDIO CUT 19 :35 V ``...I'm E-S.'')

-0-

Los Angeles police say three fourth-graders who were hospitalized this week, after becoming dizzy and having hallucinations at school, ate the drug LSD. Police say there's no sign of the drug in the systems of 11 other children.

The nine and ten-year-olds were rushed to the hospital Wednesday after getting sick during class at the city's Haddon Avenue Elementary School. Police say a fourth-grade girl found a roll of breath mints on a street corner near school that was spiked with LSD and she passed it around to her friends. All of the children have been released from the hospital.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1998

The New York Times

THE PRESIDENT

Clintons Call Lawmakers to Gauge Support and Seek Comfort

By JAMES BENNET

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 — President Clinton and his wife, Hillary, have been contacting members of Congress as they seek support and comfort during the President's predicament, White House and Congressional aides said today.

Mr. Clinton has made many more telephone calls to Capitol Hill than Mrs. Clinton has, aides said. So far, the conversations appear to be aimed more at taking the temperature of allies, they said, than at reaching out to members who might be wavering.

The President has called Senator Tom Daschle, the minority leader, but he has not called Representative Richard A. Gephardt, the minority leader, who has recently tempered his initial criticism of Mr. Clinton, said a person close to the Democratic leadership.

"You'd think he'd be on the phone with Gephardt at least once in a while to say thank you if nothing else," this person said. "But he hasn't been." One senior White House official said Mr. Clinton had spoken to Mr. Gephardt on the telephone recently.

In most cases, Mrs. Clinton has simply returned calls made to her, said her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry. "She has certainly talked to some

members, making the case that she's very proud of the President," Ms. Berry said.

The President has called a number of friends in the Senate, Congressional aides said, including Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey and Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont. One White House aide said that Mr. Clinton was calling as many as four or five members of Congress a day, including some Republicans but that the lawmakers were generally keeping the conversations private.

Leon E. Panetta, a former White House chief of staff, who has been informally advising the White House in recent days, said the President needed to convey two messages to members of Congress.

Mr. Panetta said the President must assure them that he would not cave in to the Republicans on Democratic goals for health care, education and Social Security. And second, he said, they need to hear that the President is not "just moping around" but "has a sense that he cannot only survive this but he can survive it in a way that gives him the ability to lead."

Mr. Clinton met this morning with the Congressional Black Caucus and conveyed those messages by discussing their cherished issues, including help for black farmers.

Representative Maxine Waters, a

California Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee, emerged from the session to declare, "We think that this Administration is doing a good job dealing with the issues of concern to this country in the middle of whatever is going on."

The White House has rebounded in recent days together with Mr. Clinton's standing in the polls — so much so that some aides to Mr. Clinton are worried that he and his party might overplay their hand.

Asked whether the President would go along with an agreement that permitted him to escape impeachment with censure and some other penalty, one Clinton associate said, "I don't know, and the more he sees these good numbers it's hard to know where he would be."

Mr. Clinton seemed confident and determined today in the Rose Garden as he used a shouted question about whether he saw "any way out of an impeachment inquiry" to present himself as preoccupied with more elevated matters. Recent polls have shown public impatience with the inquiry into Mr. Clinton's relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

"The right thing to do is for us all to focus on what's best for the American people," he said. "And the right thing for me to do is what I'm doing. I'm working on leading our country and I'm working on healing my fam-

ily."

The President went on to call for "progress over partisanship" and "people over politics."

"That's the way out," he said. "The way out here, and the only way out, is for people in Washington to do what the folks in America want them to do."

In an opinion article to be published in The New York Times on Friday, four experienced Washington lawyers suggest a way out for Mr. Clinton himself — censure and a fine. Two of the writers, Lloyd N. Cutler and Abner J. Mikva, have served as White House counsels under the President, and Mr. Cutler is informally advising the White House in this scandal. One person close to the writers, who insisted on anonymity, said they had acted independently of the White House.

White House aides said they did not want to appear to be trying to negotiate a deal, but they were quietly sounding out members of Congress and others about how to do so.

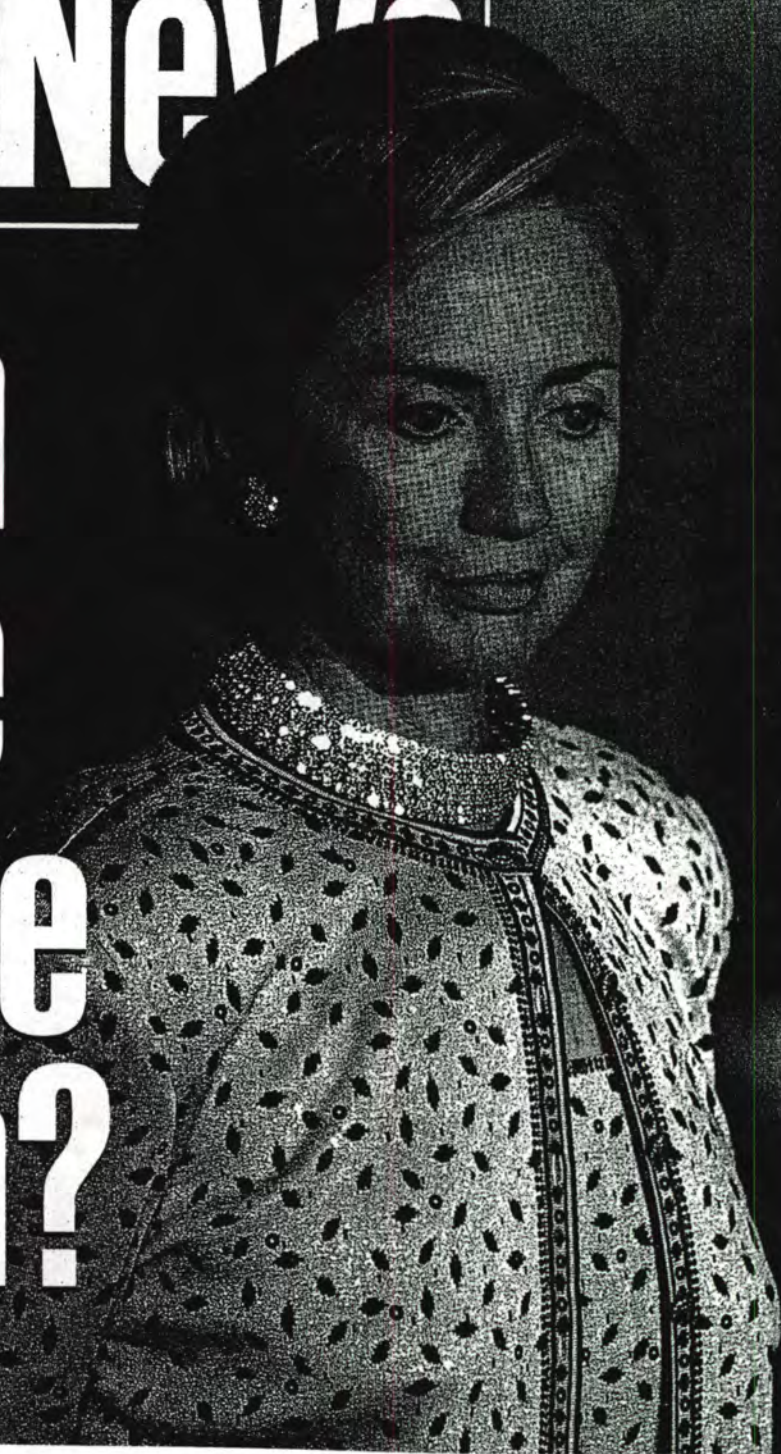
Mrs. Clinton, in a conversation with Representative James P. Moran, Democrat of Virginia, argued that the President's mistakes did not warrant impeachment, the Capitol Hill newspaper Roll Call reported today. Mr. Moran declined to comment on his conversations with Mrs. Clinton today, his aides said.

EXCLUSIVE POLL: HOW AMERICANS VIEW HILLARY CLINTON

U.S. News & World Report

SEPTEMBER 28, 1998

Can She Save Him?



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

SEPTEMBER 28, 1998

Can She Save Him?

One major problem confronting the first lady: A poll shows that the public has a very cynical view of her, too

BY KENNETH T. WALSH

Hillary Rodham Clinton is back on duty with the shovel brigade. Her simmering anger at Bill Clinton has been overtaken by her fury at Kenneth Starr, and she once again is taking part in strategy sessions on how to clean up the political mess created by the Lewinsky affair. Last week, she joined her husband and his advisers in brainstorming ways to prevent disastrous losses by their party in November's elections. In a phone conversation the Clintons had with one prominent Democrat, she issued rapid-fire instructions while the president meekly deferred to her. She also met with Democratic congresswomen, vowing to campaign for them and defend administration policies.

But there now is a difference in her damage-control approach. She is less eager for battle, some advisers say, because her husband's conduct has curbed her options. And she sees little chance that anyone can keep the Republican-controlled Congress from launching impeachment proceedings.

Most important, since the president's statement

that he misled her and the nation about his encounters with Monica Lewinsky, Mrs. Clinton knows she no longer can command a high moral ground on his behalf. His confession drained much of the vinegar from her attitude. "Like most everyone else at the White House," says a confidant of the Clintons, "she is baffled by what to do next."

A *U.S. News* poll shows the limits on what the first lady *can* do. Americans, the survey indicates, have deeply cynical opinions of her motives: They tend to think that she knew about Lewinsky all along, that the Clinton marriage is one of convenience, that she doesn't love her husband and just wants the power and glory of being first lady. But they also believe she should stay with him, although they suspect she will divorce him once his presidency ends.

The official view from the White House is much different. "She supports him. She loves him. She forgives him," says Marsha Berry, the first lady's press secretary. "She remains committed to her marriage and her family."

But Republican pollster Ed Goetas, who conducted the *U.S. News* survey with Democrat Celinda Lake,

■ How do you view the Clintons' relationship?

- 43% A practical business and political relationship
- 18% A loving marriage that has troubles
- 13% A marriage held together for the country
- 10% A marriage kept together for their daughter's sake

U.S. News & World Report

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PRESERVATION



SEPTEMBER 28, 1998

believes the first lady will have a hard time appearing so supportive. "Voters are satisfied with the way Hillary handles certain policy issues, like women's issues, but they recognize that the relationship she shares with her husband is more of a business partnership than a loving marriage," Goeas says. "More and more voters feel she is motivated purely by her own political interests and not what is best for her family." Adds Lake: "Americans think [the president] did something wrong to them, not just to his family, and there's little Hillary Clinton can do to change that."

Mrs. Clinton is in a quandary over what should be done to ease her husband's plight. If he yields to pressure from Congress and the news media to stop "legal hairsplitting" and admit lying under oath, she is convinced that Starr will try to indict him. Relying on the mercy of the independent counsel and the GOP, she tells friends, would be folly.

Yet the first lady feels that, while she will travel the country in support of her husband's public record, she is not ready to defend his private behavior. That, she believes, would make her look phony, foolish, and desperate to keep power. She agrees with aides who argue that speaking out in detail on the president's private conduct won't convert any Republicans or pundits who turned against him. "It would only subject her to more humiliation," says a confidant.

She believes it is up to the president to turn things around for himself, friends say. And her advice to him is to avoid discussing the Lewinsky affair. Talk instead, she urges, about what's important to core constituencies, especially women and African-Americans: the healthy economy, his support for affirmative action, improved health care, and more federal aid to education.

Starr-stung. What most offended Mrs. Clinton about Starr's report to Congress were the "gratuitous" details of her husband's liaisons. She believes, friends say, that Starr designed his report to inflict maximum damage on the president and the first lady personally, to drive a wedge between them, and undermine their marriage.

Mrs. Clinton was upset that Starr's account had Clinton telling Lewinsky he had "hundreds of affairs" earlier in his marriage. But what angered her the most was Starr's description of an emotional meeting between the president and a weeping Lewinsky on July 4, 1997. Clinton is quoted as telling his ex-intern that he wished he had more time for her and adding that when he was no longer president, he might be "alone." "And then I

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

SEPTEMBER 28, 1998

said something about . . . us sort of being together," Lewinsky told prosecutors. "I think I kind of said, oh, I think we'd be a good team . . . And he . . . jokingly said, well, what are we going to do when I'm 75 and I have to pee 25 times a day?"

Most of the first lady's views on the scandal are kept to herself. Some of her staff members are troubled that she won't even tell *them* how she feels. "The bunker mentality has set in in a big way," a friend says. Several presidential aides, according to a senior administration source, urged her in the past two weeks to "come out and bless him again" with a vigorous public defense. She angrily told them, through her own staff, to "back off." Instead, she will speak out publicly on her own terms and on her own timetable.

"What people see in her current response is a quiet dignity," says Democratic pollster Geoff Garin. "It gives her personally more credibility than if she gave a full-throated expression of support. . . . You get the impression of a woman looking at the full context of [her husband's] life, balancing the good and the bad."

Friends and advisers who met with the first lady last week came away with the impression that she was more "upbeat" than a month ago when her husband told the country he had strayed. "She is determined to maintain

her family, her privacy, and the Clinton presidency," says a prominent Democrat who talked with her.

Retaining control. The Starr report isn't her only dislike. She hates being portrayed as a victim because it runs counter to the image she wants to project of a strong, confident woman. In a way, says a friend, staying with her husband makes her less of a victim. "She retains more control that way," says an ally. "[She knows that] when this is over, she will have her reputation intact and he won't."

To cope, she immerses herself in her work and her causes. "Work is a comfort zone," says an adviser. "She retreats to it." In coming weeks she will campaign actively around the country—mostly without her husband—and focus on female candidates. This week, she travels to Col-

orado, Washington State, Oregon, and California. Next week, she visits Latin America, including a summit of first ladies in Chile.

She seems most at ease when she is far from Washington, on her own, shuttling from one cheering crowd to another without the entourage and ceremonial obligations that envelop her husband's trips. She delights in sitting in a swivel chair in her Air Force jet, surrounded by her staff, nearly all of them women, cracking jokes, talking about their families, and discussing issues. Her aides have a word for such experiences: "Hillaryland."

While the public sees Mrs. Clinton as a supportive partner praising the president's record, friends say that in private she remains angry at her husband. Their relationship is, according to one family friend, "brittle." Some news

photographers who constantly view the Clintons through their telephoto lenses long ago noticed that the couple never seemed particularly close. Once the two believe they are no longer in camera range, their hand-holding tends to stop, and they keep a distance from each other.

White House aides paint a different picture, a loving couple that openly displays affection through hugs and lingering looks—and a first lady who appears committed to her marriage despite her husband's transgressions.

Mrs. Clinton, says one friend, is "the most forgiving person I know." Pardoning others is a trait that springs from the first lady's Methodist belief that individuals should strive to improve the world by performing good works, struggling for social justice, loving everyone, and forgiving people for their weaknesses.

Her attitude also was shaped by an experience in the 1960s, when she was a teenager working with a Methodist group in Park Ridge, Ill. The congregation's youth minister, Don Jones, told the young people: "In the midst of life tragedy comes, and it strips away our illusions. Those moments are times to realize our potential, our possibilities." It is advice that Hillary Rodham took to heart. And it may have special relevance today for Hillary Clinton.

■ Americans who think it likely or very likely Hillary Clinton will divorce Bill Clinton when he leaves office:
Now: 55% April: 32%

■ Americans who think Hillary Clinton looked the other way as her husband cheated on her: 68%
Americans who think she was an unknowing victim: 20%

■ Americans' responses when asked at what point she found out about Clinton's relationship with Lewinsky:
37% say she knew all along
26% say when the story broke in January
13% say just before his speech in mid-August

U.S. News & World Report

SEPTEMBER 28, 1998



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For love or loyalty?

Conflicting views on her decision to stand by her man

BY VICTORIA POPE

First comes the high-octane smile, then the upward gaze. Then the pitch—"I am proud to present my husband"—as if Monica Lewinsky did not exist.

But the fact is that the doe-eyed former intern is alive and well at the Watergate, and videotapes of President Clinton testifying before the grand jury are making the rounds. Those realities make Hillary Clinton's on-camera persona excruciating, sometimes, to watch. "There's one good actress," says Lynne Larkin, a 40-year-old lawyer from Vero Beach, Fla. But Larkin understands the need for the first lady's pasteboard mask and applauds the self-control it reflects. "She is being so stoic. She could have played Diana, Princess of Wales, the elegant victim. But she has something to preserve. She is his partner in this and has to be businesslike. She has her 'vice president status' to think about."

In a new *U.S. News* poll, the first lady

emerges as a woman who is popular with men and women and widely admired for her loyalty to her husband. The poll, conducted by Democrat Celinda Lake and Republican Ed Goetz, shows that she remains a strong role model for many Americans at precisely the time her husband is not. It also shows that the public, at least for now, wants to see more of her, not less: Fifty-eight percent of those queried said the first lady should stay and work things out with her husband, even though, when asked what should happen if they or their spouse were to have an affair like the president's, only 49 percent chose the "stay and work it out" option. Despite this, 56 percent said it was either very likely or somewhat likely that Hillary Clinton will divorce her husband once he leaves the White House.

Few of those surveyed believe her loyalty is driven by personal attachment to the president. When asked why she put up with his behavior, 47 percent said she was motivated by public objectives—such as wanting to remain the first lady and enjoy-

ing policy making; 35 percent said it was for personal reasons, specifically love for her husband and concern about their daughter. One stark departure: Fifty-six percent of all African-Americans said she was staying in the relationship for love.

There is also a measure of cynicism. Sixty-eight percent of respondents said the first lady looked the other way when faced with her husband's betrayal; only 20 percent, by contrast, thought she was a victim. And most believe she knew about the affair well before the president's grand jury testimony.

The bulwark of the first lady's support

■ Women who see Hillary Clinton as a good role model: 66%

■ Men who see her as a good role model: 54%

CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT FOR USNEWS

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"Most first ladies are like Barbie dolls, cute wives and all. But Hillary has her own life outside of being first lady. She doesn't just do the charity thing."

—LAVERNE CHRISTIAN

has always been college-educated women, but now noncollege women have surpassed the college-educated group as her strongest supporters, the poll shows. This shift reflects the first lady's own odyssey from a sometimes prickly political wife who didn't want to be branded as merely a baker of cookies to a first lady who has responded to a personal crisis in a traditional rather than radical way.

Businesslike. These findings mostly square with the views of several dozen women interviewed by *U.S. News* reporters last week. Interestingly, some of those queried described Hillary Clinton in ways that might be construed as negative, especially when viewed through a feminist lens (Page 35). In the interviews, the word most associated with her was businesslike. The president's spouse is also

seen as a silent sufferer who harbors hopes of securing her proper place in history. But women, indeed all Americans, read Mrs. Clinton's actions in often contradictory ways. Her marriage is viewed by many as a sham; her public behavior contrived and calculated. But she is also

"I'd like to see her come out and be . . . more forthright about it . . . Maybe not rake him over the coals publicly but say, 'I'm not happy about this.' "

—JAN ZIMMERMAN

seen as someone who has stood by her man in the very way she swore not to in the 1992 campaign.

Confusion or not, few of the attributes ascribed to Hillary Clinton are perceived as minuses. Rather, they have enhanced her image in the eyes of many women. "I have more respect for her than I did before because she has held her head high," says Kris Mohn, 39, a supervisor at the Port of Seattle's American President Line. The longshoremen Mohn works with are staunchly behind President Clinton and blame the affair on Lewinsky, but she feels only qualified sorrow for the first lady. "She must have known all the time," Mohn says. "What a slimeball this guy was. Besides, she's extremely bright and extremely strong. It's Chelsea who needs a lot of attention in this situation. You know how girls feel about their daddies."

Instead of shunning Mrs. Clinton as a sellout, women admire her steely exterior. Where Bill Clinton seems to lack control, Hillary Clinton exudes it. She is seen as the responsible one, the grown-up, the headstrong adolescent. If anyone in the White House is acting presidential these days, women say, it's the first lady.

But that doesn't make it any easier to watch her on her public forays. For Jan Zimmerman, a Minneapolis travel consultant, the adoring look Hillary gives her husband "encompasses a lot of things. It's

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"[Hillary] can take a stand without divorcing him, but to say she's proud of him—that's another thing. She's kind of taking his tack and not telling the truth." —CAROLYN MOORE

not just loving him. It's loving where she's at. She's gotten to her position through her husband, so it's the love of the position, the love of the power, the love of things she can do that are worthwhile. Part of it is years of practice. I think she's known about these [affairs] for a long, long time." Zimmerman says when she sees Mrs. Clinton's picture-perfect poses, she cannot imagine herself choosing the kind of marriage that the first lady appears to have, and she isn't sure she could fake that kind of affection.

Many younger women find little sympathy with such views—and have definite ideas about what the first lady should do. "Leave him. Definitely leave him. I don't think I would stay just because he was the president," says Tara Esposito, 27, as she takes a lunch break outside New York's Rockefeller Plaza. "It's not the first time. It makes Americans look foolish. He's not a movie star. He's the president. She's still young. She could move on and she could make enough money by herself." A saleswoman and office manager for a Manhattan diamond retailer, Esposito lives in the Bronx and is single with no children. She is even tougher on Lewinsky: "I think she's trash. It doesn't matter if it's the president—he's a married man. It's her own fault."

Others of the 20-something generation

are most concerned about whether this affair will hobble the first lady. Tamsen Schultz, 24, who works for a private foundation in Cambridge, Mass., had been a fan of Hillary Clinton's since enrolling as a freshman at Mount Holyoke in 1992. "For a young woman starting at a wom-

■ Women who think Clinton is doing an excellent or good job on women's issues: 45%

■ Who think Clinton's actions have turned back the clock on what is considered acceptable treatment of women: 45%

■ Who think the scandal has hurt Clinton's credibility on women's issues like health care and equal pay: 34%

■ Women's response when asked what would have happened to Clinton if he were the head of a major company:
41% say he would have been fired
31% say he would have been reprimanded
22% say nothing would have happened

en's college," Schultz said, "Hillary was a role model of what women can be and can do. She was part of the reason I voted for Clinton. After Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush, her commitment to social change, her social conscience were so appealing." It was Schultz's good fortune to shake Hillary Clinton's hand at one of the first lady's first public speeches after the president's Oval Office *mea culpa* in August. "People were saying it was really ironic that Hillary's first public appearance [after Clinton's speech] was her talking about women's rights and role in society to a group of women, but I thought she was great," says Schultz.

Many women single out her direct involvement in the affairs of state as a salutary reshaping of the first lady's role. "Getting two for one," as President Clinton promised Americans would happen if they voted for him, has been a boon to the country. If anything, they wish she had carved out a wider brief.

Mohn believes that when the first lady spoke out on health care she was put down by White House advisers who didn't like the extent of

her power. "She was qualified to do a lot of these things on her own, but she had to accept a shirttails situation," she says.

If Mrs. Clinton is faulted at all, it is for her reluctance to be more open with the public. "I guess I'd like to see her come out and be a little more forthright about it, be a little more honest," says travel consultant Zimmerman, sitting on a park bench in Central Park during a recent visit to New York. "Maybe not rake him over the coals publicly but say, 'You know, I'm not happy about this. This doesn't make me happy. This doesn't make my family life real good. I am in some pain.' Have some of her own feelings."

Unguarded moment. And signs of defiance would also be welcome. When Schultz studied the television footage of Mrs. Clinton, she looked for signs of independence as well as composure. "I sometimes wonder how she can find that kind of happiness with him. I hope, for her sake, that it is sincere when she is beaming at him, laughing with him." But in an unguarded moment in one piece of footage, Schultz caught Mrs. Clinton rolling her eyes. "I must admit I did like her rolling her eyes. It was nice to see that reaction, that she was not happy with what he did. It showed that she can be angry with him but her anger doesn't get construed to mean that she is leaving him. He did

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something despicable within the marriage and she can choose to work through it."

Zimmerman says women really relate to emotion and become confused when Mrs. Clinton holds hers back. Carolyn Moore, a Denver kindergarten teacher, thinks the first lady wouldn't risk much by showing more emotion. "I think maybe she should speak out a little more. I think she's not saying what she really feels. ... She should say: 'I'm hurt too. I don't think he did what was right.' You can take a stand without divorcing him, but to say she's proud of him—that's another thing. ... She's kind of taking his tack and not telling the truth."

But no one wants her to revert to the helpmate behavior that made many former first ladies seem inaccessible to modern women. "Most first ladies are like Barbie dolls, cute wives and all," says LaVerne Christian, a systems analyst for an insurance company. Christian, 44 and African-American, is eating at Gladys' Luncheonette, a hangout for City Council members on Chicago's South Side. "But Hillary has her own life outside of being first lady. She doesn't just do the charity thing. I admire her."

Fellow Chicagoan and new mother Kaki Voss agrees. "In the past, there was a code of women who supported their men but in somewhat of a passive way," says Voss, 29, as she navigates the children's section at Barbara's Bookstore in upscale Old Town with 6-month-old Ella in tow. "Women would always do things to promote their husbands' efforts but in more of a token role. ... Until we have a female president, this is a good opportunity for women to show what she can do. This is different from first ladies of the past." Voss hopes that Americans will grow more open to an expanded role for future presidential spouses, especially when, as with Mrs. Clinton, the skills are in place. "I don't think I thought of [Hillary] as a copresident when I cast my own votes, but perhaps it will be something we see in our political futures. People will consider the wife's agenda like a vice president's."

But while praising Mrs. Clinton, Voss also respects the first lady for staying with her husband. "With the right help, they can get through something like this."

No one expects the first lady to escape

"I don't think I would stay just because he was the president. That's basically what it looks like to the public. It's not the first time. It makes Americans look foolish." —TARA ESPOSITO

emotionally unscathed from the scandal, but what of her political legacy? Will that survive? Voss ventures the guess that she will be remembered "as a woman who has been through this, known as the woman who stood her ground despite her husband's wrongdoing." Zimmerman is convinced that Mrs. Clinton won't manage to escape the taint of her husband's wrongdoings and that her place in the history books will be next to her husband's. "It is going to be as sorry as his is. Because of her knowing about it, maybe because of her not walking, maybe her settling—maybe she's going to look less human. More of a politi-

cal advocate and political woman, but less human."

If Bill Clinton taints his spouse with his own ignominy, the loss will be political as well as private, say a number of women interviewed. "Maybe it was a pipe dream, but I thought if people could get used to a first lady who asserted her power, they could also become more comfortable with electing more women to the House and Senate—and someday even elect a woman president," Schultz muses.

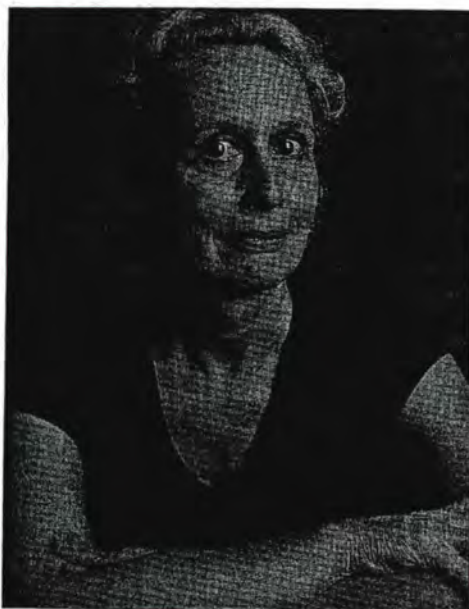
Indeed, given the stark message of the times—that political men seem to have trouble with fidelity—several women openly wondered whether the era of women in politics has arrived. Attorney Larkin, who worked in Congress and later as a case officer for the CIA, says that given the male conduct she saw in both of those work environments, she has no doubt that a large influx of women would have a salutary effect on our political culture. And she thanks the first lady for preparing the path. "I doubt if Hillary were president, that these sorts of things would happen. Women don't mess around a lot." ■

With David Whitman, Sara Hammel in New York, Warren Cohen in Chicago, and Karen Roebuck in Denver

- Women who say Hillary Clinton should leave Bill Clinton: 20%
- Who say she should stay with him and try to work it out: 57%
- Women who say they would leave their partner if he had cheated on them: 36%
- Who say they would stay and try to work it out: 49%

Feminists don't know what to think

Confusion reigns as women take stock



NOT AT EASE. Rose says Clinton trivialized his office; Wolitzer fears the impact on young women.

BY MIRIAM HORN

Meg Wolitzer, a feminist and novelist, doesn't know anymore what she thinks about Bill and Hillary and Monica and all the rest. "The more I read, the less I have a position. I might have had a position some weeks ago, but now that I see these human beings with all their frailty and desire and arrogance and stupidity, I feel like I'm in the middle of a novel."

Her confusion is shared by many feminists, who are wrestling anew with questions that cut to the heart of feminism: How power relates to sexual consent; what responsibility women have to one another; when the personal is (and is not) political. A sampling:

■ **On Hillary Clinton.** The most extreme condemnation of the first lady comes from radical feminist Andrea Dworkin. "What Hillary is doing is appalling. Being a feminist has to mean you don't use your intellect and your creativity to protect a man's exploitation of women." Wolitzer worries about the message Mrs. Clinton is sending "to Chelsea and other young

women, that no matter what a man does we have to stay and support him." Playwright Wendy Wasserstein laments, "The name Hillary Rodham Clinton no longer stands for self-determination, but for the loyal, betrayed wife."

More prevalent, however, is the view that it is antifeminist to tell any woman how to behave. In fact, the disappointment most feminists feel is not with Mrs. Clinton's failure to be a model wife, which seems to them a retrograde ambition, but rather with the squandering of her possibilities. Phyllis Rose, who traced the course of five famous Victorian marriages in her book, *Parallel Lives*, believes Clinton did not betray Hillary with the affair, but "by making his presidency and their time in the White House, things for which she also worked her whole life, worthless for the sake of a trivial sexual indulgence."

■ **On Monica Lewinsky.** Dworkin's anger at Mrs. Clinton is matched by her concern for Lewinsky. Clinton's "fixation on non-reciprocal oral sex puts women in states of submission. It is the most heartless sexual exchange." Other feminists are able to summon some sympathy for Lewinsky, re-

membering their own desperate passions, and the hurt of being tossed aside. The majority, however, are unsympathetic to the aggressive young intern. Simone de Beauvoir biographer Deirdre Bair asks, "Everyone is demanding Bill's apology to Monica; has anyone suggested that she might owe a big one to Hillary and Chelsea? Feminist fairness requires one."

■ **On harassment.** A consensus does exist here: Clinton's sex scandals have badly set back the feminist effort to clarify the difference between sex and harassment. Sex with colleagues is fine, as long as it's welcome and does not produce unequal working conditions. Sexual harassment is discrimination and includes any behavior that creates a hostile environment and puts workers at a disadvantage because of their gender. For the most part, feminists have not seen the Clinton-Lewinsky relation as harassment: Lewinsky never alleged it was unwelcome, and there is no pattern of discrimination in Clinton's White House. Yet some feminists see complications. In circumstances of such unequal power, some ask, is real consent possible? And what of the ways the relationship did affect workplace conditions, altering Lewinsky's job path and affecting other White House staffers, who were required to collude in the deception?

■ **The personal and the political.** Many issues that used to be considered private—including workplace sex, domestic abuse, and the care of children—are now seen as legitimate areas for public scrutiny. But the Clinton case is requiring feminists to consider again where the line should be drawn. Dworkin contends Clinton's behavior toward women can't be separated from his political character. "Plenty of women are simply expendable to him, like the poor women he threw off welfare." Yet most share Rose's view that "there are things no one else has the right to reveal about you" and that much of the Starr report falls in that category.

Feminists have been attacked for not being more critical of Clinton. For many, it's a question of politics: They don't want to implicitly support Starr's conservatism or his investigation. Yet most are also dismayed that politics has been reduced to the purely personal. "What are we gaining in terms of a just, public process?" asks Susan Sturm, a law professor and expert in feminist jurisprudence. "Nothing. I see us only losing by this. And I've never heard more people talk about how depressed they are with the state of public life." ■

Will Hillary ask nation to forgive president?

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton may take to the airwaves to ask the nation to forgive her husband, according to one Clinton confidant.

This source, a senior Democrat, floated the idea that the first lady would soon say publicly that she has forgiven her husband for his relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

The implication: If she can forgive him, then others should too.

"She'll work her way through this, if she hasn't already, and speak up soon," the Clinton friend said.

As Washington was speculating what the first lady might do, it was also buzzing with reports of impending staff changes at the White House.

One White House official told associates that former Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, the Maine Democrat, was close to accepting the post of White House chief of staff. Other reports have cited Mitchell as a candidate for a new position as the White House's liaison with Congress in matters pertaining to Lewinsky.



Clinton

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PRESERVATION

Dorothy Height

HEIGHT, From D1

noted, "I think we have to spend a minute talking about her contributions to style." And everyone who ever saw Height wearing one of her distinctive hats let out a happy and knowing laugh.

Height, the longtime president of the National Council of Negro Women, has received too many awards and honors to count. But last night's gala at the Grand Hyatt, which raised more than \$1 million for the NCNW, was undoubtedly the glitziest for the self-effacing guest of honor.

"They call it 'Uncommon Height,'" she said. "But I have to say I've been the beneficiary of many uncommon opportunities."

But her legions of fans, including the thousand present in the ballroom, gave her full credit.

"She has been my lifetime role model," said Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman, who has been a member of the NCNW since she was 13. "I don't make a move without consulting her."

Like many young African Americans, Herman was inspired by Height's quiet but relentless ability to improve the lives of women, men and children for more than 60 years. "She has a saying: If the times aren't right, you have to ripen the times," Herman said. "In other words, you can't wait for things to come to you. You have to make them happen."

Height is best known for her work at the NCNW, where she served as president from 1957 until February of this year. In that role, she met just about everybody who was anybody and established a reputation as a graceful and effective voice in the civil rights and women's movements. In 1996, the NCNW launched a \$30 million fund-raising campaign and established the Dorothy I. Height Leadership Institute to teach her techniques of political and social activism.

"She's caring," said singer Gladys Knight. "Absolutely caring."

"She's very smart and she's very strategic," said Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.). "She's got a lot of respect for her great dignity." But beneath that silk glove is a steel hand, Norton said. "She's a radical feminist, straight on down the line."



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Gladys Knight and Jesse Jackson at last night's tribute.

Black women were a little confused about if they should be feminists or not. It was the leadership of women like Height who made it okay to be feminists."

New York activist Al Sharpton was among those who made the trip to Washington to pay tribute. "I think Dorothy Height represents the ultimate in civil rights activism," he said.

Last night's program began with Jesse Jackson, who acknowledged the strength and power of the women assembled, especially Height and Clinton.

"All of us want to say something to you but we can't quite say it," Jackson said to the first lady. Instead, he called for a "loving round of applause." The audience gave Clinton the first two standing ovations of the night. "Give it up, give it up," Jackson encouraged.

After that, it seemed everybody got standing ovations. It was that kind of night.

Clinton's remarks traced Height's life work from the civil rights movement in this country to helping women and children in Africa. "Her influence has been felt around the world and I have seen it firsthand."

The first lady also made a passing reference to Height's not-so-secret talent: limbo dancing. (Seems Height was a guest on Oprah Winfrey's birthday cruise for Maya Angelou earlier this year. "Not only was she on the cruise, but she did the limbo," reported Winfrey pal Gayle King. Height "got out of that chair and did the limbo not once but twice. And she did it very well.")

Clinton then introduced Height, "our hero, leader, role model who has kept us all going." Height, who spent most of the evening in a wheelchair, stood during her speech.

"When you honor me, I have to give thanks for the ways all of you and all those I have worked with have been instrumental in my development," she said.

Then the speeches ended and the other legends took to the stage. Winfrey and Angelou recited two poems in Height's honor. Ashford & Simpson performed their greatest hits, backed up by—why not?—Angelou in one of her public singing moods. Then a professional diva—that would be opera star Norman—performed gospel standards and "Our Love Is Here to Stay."

The party finally ended near midnight—a long, inspiring evening for Height, who left the crowd with this promise: "So long as God shall let me live, I want to be in the struggle for justice and equality."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Post



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

The first lady with "our hero, leader, role model," Dorothy Height.

For Dorothy Height, A Night of Lofty Praise

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
Washington Post Staff Writer

What becomes a legend most? Glowing tributes and serious star power, to name two things.

Last night's "Uncommon Height: The Legends Celebrate the Legend" honored 86-year-old Dorothy Height, the grande dame of the civil rights movement. The evening was a four-hour lovefest with some of the most talented

and influential women in America: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Rosa Parks, Oprah Winfrey, Maya Angelou, Jessye Norman, Camille Cosby and Marian Wright Edelman, to name but a few.

The accolades were thick, heartfelt, and well deserved. One night, said Mrs. Clinton, would never be long enough to enumerate all of Height's many, many accomplishments. But, the first lady

See HEIGHT, D2, Col. 1

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1998

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1998

THE FIRST LADY

Before Public, Armor Is Showing No Cracks

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — At the dedication of the new Peace Corps headquarters last week, Hillary Rodham Clinton cut a long red ribbon with two-foot-long scissors and nearly signed up.

When the Peace Corps director praised the First Lady for her character and said she would be a great volunteer, Mrs. Clinton deadpanned: "Maybe I'll just leave this afternoon. Point me in the right direction."

But if Mrs. Clinton really wants escape from Washington, or from the humiliation and betrayal her friends say she feels, she is not showing it. Nor is she talking about forgiveness, leaving her husband to do all the atoning and confessing on his own for the sex scandal that may doom his Presidency.

Instead, she is playing her role as First Lady with a no-time-to-waste-hello-goodbye intensity that is both breathtaking and unnerving, struggling to change the subject with passionate talk about health care, education and family, and fighting to win back disillusioned voters, especially women.

To outsiders, paradoxically, the First Lady has never looked better, sounded stronger or even seemed happier. Her popularity rating is high. Her loyalists say that no matter what happens to Bill Clinton, she is a lady with a future. Every day seems to be a good-hair day.

She is said to feel pressure, not to leave Mr. Clinton or to come to his defense, but to get a lot of things done, before her tenure ends, whenever that may be.

"She gets up in the morning and takes a shower and puts on her makeup and a nice dress and does her events," said Sara Ehrman, a Middle East expert who has been one of Mrs. Clinton's closest friends since the 1968 McGovern campaign. "She went on vacation and probably ate chocolates and pulled the covers over her head and pitched her fits. Have you ever said to yourself, I want to have a nervous breakdown but I don't have the time now? It's enough already."

Marsha Berry, Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, said, "She doesn't wallow."

So Mrs. Clinton has made her already full fall schedule even fuller. On Thursday, for example, she appeared with the pop singer Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds to accept a grant to buy musical instruments for public schools, met at the White House with educators and executives to promote corporate support for the arts in public schools and gave a speech that evening on the need for American engagement around the world as she picked up an award for "raising consciousness" globally for family issues.

To raise her own foreign policy consciousness the day before, she called in senior officials like the national security adviser, Samuel R. Berger, and more than a dozen outside experts, including former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, to brief her on America's role in the post-Cold War world. She plans to travel to Chile, Haiti, Uruguay and the Dominican Republic later this month to promote development and women's issues.

"She gets sustenance from her work, sustenance from her friends and this is the cloth through which she has her support system," said Melanne Verveer, her chief of staff.

Mrs. Clinton's most immediate goal is to stanch the damage of her husband's errant sex life at the polls this November.

While Democratic candidates are shunning the President, they are clamoring for her. And this week she is slated to campaign for Democratic candidates for Congress in New York, Colorado, Washington, Oregon and California.

Last Tuesday, two dozen female lawmakers who came to the White House for 90 minutes of tea and conversation prevailed on her to do even more.

They referred to the scandal as "the clutter," telling Mrs. Clinton that there was an urgent need to cut through it and focus on issues that mattered to their constituents.

"We told her that as women, we know that women can do more than one thing at a time in an emergency," said Representative Lynn Woolsey, Democrat of California. "So we asked her to get on a plane and stop at places where her voice so desperately needs to be heard."

Mrs. Clinton is so seized with this fall's elections that at a Democratic fund-raiser in New York last Monday she wasted no time in gathering intelligence. "I hadn't been with her two minutes when she asked me to evaluate what the state-by-state prospects might be," said Senator Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey. "We didn't focus on the problem."

But sometimes the "problem" intrudes.

At a National Council of Negro Women black-tie dinner for 2,000 people honoring Dr. Dorothy I. Height, there was Mrs. Clinton all dressed up in a black, V-necked, sequined St. John knit.

And there was the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, the sometimes White House confessor, using his invocation time to tell Mrs. Clinton that no one knows exactly what to say to her during this crisis. The crowd applauded as he

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1998

To outsiders, Mrs. Clinton has never looked better.

praised her as a woman of "uncompromising dignity." He then prayed to God to "forgive us for our sins and the foolishness of our ways."

Mrs. Clinton put on her serenely opaque face. While Mr. Jackson may feel like talking about forgiveness, she is keeping quiet.

In a 1994 news conference, Mrs. Clinton spoke of her desire for "a zone of privacy" and has always struggled to keep up a thick wall that few are allowed to penetrate.

After a Clinton confidante suggested earlier this month that Mrs. Clinton might make a Stand-by-Your-Man statement, one of her close allies asked her about it. "Her answer was, 'Look, this is a purely private issue and we're working it through, and if I have anything to say it's going to be if and when I say it,'" the ally said.

Neel Lattimore, who was the First Lady's press spokesman for five

years, said that there is a political motive. "If she went out there and said, 'I forgive my husband,' well, what woman so quickly does forgive and forget? She is very smart politically and this has political ramifications. She will choose her moment."

When reporters ask about the First Lady's marriage, Ms. Berry repeats the mantra authorized by her boss: "She has made it clear that she supports her husband, she loves him and she forgives him."

According to the First Lady's aides, she has not shared even with them her feelings about either the investigation or her husband. "She has not talked about her personal situation, and all of us to a person honors the fact that that is absolutely private," Ms. Verveer said.

But in the aftermath of the Starr report, Mrs. Clinton has abandoned her verbal war against her husband's enemies. She is no longer publicly blaming the scandal on a right-wing conspiracy against him.

That is because she now knows the facts about Monica S. Lewinsky, her supporters say. "She was not privy to the information," Ms. Berry said.

In public, the Clintons are giving the impression that they have never been closer.

At the state dinner at the White House for Czech President Vaclav Havel last week, Mr. and Mrs. Clinton smiled and cooed and held hands throughout the evening. She waved her arms and he mouthed the lyrics as they danced to the Marine Band's rendition of "Mustang Sally."

In her speeches, she talks frequently about her "husband" and "the President" in promoting his policies.

And what she is doing is greatly appreciated. "She has been very supportive of the President publicly in terms of her events and that's been great," said Douglas Sosnick, the President's counselor. "It's not my place to suggest anything else."

Her close associates insist she has not read the Starr report with its salacious allegations about Mr. Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky, including Ms. Lewinsky's account of a conversation in which the President told her he had had hundreds of lovers.

"It's a report in large part that is designed to embarrass and humiliate," Ms. Verveer said. "Why would she spend her time reading it?"

Ms. Berry said that Mrs. Clinton was scarcely reading the newspapers or watching television, except for Chicago Cubs games.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1998

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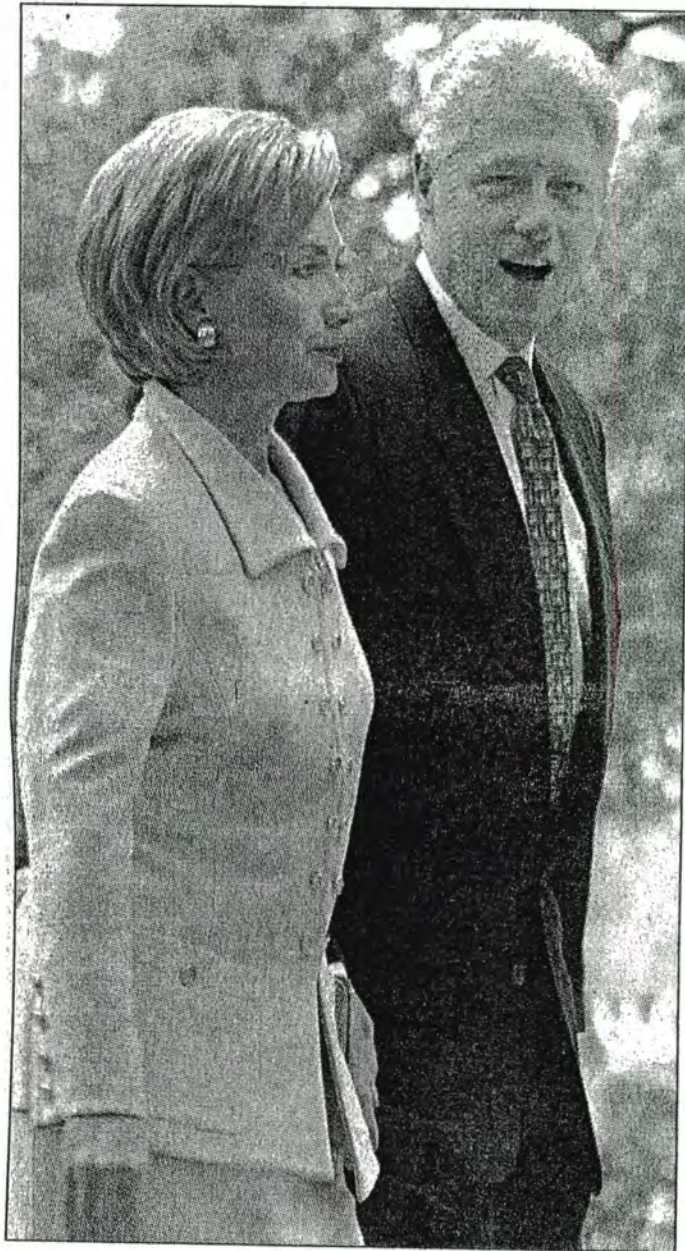


PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1998

COVER



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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Dinner for Havel has '60s feeling

Stevie Wonder,
Lou Reed attend

By Ann Geracimos
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Perhaps the most emotional moment of last night's White House state dinner honoring Czech President Vaclav Havel occurred before the evening began.

After the afternoon news conference with President Clinton and before donning his tuxedo for the night, Mr. Havel had a warm reunion with his friend Lou Reed, the singer-songwriter famous for the '60s band the Velvet Underground. Mr. Reed was doing a sound check in the East Room for his after-dinner performance that had been requested by the 62-year-old Czech president.

Mr. Reed immediately kissed Dagmar Havlova, 36, the president's wife of one year, whom first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton presented with a 5-foot potted magnolia that had been grown from a seedling from the oldest tree on the White House grounds.

It was an unusual break with tradition for a visiting head of state to take time for so personal a moment offstage.

"Lou is my old friend, and I am very thankful that they invited him today here," the soft-spoken Mr. Havel said in cautious English to the assembled press.

"The Velvet Underground became the Velvet Revolution," Mrs. Clinton said, referring to the influence the band had on a Czech group that was instrumental in fomenting the movement for human rights led by the playwright-president in his homeland in the 1970s. One of the Czech group's members, bass player Milan Hlavsa, was also performing.

Most of Mr. Clinton's Cabinet secretaries were absent last night, although all are normally invited to such functions. Attending were Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen and Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, a native of Czechoslovakia and friend of Mr. Havel's. The list of dignitaries included six senators — four of them Republicans — and eight representatives, only one of whom was a Republican.

The celebrity quotient was supplied by several Czech-Americans of note, including actress Mia Farrow, accompanied by her son Matthew Previn, 28, a Washington lawyer; model-actress Paulina Porizkova; professional hockey player Jaromir Jagr; and Lubomir

Kavalek, international chess grandmaster.

Mr. Havel requested the presence of Mr. Jagr and Mr. Kavalek, as well as entertainer Stevie Wonder, who was not scheduled to perform; author Kurt Vonnegut; and Washington theater personality Robert McNamara, artistic director of Scena Theatre, which has performed a number of Mr. Havel's plays.

When the acoustically charged five-member rock 'n' roll group took over, even Mr. Clinton may have forgotten his troubles under the spell of its rhythmic rollicking beat, led by Mr. Reed on the guitar.

The evening was at times a sentimental journey back to the more idealistic 1960s.

"As a playwright, you could hardly have written a [more] dramatic scenario than the one you have lived the past 10 years," Mr. Clinton said in toasting Mr. Havel. "Your presidency has reminded people around the world that words do matter; that creativity has a place in politics."

Mr. Havel, speaking in Czech, said he was "grateful" that his country was included in the NATO enlargement and thanked Mr. and Mrs. Clinton and "the American nation." He singled out Mrs. Albright for special praise, calling her "one of the greatest diplomats of all time."

He then presented Mr. Clinton with his country's Order of the White Lion.

A large contingent of Clinton supporters and White House staffers were among the diners, as well as two familiar diplomatic faces from the past — former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski.

The menu was prepared by chefs Walter Scheib and Roland Mesnier.

Roasted salmon was chosen in deference to Mr. Havel, who is said to favor fish rather than meat, especially since he only came out of the hospital three weeks ago. The accompanying carrot and corn risotto was fat-free.

Guest list for Havel state dinner

- President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton
Vice President Al Gore and Tipper Gore
Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, and his wife, Dagmar Havlova
Jan Kavan, minister of foreign affairs
Vladimir Vetchy, minister of defense
Josef Tosovsky, governor of the Czech National Bank
Alexandr Vondra, Czech Republic ambassador to the United States, and his wife, Martina
Jaromir Novotny, first deputy minister of defense
Ladislav Spacek, spokesman for the president
Jiri Pehe, director of the political department, office of the president
Ladislav Mravec, director general of the political section II, ministry of foreign affairs
Mirsolev Sklenar, chief of protocol, office of the president
Helena Opolecka, director general of the section for the minister of foreign affairs
Roman Leszczynski, director general of the secretariat for the Czech National Bank
Jerry Abramson, mayor of Louisville, Ky., and his wife, Madeline
Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, and Katherine Silva, special assistant, office of elementary and secondary education, U.S. Department of Education
- Bruce Babbitt, secretary of the Interior, and his wife, Harriet, deputy administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development
Rep. Douglas K. Bereuter, Nebraska Republican, and his wife, Louise
Samuel R. Berger, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and his wife, Susan
Robert L. Bernstein, founding chairman, Human Rights Watch, and his wife, Helen
Diane D. Blair, chairman, Corporation for Public Broadcasting
Erskine B. Bowles, chief of staff, White House, and his wife, Crandall
John Broder, White House correspondent, the New York Times, and Carolyn Broder, independent television producer
Zbigniew Brzezinski, counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Emilie Brzezinski, sculptor
Harvey Cauthen Jr., chairman and CEO, Cauthen Associates, and Florence Cauthen, U.S. marshal, Middle District, Alabama
Lee Clancy, mayor of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Robert J. Clancy Jr., sales representative, Clancy Co.
Betsy Cohn, executive board, New Dramatist, and Alan D. Cohn, managing director, Schroeders
Sen. Kent Conrad, North Dakota Democrat, and Lucy Calautti, chief of staff for Sen. Byron L. Dorgan, North Dakota Democrat
Rep. Pat Danner, Missouri Democrat, and C. Mark Meyer, businessman
Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen and his wife, Janet Langhart Cohen
Rep. Norman Dicks, Washington Democrat, and Susie Dicks, general secretary, U.S. Capitol Historical Society
Thomas A. Dine, president, Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty Inc., and his wife, Joan
Robert W. Doubek, president, American Friends of the Czech Republic, and Karen Kendig
Archie Dunham, president and CEO, Conoco Inc., and his wife, Linda
Mia Farrow, actress, and her son, Matthew Previn, attorney, Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering
Rep. Vic Fazio, California Democrat, and his wife, Judy
Stephen Flanagan, special assistant to the president and senior director, Central and Eastern European Affairs, and Lynn Flanagan, attorney-adviser, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Mary Mel French, chief of protocol, and Matthew A. Gorman, senior vice president, capital markets, Blaylock & Partners
Charles Gatl, senior vice president, Interinvest, and Toby T. Gatl, senior international adviser, Aiken, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLD
Mark Gearan, director, Peace Corps, and his wife, Mary Herlihy-Gearan
Rep. Sam Geldenson, Connecticut Democrat, and Mary Jane Burt, entrepreneur
Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman, New York Republican, and his wife, Georgia
Timothy Greenfield-Sanders, photographer and film director, and Karin Greenfield-Sanders, filmmaker and lawyer
Marc Grossman, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, and Mildred Patterson, managing director, Office of Visa Services, U.S. Department of State
- Sen. Chuck Hagel, Nebraska Republican, and his wife, Lilibet
Rep. Jane Harman, California Democrat, and Sidney Harman, chairman and CEO, Harman International Industries Inc.
John F. Harris, staff writer, The Washington Post, and Ann O'Hanlon, staff writer, The Washington Post
Paul T. Havilinka, Esq., Havilinka & Associates, and Kimberly Havilinka, senior vice president, Healthcare Insurance Services Inc.
Eric Holder, deputy attorney general, U.S. Department of Justice, and Dr. Sharon Malone, Foxhall Ob-Gyn Associates
Jaromir Jager, forward, Pittsburgh Penguins
Lubomir Kavalek, international chess grandmaster, and Irena Kavalek, librarian, U.S. Geological Survey
Lane Kirkland and his wife, Irena
Henry Kissinger, chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc. and former secretary of state, and his wife, Nancy
Howie Klein, president, Reprise Records, and Bryan Scott Johnson, University of Washington
Kevin Klose, director, U.S. International Broadcasting Bureau, and Deborah Taylor Ashford, partner, Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.
Charles J. Koch, chairman emeritus, Charter One Financial Inc., and his wife, Elizabeth
Rep. Tom Lantos, California Democrat, and his wife, Annette
Rep. Shelia Jackson Lee, Texas Democrat, and Gerald Womack, her district director
Sen. Carl Levin, Michigan Democrat, and his wife, Barbara Levin, Energy Conservation Devices, Troy, Mich.
Sen. Richard Lugar, Indiana Republican, and his wife, Charlene
Lewis Manilow, chairman, Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy
Kathleen McGinty, chairwoman, White House Council on Environmental Quality, and Karl Hausker, project director, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Robert McNamara, artistic director, Scena Theatre, and Amy K. Schmidt, managing director, Scena Theatre
Jan Nowak, former vice president, Polish American Congress
Paulina Parizkova, actress-model, and her husband, Ric Ocasek, music producer-artist
Thomas A. Pouliot, commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and his wife, Shirley
Lou Reed, artist, and Laurie Anderson, artist
Andrew Reyes, CEO, Wilson, Reyes & Associates, and Nathan Shane Wolf, executive vice president, Seyer Communications Inc.
John M. Richard, president, Czechoslovak National Council of America, and Anne Marie Richard
Jeremy Rosner, vice president, Greenberg Quinlan Research, and Laurie Duker
Sen. William V. Roth Jr., Delaware Republican, and John M. Duncan, his administrative assistant
Gen. John Shalikashvili, former chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and his wife, Joan
Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and his wife, Carolyn
Eric Sklar, CEO, Burrito Brothers Inc., and his wife, Erica
Gene Sperling, assistant to the president for economic policy and director, the National Economic Council, and Michael Sperling
James Steinberg, deputy assistant to the president, national security affairs, and his wife, Sherburne Abbott
Sen. Ted Stevens, Alaska Republican, and his wife Catherine Stevens, executive director, the Terra Foundation for the Arts
Stephanie Streett, assistant to the president and director of presidential scheduling, and Donald Erbach, political director for the office of Sen. Tom Harkin, Iowa Democrat
Strobe Talbott, deputy secretary of state, and his wife, Brooke Shearer, senior adviser, U.S. Department of the Interior
Mark Tailsman, president, Project Judaica Foundation, and his wife, Jill
Charles A. Vanik, former U.S. representative from Ohio, and his wife, Betty
Kurt Vonnegut, author, and Jill Kremenetz, author-photographer
Jenanne Walker, U.S. ambassador to the Czech Republic
Marion Wiesel, vice president, Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity, and Arnold Thaler, vice president, Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity
James L. Witt, director, Federal Emergency Management Agency, and his wife, Lea Ellen
Stevie Wonder, entertainer, and Brian LaRoda, personal assistant to Mr. Wonder, and Kelta Morris

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1998



THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

President and Mrs. Clinton chat as they await the arrival of Czech President Vaclav Havel and his wife for last night's dinner.

BY KHUE BUI—ASSOCIATED PRESS

International Velvet

Clinton Finds Respite at Fete With Revolutionary and Rocker

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
and LIBBY INGRID COPELAND
Washington Post Staff Writers

Last night the White House rocked with something other than scandal. We're talking real rock-and-roll music with a real rock-and-roll star: Lou Reed. Stodgy old state dinners may never be the same.

Less than a week after the Starr report sent Washington into a tizzy, the White House mustered its forces to display a more appealing side of the

presidency—the impressive pomp and pageantry of a state dinner for Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel. The evening also gave President Clinton a brief time to think about something other than you-know-what.

The Clintons were in fine form: the president smiling if slightly subdued; the first lady effusively greeting guests. They heard plenty of encouraging words, although Stevie Wonder was the only one to bear-hug both Clintons.

"I told the president a long time ago that I was his friend," the singer said.

"And I am of the belief that when you say you are someone's friend, it doesn't mean that you're a fair-weather friend. You're there all the time."

The dinner honoring Havel, the playwright turned politician, offered plenty of dramatic diversions. The cast included actress Mia Farrow, bon vivant Henry Kissinger, author Kurt Vonnegut, model Paulina Porizkova and chess grandmaster Lubomir Kavalek as well as administration officials

See DINNER, D10, Col. 1

Dinner, Czech

DINNER, From D1

and staffers.

The guests were bent on supporting their host. "It's certainly none of my business," Farrow said of the president's problems. "I'm sad that Starr made it all of our business."

"I think what's being done to him is terrible," Reed said. "Your private life should be your private life. I think it's a smear campaign."

This is the second time a foreign leader's visit has been thoroughly dominated by domestic affairs. Shortly after the Lewinsky investigation first broke in January, Clinton hosted a White House dinner for British Prime Minister Tony Blair. A star-studded guest list was loaded with Clinton supporters, who hotly defended his innocence—as did the president himself.

Seven months later, the climate has clearly changed. In the wake of Clinton's admission, most of the politicians last night kept their thoughts to themselves.

"I've been here in crisis periods before," said former Nixon Cabinet member Kissinger as he slipped away.

"I don't want to comment on that tonight," said former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. "I'm here to honor President Havel."

The dissident who played a central role in the 1989 "Velvet Revolution" against communist rule was elected earlier this year to his second five-year term as Czech president. Havel, 61, has most recently been at the fore of his country's efforts to gain NATO membership and in other security matters.

But those efforts have been hampered by poor health. He has been hospitalized several times since undergoing lung cancer surgery in late 1996, and recovered from life-threatening pneumonia just in time to make this visit to Washington, with a doctor and nurse in tow.

"You have never lost the honesty, sponta-



Model Paulina Porizkova and husband Ric Ocasek arrive at the dinner.

neity, the contagious friendliness of your writing," Clinton said in his toast to Havel.

In his reply, Havel spoke of the relationship between the two countries and singled out his friend, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who was born in the former Czechoslovakia. "With her fine feeling for European affairs, she represents to me—among other things—a guarantee of the much-needed U.S. presence on the European continent," he said. Havel then turned to Clinton and presented him with the Order of the White Lion, the highest decoration of the Czech Republic.

Havel's own unofficial decoration was his wife of one year, actress Dagmar Havlova, who is nearly 20 years his junior. She made a colorful addition to the dinner in a purple satin and chiffon gown. Hillary Rodham Clinton wore a St. John silver sequined gown.

In support of Havlova's efforts to build a botanical garden back home, Mrs. Clinton presented her with a small magnolia grown from a seedling of the oldest tree on the White House grounds, which was planted by Andrew Jackson.

The first lady selected an early-autumn theme for the dinner. The color-scheme was green and gold, the menu a nod to the fall palate: "less herbs, more spices, bigger flavors," said White House chef Walter Scheib. Guests were served pheasant consommé, roasted "full-bodied" salmon with carrot and corn risotto, greens with baked artichokes and goat cheese, and caramel rum raisin ice cream with poached pears.

The real treat, however, was the entertainment. Reed, a founding member of the Velvet Underground, was invited at the special request of Havel, a fan for 30 years. Havel has credited the rocker with inspiring the Czech people and the Velvet Revolution. In an unprecedented stop, he dropped by a rehearsal earlier in the day with Havlova and Mrs. Clinton. Reed and Havel embraced; the first ladies were fascinated by the singer's glasses, which featured lenses that flipped up. "Have you patented that?" Clinton asked.

At one end of the very grand East Room last night, Reed performed classic Velvet Underground hits in his irreverent, laconic style.

The audience was attentive but seemed subdued, except for Vice President Gore, whose chair rocked constantly during Reed's 35-minute performance.

At the conclusion, a smiling President Clinton said, "If you had as much fun as I did just now, you should give President Havel all the credit."

Reed was unfazed by the stately surroundings. "We're just musicians, so we play a lot of places," he said of the unusual venue, teasingly noting that his was just another "New York band."

Different city, same old gig.

The guest list for last night's dinner:

The vice president and Mrs. Gore
Václav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, and Mrs. Dagmar Havlova
Jan Kavan, minister of foreign affairs

Vladimir Vetchy, minister of defense
Josef Tosovsky, governor of the Czech National Bank
Alexandr Vondra, ambassador of the Czech Republic to the United States, and Martina Vondrova
Jaromir Novotny, first deputy minister of defense
Ladislav Spacek, spokesman for the president
Jirf Pehe, director of the Political Department, office of the president
Ladislav Mravec, director general of the Political Section II, ministry of foreign affairs
Miroslav Sklenar, chief of protocol, office of the president
Helena Opolecka, director general of the Section for the Minister of Foreign Affairs
Roman Leszczynski, director general of the secretariat for the Czech National Bank
Jerry Abramson, mayor of Louisville, Ky., and Madeline Abramson
Madeleine K. Albright, secretary of state, and Katherine Silva, special assistant, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, U.S. Department of Education
Bruce Babbitt, secretary of the interior, and Harriet C. Babbitt, deputy administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development
Rep. Douglas K. Bereuter (R-Neb.) and Louise Bereuter
Samuel R. Berger, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Susan Berger
Robert L. Bernstein, founding-chairman, Human Rights Watch, and Helen Bernstein
Diane D. Blair, chair, Corporation for Public Broadcasting
Erskine Bowles, chief of staff, the White House, and Candall Bowles
John Broder, White House correspondent, the New York Times, and Karolyn Wallace, independent television producer
Zbigniew Brzezinski, counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Emilie Brzezinski, sculptor
Harvey Cauthen Jr., chairman and CEO, Cauthen & Associates, and Florence Cauthen, U.S. marshal, middle district of Alabama
Lee Clancey, mayor of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Robert J. Clancey Jr., sales representative, the Clancey Co.
Betsy Cohn, executive board, New Dramatists, and Alan D. Cohn, managing director, Schroders
Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.) and Lucy Calautti, chief of staff for Sen. Byron Dorgan
Rep. Pat Danner (D-Mo.) and C. Mark Meyer, businessman
William Cohen, secretary of defense, and Janet Langhart Cohen
Rep. Norman Dicks (D-Wash.) and Susie Dicks, general secretary, U.S. Capitol Historical Society
Thomas A. Dine, president, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Inc., and Joan Dine
Robert W. Doubek, president, American Friends of the Czech Republic, and Karen Kendig
Archie Dunham, president and CEO, Conoco Inc., and Linda Dunham
Mia Farrow, actor, and Matthew Prevyn, attorney, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering
Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.) and Judy Fazio
Stephen Flanagan, special assistant to the president; senior director, Central and Eastern European affairs, and Lynn Flanagan, attorney/adviser, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Mary Mel French, chief of protocol, and Matthew A. Gorman, senior vice president, Capital Markets, Blaylock & Partners
Charles Gati, senior vice president, Interinvest, and Toby T. Gati, senior international adviser, Alkin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLP
Mark Gearan, director, the Peace Corps, and Mary Herilly-Gearan
Rep. Samuel Gejdenson (D-Conn.) and Mary Jane Burt, entrepreneur
Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.) and Georgia Gilman
Timothy Greenfield-Sanders, photographer/film director, and Karin Greenfield-Sanders, filmmaker/attorney
Marc Grossman, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, and Mildred Patterson, managing director for the Office of Visa Services, U.S. Department of State
Sen. Charles T. Hagel (R-Neb.) and Lillbet Hagel
Rep. Jane Harman (D-Calif.) and Sidney Harman, chairman and CEO, Harman International Industries Inc.
John F. Harris, White House correspondent, The Washington Post, and Ann

O'Hanlon, staff writer, The Washington Post
Paul T. Hlavinka, Hlavinka & Associates, and Kimberly Hlavinka, senior vice president, Healthcare Insurance Services Inc.
Eric Holder, deputy attorney general, and Sharon Malone, Foxhall OB-GYN Associates
Jaromir Jager, NHL forward, the Pittsburgh Penguins
Lubomir Kavalek, international chess grandmaster, and Irena Kavalek, librarian, U.S. Geological Survey
Lane Kirkland and Irena Kirkland
Henry Kissinger, chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc., former secretary of state, and Nancy Kissinger
Howie Klein, president, Reprise Records, and Bryan Scott Johnson, University of Washington
Kevin Klose, director, U.S. International Broadcasting Bureau, and Deborah Taylor Ashford, partner, Hogan & Hartson LLP
Charles J. Koch, chairman emeritus, Charter One Financial Inc., and Elizabeth Koch
Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) and Annette Lantos
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Tex.) and Gerald Womack, district director for Rep. Lee
Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and Barbara Levin, Energy Conservation Devices of Troy, Mich.
Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) and Charlene Lugar
Lewis Manilow, chairman, Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy
Kathleen McGinty, chair, White House Council on Environmental Quality, and Karl Hausker, project director, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Robert McNamara, artistic director, Scena Theatre, and Amy K. Schmidt, managing director, Scena Theatre
Jan Nowak, former vice president, the Polish American Congress
Paulina Porizkova, actress/model, and Ric Ocasek, music producer/artist
Thomas A. Pouliot, commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Shirley Pouliot
Lou Reed, musician, and Laurie Anderson, performance artist
Andrew Reyes, CEO, Wilson, Reyes & Associates, and Nathan Shane Wolf, executive vice president, Seyer Communications Inc.
John M. Richard, president, Czechoslovak National Council of America, and Anne Marie Richard
Jeremy Rosner, vice president, Greenberg Quinlan Research, and Laurie Duker
Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.) and John M. Duncan, administrative assistant to Sen. Roth
Gen. John Shalikashvili, former chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Joan Shalikashvili
Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Carolyn Shelton
Eric Sklar, CEO, Burrito Brothers Inc., and Erica Sklar
Gene Sperling, assistant to the president for economic policy; director, National Economic Council, and Michael Sperling
James Steinberg, deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Sherburne Abbott Steinberg
Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) and Catherine Stevens, executive director, Terra Foundation for the Arts
Stephanie Streett, assistant to the president, director of presidential scheduling, and Donald Erbach, political director for the office of Sen. Tom Harkin
Strobe Talbott, deputy secretary of state, and Brooke Shearer, senior adviser, U.S. Interior Department
Mark Talisman, president, Project Judaica Foundation, and Jill Talisman
Charles A. Vanik, former U.S. representative (D-Ohio), and Betty Vanik
Kurt Vonnegut, author, and Jill Krementz, author/photographer
Jenonne Walker, U.S. ambassador to the Czech Republic
Marion Wiesel, vice president, the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity, and Arnold Thaler, vice president, the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity
James L. Witt, director, Federal Emergency Management Agency, and Lea Ellen Witt
Stevie Wonder, entertainer, and Brian LaRoda, personal assistant to Stevie Wonder, and Keita Morris

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

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First lady asserts pride over husband's record

By Warren P. Strobel
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Washington Times
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton broke more than three weeks of chilly silence last night and gave her husband a warm public endorsement, saying she is "proud" of his work as president.

Ticking off a list of administration accomplishments, the first lady said of the president: "I've personally seen how hard he has worked ... seen how he's responded day in and day out to the challenges of all Americans. I'm very proud of the person I'm privileged to introduce, proud of his leadership, proud of his commitment."

While Mrs. Clinton spoke out in support of her husband, other key players in the presidential drama reacted differently yesterday to the pending release of independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's impeachment report. Vice President Al Gore publicly ignored Mr. Clinton's deepening crisis. Former White House intern Monica Lewinsky remained in seclusion. And Paula Jones, who sued Mr. Clinton for sexual harassment in 1994, said Mr. Starr's report vindicates her.

Mrs. Clinton's statement before Democratic campaign contributors was far from an absolution for his having an affair with Miss Lewinsky and lying about it. But it was by far the warmest comment she has uttered publicly about the president since his Aug. 17 admission of the affair. It capped a day

on which she edged back into the public spotlight to speak out on policy issues, a place where the White House would like to keep the focus.

Up until last night, Mrs. Clinton had been virtually silent about her husband's travails, depriving him of perhaps his most important public defender.

That was in stark contrast to how she stood by his side as the Gennifer Flowers allegations nearly sunk his 1992 presidential bid. And in January, when the Lewinsky accusations surfaced, she took to the network morning shows to defend her husband.

Her spokeswoman said yesterday that the president has Mrs. Clinton's "forgiveness." And Mrs. Clinton seemed more animated in public yesterday than she has recently.

Last night, she accompanied her husband across the South Lawn and into a waiting limousine to the Democratic fund-raiser at a local hotel. After introducing him, the two made a show of embracing, and she pecked Mr. Clinton on the cheek.

Earlier in the day, Mrs. Clinton was back in her old role of pushing reforms in health care at an event she hosted in the East Room to increase awareness of colon cancer.

She gently mocked the assembled press corps — there were 11 videocameras alone — thanking reporters for their attendance, knowing full well that they were there to cover her mood and de-



Photo by Karen Ballard/The Washington Times

NBC's Katie Couric, whose husband died earlier this year of colon cancer, appears at a news conference on the disease with the first lady.

meanor, not the issue she was trying to promote.

Meanwhile, as debate intensified in Congress over Mr. Clinton's fate, Mr. Gore acted yesterday as if the hottest news of the summer was global warming and Mark McGwire's home-run chase, not the impeachment report that could thrust him into the Oval Office.

Mr. Gore never directly referred to Mr. Starr in two public appearances. At one of the events, though, he stuck to the same canned statement he's used in the last two

weeks to defend Mr. Clinton.

"His vision and his leadership are shaping all aspects of this nation's recovery," Mr. Gore told a group of Democratic contributors. "He is my friend and he is our president. His policies have been manifestly good for the United States of America and those policies must be continued."

Mrs. Jones, whose accusations derailed Mr. Clinton, spoke yesterday for the first time since Mr. Starr delivered his report.

"I feel vindicated at last," she

"I feel good for me but not for the country." — Paula Jones

told the Daily Telegraph in Long Beach, Calif. "I feel good for me but not for the country. This should never have happened."

"It's been an ordeal for her," said her husband, Steve. "She's been dragged through the mud. Now, at last, it has been proved she has told the truth all the way along the line."

"All Paula wanted to hear was the president saying three things: 'I was there, I was wrong and I'm sorry,'" said Mr. Jones. "If he'd just apologized quietly to Paula, the lawsuit would never have been filed and this would never have happened. Then he lied in his deposition — not once but he lied again and again and again and now it's all coming down on him. What goes around comes around and he is being paid back 10 times over."

Miss Lewinsky, meanwhile, was under wraps yesterday, and even those who have talked freely about her in the past have nothing to say now that Mr. Starr's report on her affair with the president has gone to Congress.

"She's around. She's about," said a source familiar with the case, declining even to say what city Miss Lewinsky is in.

• This article was based in part on wire service reports.

Democrats scrambling for strategy on Clinton

By Lance Gay
and Joan Lowy
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

Demoralized by President Clinton's admission of an "inappropriate relationship" with a White House intern and buffeted by the politics of their own re-election campaigns, Democrats are scrambling for a strategy for dealing with the president's possible impeachment.

Rep. John Conyers Jr. of Michigan, ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee, which will hear Mr. Clinton's case, acknowledged that the party leadership hasn't assembled any effective arguments in defense of the president.

Instead, Democrats are sparring with Republicans only over side issues, such as allowing the White House to get an advance look at independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's report and whether Republicans will share subpoena and deposition powers with Democrats in any impeachment inquiry.

"Nobody is defending the president's action," Mr. Conyers said. "I think the question is how this is going to be a fair process."

At a closed-door meeting of House Democrats yesterday — the first meeting of the caucus since Mr. Clinton acknowledged his affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky last month — members of the Congressional Black Caucus and some liberal Democrats reportedly pleaded with the House Democratic leadership to be more aggressive in supporting the president for fear of sabotaging the party's congressional agenda.

Rep. Barney Frank, Massachusetts Democrat, also a member of the Judiciary Committee, said Democrats who are holding onto their \$133,000-a-year seats by thin margins are clearly nervous.

"If he was running for re-election, he would not get a lot of votes from this caucus," Mr. Frank said of the president.

But Mr. Frank said he doesn't detect any groundswell for aban-

doning Mr. Clinton.

"I have not seen that desire to terminate this presidency," he said. "We are not going to allow him to be treated unfairly."

The Democrats are cobbling up a short-term strategy that contends that Mr. Starr's 445-page report is partisan, biased and based on a prosecutor's zeal to probe Mr. Clinton's private life. "I'm sure it's going to be the most negative case possible," Mr. Frank said.

Both he and House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri said there has to be some issue more serious than Mr. Clinton's affair with Miss Lewinsky to result in impeachment.

"You don't overturn an election of the American people on a whim," Mr. Gephardt said.

But some Democrats said it's too late to rally to Mr. Clinton's defense.

Rep. James P. Moran, Virginia Democrat, said Democrats' first priority is the future of the party and its ideals.

"I don't think our first objective is to protect the president," he said. "We want this to be a fair process, and whatever the outcome, if it's fair and objective, then we should stand by it and be part of the process."

A somber-looking Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota emerged from a mid-morning meeting with Mr. Clinton at the White House yesterday vowing to push Democratic policies through the remaining days of the 105th Congress, which is paralyzed with preoccupation over Mr. Clinton's problems.

"This has complicated our agenda, but it certainly hasn't diminished it," Mr. Daschle said.

Some Democrats minimized the impact of Mr. Clinton's difficulties on their campaigns. "People rarely bring it up in meetings," said Rep. Sherrod Brown, Ohio Democrat. In recent town meetings, he said, "When people did bring it up, other people in the room would react like, 'Let's talk about issues.' That was pretty common."

INSIDE SPORTS



PATERNO GOES FOR 300TH WIN

IN TEXAS VS. UCLA, HEISMAN HOPEFULS HIT THE FIELD, 1,13-15C

PADRES' BROWN LOSES AFTER QUICK START BASEBALL, 1,4-7C

By Al Dana, 1P
Paterno: Only one losing season since 1966, 1C

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YOUR TICKET TO FALL MOVIES

COMPLETE GUIDE, BEST BETS, 1,5-6E

EMMY SHOW A 4-HOUR GRAB BAG 10



"Beloved": Oprah Winfrey, Danny Glover in Toni Morrison drama, 1E

FRI./SAT./SUN., SEPT. 11-13, 1998

NEWSLINE

A QUICK READ ON THE NEWS

WALL STREET: Dow Jones industrial average drops 249.48 points to 7615.54; Nasdaq index slumps 39.22 to 1585.33; 30-year Treasury bond yield falls to 5.20%, 1,3B

► Japan's Nikkei average slides 562 points to 14,104 midday; yen is 134 per dollar. Hong Kong's Hang Seng index is down 218 points to 7,634 early today, 1B.

LATIN AMERICA STOCKS: Investors erase 15.9% from Sao Paulo Stock Exchange, Argentina's stock index slides 10.3% and Mexican bolsa index drops 9.8%, 1B.

WEEKEND ACTION



Preview of games, Forbes' ratings and a look at backup QBs in the spotlight, 1,11,12C

► Denver's John Elway

NOVA SCOTIA CRASH: Evidence raises possibility that a fire in electronics bay below the cockpit could have caused crash of Swissair Flight 111 last week, 11A.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE: Senate reformers fall again to break GOP filibuster denying a final vote on bill barring national parties from raising "soft money," 6A.

N. IRELAND PEACE: Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams meets with nemesis David Trimble, head of Northern Ireland's new legislative assembly, 7A.

FREEING KEIKO: The captured killer whale Keiko jumps from big-screen stardom back into his native North Atlantic, one leap closer to freedom, 11A.

TODAY'S DEBATE: Choosing a child's sex. In USA TODAY's opinion, "Don't let ethical issues quash science's potential to aid families," 14A.

► "Sex selection is the first leg of a journey in which the gift of life becomes transformed by biotechnologies into a customized product purchased in the genetic marketplace," Jeremy Rifkin says, 14A.

MONEY: Demand for PCs boosts Intel's revenue higher than expected. Is the worst over for parts of the battered semiconductor industry? 1B.

► Warning: Utility funds may cause shock, 4B.

SPORTS: Pete Sampras, Patrick Rafter semifinal showdown set for Saturday U.S. Open tennis, 1,10,15C.

► NHL training camps open this weekend, despite expansion, many free agents are unsigned, 3C.

LIFE: Slovenia's capital Ljubljana hard to pronounce, easy place to have fun. Travel, 1D.

► Toyota scores one for the coupe, Test Drive, 8D.

► Autumn harvest hitting restaurant menus, 8D.

GOING HOT WEEK



Breast cancer
Dr. Michael Gail is at the forefront of identifying factors that can increase a woman's risk of breast cancer, Monday

Debt busters
Experts take calls about consumer debt on USA TODAY's toll-free hot line, Thursday

Written by John O. Buckley

Inside USA TODAY

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Editorial/Opinion 14-15A
Lifestyles 11D
Marketspace Today 10-11D
State-by-state 9A
Stocks 6,8,10-11B

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USA SNAPSHOTS®

A look at statistics that shape the nation

Earnings by degree
Average annual pay by gender for full-time year-round workers over age 25 in 1995*

	Men	Women
No high school diploma	\$24,604	\$17,129
High school diploma	\$34,034	\$22,157
Some college	\$40,852	\$27,178
Bachelor's degree	\$53,102	\$37,304
Master's degree	\$71,071	\$44,567
Professional degree	\$112,673	\$90,711
Doctorate degree	\$136,436	\$102,169

* Excludes very low earners in Census

Source: Census Bureau

By Anne R. Carey and Genevieve Linn, USA TODAY

House set to release report



Presses her husband's policies: President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton head for a Democratic fund-raiser Thursday night. "I'm proud to introduce my husband and our president," she said at the event.

Clinton's 'final campaign': Survival through contrition

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Phase One of President Clinton's strategy for survival, Thursday, is to tell almost everyone he sees how sorry he is.

He offered a series of apologies to Senate Democratic leaders who may help judge his fate, members of his Cabinet whom he misled and, using more elliptical words, deep-pocket political contributors who are watching the Democratic Party's midterm prospects dim.

He even relayed his regrets when he congratulated a group invited to the Roosevelt Room of the White House to receive presidential awards for mentoring minorities, women and the disabled in science, math and engineering.

"I'm quite well aware that we're starting a lit-

tle late today, and I regret that," he began. He was delayed by "this process I am going through of talking to people with whom I work and with whom I must work in your behalf to ask for their understanding (and) their forgiveness."

COVER STORY

With his presidency on the line, Clinton and his senior advisers are scrambling to devise a strategy that squelches speculation about resignation and forestalls an impeachment vote in the House. Until recent days, there had been an assumption that this crisis — over a sexual affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky and his alleged efforts to cover it up — could be weathered like so many previous ones.

That confidence has largely evaporated. "The final campaign, I guess you call it," says

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

President apologizes to Cabinet, supporters

By Kevin Johnson
and William M. Welch
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — President Clinton took his campaign of contrition to Cabinet members and top Senate Democrats Thursday as Congress moved toward the public release of independent counsel Ken Starr's impeachment report.

The 445-page report will be published on the Internet as early as this afternoon.

The Republican-led House Rules Committee voted Thursday night to release the report, rejecting appeals by Democrats that Clinton be allowed to see it first.

The resolution to release the report, approved on a voice vote, goes to the full House for a final vote today.

Still in question is release of 2,000 pages of supporting material such as grand jury transcripts, voice and video tapes and lab reports.

Starr says the report contains evidence that Clinton committed crimes that could warrant his impeachment.

It also reportedly includes graphic details about sexual encounters between the president and former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Democrats are smiling at his release with trepidation.

Seeking to block any further erosion of his political base, Clinton met with Senate Democrats and apologized for his actions, as he did the day before with House leaders.

Later in the day, the president made a similar expression of contrition to members of his Cabinet, several of whom publicly declared their belief in Clinton eight months ago when he denied a relationship with Lewinsky.

Anxiety on Wall Street over the political uncertainty in Washington contributed to a 249-point drop in the Dow Jones industrial average Thursday.

Starr's report was delivered to Congress Wednesday and remained locked up Thursday in a government office building.

Clinton's lawyers, including private attorney David Kendall and White House counsel Charles Ruff, went to Capitol Hill to discuss the release with House Judiciary chairman Henry Hyde, R-Ill., and the committee's top Democrat, John Conyers of Michigan.

Kendall is preparing a rebuttal to Starr's report that, also could be released today.

Never in U.S. history has a president been impeached, but Starr's prosecutors say they have found "substantial and credible" evidence of perjury and obstruction of justice related to Clinton's relationship with Lewinsky.

Starr's investigation is continuing. The independent counsel's federal grand jury met in Washington Thursday and a person with knowledge of the matter did not rule out the possibility of criminal charges against others.

Among the most damaging allegations in the report, according to a lawyer with knowl-

- INSIDE**
- Do we want to know? 3A
 - Judiciary's Hyde in spotlight, 4A
 - Expect a Web traffic jam, 6A

Up-to-the-minute news, analysis and complete text of the Starr report throughout the weekend at www.usatoday.com

Poll: Clinton should stay in office, for now

Most Americans want President Clinton to stay in office, at least until they know more about charges being leveled against him by independent counsel Ken Starr.

Only one in three respondents — 31% — in a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll taken Thursday evening said President Clinton should be impeached and removed from office, based on what they know now about the Monica Lewinsky affair.

But a majority, 58%, said Congress should censure him after hearings on the report's charges.

Clinton's job-approval rating is down only slightly from 62% on Sept. 1 to 60% now; 37% disapprove of the job he's doing.

Meanwhile, an overwhelming majority, seven in 10, said they don't want to know the sexual details of Clinton's relationship with Lewinsky, the former White House intern.

The poll of 645 adults has an error margin of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

► A divided public, 3A

edge of the findings, is that Clinton obstructed justice when he sought to find Lewinsky a job, an effort that may have been intended to persuade her to deny their relationship in her affidavit in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case.

The report also says Clinton lied in his testimony Aug. 17 before Starr's federal grand jury and in his deposition in the Jones case Jan. 17, when he denied a sexual relationship with the 25-year-old former intern.

Altogether, the lawyer said Starr concludes that Clinton committed 11 offenses that could warrant impeachment.

The White House maintains that the president ultimately will be cleared.

House leaders said the report would be made available at least three government web sites: <http://thomas.loc.gov/icreport>, www.house.gov/icreport and www.access.gpo.gov/congress/icreport.

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Yeltsin names a new premier

By Genine Babekian
USA TODAY

MOSCOW — President Boris Yeltsin appointed his foreign minister to head Russia's government Thursday, ending a two-week political standoff with parliament that had pushed the country's beleaguered economy to the brink.

Yevgeny Primakov, who once headed Russia's spy agency, was expected to be confirmed as premier today by the same Duma, or lower house of parliament, that twice had rejected Yeltsin's initial nominee.

In Washington, White House spokesman Mike McCurry said the United States "knows and respects" Primakov and expects a "good and close working relationship" with him.

Yeltsin selected Primakov after his first choice, Viktor Chernomyrdin, withdrew in the face of mounting opposition from the Communist faction that holds 131 seats in the 450-member Duma.

"I will give up these powers," Chernomyrdin said in his final address to his Cabinet. "I cannot harm Russia. She is too dear to me."

Under Russia's Constitution, a third rejection would have forced Yeltsin to dissolve the Duma and call elections. Lawmakers across the political spectrum welcomed the choice.

leadership, a 17-member panel, at a meeting in Minneapolis Saturday afternoon.

The 6,150-member union will remain officially on strike until then, said pilot spokesman Paul Omodt.

Even if approved, Northwest may not get all its flights operating again until at least the middle of next week.

In Canada late Thursday, Air Canada and 2,100 striking pi-

Northwest, pilots reach tentative agreement

By David Field
USA TODAY

Northwest Airlines and its pilots also reached a tentative pact to end a nine-day strike.

Few details of either settlement were available.

Both Omodt and Northwest spokesman Jon Austin thanked White House Deputy Counsel Bruce Lindsey, who flew to Minneapolis Tuesday to spur the talks.

The pact is believed to phase out a contentious lower wage scale for newly hired pilots.

Northwest's pilots had agreed to more than \$350 million in pay and work rule concessions in 1993 to help the airline avert bankruptcy.

Getting retroactive pay was a key demand, and the pilots will get it in both cash and Northwest shares, according to sources familiar with the pact.

The two sides were very close on the amount of future pay raises. The pilots were

seeking a 14% increase over three years, while Northwest offered 8% over four years.

The strike was the longest against a U.S. airline since 1989, when a machinists' strike led to the collapse of Eastern Airlines.

Northwest had laid off 27,677 full-time workers and 567 part-time employees.

► Challenges remain, 3B

The Other Clinton

In *l'affaire Lewinsky*, Hillary Clinton is obviously a woman wronged, all the more so if you watch soap opera news. Andrea Mitchell of NBC reports that Mrs. Clinton copes well with her husband's behavior because she is "deeply religious" and "incredibly angry" at Kenneth Starr. CBS's Eric Engberg rhapsodizes that this is "not just a political thunderclap, but a family tragedy."

Mrs. Clinton in fact is the leading symbol of the problem of a bill of impeachment focusing on sexual behavior and the ensuing coverup, no matter how carefully documented. This emphasis on the personal obscures the systemic nature of the Clinton coverups, indeed, the Clinton mode of governance. It is probably too much to expect that the soaps would recall that she, not he, turned the \$100,000 commodities strike back in 1978 under the tutelage of Jim Blair of Tyson Foods. The statute of limitations had expired by the time this bribe was disclosed, but it also happens that Mrs. Clinton is smack in the middle of some other, unfulfilled items of Mr. Starr's mandate.

The mandate started with the original Whitewater-Madison Guaranty land deals, over which Mr. Starr has already convicted Jim and Susan McDougal and former Arkansas Governor Jim Guy Tucker. Mrs. Clinton's work at the Rose Law Firm covered a deal called Castle Grande; the Resolution Trust Corp. concluded that the Castle Grande deal was a "sham transaction" designed to conceal Madison's ownership. The Rose billing records from the firm were under subpoena for two years before they miraculously appeared on a coffee table in a room at the White House. Fed up, Mr. Starr summoned Mrs. Clinton in January 1996 to a Washington grand jury for an explanation. It also happens that in September 1996, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. concluded that a document drafted by

Mrs. Clinton had been used by McDougal's Madison S&L "to deceive federal bank examiners."

Mr. Starr has determined that deputy White House counsel Vincent Foster died by his own hand at Fort Marcy Park in July 1993, but the probe into the aftermath of the death remains open. Mrs. Clinton played a key role in limiting access by federal investigators to Mr. Foster's office, and her chief of staff, Maggie Williams, was seen leaving the area with an armful of folders. A year later, in the face of media and Congressional pressure, the White House revealed that Whitewater files removed from Mr. Foster's office had been kept at the personal residence for five days before

being turned over to the Clintons' personal attorneys.



Hillary Clinton

Mr. Starr's mandate also includes the misuse of FBI files, a subject covered in the sixth deposition of Mrs. Clinton by Mr. Starr's investigators last April. And finally, Mr. Starr is

supposed to report on the Travel Office firings. A 1993 memo by then-White House director of administration David Watkins directly contradicting Mrs. Clinton surfaced during a House investigation. Vincent Foster "regularly informed me that the First Lady was concerned and desired action—the action desired was the firing of the Travel Office staff." The Watkins memo was discovered after White House lawyers had submitted an April 1994 statement on behalf of Mrs. Clinton saying she "does not know the origin of the decision to remove the White House Travel Office employees."

Mr. Starr's grand juries, where the matters above have been vetted, were meeting yesterday, indicating that investigation of the balance of his mandate goes forward. It is of course asking a lot for Mr. Starr to get some clear deposition of the issues concerning not only the President but the First Lady. But if he fails to do so, we doubt that justice will have been served or the public adequately informed about how its government has been run.

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TI 11 STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

Yeltsin Bows to Pressure; Picks Compromise Figure

Primakov Praised by Wide Range of Politicians

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

MOSCOW, Sept. 10 — Bowing out of a confrontation with his emboldened opposition, President Boris N. Yeltsin today named Foreign Minister Yevgeny M. Primakov, architect of Russia's hard-line foreign policy, as his compromise candidate to lead a new Government as Prime Minister.

The nomination of Mr. Primakov, a veteran diplomat and spy master, a cool-headed survivor from the Soviet era who has stayed above Russia's political battles, was instantly welcomed by a wide range of political leaders, including the Communists, Mr. Yeltsin's most unrelenting foes. A vote on Mr. Primakov's nomination is scheduled for Friday, a sign that his confirmation is all but assured.

Mr. Primakov's nomination was seen as a rare and telling concession from Mr. Yeltsin, who has in his seven years in power usually pushed

his opponents to the wall, using all his political powers from artful cajoling to outright force to submit them to his will.

With his authority in tatters and the country heading for an economic depression, Mr. Yeltsin and his dwindling team of advisers chose to sidestep a collision course with the opposition-dominated lower house by turning away from his first choice for the job, former Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin.

Mr. Yeltsin, who has not been seen in public since President Clinton left Moscow a week ago, has not come forward with an explanation of his latest nominee for Prime Minister.

Crucial questions remain about the political makeup and economic policies of a Primakov Government that after a day of political hints and haggling began to look like a coalition effort. Still, admirers described Mr. Primakov as an experienced but neutral player who will be able to withstand powerful political lobbies and heed pragmatic, even politically unpopular, advice.

Skeptics said Mr. Primakov, who has no background in economic management, would be hard pressed to find a formula that will allow him to keep his job as well as steer the country out of its economic crisis. At best, the skeptics said, his will be a caretaker Government, charged with leading the country to early parliamentary and presidential elections.

Mr. Primakov, a Middle East expert who began his career as a journalist and briefly headed the intelligence service, kept a low profile today, continuing his duties as Foreign Minister.

The first indication of his policies will be seen on Friday, when he addresses the Parliament in the late afternoon, after a day of consultations. He is not expected to name a Cabinet before the vote.

A spokesman for the Kremlin said

Continued on Page A6



A NEW NOMINEE Prime Minister-designate Yevgeny M. Primakov, at the Kremlin yesterday, is a veteran diplomat. Page A6.

Northwest and Pilots Union Gain Tentative Accord in Labor Fight

By LAURENCE ZUCKERMAN

Negotiators for Northwest Airlines and its pilots union reached a tentative agreement yesterday to settle a 13-day strike that has disrupted travel in the Midwest and South.

On a day when most of the focus in Washington was on the political difficulties facing President Clinton, he announced the breakthrough personally in an evening statement to reporters on the White House lawn.

"I think the strike is over," he said. Flanked by his wife, Hillary, and Transportation Secretary Rodney E. Slater, Mr. Clinton praised the leaders at Northwest and the Air Line Pilots Association and thanked the members of his Administration, including Bruce Lindsey, the White House deputy counsel who was instrumental in bringing about the settlement.

"I know there are a lot of people who depend on Northwest who are relieved tonight," Mr. Clinton said.

But Northwest would not begin flying again until the union has accepted the pact. In a statement released after the President's comments, the pilots union said its 17-member governing master executive council would meet in Minneapolis on Saturday to decide whether to approve the agreement. Until then, the pilots will remain on strike, it added. The airline has said it will take 8 to 10 days after the pilots agree to return to work before the airline can resume its full schedule.

Northwest and the union said they would not release details of the tentative

agreement until the pilots' executive council took action on it.

The Northwest pilots strike has been the longest against an airline since 1989, when machinists shut down Eastern Airlines. All of Northwest's nearly 1,700 flights have been grounded, sharply reducing air travel in Northwest's hub airports in Detroit, Minneapolis and Memphis and the surrounding regions, where the airline was dominant.

One of the hardest hit states has been North Dakota, which depends on Northwest for virtually all of its air service. But in cities like Detroit and Minneapolis, the disruption from the strike was less than many people had expected. Other airlines added flights to the cities, businesses made other arrangements, and people sim-

Continued on Page A14

STARR REPORT IS SAID TO CLAIM PERJURY AND ABUSE OF POWER BY PRESIDENT IN LEWINSKY CASE



President Clinton received an ovation last night from people attending a gathering of the Democratic Business Council at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, charmed during the applause.

First Lady Backs President As He Appeals for Absolution

By JAMES BENNET

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — Hillary Rodham Clinton declared her pride and admiration for her husband tonight after President Clinton spent much of the day taking himself to the woodshed, offering emotional apologies to senators and Cabinet secretaries for misleading them over his relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

Appearing with the President at a gathering of Democratic donors here tonight, Mrs. Clinton gave him a rousing introduction, saying he had "given faith again to people all over our country that the American dream can mean what it should mean." She praised his "unrelenting determination to do what is best for America."

The President hugged her as he stepped to the lectern, and, beaming, she patted his back.

"I can only hope you know what I'm feeling, for you and for my wife and for my country," Mr. Clinton said. "I think you do, and I thank you more than you can possibly know."

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman said today that the First Lady "stresses her support, her love and her forgiveness" for her husband. Previous statements expressed love and support, but this was the first to use the word forgiveness.

As Mr. Clinton waged a campaign of contrition for the second day to shore up support for his Presidency, his aides braced for the disclosure on Friday of the prosecutors' report about his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. They had been stunned when Kenneth W. Starr, the White Water independent counsel, abruptly delivered his findings to Congress on Wednesday. The White House plans to hire two to three people in the next several days to help manage the proceedings on the Hill, aides said.

Described as close to tears, the President promised Senate Democrats earlier today that he would do all he could to rebuild their trust and assured them that no more nasty surprises awaited them about his personal conduct.

"Bill Clinton is in some considerable personal pain," said Senator Robert G. Torricelli, one of the Democrats.

The President sat down with his Cabinet secretaries late this afternoon for their first meeting since Jan. 23, when he had assured them that he had not had a liaison with Ms. Lewinsky.

After that meeting, four of the secretaries marched outside, and speaking to television cameras, declared that they believed him. Mr. Clinton did not directly refer to that previous meeting, participants said.

Some secretaries quoted Scripture and most were supportive though critical of his behavior, participants said. One person who was present said Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, had told Mr. Clinton that she was ap-

Continued on Page A15

On Initial Focus Of the Inquiry, Mostly Silence

By STEPHEN LABATON

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — The report to Congress from the independent counsel, whose inquiry began four years ago with an examination of a complicated land deal called Whitewater and extended to investigations involving the White House travel office and the Administration's use of F.B.I. files, finds no offense by President Clinton in any of those areas that would merit impeachment, lawyers with knowledge of the report's content said today.

The report, the lawyers said, does draw parallels between the conduct of the President and his advisers in the Lewinsky episode and their role in some Arkansas aspects of the inquiry. Indeed, it was the argument of the independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, that there were such parallels that gained him jurisdiction eight months ago to investigate a possible cover-up of Mr. Clinton's relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

But the report's section on impeachment charges — obstruction of justice, perjury, witness tampering and abuse of power — is grounded solely in the Clinton-Lewinsky relationship and the President's response to questions about it raised in a civil suit, the lawyers said.

Aides of Mr. Starr said today that the fact that the report was largely silent on the first three years of his inquiry, before the Lewinsky matter was taken up, meant that the prosecutors had discovered no impeachable offenses in areas long under investigation by both him and his predecessor as Whitewater inde-

Continued on Page A19

RELEASE DUE TODAY

Other Areas of 4-Year
Inquiry Said to Find
No Acts to Impeach

By DON VAN Natta Jr.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — The report sent to Congress by the White-water independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, contends that evidence shows President Clinton committed perjury, obstructed justice, tampered with witnesses and abused the power of his office in trying to cover up an affair with Monica S. Lewinsky, lawyers familiar with the report said today.

Mr. Starr's 445-page report, however, lists no impeachable offenses arising from the majority of Mr. Starr's four-year-old inquiry on such matters as the failed Whitewater land deal, the alleged misuse of F.B.I. files or the alleged coverup in the White House travel office matter. Lawyers did say the report draws parallels between the White House conduct in the Lewinsky inquiry and efforts, they say, that were made during the Whitewater inquiry to cover up what actually happened.

The report asserts that Mr. Clinton lied during his civil deposition in the Paula Corbin Jones sexual misconduct lawsuit in January and during his grand jury testimony last month from the White House, the three lawyers, who insisted on anonymity, said.

In a 140-page section that outlines possible grounds for impeachment, prosecutors use graphic descriptions of sexual encounters to try to contradict Mr. Clinton's months-long denial of his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. They also accuse Mr. Clinton of abusing the power of his office by using Government resources to attempt to thwart Mr. Starr's inquiry for seven months, the lawyers said. Abuse of power was one of the impeachment counts leveled against President Richard M. Nixon in 1974.

That section also outlines Mr. Starr's contention that the President lied to Government lawyers and senior aides, who then denied to the public and the grand jury that Mr. Clinton had an inappropriate or improper relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, the 35-year-old former White House intern. Prosecutors advance the argument that the President knowingly allowed several senior aides and friends to make misrepresentations to the grand jury, one lawyer said. And, the lawyers said, prosecutors are also critical of the privilege claims filed by Government lawyers to try to block the grand jury testimony of White House aides and lawyers.

Prosecutors also give details that they say show how Mr. Clinton tried to influence the testimony of Ms. Lewinsky and his personal secretary. They also include evidence that they say demonstrates that he obstructed justice through trying to help Ms. Lewinsky find a job and retrieve gifts that had been subpoenaed in the Jones case.

The long-awaited report, which the House of Representatives plans to post on the Internet on Friday, is a damaging narrative that reads like a

Continued on Page A19

INSIDE

Scientists May Have Found A Way to Eliminate E. Coli

Scientists have found that a simple change in the diet of cattle awaiting slaughter may be a way of eliminating strains of E. coli bacteria that have caused scores of deaths and sickened thousands of consumers of undercooked hamburgers. Page A12.

Campaign Measure Dies

Unable to muster enough votes to stop a Republican filibuster, the Senate has effectively killed for this year legislation approved over-whelmingly by the House to change the way the country finances political campaigns. Page A14.

Court to Hear Census Case

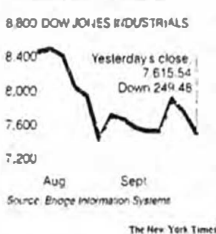
The Supreme Court, in an usually speedy decision, has agreed to hear the Clinton Administration's appeal of a ruling last month that barred the use of statistical sampling in the 2000 census. Page A14.

Austria Moves on Looted Art

Ministers of the Austrian Government sent a draft law on the restitution of art confiscated by the Nazis to Parliament and said they expected some items to be returned to their owners within the year. Page A8.

Another Tumble

Stocks deepened their slide, with the Dow Jones industrial average falling 249.48 points or 3.17 percent. The Dow has now fallen 18.4 percent since its July 17 peak. Business Day, page C1.



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On the Internet: www.nytimes.com

Iran Issues Warning To Afghan Leaders

Iran said it would hold the militant Taliban movement that controls most of neighboring Afghanistan responsible for the deaths of nine Iranian diplomats whose bodies were recovered there yesterday.

The Taliban said the Iranians had been killed by renegade forces. But Iran, which had responded to the diplomats' disappearance with a major military buildup on the border, said it reserved "the right to defend the security of its citizens."

Article, page A3.

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Feuds Erupt in Congress Over Details of Release

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — As Congress prepared to make public the 445-page impeachment report by the White Water independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, concerning the President's extramarital relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky, Democrats and Republicans began testily jockeying today over the details of releasing and reviewing the materials that could endanger the Clinton Presidency.

Congressional leaders still spoke of decorum and bipartisanship. But feuding quickly erupted as Republicans rebuffed efforts by Clinton aides to win even one hour for the President and his lawyer to review the report before it is posted on the Internet.

Tonight, in a party-line vote, the Republican-controlled House Rules Committee defeated a Democratic effort to give Mr. Clinton 48 hours to see the charges against him. By

voice vote, it then sent to the full House a resolution to allow immediate dissemination of the report by the White Water independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, concerning the President's extramarital relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

The House is expected to pass the measure easily on Friday, despite the qualms of some Democrats. And within hours of the House vote, Republican leaders plan to post the report on the Internet, before Congress has seen it and with no scrutiny or editing of the most graphic details of Mr. Clinton's liaison with Ms. Lewinsky. The step will give the American public an extraordinary cyber-space look at just what Mr. Starr considers "substantial and credible" evidence that could lead to Mr. Clinton's impeachment.

Democrats protested all day that such hasty disclosure was unfair to the President and irresponsible.

"The House of Representatives is not the U.S. Postal Service," Representative John Conyers Jr. the senior Democrat on the Judiciary Com-

mittee, protested in a hearing held by the Rules Committee. "We are not a delivery system for Kenneth W. Starr." "We cannot, we ought not, we should not, release anything to anybody unless we know what it is we are releasing," Mr. Conyers said.

Representative Henry J. Hyde, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, told the Rules Committee that "it is important that the American people learn the facts."

Mr. Hyde, whose committee will oversee any impeachment inquiry, was comfortable releasing Mr. Starr's report but said that 2000 pages of backup material and boxes of grand jury testimony, videotapes and audio tapes needed to be screened to protect innocent parties.

Under the resolution sent to the House, those materials would be put under the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee.

Continued on Page A19

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RELEASE DUE TODAY

Other Areas of 4-Year Inquiry Said to Find No Acts to Impeach

By DON VAN NATTA Jr. **A1**

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — The report sent to Congress by the White-water independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, contends that evidence shows President Clinton committed perjury, obstructed justice, tampered with witnesses and abused the power of his office in trying to cover up an affair with Monica S. Lewinsky, lawyers familiar with the report said today.

Mr. Starr's 445-page report, however, lists no impeachable offenses arising from the majority of Mr. Starr's four-year-old inquiry on such matters as the failed Whitewater land deal, the alleged misuse of F.B.I. files or the alleged coverup in the White House travel office matter. Lawyers did say the report draws parallels between the White House conduct in the Lewinsky inquiry and efforts, they say, that were made during the Whitewater inquiry to cover up what actually happened.

The report asserts that Mr. Clinton lied during his civil deposition in the Paula Corbin Jones sexual misconduct lawsuit in January and during his grand jury testimony last month from the White House, the three lawyers, who insisted on anonymity, said.

In a 140-page section that outlines possible grounds for impeachment, prosecutors use graphic descriptions of sexual encounters to try to contradict Mr. Clinton's months-long denial of his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. They also accuse Mr. Clinton of abusing the power of his office by using Government resources to attempt to thwart Mr. Starr's inquiry for seven months, the lawyers said. Abuse of power was one of the impeachment counts leveled against President Richard M. Nixon in 1974.

That section also outlines Mr. Starr's contention that the President lied to Government lawyers and senior aides, who then denied to the public and the grand jury that Mr. Clinton had an inappropriate or improper relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, the 25-year-old former White House intern. Prosecutors advance the argument that the President knowingly allowed several senior aides and friends to make misrepresentations to the grand jury, one lawyer said. And, the lawyers said, prosecutors are also critical of the privilege claims filed by Government lawyers to try to block the grand jury testimony of White House aides and lawyers.

Prosecutors also give details that they say show how Mr. Clinton tried to influence the testimony of Ms. Lewinsky and his personal secretary. They also include evidence that they say demonstrates that he obstructed justice through trying to help Ms. Lewinsky find a job and retrieve gifts that had been subpoenaed in the Jones case.

The long-awaited report, which the House of Representatives plans to post on the Internet on Friday, is "a damaging narrative that reads like a

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novel," one of the lawyers said. "It accuses the President of lying and obstructing, over and over."

The report culminated an investigation into Mr. Clinton that began on Jan. 12, 1994, under Robert B. Fiske Jr., and then continued later that year under Mr. Starr.

During a meeting with Senate Democrats at the White House, Mr. Clinton assured them they would find "no surprises" in Mr. Starr's report.

David E. Kendall, the President's lawyer, said today that the report was nothing more than a collection of prosecutors' "contentions, claims and allegations and we look forward to the chance to rebut them."

A copy of the report was not made available to The New York Times, but the shape and scope of the report were described in interviews today with the three lawyers.

The referral to Congress does not conclude Mr. Starr's criminal inquiry. Mr. Starr's prosecutors have grand juries still active, which might pursue criminal charges against Presidential aides whose actions are seen by prosecutors as aiding a White House abuse of power.

The foundation of the obstruction of justice part of the report is the allegation that Mr. Clinton played a pivotal role in an attempt by his friend, Vernon E. Jordan Jr., to find Ms. Lewinsky a job in the private sector last December, the lawyers said. The report also lays out a case that the President played a role in Ms. Lewinsky's decision to return several Presidential gifts, which had been sought by a subpoena from Ms. Jones's lawyers, they said.

Both actions were intended to keep Ms. Lewinsky from telling the truth to the Jones lawyers, the prosecutors contend.

In his grand jury testimony, Mr.

Clinton denied that he had sought to help Ms. Lewinsky secure a job or retrieve the gifts, his allies have said.

The report also gives details of a meeting between Mr. Clinton and his secretary, Betty Currie, at the White House on Sunday, Jan. 18, the day after Mr. Clinton was asked a series of questions about Ms. Lewinsky in the Jones case, a lawyer said.

In February, a White House official dismissed the Currie meeting as an effort by the President to "refresh his recollection" about Ms. Lewinsky's visits and other matters. The report attests that Mr. Clinton asked Mrs. Currie questions to try to influence her as a potential witness in the Jones case, the lawyer said.

Prosecutors contend that Mr. Clinton also tried to interfere with the Jones lawsuit as early as the summer of 1997, the lawyers said. In May 1997, the Supreme Court ruled, unanimously, that the Jones lawsuit would proceed while Mr. Clinton was in office. Within a week, Ms. Jones' lawyers had said they would attempt to interview under oath other women linked to Mr. Clinton.

That summer, the report says, Mr. Clinton asked Ms. Lewinsky to keep their relationship secret. That request came six months before she was subpoenaed in the Jones case, the lawyer said. At a White House meeting in mid-July, the lawyer said, Mr. Clinton also encouraged Ms. Lewinsky to urge her friend and another potential witness, Linda R. Tripp, to stay silent about a White House volunteer, Kathleen E. Willey, who said she resisted an unwanted sexual advance from the President just outside the Oval Office. Ms. Tripp bumped into Ms. Willey shortly after the alleged encounter.

In the 140-page section that lays out the grounds for possible impeachment proceedings, there are several "salacious and detailed" references to sexual encounters be-

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

A long-awaited report that one lawyer says 'reads like a novel.'

Feuds Erupt in Congress Over Details of Release

By ALISON MITCHELL

Continued From Page A1

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — As Congress prepared to make public the 445-page impeachment report by the Whitewater independent counsel, Democrats and Republicans began testily jockeying today over the details of releasing and reviewing the materials that could endanger the Clinton Presidency.

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voice vote, it then sent to the full House a resolution to allow immediate dissemination of the report by the Whitewater independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, concerning the President's extramarital relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

The House is expected to pass the measure easily on Friday, despite the qualms of some Democrats. And within hours of the House vote, Republican leaders plan to post the report on the Internet, before Congress has seen it and with no scrutiny or editing of the most graphic details of Mr. Clinton's liaison with Ms. Lewinsky. The step will give the American public an extraordinary cyberspace look at just what Mr. Starr considers "substantial and credible" evidence that could lead to Mr. Clinton's impeachment.

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Representative Henry J. Hyde, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, told the Rules Committee that "It is important that the American people learn the facts."

Mr. Hyde, whose committee will oversee any impeachment inquiry, was comfortable releasing Mr. Starr's report but said that 2,000 pages of backup material and boxes of grand jury testimony, videotapes and audio tapes needed to be screened to protect innocent parties.

Under the resolution sent to the House, those materials would be put under the jurisdiction of the Judicial

Committee for review, to be released publicly on Sept. 28, unless the committee decides to hold them back or edit information.

Tensions ran high in the House, particularly among Democrats, as it faced the possibility of impeachment proceedings for the first time since 1974, when President Richard M. Nixon resigned because of the Watergate scandal. And Senate Democratic leaders who journeyed to the White House this morning to see the President were painfully blunt with him. Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska, told Mr. Clinton that it was possible he could be impeached if the public turned on him, said a person who attended the meeting.

In a sign of the pressures felt by Democrats worrying about whether the scandal will affect their election prospects, Democratic leaders said that they expected many party members to vote for disclosure of Mr. Starr's report on Friday despite their qualms. A few Democrats were among the voices calling for swift disclosure, hoping to get the worst behind them quickly.

House Democrats caucused behind closed doors this morning, with

party leaders trying to assure them that they were not facing a rout at the polls in November and that they had to focus on their strengths, like their positions on Social Security, education and health maintenance organizations.

But Representative Richard A. Gephardt, the House minority leader, emphasized to his party's members that the President's standing in the polls should not affect any decision on impeachment proceedings.

Several Democrats said Mr. Gephardt told them that if the President had a 100 percent poll rating but evidence indicated an impeachable offense, he should face the judgment of Congress.

As the public learns the details of Mr. Starr's report over the weekend, the Democratic reaction will be crucial for Mr. Clinton. The House caucus was divided between those who were protesting that Mr. Clinton was not being allowed to see the accusations against him and those who focused on what is expected to come in the report.

Representative James Moran, Democrat of Virginia, said that some in the caucus had said the President's welfare should be a priority. But Mr. Moran said, "The Democrats are in minority, and this is a

train heading downhill without a brake on it."

Accusing White House aides of focusing on trying to avoid charges against the President, Mr. Moran said: "It's not a matter of beating charges. It's a matter of restoring the moral authority of the Presidency."

But other Democrats protested the Republicans' refusal to give Mr. Clinton an early look at Mr. Starr's report, noting that when Speaker Newt Gingrich was censured by the House on ethics charges, he was allowed to review the report against him.

"They gave Gingrich a week to look at it and respond to it," said Representative Jerrold Nadler, a Manhattan Democrat on the Judiciary Committee. "The President is asking for two days."

At midday, Mr. Clinton's private lawyer, David E. Kendall, Charles F. C. Ruff, the White House counsel, and John D. Podesta, the deputy chief of staff, met with Mr. Hyde. Both sides called the session cordial. But a Judiciary committee aide, who insisted on anonymity, said Mr. Hyde refused their request for 48 hours to review the report in advance and then refused to give them even an hour.

For much of the day, Republicans and Democrats looked for legal precedents to bolster their arguments about how to proceed. Never before has a report accusing the President of impeachable offenses come before Congress under the 20-year-old law authorizing independent counsels.

Mr. Gingrich, in an appearance on CNN, said that a review of a special prosecutor's report before its release had "never been done before." He said he would allow Mr. Clinton's lawyer to post Mr. Clinton's response to Mr. Starr's report on a House Internet site.

Asked in the interview whether Mr. Clinton should resign, the Speaker said: "I think only the President can answer that. He knows in his heart what the facts are."

With the House now required to decide whether to open the first impeachment proceedings against a President since the Watergate scandal, Mr. Gingrich reminded members of House rules that forbid personally derogative remarks about the President.

"Members engaging in debate must abstain from language that is personally offensive toward the President, including references to various types of unethical behavior," he said, citing House rules.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

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First Lady Backs President As He Appeals for Absolution

A1

By JAMES BENNET

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WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — Hillary Rodham Clinton declared her pride and admiration for her husband tonight after President Clinton spent much of the day taking himself to the woodshed, offering emotional apologies to senators and Cabinet secretaries for misleading them over his relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

Appearing with the President at a gathering of Democratic donors here tonight, Mrs. Clinton gave him a rousing introduction, saying he had "given faith again to people all over our country that the American dream can mean what it should mean." She praised his "unrelenting determination to do what is best for America."

The President hugged her as he stepped to the lectern, and, beaming, she patted his back.

"I can only hope you know what I'm feeling, for you and for my wife and for my country," Mr. Clinton said. "I think you do, and I thank you more than you can possibly know."

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman said today that the First Lady "stresses her support, her love and her forgiveness" for her husband. Previous statements expressed love and support, but this was the first to use the word forgiveness.

As Mr. Clinton waged a campaign of contrition for the second day to shore up support for his Presidency, his aides braced for the disclosure on Friday of the prosecutors' report about his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. They had been stunned when Kenneth W. Starr, the Whitewater independent counsel, abruptly delivered his findings to Congress on Wednesday. The White House plans to hire two to three people in the next several days to help manage the proceedings on the Hill, aides said.

Described as close to tears, the President promised Senate Democrats earlier today that he would do all he could to rebuild their trust and assured them that no more nasty surprises awaited them about his personal conduct.

"Bill Clinton is in some considerable personal pain," said Senator Robert G. Torricelli, one of the Democrats.

The President sat down with his Cabinet secretaries late this afternoon for their first meeting since Jan. 23, when he had assured them that he had not had a liaison with Ms. Lewinsky.

After that meeting, four of the secretaries marched outside, and speaking to television cameras, declared that they believed him. Mr. Clinton did not directly refer to that previous meeting, participants said.

Some secretaries quoted Scripture and most were supportive though critical of his behavior, participants said. One person who was present said Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, had told Mr. Clinton that she was ap-

palled by his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, though she said she still supported him and his policies.

Andrew M. Cuomo, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, said Mr. Clinton, "apologized and said that he owes this group a special obligation because they have done so much for him. He said he considered us like family."

Madeleine K. Albright, the Secretary of State, described the meeting as "very sober and very moving." She had emerged from the meeting in January to say, "I believe the allegations are completely untrue." Tonight, she said she told Mr. Clinton that this was a "sad and difficult time." She said she accepted his apology and did not express any frustration at having defended him publicly before. "I don't have that feeling," she said.

Mrs. Albright and the three others who appeared before the cameras in January did not do so again today. Instead, her aides offered her for brief interviews later. One of those four, Commerce Secretary William Daley, did not attend the meeting. White House aides said he had a conflict out of town.

One participant said that some secretaries left the meeting still angry. "Different people were in different places," this Cabinet secretary said, speaking on condition of anonymity. "Some remained judgmental."

The Cabinet meeting followed a session late this morning with Senate Democrats, a replay of a meeting Mr. Clinton held Wednesday morning with Congressional Democrats in the same room, the Yellow Oval Room of the White House residence.

After just two days, such meetings have taken on a ritualistic quality. White House aides and senators said the President apologized and said he would do all he could to win back the senators' trust, he absorbed their

criticisms and anger, and he tried to allay their fretting over the possibility of more damaging disclosures.

But the senators warned Mr. Clinton that impeachment was a possibility. Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska told Mr. Clinton that he was now facing a political rather than a legal process, one person who was present said. The House would follow the country, Mr. Kerrey said, so the President would have to retain his popular support to survive.

"People gave very frank assessments," Mr. Torricelli said, "making clear that the situation could not be sustained if there were further revelations or if you cannot contradict aspects of the report."

Mr. Torricelli said Mr. Clinton began the meeting by discussing the pain he had caused his family and his effort to ease it. He said Mr. Clinton believed "they'd have a stronger relationship having survived this crisis."

After the talk, Senator Tom Daschle, the minority leader, invoked the terminology of modern popular psychology in calling for national healing.

"I hope that this process will continue with an expectation that we can bring it to closure some time in the not-too-distant future," he said.

It is a measure of the scope of Mr. Clinton's political problems that he feels compelled to address them directly and repeatedly. In past controversies over matters like his campaign finances, Mr. Clinton preferred to ignore any accusations in the be-

lief that the public was more interested in his agenda.

Mr. Clinton used that approach in the months after the Lewinsky accusations surfaced, and tried it again after acknowledging an inappropriate relationship on Aug. 17.

But since then, the Congressional Democrats whom Mr. Clinton needs to sustain him against possible impeachment hearings have begun to back away.

"I've seen a real change in his approach to these problems in the last few weeks," Mr. Torricelli said. "He's gone from being angry at his accusers to being angry at himself, and there's a marked transformation, and you can see it in his manners and in his face."

White House aides said the President surprised them by abandoning his previous, grudging apologies, over the objections of some hard-line advisers. These aides said his new approach did not mark a strategic shift. "He's just going in and doing it," one Clinton aide said today.

Another one said Mr. Clinton's family, friends and Democratic colleagues "have forced him to confront the magnitude of the harm that he has done."

"The reality is, he's saying it because he feels it," this adviser said. "If he didn't feel it, he wouldn't say it, as we know from the last couple of weeks." He compared Mr. Clinton's transformation to a person's passage through four stages of dealing with a death, saying he had moved from denial, to anger, to acceptance and a desire to get on with his Presidency.

Aides said they expected Mr. Clinton to continue apologizing publicly at future events.

While Mr. Clinton has become more aggressive in his contrition, his aides are struggling to devise a defense for him on Capitol Hill. Two close advisers to the President said that they were searching for an "uberlawyer" to coordinate the work of Mr. Clinton's lawyers and the White House political staff, and act as a trusted ambassador to Congress.

The White House may also add another lawyer to work with a senior ambassador to Congress and to help coordinate the legal and political

strategies. "They thought they had two weeks to figure this out," said a Democratic political consultant who has been involved in efforts to defend the President. "Instead, they had two days because of the report going to the Hill."

Continued on Page A18

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

Northwest and Pilots Union Gain Tentative Accord in Labor Fight

A1

By LAURENCE ZUCKERMAN

Negotiators for Northwest Airlines and its pilots union reached a tentative agreement yesterday to settle a 13-day strike that has disrupted travel in the Midwest and South.

On a day when most of the focus in Washington was on the political difficulties facing President Clinton, he announced the breakthrough personally in an evening statement to reporters on the White House lawn.

"I think the strike is over," he said.

Flanked by his wife, Hillary, and Transportation Secretary Rodney E. Slater, Mr. Clinton praised the leaders at Northwest and the Air Line Pilots Association and thanked the members of his Administration, including Bruce Lindsey, the White House deputy counsel who was instrumental in bringing about the settlement.

"I know there are a lot of people who depend on Northwest who are relieved tonight," Mr. Clinton said.

But Northwest would not begin flying again until the union has accepted the pact. In a statement released after the President's comments, the pilots union said its 17-member governing master executive council would meet in Minneapolis on Saturday to decide whether to approve the agreement. Until then, the pilots will remain on strike, it added. The airline has said it will take 8 to 10 days after the pilots agree to return to work before the airline can resume its full schedule.

Northwest and the union said they would not release details of the tenta-

tive agreement until the pilots' executive council took action on it.

The Northwest pilots strike has been the longest against an airline since 1989, when machinists shut down Eastern Airlines. All of Northwest's nearly 1,700 flights have been grounded, sharply reducing air travel in Northwest's hub airports in Detroit, Minneapolis and Memphis and the surrounding regions, where the airline was dominant.

One of the hardest hit states has been North Dakota, which depends on Northwest for virtually all of its air service. But in cities like Detroit and Minneapolis, the disruption from the strike was less than many people had expected. Other airlines added flights to the cities, businesses made other arrangements, and people sim-

Continued From Page A1

ply stayed home.

The lack of disruption undermined dire predictions by Northwest before the strike as it tried to put pressure on Mr. Clinton to use his executive powers to order the pilots back to work, as he did last year when pilots struck at American Airlines.

"What has happened is that passengers have found it easier to book elsewhere," said Robert E. Litan, the director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution who was hired by Northwest to assess the economic damage of a strike.

Mr. Litan's study said the damage would equal \$737 million in the strike's first 10 days. But this week he said his revised estimate was about two-thirds of his original forecast with more than half coming from the fact that Northwest ceased operations and laid off 30,000 of its 51,000 workers.

The pilots walked out on Aug. 29 after two years of negotiations. The main issues in the dispute were pay and job security. The pilots wanted a substantial raise to make up for

wage concessions they made in 1993 that helped Northwest avoid bankruptcy. They were also concerned that Northwest would shift their workload to smaller commuter jets flown by pilots who are paid less.

The airline said that it was willing to give the pilots a raise but that it could not afford to pay them more than their counterparts at other major airlines. The union says the pilots receive an average salary of \$120,000 a year; the company puts that figure at \$133,000.

But behind those apparently narrow differences were years of simmering resentment on both sides. The pilots accused Northwest of dragging its feet while the airline racked up record profits and its top executives cashed in stock options worth millions. The company said a group of radical leaders at the pilots union had been spoiling for a strike since early 1996.

The hard feelings had prevented the sides from returning to the table. Mr. Slater called John H. Dasburg, Northwest's chief executive, and J. Randolph Babbitt, president of the Air Line Pilots Association, to a meeting in Washington last week to

see whether there were areas of compromise. Negotiators for both sides met separately in Chicago last weekend with Federal mediators.

But it was not until Mr. Lindsey flew to Minneapolis with Mr. Slater on Tuesday afternoon that negotiations began again in earnest, said those involved in the discussions. By late Wednesday night, after a long day of bargaining, the pilots had made a compromise offer and the company had responded. A deal seemed within reach.

Yesterday morning, Mr. Lindsey was at the airport preparing to leave when he received a call from the White House. The pilots union was asking for him to return to the talks to help hammer out a settlement. The White House was already signaling that if there was no settlement, the President would order the pilots back to work. By afternoon, the two sides had a deal.

Mr. Clinton then called Mr. Dasburg and Mr. Babbitt to urge both men to wrap up the negotiations as soon as possible, an Administration official said.

One person involved in the negotiations who insisted on anonymity said the pilots had relaxed their wage demands and agreed instead to incentives like stock options.

Whether the union leaders will approve the deal is an open question. Over the summer, Northwest reached an accord with negotiators for the International Association of Machinists, which represents 27,000 workers, but members voted down the contract in July.

Even if the pilot leaders approve the new contract, the damage to the airline has already been substantial.

Wall Street analysts estimate that Northwest has lost \$250 million to \$300 million and that it is likely to lose more as it begins fare discounts and other promotions to draw back passengers. The carrier's stock price has fallen more than 60 percent since spring, largely because of the strike.

The pilots have lost the wages they would have earned from flying and have weakened a company in a business in which profits and growth provide them with the best job security and opportunities to increase their earnings.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

WASHINGTON NOTEBOOK

First Lady Draws a Large Audience as the President Draws Religious Advice

By JOHN M. BRODER

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — President Clinton is seeking solace and forgiveness wherever he can find it, liberally spreading his contrition around to politicians and preachers alike. Hillary Rodham Clinton is dealing with her pain and her fury in private, but she betrayed a glimpse of her anger at a White House appearance today.

Among those Mr. Clinton has consulted in recent days are a number of clergymen with whom he has developed close relationships over the years.

Since his televised confession on Aug. 17, the President has spoken with the Rev. J. Philip Wogaman, pastor of Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington, which Mr. Clinton attends with Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Wogaman would not reveal the specific contents of their discussion, but he described Mr. Clinton's recent repentance as "sincere" and said the President was engaged in a "serious self-examination."

He said Mr. Clinton had told him that he

had broken off his relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky last year and had begun privately seeking forgiveness for the affair long before it became public last January.

Mr. Wogaman, a prominent Protestant theologian who is often criticized as excessively liberal in his reading of Scripture, said he was disappointed in the President's behavior. But he also said it would be wrong to judge a man "simply on the basis of his worst flaws." He added that he believed it would be a tragic mistake to force Mr. Clinton out of office over the matter.

Some advisers to the President have suggested that Mr. Clinton would use a scheduled prayer breakfast at the White House Friday morning to ask the clergymen and the nation for absolution from his sins. One adviser said Mr. Clinton was considering asking a minister to serve as a family counselor to help him rebuild the trust he shattered by his admitted relationship with Ms. Lewinsky.

The adviser said Mr. Clinton was particularly drawn to the Rev. Tony Campolo, a

charismatic preacher and sociology professor at Eastern College in St. Davids, Pa., and might ask him to serve as the family's spiritual adviser. Mr. Campolo did not return phone calls seeking comment.

Mr. Clinton has also sought spiritual guidance in the past from the Rev. Robert H. Schuller, senior pastor of the Crystal Cathedral in Garden Grove, Calif.

But the President is unlikely to welcome the advice Mr. Schuller has for him today.

In a telephone interview today, Mr. Schuller said that the President had opened a gaping breach of trust with his family and with the nation and suggested that the only way to swiftly repair that breach is by resignation.

"He has to ask himself whether he will heal the breach through extended impeachment hearings, or whether prolonging this will make it deeper and uglier," Mr. Schuller said. "I think he will have to ask the question, 'If I resign, will that give me an opportunity to close the Presidency with more honor and dignity than if I wait it out

and fight it through?' "

Mr. Schuller said he had called the White House today and was awaiting a call back from the President, during which he would pose those questions. He said that he had concluded what the answers should be, but added that it would be "impertinent" to tell Mr. Clinton what he should do.

But he asked, again rhetorically, whether fighting a protracted impeachment battle would yield at best a "Pyrrhic victory" that would leave the country in trauma and the President's reputation in tatters.

Mr. Schuller said he met with the President in the Oval Office earlier this year and the President vehemently denied a sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky.

"He did it with such passion and with his eyes locked on me," Mr. Schuller said. "He lied. Blatantly. He's the third public man to do that to me — Nixon and Agnew lied to me, bluntly, boldly. And now Clinton."

Unlike the penitential President, Mrs. Clinton has maintained a stoic public facade. But this afternoon she let slip the

mask at a White House event to increase awareness of colorectal cancer and to urge Americans to be screened for the disease. She revealed a deep bitterness at Mr. Clinton's acknowledged betrayal. But her anger was not directed at her husband. She saved her scorn for the media and she expressed it in a graphic way.

The East Room event drew an unusually large journalistic contingent. Reporters and photographers were curious to see how Mrs. Clinton was bearing up under the strain of the Lewinsky case a day before the release of the independent counsel's report, which promised damaging new revelations about the liaison.

Mrs. Clinton scanned the room and sarcastically declared herself "thrilled by the concern the press is showing for colon cancer."

As the event ended, Mrs. Clinton invited her guests to a reception and a receiving line. Then she invited members of news organizations into the Green Room to undergo a screening for the disease.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

Today: Sunny, clear, High 52, Low 61.
Saturday: Partly sunny, breezy, High 57, Low 66.
Details: Page B2.

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The Washington Post

FINAL

Today's Contents on Page A2

25c



BY ALEXANDER ITKIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS
Premier-designate Primakov has said that reforms will continue.

Diplomat Is Named Russian Premier

Yeltsin Backs Down, Drops Chernomyrdin

By DAVID HOFFMAN
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Sept. 10—A politically weakened President Boris Yeltsin gave in today to pressure from the parliamentary opposition and nominated Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov as prime minister, apparently ending a three-week political crisis but leaving unresolved how Russia will deal with its economic ills.

Yeltsin named Primakov, 68, a veteran diplomat and spy master with close ties in the Arab world, after abandoning efforts to win confirmation of Viktor Chernomyrdin, a former prime minister whose nomination was twice rejected by the lower house of parliament, the State Duma. Yeltsin made no public comment about either the Primakov nomination or his capitulation to Chernomyrdin.

The new appointment drew immediate, broad expressions of support from the Duma—from centrist leader Grigory Yavlinsky to the Communist Party, which holds the largest bloc of seats in the house—and is expected to win quick approval in parliament on Friday.

See RUSSIA, A22, Col. 1

Stocks Fall Worldwide; Dow Off 249 Points

Clinton, Global Troubles Blamed

By LANTHE JEANNY DUGAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Sept. 10—Blue-chip stocks fell sharply today as buyers avoided securities markets increasingly shaken by growing economic turmoil overseas and President Clinton's precarious political situation.

The Dow Jones industrial average fell 249.48 points, or 3.2 percent, to 7615.54, eliminating the last of Tuesday's historic 380-point advance in a second day of steep declines. There were sharp sell-offs in markets around the globe—most ominously in Brazil, considered by analysts and U.S. policymakers to be the key to stabilizing world financial markets.

"There are values there," said Lawrence Auliana, co-manager of the \$4.5 billion Kaulmann Fund. "But there's no rush to jump in," he said, adding "the psychology is very bad and it could test a new low."

"The landscape is pockmarked with danger, whether it be political problems in the U.S. or turmoil in emerging markets," said Michael Clark, head of U.S. trading for Credit Suisse First Boston. "I don't blame anybody for stepping back."

That uncertainty was underscored

See MARKETS, A14, Col. 1

Brazil Economy Roils

Financial markets in Brazil and other developing nations plummeted, while shares in Washington area companies were battered by the continuing economic turmoil worldwide.
BUSINESS, Page F1

Impeachment Report Contends Clinton Lied, Obstructed Justice

Vote Begins A Process In House

By EDWARD WALSH
and JULIE EILPERIN
Washington Post Staff Writers

A House committee last night began the congressional process that could lead to President Clinton's impeachment, and in an atmosphere filled with political and personal uncertainty recommended that the full House immediately make public independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's report on Clinton's sexual relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

By a unanimous voice vote, the House Rules Committee set the stage for a vote on the House floor today and the likely disclosure of the approximately 500-page report by this afternoon.

Although Democrats had protested some of the provisions of the Rules Committee resolution, their lack of dissent in the vote was a clear indication of their resignation that they have little to say in the matter.

The Rules Committee vote, the first step along a road that could lead well into next year, set out a tentative map for the weeks ahead. With approval of the full House today, Starr's report would be disclosed immediately and the Judiciary Committee would have until Sept. 28 to decide which portions of the other material he delivered to Congress should be released.

Congress is scheduled to adjourn for the year Oct. 9, but congressional leaders said they were prepared to recall members in a late-day session if necessary to decide before the end of the year whether to proceed with a formal impeachment inquiry. In that event, it would fall to the next Congress, which takes office in January.

See CONGRESS, A36, Col. 4

Post to Print Report

The Washington Post plans to publish the text of the independent counsel's report to Congress and make it available on the Internet at www.washpost.com



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yields the lectern to her husband at a Democratic Party fund-raiser at the Mayflower Hotel, just seconds before, the two embraced after she had introduced him to donors.

Shalala's Remarks Irk President Clinton 'Let Her Have It' at Cabinet Session, Source Says

By ROBERT G. KAISER and JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writers

At an emotional meeting with his Cabinet, President Clinton yesterday had a sharp exchange with his secretary of health and human services over her suggestion that the president believed enlightened policies could compensate for his failure to provide moral leadership, according to several participants in the meeting.

Clinton invited the Cabinet to his private residence to apologize for the personal behavior that has led him into the worst crisis of his political career. Several members described a meeting that had echoes of an encounter at the White House. With tears in his eyes at some points, Clinton pleaded for forgiveness and implored Cabinet

members to give him their support.

Many volunteered their backing, and talked in starkly personal terms about their feelings that the president had badly failed on a personal level but that he was on the path to redemption. But Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala offered what two participants described as an unexpectedly "harsh" assessment.

The participants said Shalala rejected what she took as Clinton's implication that policies and programs were more important than whether he provided moral leadership.

"And then she said something like, 'I can't believe that is what you're telling us, that is what you believe, that you don't have an obligation to provide

See CABINET, A34, Col. 3

Alleged Deceit Is Outlined

By SUSAN SCHMIDT
and PETER BAKER
Washington Post Staff Writers

Independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's report to the House contends there are 11 possible grounds for impeachment of President Clinton, including allegations that he lied under oath, tampered with witnesses, obstructed justice and abused power to hide his affair with Monica S. Lewinsky, according to sources informed about some of its contents.

The report, delivered to the Capitol on Wednesday and scheduled to be made public today, asserts that Clinton committed perjury during his January deposition in the Paula Jones lawsuit when he denied having sex with Lewinsky and then again during his grand jury testimony last month when he acknowledged a physical relationship while insisting his previous statements were "legally accurate," the sources said.

The report, they said, recounts in sometimes lurid detail about a dozen sexual encounters with the former White House intern and outlines evidence of deceit by the president, including lying to aides, knowing they would then give false testimony to Starr's grand jury. The retrieval of presidential gifts from Lewinsky to avoid a subpoena and job assistance provided to her by Clinton associates are portrayed as elements of obstruction of justice, according to the sources.

Involving Watergate-era language, Starr also makes the argument that Clinton abused the power of his high office, in part by waging court fights to impede the

See REPORT, A35, Col. 1

More Inside

White House rushing to plan a response, timing of release upsets Democrats, and other stories on Pages A33-A40, plus glory days for Clinton's enemies, Style, Page D1.

AMERICAN VALUES | Politics and Scandal

Worries About Nation's Morals Test a Reluctance to Judge

First in a series of occasional articles
By RICHARD MORRIS
and DAVID S. BODER
Washington Post Staff Writers

For many Americans, the White House scandal is just the latest symptom of broad and deep moral decline. Everywhere they look—in the newspaper, on television, in their own neighborhoods and even within their own families—they see eroding values.

An in-depth study of the values Americans espouse, whose first findings are being released by The Washington Post today, suggests why President Clinton's extramarital dalliance with Monica S. Lewinsky angers and upsets so many

people—and why the country has been so reluctant to punish him politically for behavior it considers wrong.

On one hand, Clinton has confronted the country with a example of what three out of four of his constituents see as a dangerous decline in the values on display in the national culture. They link the White House escapade to their broader worries about the lack of respect for tradition and authority, to the coarse content of the movies, television and music, to personal dishonesty and sexual promiscuity.

At the same time, Clinton has become a test case of whether this generation of Americans wants to sit in judgment on each other or be willing to live and let live.

More than seven in 10 said adultery was unacceptable and "should not be tolerated." Yet when it comes to Clinton, what the public says and what it means are two different things: Fewer than half of those who said adultery "should not be tolerated" said Clinton's affair with Lewinsky was an important matter. Twice as many said it was important whether he had lied about it or encouraged Lewinsky to lie.

The survey, conducted by The Post in collaboration with Harvard University and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, was virtually complete before the

See VALUES, A40, Col. 1

Q. Which of these comes closer to your opinion?

The president is like the head of any organization: As long as he does a good job running the country whatever he does in his personal life is not important.

The president has a greater responsibility than leaders of other organizations to set an example with his personal life.



SOURCE: Washington Post/University of Harvard/Kaiser Family Foundation. Polling by Harrisburg, Pa. Poll.



Once the Redskins' third-string quarterback, Trent Green has been promoted to No. 1 by Coach Norv Turner. Green will make his first NFL start Monday night against San Francisco.

It's Been a Hike for Trent Green Redskins' New Quarterback Has Waited His Turn

By LIZ CLARKE
Washington Post Staff Writer

Trent Green took out the trash Tuesday morning, the day after Washington Redskins Coach Norv Turner turned his world upside down, and found that nothing really had changed, at least on his street in Ashburn. A neighbor waved hello, as neighbors do on his block, but no one rushed over to debate the finer points of offense.

With one swift decision, Turner benched starting quarterback Gus Frerotte this week and tapped Green as his successor. Reaction may be muted in Loudoun County, where residents are accustomed to Redskins living among them. But come Monday night, when he leads the Redskins against the San Francisco 49ers at Jack Kent Cooke Stadium, Green will go from being a patient, dutiful and

largely unknown third-stringer to the most second-guessed and scrutinized sports figure in the nation's capital.

It won't be the first challenge of Green's football life, he has come to this moment through a long history of trying times. A back injury at 19 left him in a brace and nearly ended his playing career. He lost his starting job at Indiana University twice. He came within two spots of not being drafted, chosen 222nd of 224 players taken in the 1993 National Football League draft. The San Diego Chargers cut him after his rookie year, and he spent 1994 begging for work. The next year, he spent five weeks in the Canadian Football League before signing with Washington. Then, after two seasons as the Redskins' No. 3 quarterback, Green thought

See GREEN, A6, Col. 1

INSIDE

Northwest Pact

Northwest Airlines and its 6,000 striking pilots have reached a tentative contract agreement that may end two-week walkout that has grounded the carrier.
BUSINESS, Page F1

The Post on the Internet:
www.washingtonpost.com



IN THE LOOP

Al Kamen

A Letter Hangs Over Holbrooke

President Clinton is scheduled to go to New York to speak at the opening of the United Nations session on Sept. 21, but don't expect **Richard C. Holbrooke**, his pick to be U.N. ambassador, to be confirmed by then or even by the time the Senate goes home in October.

Seems someone wrote an anonymous letter a couple of months ago to the State Department inspector general's office raising questions about Holbrooke's contacts with government officials during the year after his government service, suggesting this could be a violation of the ethics rule barring recently departed senior officials from having dealings with their former pals.

Holbrooke backers are confident and say there was nothing amiss: After he resigned as assistant secretary of state in February 1996, he was almost immediately sworn in as special envoy for Bosnia, making him a special government employee and naturally obliged to contact government officials.

"The president is absolutely certain that Dick Holbrooke is the right person for this job," White House spokesman **Michael McCurry** said, "and he looks forward to submitting this nomination to the Senate as soon as this review is complete."

The administration had expected a quick resolution. But the inspector general, along with the Justice Department's Office of Public Integrity, is continuing to look into the allegations and clearly won't be done in time for Holbrooke's nomination to go to the Senate for confirmation before the planned October adjournment.

Meanwhile, well-regarded career Foreign Service officer **A. Peter Burleigh**, the deputy representative, is filling in. But all this means the administration won't have its personal choice on hand during what promises to be a very important session on terrorism, Bosnia, Iraq and a host of other matters. Everyone who's anyone, including Iranian President **Mohammed Khatemi**—the first Iranian president in a decade to visit the United Nations—is planning to be there.

Revealed, the Power Behind Helms

Speaking of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, its chairman, Sen. **Jesse Helms** (R-N.C.), is being wheeled about the Senate these days. The 73-year-old Helms has undergone double knee replacement surgery that should keep him off his feet for several weeks.

But not to worry about the chairman's knees, one Senate Republican aide said: "They'll be in full jerking order soon."

Empty Desk at 1600

And speaking of unfilled positions, the White House is still looking for someone to replace **Audrey Tayse Haynes** as head of its Women's Outreach Office. (Please. No smirking and no jokes about Clinton promising not to do his own outreach any more.) The office deals with a broad range of real issues of concern to women. It has

been run since Haynes left in mid-July by acting director **Maureen Shea**, who handles religious community issues in the public liaison office and before that ran the women's office at the Democratic National Committee.

Could Panetta Hit the Longest Home Run?

There's talk about town that Clinton, if he survives the firestorm over the next several weeks, is going to need a heavy hitter with credibility on the Hill to come in to run the White House for the next two years. It would be something like the way former senator **Howard H. Baker Jr.** (R-Tenn.) came in to the Reagan White House to pick up the pieces after Iran-contra.

Problem is the dearth of Democrats with credibility in this scandal-ridden environment. One of Clinton's very good friends thinks the answer is none other than former chief of staff, former Office of Management and Budget director and former California congressman **Leon E. Panetta**.

Panetta has been sharply critical about goings on at the White House but never to the point of outright disloyalty and certainly not as harsh as some former White House aides we can think of. And just yesterday he was on television saying he believed Clinton could yet "win" this battle, depending on the details in the report by independent counsel **Kenneth W. Starr**.

Apparently he's not been asked, but Panetta told one caller that he would find it very difficult to say no. That's not a "yes," but. . . .

Memo to Common Cause: Try 'Senator'

If you're wondering why Senate Majority Leader **Trent Lott** (R-Miss.) allowed another vote on controversial campaign finance reform legislation, a new missive from the pro-reform Common Cause folks may help explain Lott's confidence.

Turns out the key lobby group isn't sure who it's targeting. A press release Wednesday noted that an effort to end a filibuster fell short by eight votes and listed the names and office numbers of the senators who needed to be worked on.

The list included "**Rich**" **Santorum**, a Pennsylvania Republican who calls himself "Rick." There was also a "**Kirk**" **Kempthorne**, an Idaho Republican better known to his colleagues as "Dirk." Our all-time favorite on the list is "**Chillers**" **Grassley**, the Iowa Republican who's usually called either Charles or "Chuck."

Updating AID

Overlooked in the summer vacation rush: **Hugh Q. Parmer**, former mayor of Fort Worth and a former Texas legislator, is now at the Agency for International Development as head of the Bureau of Humanitarian Response. **Vivian Lowery Derryck**, formerly at the Academy for Educational Development, is AID's assistant administrator for Africa.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

Web Nervously Braces for Onslaught of Starr Seekers

By JOHN SIMONS
And THOMAS E. WEBER

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Independent counsel Kenneth Starr's report on President Clinton is scheduled to show up on the World Wide Web today—if congressional techies can figure out how to put it there without causing chaos in cyberspace.

In a grueling test of the Internet's potential as a tool for democracy, Congress plans to make 445 pages of Mr. Starr's report on President Clinton available to anyone with on-line access. While tasteless jokes about Mr. Clinton and his "inappropriate" relationship with Monica Lewinsky have made the rounds of the Internet for months, now millions around the globe will be able to read actual allegations of White House sex, lies and cover-ups for themselves—if the system works.

If not handled properly, however, today's rush to Congress's Web site could resemble the equivalent of 50 people trying to push through a revolving door at once. At the very least, in the event of higher-than-normal traffic, computer users might encounter a delay in accessing the site; at worst, they might be blocked from the site altogether until traffic eases.

Congressional Web technicians, who weren't consulted about the plan to post the Starr report until after it was announced, scrambled yesterday for ways to avert a meltdown. The techies were concerned that the Library of Congress's Thomas Web site (named for President Jefferson), which will post the Starr report, would be overloaded by millions of curious visitors. As it is, the "Legislative Information on the Internet" site receives an average 490,000 visitors each day.

By 4 p.m. EDT yesterday, congressional Web engineers already were trying

Please Turn to Page B4, Column 3

Continued From Page B1

to discourage a rush of traffic to the site. For Thomas's normal opening page they substituted a stark white page that said, "The independent counsel report is not yet available. At the earliest, it may be available late on Friday, Sept. 11, 1998."

"I can imagine those Webmasters saying, 'Wait a minute,'" says Ken Allard, a Web-site operations analyst with Jupiter Communications, a New York high-technology research firm.

Mr. Allard notes that it is common for leaders of an organization to make unreasonable demands of Internet engineers, who must then devise a hasty solution. "People who are not versed in technology are causing a lot of tension and frustration on the part of engineers," he says.

The electronic mobs swarming the on-line version of the Starr report could prove immense, if past news events are a guide.

Internet Taxation System Is Mullied by White House

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

LONDON — The White House is looking into a new proposal for taxing goods sold over the Internet.

Ira Magaziner, the president's senior Internet adviser, said the plan involved tracking and taxing goods with the use of electronic "resident cards" and private-sector escrow agents around the world. Mr. Magaziner said the proposal doesn't yet have the formal backing of the U.S. Treasury Department, but that it is being promoted by some areas of the Clinton administration.

Currently, most goods sold on-line aren't taxed, and governments are worried that state coffers will begin to suffer. Analysts are predicting that in a few years, on-line shoppers globally will spend as much as \$8 billion on products, which some say could generate \$1.2 billion in sales or consumption taxes.

Mr. Magaziner's proposal involves the use of third-party escrow agents. Consumers would obtain digital cash cards at banks that would allow merchants to identify which country the buyer is in, but which reveal no other personal information.

Consumption taxes would then be calculated based on the place of sale, collected at the time of the sale, and immediately placed with an escrow agent, which would then funnel the money to the appropriate government.

"Governments would get their money more quickly . . . they would get a higher compliance rate . . . and the system would be easier to police," said Mr. Magaziner.

says Doug McFarland, senior vice president at Media Metrix, a New York concern that tracks Web usage. When Princess Diana was killed last August, even some relatively obscure sites in the United Kingdom saw normal traffic more than quadruple. During last October's big one-day stock-market drop, several on-line stock-trading firms couldn't handle the onslaught of consumers seeking to unload shares.

The Library of Congress Web address, which includes the Thomas site, isn't one of the Web's most-visited sites but is in the top 300, Mr. McFarland says. He guesses congressional Webmasters should prepare for several million visitors. "It's certainly going to drive a lot of traffic," he says.

The Lewinsky saga already has affected Web traffic patterns. Mr. McFarland says: In February, after the story broke, Media Metrix recorded a 15% increase in visits to the White House site. Traffic waned in May and June; but as the story heated up again in July, visits grew some 40%. (Media Metrix hasn't compiled August data yet.)

The House Rules Committee hadn't officially adopted a resolution on how to handle the Starr report by late yesterday, and it was unclear what provisions congressional Web engineers were making; a spokeswoman for the Library of Congress refused to answer a reporter's questions. But congressional aides were recruiting other organizations—including several television networks—to help ease traffic by making the report available on their Web sites as well.

The expected heavy interest triggered a wave of preparations at outposts across the Web. The professional surfers at Yahoo! Inc. have been updating a special "full coverage" page devoted to the Starr report. "The people involved are checking their e-mail and voice mail every couple of minutes, and they'll have the radio and TV on as well," said Yahoo spokeswoman Diane Hunt. "They'll make sure this gets up instantaneously."

At America Online Inc., "We've even got folks stationed physically on the Hill" to get the Web address as soon as possible, said Katherine Borsecnik, an AOL vice president. Children may be out of luck, though—because of the expected salacious content, AOL is making the Starr material subject to its parental blocking system.

News sites were also busy readying links and preparing pages. At The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition, Neil Budde, editor, said his staff was working to obtain electronic copies of the Starr material on the assumption public sites would be overwhelmed.

The Thomas Web site is a collection of servers, or heavy-duty storage computers, all maintained by the Library of Congress.

Servers can accommodate huge volumes of requests for information, but as those requests multiply, the server takes longer to respond. And there is a limit to how much servers can handle; when that limit is reached, a PC user will get this unwelcome message on her screen: "The server cannot handle your request."

Unless congressional Webmasters made significant provisions yesterday, millions of Internet users may receive that message today. "If they don't, I imagine they will have a lot of dissatisfied users," said J.D. Zeeman, director of the Web Hosting Solutions unit at International Business Machines Corp.

Computer experts say preparing a Web site for a big surge in traffic usually requires adding computers and wiring in additional Internet connections—adjustments that can't be made overnight. Making sure that the electronic pipe to the Web site is wide enough—that it has enough "bandwidth" in Net parlance—to carry all those pages to users who request them is just the start, Mr. Zeeman says. Each server can only handle so many "hits," so more computers may be needed.

Web engineers also need to worry about running connections to different areas of the Net so that a bottleneck in one area can't slow everyone's access to the site.

When IBM built its high-capacity Web site for the Nagano Olympics early this year, it ran direct connections from its servers to different exchange points around the Internet. If the government hasn't already taken such steps, Mr. Zeeman recommends they turn the project over to a well-equipped Web hosting service. IBM would be happy to do the job, he says.

NEW PLAN REALTY TRUST

Net Income Increases 11%; Acquisitions, Leasing Cited

Retail and residential real-estate investment trust New Plan Realty Trust reported strong results for its fiscal fourth quarter, citing growth from acquisitions completed during the year and brisk leasing activity. The New York concern, expected this month to merge with California REIT Excel Realty Trust said its net income for the period ended July 31 rose 11% to \$22.2 million, or 37 cents a diluted share, from \$19.8 million, or 33 cents a diluted share, a year earlier. Funds from operation, a widely used measure of REIT performance, rose 18% to \$30.7 million, or 51 cents a diluted share, from \$26 million, or 43 cents a diluted share, in the year-earlier quarter. Revenue rose 17% to \$65.4 million from \$55.8 million. In New York Stock Exchange composite trading, New Plan fell 31.25 cents to \$19.4375.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

Hillary's Advice: Impeachment Has Its Uses

The second most instructive document in Washington these days involves not President Clinton but his wife.

No, not the Whitewater billing records. It's a 1974 report by the Democratic staff—of which Hillary Rodham was a member—of the Judiciary Committee contemplating Richard Nixon's impeachment.

That superb historical survey concludes that the framers viewed impeachment as "one of the central elements of executive responsibility in the framework of the new government as they conceived it."

It quotes approvingly Alexander Hamilton, in Federalist 65, that impeachment should apply to "those offences which proceed from the misconduct of public men, or, in other words, from the abuse or violation of some public trust. They are of a nature which may with peculiar propriety be denominated POLITICAL, as they relate chiefly to injuries done immediately to the society itself."

We have arrived where Hamilton and Hillary both foresaw we would. This is the big picture to keep in mind as Clinton defenders moan about the "trauma" of impeachment, the "damage to the country," or the "need to get this behind us."

Impeachment isn't fun, but the founders understood—and our current first lady once agreed—that it could also be cleansing. Consider the benefits of impeachment today:

1. *It's educational like nothing else is.* For both angry Republicans and scared Democrats, resignation will be the politically easy escape. But if a twice-elected president is going to leave early, most Americans must first be persuaded it's necessary and just. Impeachment hearings are the only way to bring the country along to such a judgment, preventing later resignation remorse.

That's why Democrat John Dingell, the senior member of the House, deserves credit for urging the public release of Kenneth Starr's report. After disclosing the

read evidence of law-breaking, witness tampering, and even the abuse of the Secret Service to protect illicit sex.

"These are serious offenses that go to the heart of our justice system," says Ronald Rotunda, who helped write the report as a consultant to Mr. Starr and was a member of the Senate Democratic staff during Watergate.

Mr. Starr is unloved because the independent counsel law made him the one to break up our national contentment. But his persistence despite the polls proves again that in America the law holds even presidents accountable.

3. *It may rehabilitate our political institutions.* Congress has hardly distinguished itself during the Clinton years, and many assume impeachment will be another food fight. Certainly Barney Frank and Bob Barr may end up wrestling in the mud.



Henry Hyde

But my guess is that most members on both sides of the aisle will rise to the occasion. It happened with Peter Rodino, the New Jersey Democrat, who until Nixon's impeachment was derided unfairly as a hack with unsavory friends. But he kept a cool demeanor and a somber tone, and helped make Nixon's departure inevitable.

Grown-ups are asserting themselves now, too. Pat Moynihan, a Democrat with gravitas, says the country can survive impeachment and Congress should "get on with it." Look for younger voices to emerge on Judiciary, too, perhaps California Republican and former judge Jim Rogan or Democrat Zoe Lofgren.

The most important Republican grown-up is Judiciary Chairman Henry Hyde, who is feared by the White House precisely because he can't be morphed into Al D'Amato. His political savvy is already apparent in his choice of staff.

His impeachment counsel, David Schippers, is a Chicago Democrat unhip to partisan Washington but steeped in the history of impeachment. In 1974, New York Times columnist (and now Clinton defender) Anthony Lewis quoted Mr. Schippers as concluding that Nixon had committed impeachable offenses. Don't expect Mr. Lewis to quote him this time.

4. *It helps Democrats.* Really. Democrats are fated to suffer some guilt-by-association in November no matter what happens, but they can limit the damage by reasserting their independence on impeachment. Like Joe Lieberman last week, they have a chance to rise above their morally embarrassing "everybody does it" defense of the last two years.

Impeachment hearings will force the country to have a much-needed debate about standards, both political and moral. An argument over Bill Clinton's misconduct won't be elegant, but it will set parameters for acceptable future behavior by all politicians. Lying well will no longer be considered a civic virtue.

No president since Nixon has done more than Bill Clinton to define political deviancy down. So it's only right that the country use his now likely impeachment hearings to begin redefining it back up.

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

main report today, Congress should release the 2,000 pages of backup testimony too. Better everything come out on the record than have it become sludge for Drudge and Geraldo.

2. *It reasserts the primacy of fact and law.* The Clinton years have seen the apogee of spin and political artifice. Now we will relearn that the truth does have consequences.

Mr. Starr focused his report on the Monica Lewinsky matter, I am told, because its evidence is overwhelming and multi-sourced. This leaves the White House with the rebuttal that it's "just a sex case." But that defense may not work with voters who

THE FIRST LADY

Public Poise Reveals Little About Clintons

By MELINDA HENNEBERGER

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — As America was logging on for some of the grubbier details of her husband's dalliance with a young employee, Hillary Rodham Clinton spent much of Friday alongside the President, smiling, soigné and apparently battle-ready.

At a late afternoon event on the South Lawn honoring people involved in the Irish peace effort, she laughed repeatedly at her own light-hearted banter in the long, warm introduction she gave Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts. On what was surely the most humiliating day of her husband's political life, she looked as though that quiet family vacation on Martha's Vineyard had done her a world of good.

The untruths, half-truths and word games that Mr. Clinton has admitted to in recent weeks only seem to have accentuated the sense that nobody really knows what goes on between the President and his wife: Are they the madly in love couple — with problems, yes, but undeniable chemistry — that Mrs. Clinton's former spokeswoman Lisa Caputo describes? Or is Dick Morris right when he says he has never seen the President behave warmly toward his wife when they were not in public?

The only thing that seems clear is that the partnership endures. In recent days, some Democrats in Congress had been sending up signals that only Mrs. Clinton could save her husband's Presidency. And after several weeks of public chill, she seems to have signed on for that job, introducing her husband with great affection at a fund-raiser and deciding, according to one close friend, to give a speech defending his character as soon as the time seems right.

Still, the endless dissection of the Clinton marriage continued, with the debate about Mrs. Clinton's role in her husband's defense over the last eight months: Was she telling the truth in January when she went on the "Today" television program to say that she believed her husband's denials, and blamed the mess on a "vast right-wing conspiracy?" Was

she telling the truth in August when her office issued a statement that left the clear impression that she had not known of the relationship until a few days before Mr. Clinton's Aug. 17 grand jury testimony?

The question "What did she know and when did she know it?" always prompts talk of denial, knowing but not knowing, and even levels of knowing. It may never be answered, and with sympathy for Mrs. Clinton at a record high, it seems unlikely to become a big issue.

But even Mr. Clinton's minister, in remarks on Friday intended to un-

A relationship, largely unknown to others, endures.

derscore the sincerity of the President's apologies, inadvertently left the impression that Mrs. Clinton might have been less than candid about when she learned of her husband's involvement with Monica S. Lewinsky.

The Rev. J. Philip Wogaman, pastor of Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington, which the Clintons attend, first said in an interview on Thursday that the President had been seeking forgiveness for his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky even before questions about it became public in January. When asked about those remarks on Friday, Mr. Wogaman repeated that Mr. Clinton "had been saying privately to people for some time about his sense of remorse and wanting to deal with this. It's not as though these apologies are coming out of the blue."

It seems likely, though far less than certain, that one of the recipients of those apologies might have been his wife. When asked about that, Mr. Wogaman said the President had not asked him to speak on that point.

On Aug. 17, Mr. Clinton testified about his relationship with Ms. Lew-



The Clintons at the White House on Friday listening to speakers praising the American role in the Northern Ireland peace effort.

insky, and in a televised address later told the nation: "I know that my public comments and my silence about the matter gave a false impression. I misled people. Including even my wife." The next day, Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the First Lady had asked that a statement be issued on her behalf, saying that she was angry but would stand by her husband.

When asked, "When did the President tell her he had an inappropriate relationship with Monica Lewinsky?" Ms. Berry said: "She was misled. She learned the nature of his testimony over the weekend." Others in the Clintons' immediate circle said she had learned of the relation-

ship on the Thursday before his grand jury testimony on Monday, Aug. 17.

Critics immediately wondered whether Mrs. Clinton was embracing the unlikely role of victim — the trusting wife who was the last to know — to avoid the even less attractive view that she had lied on the "Today" program.

When asked on Friday when Mrs. Clinton had learned of the relationship, Ms. Berry said, "I have no idea and that's something I'm never going to ask her." Asked to explain any discrepancy, she said, "She learned the details of his testimony over the weekend" before Aug. 17. The rest, she said, "is between them."

The New York Times

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1998

THE VICE PRESIDENT

Gore Makes a Strong Statement Of His Support for the President

By MICHAEL JANOFSKY

HILLSBORO, Ore., Sept. 12 — In his first extended remarks about the scandal enveloping President Clinton, Vice President Al Gore made a strong statement of support for him today, saying the independent counsel report issued on Friday provided insufficient grounds for impeachment.

"I do not believe this report serves as the basis for overturning the judgment of the American people in 1992 and again in 1996 that Bill Clinton should be their President," Mr. Gore told reporters after giving a speech to celebrate the extension of a light-rail line from downtown Portland to this western suburb.

Mr. Gore, a certain Presidential candidate in 2000, also praised Mr. Clinton for his apologies of recent days in which the President, he said, "has accepted responsibility for his actions and he said that what he did was wrong."

But on the first stop of a two-day campaign trip in the Pacific Northwest that will take him to the Seattle area on Sunday, Mr. Gore declined to answer any questions about the scandal, leaving a swirl of unknowns hanging in the air, including whether he thought the accusations against the President, as outlined in the report, would hurt the Administration and the Democrats' electoral pros-

pects or whether they could lead to impeachment proceedings.

For Mr. Gore, his appearance here was, after all, another whistle-stop on the road to the November midterm elections — elections in which even before the report by Kenneth W. Starr, the Whitewater independent counsel, was released to Congress and the public, Democrats were expected to make only moderate gains.

Now, with a 445-page document accusing Mr. Clinton of perjury, obstruction of justice and other criminal acts adding to the season's campaign fodder, political analysts are predicting that the Democrats could lose as many as 20 seats in the House and 5 or more in the Senate, and thus give Republicans a filibuster-proof majority, not to mention an easier path to the two-thirds vote needed to impeach a President.

Faced with those political equations, Mr. Gore performed today in his typical campaign fashion, standing with several members of Oregon's Congressional delegation who are facing re-election, boosting the accomplishments of the Administration and saying nothing of the President's personal life.

In a sense, that appears to be one way Mr. Gore is slowly shaping an image for himself apart from his wounded boss.

THE PRESIDENT

For Clinton, The Focus In an Address Is on Policy

By JAMES BENNET

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — Acknowledging that it had been an "exhausting and difficult week," President Clinton tried today to move away from his relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky and back to his policy agenda, announcing new grants to fight drugs and calling on Congress to support his economic priorities.

"It's been an exhausting and difficult week in the capital — not only for me, but for many others," Mr. Clinton said in his weekly radio address, which he delivered from the White House this morning. "But, as I told my Cabinet on Thursday, we cannot lose sight of our primary mission, which is to work for the American people and especially for the future of our children."

Mr. Clinton announced \$8.7 million in Federal grants to 93 anti-drug programs intended to prevent drug use among children. The grants, from \$16,000 to \$100,000, are to be matched locally by the programs in 43 states.

President Clinton said that while drug use had dropped by half over all in the United States since 1979, it had increased among young people. Mr. Clinton acknowledged that the amounts of the grants were "not large." But, he said, "if these grants empower communities to do more of what works to keep young people away from the scourge of drugs, their effect will be enormous."

The grant program was created under the Drug Free Communities Act passed in 1997, which the President hailed today as a model of bipartisanship.

The President did not directly address the disclosure of the Whitewater independent counsel's report into his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. But White House aides and lawyers worked through the night to prepare a rebuttal to the prosecutors' accusations of perjury, obstruction of justice and abuse of power.

Mr. Clinton focused instead on the fights he had hoped to wage this fall, for popular positions on Social Security, education and the environment. In particular, he emphasized his plans to continue economic growth, a theme since he first ran for President in 1992. He called on Congress to increase financing for the International Monetary Fund to help calm international economic turmoil.

"It is truly encouraging to me how we have put aside partisan differences to save our children and their future from drugs," Mr. Clinton said. "We have to do that on other issues critical to our future. And even in the weeks before the election in November, we must stay focused on your business."

Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, the White House director of drug control policy, said the programs receiving grants were selected from among 500 applicants.

"This is not viewed as a permanent process," General McCaffrey said, "but instead as a way to jumpstart community coalitions."

The New York Times

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1998

president deserves public rebuke but stressed that the Senate must withhold punishment until the full story is known.

Lieberman's stand which some leading Senate Democrats immediately rallied behind made clear not only that Clinton does not command the blind loyalty of his party on Capitol Hill, but also that he will not unless he gives them a better reason to do so than he has to date.

In making what he admitted was a "difficult and distasteful" speech, Lieberman appeared to give a voice to what the polls suggest is the public's ambivalence over this president's repugnance over Clinton's personal behavior tempered by support for his presidency and many of his policies.

Lieberman stressed that enough is known about Clinton's behavior to make moral judgments, and he sternly faulted Clinton for deeply wounding his country, disgracing his office, and setting a terrible example for America's children.

"In this case, the president apparently had extramarital relations with an employee half his age and did so in the workplace, in the vicinity of the Oval Office. Such behavior is not just inappropriate. It is immoral," Lieberman said.

"And it is harmful," he continued, "for it sends a message of what is acceptable behavior to the larger American family, particularly to our children, which is as influential as the negative messages communicated by the entertainment media."

White House Deputy Press Secretary Barry Toiv responded for Clinton this way: "The president has great respect for Sen. Lieberman because of the key role he has played in the president's accomplishments on behalf of the American people. It's always hardest to hear criticism from a friend. But I am sure the president will consider Sen. Lieberman's words with the same care with which they were delivered."

Democratic Sens. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska and Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York quickly followed Lieberman to the Senate floor to voice their concurrence. And Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota, who had been urging fellow Democrats to "keep their powder dry" regarding the Lewinsky scandal, quietly patted Lieberman's shoulder and shook his hand following his speech.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., also immediately congratulated Lieberman for the statesmanlike tenor he set.

"I'm sure we'll find a way to rise above petty politics and do the right thing" in dealing with Clinton after Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr files a report to Congress on his conclusions, Lott said.

As much as any senator, Lieberman represents Clinton's political base. Both men are former heads of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council. They have known each other for years; as a law student in 1970, Clinton volunteered in Lieberman's state Senate campaign.

Lieberman has earned a reputation on both sides of the Senate aisle as a thoughtful, conscientious man of principle. Perhaps more than any other Democrat, he voiced serious concern over his party's questionable fund-raising practices during the 1996 campaign as a member of the Senate's investigating committee.

In framing what Clinton's behavior means to the nation in a way that permits its gravity to be weighed without salacious details, Lieberman reflected the more deliberative nature of the Senate. The House, in contrast, tends to be more sharply partisan, partly by design since members must run for re-election every two years.

Lieberman said Clinton's Aug. 17 explanation to the American people of his relationship with Lewinsky left him feeling "deep disappointment and personal anger" because Clinton "by his disgraceful behavior, jeopardized his administration's historic record of accomplishment," which was built upon principles Lieberman shares.

Lieberman said Clinton had weakened the majesty of his office, undercut the trust of the American people, and compromised the moral authority of the presidency. "His duty is nothing less than the stewardship of our values."

But Clinton's behavior with Lewinsky, and his seven-month deception of the American people about it, betrayed the nation's moral values, Lieberman said. Faulting Clinton for hypocrisy, the senator noted that Clinton had stressed "personal responsibility" and commitment to family values as a signature theme of his presidency, only to betray those values by his behavior.

While the public is "understandably weary of this crisis," Lieberman said Clinton's behavior nonetheless is "wrong and unacceptable."

"The transgressions the president has admitted to are too

consequential for us to walk away and leave the impression for our children and our posterity that what he did was acceptable behavior for our nation's leader," Lieberman said.

"It should be followed by some measure of public rebuke and accountability.

"We in Congress are surely capable of expressing such disapproval through a resolution of reprimand or censure of the president for his misconduct. But it is premature to do so until we've received the report of the independent counsel and the White House's response to it."

While the House will weigh Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's evidence against Clinton and decide whether to file impeachment charges, it is the Senate that ultimately must decide what punishment, if any, is proper.

Even as Lieberman condemned Clinton's behavior, he stressed too that "the president is still our nation's leader" at a time of growing global economic stress, crises in Russia, and rising terrorist threats which all "demand the president's focused leadership."

Quoting Abraham Lincoln, Lieberman cautioned that hasty words and reflex reactions are inappropriate in such dangerous times.

"In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and eternity," Lincoln said during the Civil War. "I believe we are at such a time today," Lieberman added. "Let us proceed in accordance with our nation's traditional moral compass, yes, but in a manner that is fair and at a pace that is deliberate and responsible."

President, first lady witness firsthand signs of hope, reminders of despair By Kathy Lewis The Dallas Morning News (KRT)

ARMAGH, Northern Ireland President Clinton spent an emotional day Thursday comforting the latest bombing victims and savoring the accolades of those who said he helped bring peace to a long-violent land.

But Clinton and other leaders cautioned that hard work and difficult, wrenching decisions lie ahead for Protestants and Catholics as the fragile peace no doubt will be tested.

"The question is not if the peace will be challenged. You know it will. The question is how will you respond to it when it is challenged," Clinton told an outdoor crowd of more than 10,000.

During a long day of quiet mourning and wary celebration, Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton witnessed firsthand the signs of hope and the reminders of despair.

They walked up Market Street in Omagh, where a car bomb killed 28 and wounded 220 on Aug. 15. In a gymnasium, they met with 500 affected families, including a 14-year-old girl who lost her eyesight in the blast.

"It's high time that the few stop ruining the lives of the many, high time that those who hate stop bullying those who hope, high time to stop the lilt of laughter and language being drowned out by bombs and guns and sirens," he said.

"It's high time to stop yesterday's nightmares from killing tomorrow's dreams."

Hours earlier, Clinton moved down a long, narrow hallway of the Stormont, where lawmakers in the new Northern Ireland Assembly are scheduled to meet in September.

Various factions showed up but stood in their own clusters, White House press secretary Mike McCurry said. He said it looked like a "college mixer" with everyone scoping out one another.

Today, they didn't mingle. But not so long ago, they wouldn't have been in the same room.

"This is the first time the elected members of this Assembly have been together in one place at one time," McCurry said.

Next week, according to news reports, there could be a first meeting and handshake between Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams and first minister David Trimble, the Protestant who will head the Assembly.

These, officials said, are not so easy steps toward implementing the Good Friday Peace Accord reached last spring with the mediation of Former U.S. Sen. George Mitchell of Maine.

Clinton came to Northern Ireland, where unionists and nationalists have been at odds for decades, with a dual message. He alternately preached against turning back and lauded what has been accomplished so far.

"Now, when I meet Palestinians and Israelis, I can say, 'Don't tell me it's impossible, look at Northern Ireland,'" Clinton told the Armagh audience in a cadence similar to President Kennedy's "Let them come

to Berlin."

"When I meet Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo, I can say, 'Don't tell me it's impossible, look at Northern Ireland.'"

But he also said that the people of Northern Ireland had been denied the blessings of a normal life and warned that a second chance at peace would not come in their lifetimes. "Do not let it slip away," he said.

He urged them to brace themselves for more bombs and other attempts to undo the peace accord. The test, he said, would be in how they respond.

"How will you react to it all to the violence? How will you deal with your differences? Can the bad habits and brute forces of yesterday break your will for tomorrow's peace?" he asked.

Throughout the day, Clinton was credited with making a difference.

Analysts have said the president took a bold risk in 1994 when he granted Adams, who leads the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, a visa and later invited him to the White House.

On Thursday, British Prime Minister Tony Blair again said Clinton's involvement during the months of negotiations paid off time and again.

"There is no president of the United States of America that has done more for peace in Northern Ireland than you," he said in Belfast.

Seamus Mallon, a Catholic and deputy first minister of the Assembly said Clinton had delivered on his commitment. "Against all the odds you have helped us break free from a violent and bitter past," he said.

White House officials were pleased with several more steps taken before Clinton arrived, including Adams' appointment of a decommissioning contact person and Trimble's qualified statement welcoming the move.

The moment Clinton walked down the stairs of Air Force One, National Security Adviser Sandy Berger handed him a newspaper bearing the headline "Trimble agrees to meet Adams for Peace Talks."

Berger told reporters, "This is the headline we wanted to see when we got here."

As Clinton departed for Dublin, several people in Armagh said he had contributed to peace.

"I think he has made a difference. Anyone who does make a difference and who can help is welcome," said Robert Scott, a 58-year-old college lecturer and a Protestant.

"Actually our lives have been blighted by the troubles for 30 years," he said.

Gerald Douglas, a 69-year-old retired garage operator and a Protestant, said it will help if Clinton encourages investment and tourism.

But he also said Clinton had gotten "a wee bit of bad publicity" in recent weeks because of his "personal problems."

"There's a fairly Christian outlook in Northern Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, and they don't take kindly to misdeeds."

Asked if he is optimistic about peace, he said, "You have to be."

Bernie Woods, a 27-year-old teacher who is Catholic, said of Clinton, "He's been there from the very start."

Of the violence, she said, "It's frightening. You just think there's no end to it."

She said she thinks the tragedy in Omagh has caused everyone to put "all their heads together" and try to do something about it.

"It's the only thing left to do, really."

NEWS LETTER,

Thursday, September 3, 1998

Powerful voice lacks emotion

SHE had all the tools to make a terrific speech, but somehow First Lady Hillary Clinton missed the mark in the emotion stakes yesterday.

She summoned every last drop of statesman-like shine to make a trail-blazing arrival at Belfast's Waterfront Hall.

Stepping from a sleek armoured car, she looked every bit the wife of the most powerful man in the world.

She emanated lashings of glamour as her hefty but ornate gold jewellery glinted in the late-afternoon sun.

Dressed in a chic-cut, navy blue trouser suit, her honey-coloured hair was coiffed in to the perfect bob.

Inside, more than 450 delegates of the Vital Voices Women in Democracy conference waited in whispering anticipation for the one woman who was expected to outshine all others.

And when she floated on to the stage with a gleaming, unbroken smile they gave her a queen's welcome.

JEANETTE OLDHAM reports from the
Waterfront Hall

She listened to four other speeches, two of which were particularly moving.

And when it came to her turn, she showed all the early signs of playing a blinder - her booming voice carried across the hall much more than those before her.

She received rapturous applause at the end of her speech but there was an undeniable air of disappointment among some of the delegates and journalists as they left.

One woman, Mary McKinney, who had waited hours for a close-up look at the glossy Hillary Clinton, said: "She spoke well - she has a very powerful voice.

"But she lacked emotion. She used a lot of emotional words, but there wasn't the emotion in her voice or eyes.

"It must be hard for her to come in cold and give a speech which mentions Omagh when so many

others have done so recently.

"But many of those other speeches brought people out in goose-pimples. Her's didn't."

The whole visit was heavily staged-managed. Delegates were ferried to and fro to fill empty seats so that television cameras would capture a full audience.

The First Lady was kept away from the media at all times so that no awkward questions about her private life could pop up.

But it must have been at the forefront of many people's minds as they scrutinised Mrs Clinton for the slightest signs of cracking under the strain.

When one of the other speaker's said: "I may bend, but I am not manipulated," journalists' checked out the President's wife's face for a flicker of recognition.

But, like her words, she remained impassive.

See Pages 12-13.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clintons' icy relations still evident in Moscow

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

MOSCOW — The marital strains clearly showed as President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton worked their way through a schedule of public events here yesterday.

"I've been getting along fine," Mrs. Clinton said in her first public remarks since her husband admitted he had had an "inappropriate" relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Later in the day, she joined her husband at School No. 19 for a ceremony at the 118-year-old facility to mark the opening of the school year. Neither Clinton made any reference to the scandal, but their body language spoke loudly.

The couple sat next to each other on the stage, both with fixed smiles for most of their time together. The president whispered something to his wife at one point, and she nodded back — but the usual free exchanges between the two were missing.

The first lady told the Russian schoolchildren how pleased she was to visit the school, where composer Sergei Rachmaninoff once

taught.

Her casual style gradually grew more formal as she neared the close of her remarks. "It is my great honor to introduce to you Bill Clinton, the president of the United States," she said.

Typically, Mrs. Clinton makes frequent references to "my husband" when introducing the president. This time, there was no affectionate mention of their marriage ties.

White House officials said the Clintons had used a family vacation at Martha's Vineyard as a time for healing the wounds inflicted by the president's infidelity. Mrs. Clinton had staunchly defended her husband when the scandal first broke in January.

"I'll tell you, looking at them makes you think twice about cheating," one White House official said.

Sympathy was definitely with Mrs. Clinton in the small Moscow clothing factory she toured with President Boris Yeltsin's wife, Naina, yesterday morning before joining her husband.

"On a human scale, I feel sorry



Reuters

President and Mrs. Clinton applaud a young student in a sailor's suit performing on the first day of school in Moscow yesterday.

for her," said Tanya Salkina, who irons fabrics on the small plant's production floor. "She's a woman above everything else, not just the president's wife. As with any family, they have to deal with it themselves."

Tatyana Nedzvetskaya, the plant's owner and Mrs. Clinton's hostess for the visit, said she felt distaste for the investigation that brought Miss Lewinsky, a stained

dress and other sordid details to public attention.

Miss Nedzvetskaya said she was struck by Mrs. Clinton's openness and intelligence, and said it never occurred to her to bring up the controversy surrounding Mr. Clinton's affair.

"What goes on behind the bedroom doors is nobody else's business," she said.

Religion helps teens just say no to drugs

Church exposure has 'major impact'

By Cheryl Wetzstein
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

Teens who have an active religious life and regularly eat dinner with their families are less likely to use drugs, alcohol and tobacco, according to a survey released yesterday.

Religion "is a key factor in giving our children the moral values, skill and will to say 'no' to illegal drugs, alcohol and cigarettes," said Joseph A. Califano Jr., chairman of the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University (CASA), which released its fourth survey of teens and school officials on substance abuse.

If parents take their children to religious services "beginning at a very early age," he said, "they can have a major impact on whether or not their children resist these substances."

"Parental involvement is a critical protective factor," added Mr. Califano, who headed the nation's top agency for health and welfare during the Carter administration. "The more often teens eat dinner with their parents, the less likely

see DRUGS, page A8

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they are to smoke, drink or use marijuana."

According to the CASA survey, proven anti-drug strategies were to eat dinner as a family six or seven times a week, have a parent home after school and know a teen's whereabouts after school and on weekends.

These latest findings about the power of prayer and family cohesion — which mirror earlier survey results — come amid strong warnings that yet another generation of American teens is being engulfed by mood-altering substances.

The CASA survey, which consisted of 1,000 teens and 1,600 school officials, including participants from a Fairfax school, found that drug use was the greatest concern of teens for the fourth consecutive year.

It also found that drugs are spreading in lower grades — 53 percent of middle-school students now say there are drugs in their schools, compared with 41 percent in 1996.

"Drugs are universal," said Frank Luntz of Luntz Research Cos., which conducted the CASA survey. Teens see drugs "before school, in school and after school" and at parties on weekends, he said.

The CASA study comes 12 days after the federal government reported that teen drug use climbed from 9 percent in 1996 to 11.4 percent in 1997.

The increase in drug use was especially alarming among 12- and 13-year-olds, where there was a 70 percent increase in marijuana use, said the National Household Sur-

TEENS, DRUGS AND RELIGION

Teens who have active religious lives are less likely to indulge in social vices, a survey says.

Teens who attend a religious service:	
four or more times a month	less than once a month
Smoked cigarettes in the past month	
8%	22%
Smoked marijuana in the past month	
13	39
Drank alcohol in the past month	
19	32
Say that half their friends drink alcohol	
20	38
Know someone who uses illegal drugs like cocaine	
49	62

Source: "Back to School 1998: The CASA National Survey of American Attitudes on Substance Abuse VI: Teens, Teachers and Principals." National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University.

The Washington Times

vey on Drug Abuse.

The CASA survey also found "dramatic" changes in drug attitudes as 12-year-olds turned 13: The teens were more likely than the preteens to know drug users and dealers, less likely to report drug users and less afraid of getting caught using drugs, the CASA survey said. It also found that, of the teens who use marijuana, the largest percentage — 28 percent — started smoking it when they were 13.

On a positive note, the CASA survey found that attending religious services four or more times a month was a strong deterrent to teen use of drugs, alcohol and tobacco.

The power of faith and "family connectness" has been noted before, most recently in the 12,000-teen National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health, released last September. That study found that youths with a "strong religious identity" and close-knit families often resisted the temptations of cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana and early sexual entangle-

ments.

Both Mr. Luntz and Mr. Califano chided school officials for their apparent "denial" of the school drug problem.

The CASA survey, which has a margin of error of 3 percent, found that 10 percent of middle-school principals said there were drugs in their school, compared with 53 percent of their students. A similar gap appeared in high school, with 18 percent of principals saying there were drugs, compared with 78 percent of students.

"It's on this score that principals make monkeys of themselves as they reveal their see-no-evil, speak-no-evil posture," said Mr. Califano, who said the nation's education system may need an overhaul similar to the 1996 welfare reform.

He urged parents, educators and religious leaders to "be less self-indulgent" and give children "the moral and social strength to cope with the world of illegal drugs, cigarettes and alcohol" that awaits them as teens.

bound by her oath not to give that statute full effect. She could decide that the statute is so clearly unconstitutional that she will not enforce it (a position Reno has taken with respect to another statute, which purports to abolish the Miranda rule). Or she could decide that the statute has fallen under a constitutional pall and that she will apply it only if all other options are exhausted (not the case in the campaign finance context, since Congressor Reno's department can conduct their own investigations). Either way, by exercising her constitutional judgment, Reno would be following in the footsteps of her distinguished predecessor Robert Jackson, who refused to prosecute Drew Pearson and Robert Allen because of Jackson's constitutional misgivings about the statute involved. (He, too, paid a political price: the decision cost him support upon his nomination to the Supreme Court.)

Yet *Edmond* carries a deeper message for the attorney general. At its core, the case should remind Reno (and her critics) that it is principal officers who must govern their inferiors, not vice versa. The Ethics in Government Act does not vest prosecutorial discretion in the director of the FBI or in Justice Department underlings. It leaves to the attorney general alone the decision as to whether she has received "sufficient" information to initiate a preliminary investigation under the act. While there have been times in our nation's history when the director of the FBI held sway in the Justice Department, and still others when the attorney general followed the directions of his minions, these were not DOJ's finest hours. If Janet Reno has read *Edmond* carefully, she should bar any inferiors from seizing control of her department—be they independent counsels or those who favor their appointment.

EREZ KALIR is finishing his studies at Yale Law School.

Jesse plays the Chelsea card.

FAMILY THERAPY

By Jason Zengerle

"I intend to reclaim my family life for my family," the president of the United States insisted in his August 17 *sorta culpa* speech. "It's nobody's business but ours." Yet, just days later, the inevitable "Clinton in Crisis" issue of *Newsweek* took America "inside the family." The story painted a poignant picture of the Clintons, already reconnecting with one another even before the president's grand jury appearance. Hillary and Chelsea sought guidance from Scripture in the living room. "I love my dad. I

understand. I can cope," Chelsea remarked. Mother and daughter then joined the president upstairs, where all three prayed and hugged. Who's the fly-on-the-wall reporter who provided this heartwarming gloss on the first family's oh-so-private business? None other than the Reverend Jesse Jackson, whose access to the White House family quarters has seemed to grow in direct proportion to the depth of Bill Clinton's political and legal predicaments.

It certainly seems like an odd alliance. For years, relations between Jackson and Clinton have ebbed and flowed. In 1992, Clinton responded to an erroneous report that Jackson planned to endorse Senator Tom Harkin's presidential bid by calling him "double-crossing" and "back-stabbing." Later in that campaign, after Clinton had publicly slighted Jackson as a way to prove his New Democrat bona fides, Jackson fumed that Clinton was "nothing but an appetite." While the personal enmity waned during Clinton's first term, Jackson was still a political wild card. In 1996, he led a demonstration outside the White House to protest the welfare reform bill.

But now, thanks to Bimhroglio, two of Washington's greatest opportunists have come together. For Jackson, the Clintons' crisis is an opportunity to gain media attention and reinforce his position as the leader of the political constituency most loyal to the president: African Americans. For Clinton, Jackson is the perfect spokesman: a man of the cloth who can recast a story of alleged perjury or obstruction of justice into a family drama about faith and forgiveness. Even better—thanks to the minister-penitent privilege, Jackson is likely subpoena-proof.

What makes Jackson really valuable, though, is that he allows Clinton to play the Chelsea card. The public likes Chelsea and feels sorry for her, but the White House could never exploit that directly by having the carefully protected first daughter plead her wayward dad's case publicly. Only a surrogate could make her an issue. Enter Jesse Jackson.

It all began in the very first days of the Lewinsky scandal, when the Clintons invited Jackson to the White House to watch the Super Bowl. They asked him to call Chelsea at Stanford to see how she was holding up. The next morning, Jackson embarked on a media marathon to talk about the Clinton family. On "Today" he pronounced Bill and Hillary "upbeat" and Chelsea "devoted to her father and so close to her mother." On "CBS This Morning" he said the Clintons were "a strong family." He told the Associated Press of Chelsea's "inner strength and ... maturity." On "Larry King," he eulogized "the strength of Hillary"; Chelsea was "totally believing her father."

In the current, most critical stage of the scandal, Jackson has once again rushed to the first family's aid. On the Saturday before Clinton's Monday confessional, Jackson comforted and counseled Hillary, whose husband, the White House says, had just told her for the first time that he had had an affair with Lewinsky. On

Sunday, Jackson invited J. Philip Wogaman and Walter Shropshire, two reverends from the Methodist church the president and first lady attend, onto his CNN show "Both Sides." The three clergymen discussed "the God factor" in the scandal and offered politico-biblical justifications for Clinton's behavior. "We have this awesome case of Samson with all of this strength, and yet the special prosecutor, I suppose, would have locked him up," Jackson ventured. "King David did something that was much worse than anything President Clinton is alleged to have done," Wogaman said, "and King David, if I read my Bible correctly, was not impeached."

Jackson stayed on CNN for a special "Town Hall" show on which he resumed reassuring the public that, despite the tough times, all was fundamentally well within the Clinton family. "The president is embarrassed," Jackson said. "It may explain some of the hedging. I think he would rather face all of these reporters, tonight, than to face Hillary one-on-one with those conversation[s] and his daughter." He then pleaded with the American public to view Clinton not as the president but as a man. "Politicians tend to see President Clinton as an object, as a competitor," and journalists tend to see him as an object," Jackson said. "But Hillary Clinton and Chelsea see him as a subject, as a husband, as a father."

Jackson then left the "Town Hall" show still in progress and went to the White House, where, he would later reveal, he had been summoned by Hillary to talk to Chelsea. What happened next was obviously deeply, deeply private, and nobody's business but the Clintons' own—until, that is, Jackson began providing details to "CBS This Morning," ABC's "Good Morning America," National Public Radio, and "Larry King Live." "We have seen the Clintons in triumph and we have seen them in trauma," Jackson wrote in *Newsweek*. "But throughout it all, we have seen them together." Says one White House aide: "I'm grateful that the role Reverend Jackson's playing has been so personal....

He's been very helpful in providing the human face all this."

In his guise as the Clintons' spiritual adviser, Jackson has most frequently been compared to Billy Graham. But the comparison misses a critical difference between the two—and how they were used by the presidents they advised. When Graham was in his thirties, he angered Harry Truman by blabbing to the press about a meeting they'd had. As Graham writes in his autobiography, *Just As I Am*, "I vowed to myself it would never happen again if I ever was given access to a person of rank or influence."

And it didn't. Graham, for all of his attention-seeking, never related specifics of what he had seen, said, or heard during the time he spent with presidents. Moreover, the presidents he counseled were oddly protective of him. Richard Nixon, who was probably closer to Graham than any other president, actually kept him from the White House during Watergate, apparently to stop Graham from offering absolution that Nixon knew he didn't deserve and that would only serve to make Graham look foolish later.

With Jackson, apparently, Clinton has no such qualms. But, even if he did, Jackson would probably ignore them. Thanks to the scandal, Jackson is back in the public spotlight he so obviously craves. It was not so long ago that people wondered, "What would happen if Jesse Jackson held a press conference and nobody came?" Now, as Jackson once said in a memorable "Saturday Night Live" skit, "the question is moot." He usually salts his Bimbroglia press appearances with a mention of his latest education conference or his march through Appalachia to draw attention to rural poverty. Last week, on MSNBC, Brian Williams even asked Jackson what he thought of Clinton's decision to attack terrorist targets in Afghanistan and Sudan. The normally dovish Jackson voiced his wholehearted support for the strikes.

Of course, there is always the possibility that Clinton is making his erstwhile ideological enemy political



JESSE JACKSON BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

promises in exchange for his family counseling services. In the run-up to the 1996 campaign, Clinton dangled political carrots, like his administration's continued support of affirmative action, to dissuade Jackson from mounting a primary challenge against him. But Jackson may be wiser this time. After all, if Bimbroglia proves anything, it's that Clinton's promises aren't worth that much. •

A Democratic case for resignation.

SWEET GOOD-BYE

By Timothy Noah

"Where is the Democrats' Barry Goldwater?" a Famous Television Journalist asked me recently. What he meant was: Where is the Democrat who has the guts to say what the late senator from Arizona said to Vice President Gerald Ford in August 1974 after the release of the "smoking gun" tape proving Nixon's involvement in the Watergate cover-up? To wit: "The best thing he can do for the country is to get the hell out of the White House." Goldwater said essentially the same thing to Nixon's face in a meeting between Nixon and Republican congressional leaders shortly before Nixon resigned. So far, no leading congressional Democrat is known to have said anything like this to Al Gore, Bill Clinton, or anyone else at the White House, not even since Clinton's admission that he more or less committed perjury in his Paula Jones case deposition.

That isn't because congressional Democrats disagree with the commentariat's outrage at Clinton's misbehavior. (And, though Clinton's alleged misdeeds fall well short of Nixon's, Kenneth Starr's forthcoming report to Congress seems likely to document an obstruction of justice allegation.) It's because these Democrats are terrified that what happened to congressional Republicans in 1974 will happen to them in this fall's midterm elections. The likelihood, though, is that it won't.

The congressional election that followed Nixon's resignation was, for Republicans, a legendary fiasco. The Democrats scored a net increase of 49 seats in the House and 4 in the Senate; it was the biggest loss of House seats for any sitting president's party since 1958, a recession year. The incoming Democratic freshmen (including Tom Downey of New York, Tim Wirth of Colorado, and Henry Waxman of California) were nicknamed "Watergate babies" in recognition of their presumed debt to Nixon's humiliation. The Republican incumbents they defeated were, by implication, Watergate casualties, killed off by their allegiance to a

disgraced party.

The relentless logic of the Republicans' 1974 experience, as it applies to Democrats running in the midst of Bimbroglia, would seem to be: Don't let Bill Clinton resign in disgrace. Criticize his personal behavior, as one must, and then move on. Don't encourage voters to view the Democratic Party as the scandal party. Hence the reluctance of Democratic leaders like Dick Gephardt and Tom Daschle to imitate Goldwater (or then-Republican leaders Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and Representative John Rhodes of Arizona, who were less colorful but no less firm in pushing Nixon out).

But what if widely held beliefs about the centrality of Nixon's resignation to the 1974 election results are wrong? In fact, Watergate's precise role in the Republican debacle is not clear. A few political scientists, after scrutinizing their regression analyses, have concluded that Watergate played no role at all. That may be ascribing a bit too much explanatory power to social science. But, certainly, a widely forgotten factor—the economy—played at least as large a role in the election as Watergate did. The 1973 Arab oil embargo led to long lines at gas pumps and double-digit inflation; unemployment, too, went up in 1973 and stayed high through 1974. In 1973, disposable income began two decades of stagnation.

Today's boom, in contrast, seems to be quite durable (unless you think Clinton's fall would trigger a stock market crash). Consequently, 1998's congressional incumbents are surely less vulnerable to challenges from putative "Bimbroglia babies" than their 1974 forbears were to challenges from Watergate babies (who might just as easily be called "stagflation babies"). Says Everett C. Ladd of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research: "Watergate may have had almost nothing to do with the 1974 elections."

Another possibility is that Watergate had a profound effect on the 1974 election, but Nixon's resignation did not. As the University of California at San Diego's Gary Jacobson, a widely cited scholar of congressional elections, explains, the crucial events that sealed the congressional Republicans' fate may have occurred months before the resignation. The Senate Watergate hearings in 1973 had given a heads-up to ambitious young Democrats that 1974 would be an excellent year to run for Congress, and Nixon's approval ratings confirmed that inkling by hovering at a dismal 20 to 30 percent from late 1973 until his resignation. By contrast, Jacobson writes in his book, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, "Republicans expected it to be a bad year, and candidates and activists refused to extend themselves in a losing cause." A measure of this was the extraordinary amount of money Democratic challengers were able to raise; in 1974, the average Democratic challenger spent three times as much as the average Republican challenger.

It might seem that Bimbroglia, which has been kicking along since January, presented no more sudden a windfall to Republican activists than Watergate did

WASHINGTON IN BRIEF

Plans to Regulate HMOs Unlikely To Reach Vote in Senate

Prospects for a new law to regulate managed health care continued to recede yesterday, as Senate leaders of both parties traded accusations of obstructionism, while making little progress toward resolving their differences.

The Senate is considering three bills intended to protect patients' rights, but Republican and Democratic leaders have been stalemated for much of the summer over differences between their approaches—and over how to bring the bills to a vote.

With the two parties unable so far to work out rules for debating the measures, Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) attempted the

Democrats' first parliamentary maneuver to bring the issue to the floor yesterday. He was immediately rebuffed by Republicans.

Meanwhile, Clinton, eager for a "patients' rights" bill this year, dispatched a letter yesterday to Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) reiterating his opposition to several aspects of the Republican bill while exhorting the Senate to make the issue its "first order of business."

But Republicans, who became patients' rights champions because of the popularity with voters of what had been a Democratic issue, said they felt little pressure from constituents during their August recess. Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.), a physician who helped design the GOP bill, said few people mentioned the issue to him, even after Clinton touted

"patients' rights" during his weekly radio address last Saturday.

In July, the House passed a Republican patient-protection bill, which contains significant differences from all three measures before the Senate.

Military Construction Bill Approved

The Senate approved and sent to the White House yesterday an \$8.45 billion bill to fund military construction projects, the first of the fiscal 1999 spending measures to earn final congressional approval.

The compromise bill, about \$760 million below current spending levels but approximately \$600 million above President Clinton's request, included money for housing and construction projects and for base

closings.

The final measure, crafted by congressional negotiators after both houses passed different versions, easily cleared the Senate, 87 to 3. Clinton is expected to sign it.

The legislation moved through Congress with little fanfare and without the threat of a White House veto. Last year, Clinton inaugurated his line-item veto authority by striking 38 items from the same spending bill. The line-item veto has since been ruled unconstitutional.

With the House scheduled to return next week from its summer recess, Congress faces a tight schedule to pass the 12 remaining annual spending bills before the start of the next fiscal year on Oct. 1.

—Compiled from reports by Amy Goldstein and Reuters



President Clinton shares an aside with wife Hillary during appearance at Elementary School No. 19.

In Moscow Spotlight, An American Marriage First Lady's Actions Get Close Attention

By PETER BAKER
Washington Post Staff Writer

MOSCOW, Sept. 1—At public appearances, she typically introduces him as "my husband." Today, he was simply, "Bill Clinton," the president of the United States.

Whether there was any deeper meaning to that in the auditorium of Elementary School No. 19, only Hillary Rodham Clinton knows for sure. But everyone was watching for signs of the first couple's marital health as they made their first formal appearance together in the two weeks since he confessed to an extramarital affair with Monica S. Lewinsky.

As she usually does when the president travels overseas, Hillary Clinton accompanied him to Moscow for his summit with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and, as she usually does, she kept a busy separate schedule of events around town. When the two of them got together, there was no public mention of the Lewinsky saga or the "healing process" aides say the couple engaged in during their just-ended vacation on Martha's Vineyard, yet there appeared a formal coolness to their interaction.

After her introduction, school, the president touched his shoulder as he passed her on the way to the lectern, but she simply strolled by, looking down, without a return gesture. Asked during a solo stop earlier in the day how she has been coping, she said tersely, "I've been getting along fine."

Every word was analyzed for its possible meaning. In the evening, she appeared in good spirits as she joined her husband for the official Kremlin dinner in the ornate, domed Catherine Hall. She teased Yeltsin that he had never shown her the library and laughed at comments made by people coming through the receiving line. At one point, Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers said something that amused her but could not be overheard. In a jocular reply that could be taken the wrong way, she laughed, "Boys just want to have fun."

What all this tea leaf reading means remains a mystery in the context of a complicated and enigmatic quarter-century relationship that has cycled through crisis and recovery more than once. Aides and friends have talked freely about how angry Hillary Clinton has been, and the president said during his national television address that he "misled people, including even my wife."

The affair and the political controversy it has wrought remained similarly unathomable for some Russians who encountered the couple today.

Vasily Sovobolev, a 17-year-old student at Moscow State University of International Relations, dismissed the Lewinsky matter after hearing the president speak on the Russian economy. "I don't think it's very important," he said. "Of course, maybe some people don't trust him, but I think most of our people trust him as they trusted him before. Our opinion didn't change."

There was little opportunity to explore how the first lady's opinion changed as she raced around town with her Russian counterpart, Naina Yeltsin, today, touring a sewing factory and an art museum before joining their husbands for the dinner, which ended an hour earlier than scheduled.

But Wednesday may be different. She is scheduled to participate in a round table discussion on women in Russian society, and a U.S. official said several of the women selected to participate were interested in asking the first lady about the controversy and its effect on her.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1998

Some see chill between president, wife

MOSCOW — All eyes were on President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton Tuesday as they made their first official public appearance since he admitted having an inappropriate relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

Observers looking for hints about the state of their marriage got mixed signals.

The president and first lady were holding hands when they exited Air Force One on its arrival here.

But at Moscow's Elementary School No. 19, where they were entertained by singing and dancing children, the atmosphere seemed strained.

The couple sat next to each other on the stage, both with fixed smiles. The president whispered something to his wife at one point, and she nodded back.

The first lady introduced the president at the school and cited his commitment to education. But she did not refer to him as "my

husband," as she generally does when introducing him. And when she headed back to her seat and Clinton touched her shoulder, she looked down and walked past him.

"I've been getting along fine," Hillary Clinton said about the period since Clinton admitted on national television Aug. 17 that he had "misled" her and others about his relationship with the former White House intern, now 25.

By Mimi Hall

A Clinton advocate with stature is sought

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — President Clinton's White House advisers and legal team are considering asking a respected former member of Congress to make the president's case if and when independent counsel Ken Starr sends his report to the House of Representatives.

Next week, after the president returns from his trip to Russia and Ireland, aides will present him with arguments that such a highly regarded individual be brought in to be Clinton's point person on Capitol Hill.

A person with knowledge of the president's legal strategy says that perhaps a former Republican law-

maker with the stature of Warren Rudman, a retired Republican senator from New Hampshire, might make a compelling representative of Clinton's interests if Starr's report prompts hear-



Kendall: Preparing a 'shadow report'

ings by the House Judiciary Committee. Rudman had no comment Tuesday.

Democrat George Mitchell, a retired Senate majority leader from Maine, is another model for the kind of person under consideration, although no one has been approached about such a role.

Starr has been investigating Clinton's relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky and whether the president committed perjury or obstruction of justice. Clinton has admitted having an inappropriate relationship with Lewinsky but has denied breaking any laws.

Discussions about adding a person with congressional experience to the president's team to press Clinton's case privately with lawmakers and publicly in the media suggest that his advisers consider potential impeachment hearings to be as much a political forum as a legal one.

Although Clinton's legal and political advisers agree that bringing in a congressional veteran might be helpful, some of his political aides are less enthusiastic about it and some oppose considering a Republican. Ultimately, Clinton himself will decide.

The differences of opinion are surfacing as Clinton's advisers intensify efforts to put together a strategy for handling any report Starr sends to Congress concluding that the presi-

dent may have committed impeachable offenses. Clinton's legal team expects Starr to send his report to Capitol Hill late this month.

The internal debate involves whether Clinton's lawyers will cede to political aides in the White House tactical decisions about possible congressional hearings. Since Starr's inquiry began in January, Clinton lawyers inside and outside the White House have made most strategic decisions and often did not tell political advisers about key developments.

"The White House will have to tailor a team of liaisons with Congress as well as the media to handle the approaching fight," says Jonathan Turley, a law professor at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. "But it would be dangerous to view impeachment hearings as purely political."

David Kendall, Clinton's personal lawyer, is preparing his own report on the president's relationship with Lewinsky, the person with knowledge of the legal strategy says. Kendall's "shadow report," based on grand-jury testimony by witnesses allied with Clinton, would probably be made public after Starr's official report goes to Congress.

Kendall may write to Starr requesting that the independent counsel allow him to see the official report before it is sent to the House. But it's considered unlikely that Starr would agree to allow Kendall to preview his findings.

Other developments:

► The grand jury that has heard testimony for seven months about Clinton's relationship with the former White House intern is not in session this week, but more witnesses may be called.

► Starr has not notified Clinton's lawyers that he wants further testimony from the president. After Clinton's Aug. 17 grand-jury testimony, lawyers with knowledge of Starr's intentions said the president might be subpoenaed for more testimony.

► A federal judge in Little Rock said Tuesday that she would unseal Clinton's complete deposition and other files in Paula Jones' sexual harassment lawsuit unless either side appeals the move before Sept. 15.

U.S. District Judge Susan Webber

Wright said the documents will be made public on Sept. 28 if no appeal is filed. Clinton has opposed the release of any of the sealed files.

Wright also expressed concern about Clinton's conflicting statements about his relationship with Lewinsky and left open the possibility that he could be held in contempt of court.



First couple: The Clintons attend a student performance at a school in Moscow.