HRC Clips

Monday, January 11, 1999

THE ONCE AND FUTU

By KATI MARTON

IF BILL CLINTON'S PREDICAMENT HAS but one historical precedent, Andrew Johnson's, Hillary Rodham Clinton's current position has none. After surviving the most painful year one could imagine, Hillary has begun to do something no other First Lady—not the second Mrs. Wilson, not Nancy Reagan, not even Eleanor Roosevelt—ever did: create a political base independent of her spouse's. In the new TIME/CNN poll, 70% view her favorably. And her popularity has caused talk, encouraged by New Jersey Senator Robert Torricelli, a close White House ally, that she may run for the Senate from New York in 2000. Though her friends call such a run unlikely—Washington, they say, is the last place she'll want to be in 2001—the First Lady's office has so far done nothing to squelch the idea, which seems to be gaining momentum.

The Clinton marriage is famously, ineffably complex. But presidential marriages are almost always about more than matters of the heart. By the time they enter the White House, a presidential couple have generally forged a partnership that is both political and personal. Once there the First Lady has a dual role to play: internal and external. Successful First Ladies must balance them; if one part overwhelms the other, the result can be disastrous. Take the Wilsons—Woodrow and his second wife Edith, whose 1915 courtship and marriage were the stuff of a romantic novel but catastrophic for the country. After Wilson was felled by a massive stroke in 1919, Edith kept him in office as a form of therapy—she thought a resignation would quicken his death—concealing the truth from the world. Half-paralyzed and nearly blind, Wilson became more rigid in a way that would affect history, refusing to compromise in order to gain Senate approval for American membership in his own creation, the League of Nations. Edith Wilson pulled off a masterful charade for the benefit of Congress and the country, becoming in the process what some called the "28th and a half" President. She skillfully arranged an early version of a photo op for a congressional delegation, propping up her inert, bedridden husband with pillows in a darkened sickroom. It was all to convince the public that the President was still in charge. Although she acted out of love, she damaged both the country and Wilson's legacy. "Woodrow Wilson was first my beloved husband whose life I was trying to save," she said with pride of what she called her stewardship; "after that he was the President of the United States." Theirs was a White House union based entirely—and tragically—on matters of the heart.

The Roosevelts represent the opposite pole. Their marriage had perhaps not enough heart. Eleanor was the "eyes and ears" of her wheelchair-bound husband, his pipeline to African Americans, Jews and other disfranchised people. Her middle-aged, maternal image gave the New Deal its most compassionate face. In 1940, F.D.R. dispatched Eleanor to the Democratic Convention to quell a revolt against his choice of political outsider Henry Wallace as running mate. "This," she told the convention, "is no ordinary time," and the force of her presence ended the crisis.

Comparisons between Eleanor Roosevelt and Hillary Clinton are unavoidable and sometimes startling, though inexact. Eleanor was famously insecure, and Hillary conveys quite the opposite impression. But like Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Roosevelt needed time to assimilate her nearly impossible job description. She too wanted a "real job" and did not always accept the fact that being First Lady, however ill defined, is a job in itself. Eleanor took a position as assistant director of the Office of Civilian Defense. The press went after her, and F.D.R.'s enemies attacked too—calling her the O.C. Diva, forcing her to resign.

But Eleanor was unwilling to retreat to an inoffensive corner of the White House. Zealous in pushing her causes, she would interrupt Franklin's sacred cocktail hour with a sheaf of policy papers. When, in the last months of her husband's life, Eleanor still pursued her own agenda for good government—berating F.D.R. for the appoint-



The Protector
EDITH WILSON
successfully hid her husband's paralysis, saving his presidency but hurting his legacy



The "Eyes and Ears"
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
took the nation's pulse for her wheelchair-bound husband, and survived marital discord



The Style Setter
JACKIE KENNEDY
brought glamour to the White House and, later, solace to a grieving nation



The Insider
NANCY REAGAN
was a powerhouse, but Americans were unimpressed by her political clout

URE HILLARY

She is one of the most influential First Ladies, but none ever did what she's doing now

ment of two Assistant Secretaries of State whom she considered reactionaries—his aides tried to limit contact between the sick, weary President and his wife. Of course she had her reasons for disengaging emotionally from the marriage—primarily the discovery in 1918 of Franklin's affair with her social secretary. Today we would call the Roosevelts a dysfunctional couple. Yet they constructed rich and varied lives for themselves, filling the void in their marriage with other relationships. But such a union would not be possible today. No present-day occupants of the White House could live as freely and creatively as the Roosevelts did during their 12-year tenure and keep their private life—and wounds—private until years after their death.

As an "external" First Lady, Jacqueline Kennedy was in her own way almost as successful as Eleanor Roosevelt. Her sense of history and style captivated the nation and put a stamp on her husband's presidency. Her unforgettable performance as the nation's widow eased us through the nightmare of November 1963. It was only much later that we learned of the harsher truths behind the glittering façade of the Kennedy White House.

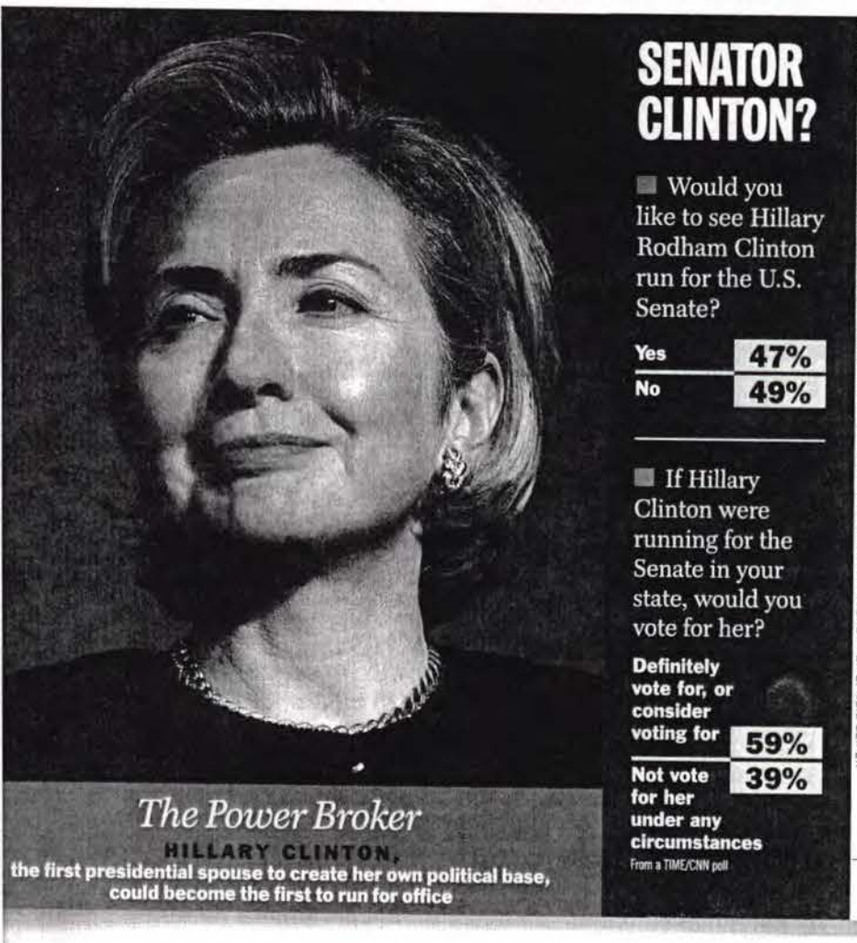
Every generation modifies its expectations of the First Lady to reflect its own cultural values. What was admired in Jackie did not work for Nancy Reagan. Criticized in public for her extravagance, Mrs. Reagan was a huge power inside her husband's Administration, a far greater influence on presidential policy than anyone since Mrs. Wilson. It was not until years later, when Ronald Reagan's Alzheimer's condition was disclosed, that the nation began to take Nancy Reagan to its heart. Lady Bird Johnson (still a beloved national figure), Rosalynn Carter and Barbara Bush all managed to balance the external and internal functions of First Lady. They were good performers, good wives and good political partners. All of them promoted important causes—but none was an independent political figure. Nor was Betty Ford, an ordinary political housewife catapulted into an extraordinary role. To her credit, Mrs. Ford spoke with therapeutic candor to a nation looking for relief from Vietnam and Watergate, showing that the First Family was, well, just like any other American family, with secrets and troubles of its own, from her children's experimenting with marijuana to her dependency on prescription drugs. Her exuberant nature—she once danced on the polished Cabinet table—helped chase away the Watergate blues. In fact, today Betty Ford's image—and the famed center for substance-abuse treatment that bears her name—is more sharply etched in our memory than her husband's.

Dutiful Pat Nixon is the pre-eminent example of the First Lady as victim. We remember her not for all her good works for children and the elderly, but as a lonely woman standing near her husband on his last day in office as he rambled on about his sainted mother, oblivious to his wife. Even her official White House portrait is sad.

Watching Pat Nixon made us feel bad. Not so with Hillary Clinton. Nor can we imagine Mrs. Clinton saying of her husband, as Eleanor Roosevelt did—with typical self-effacement and not entirely accurately—"I was one of those who served his purposes." Part of Mrs. Clinton's achievement last year was the way she reclaimed a measure of privacy for herself after her husband's public admission of infidelity—not by pulling back like Mamie Eisenhower but by refusing to play by the prevailing rules of the confessional age. Affirming her right to privacy, she focused on the issues, found her own voice and set her own boundaries. The nation seems willing to abide by them, a reaction without precedent in American history.

When Eleanor Roosevelt left the White House, she told the press, "The story is over." That prediction turned out to be far off the mark. No one would think it about Hillary Rodham Clinton. The next act will be, I suspect, even more fascinating for the woman who continues to change the rules and the role of the First Lady. ■

Kati Marton, an author, is working on a book about presidential marriages



The Power Broker

HILLARY CLINTON,
the first presidential spouse to create her own political base, could become the first to run for office

SENATOR CLINTON?

■ Would you like to see Hillary Rodham Clinton run for the U.S. Senate?

Yes	47%
No	49%

■ If Hillary Clinton were running for the Senate in your state, would you vote for her?

Definitely vote for, or consider voting for	59%
Not vote for her under any circumstances	39%

From a TIME/CNN poll

FROM TOP LEFT: GLOBE PHOTOS; CORBIS—BETTMANN; CYNTHIA JOHNSON FOR TIME; ART RICKERBY—LIFE; NEIL LEIFER

PULSE

INVISIBLE MAN Dennis Hastert? Wasn't he the guy on that show? Or is he the one who invented that thing? You know the one I mean.



KARIN COOPER—GAMMA LIAISON FOR TIME (3)

Number of press mentions the week they were nominated for Speaker of the House

Newt Gingrich | Bob Livingston | Dennis Hastert

Source: Nexis

THE RULES



APPLEWHITE—AP

I LOVE NY The buzz in New York is that Hillary Clinton is mulling a run for the Senate in 2000. But why New York—a state in which she has many admirers but no apparent roots to speak of (unless you count attendance at numerous fund raisers)? First, of course, there's an open seat—unlike, say, in her native Illinois. Second, New York has astonishingly loose residency requirements: all she has to do is live there on Election Day—maybe in a nice hotel suite. Other states are less accommodating. Illinois demands you live there at least 30 days and be a registered Illinois voter, while Arkansas exacts from its Senators a harsh two years of residency. All of which may put Hillary in a New York state of mind.

The Nation

To Love, Honor and Run for Higher Office

By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON

IT may be the ultimate slap at the boys in suits who have long dominated American politics: the hottest electoral commodities, as of last week at least, are best known for the men they married, and their last tries for elective office were in student Government.

Elizabeth Hanford Dole commanded international attention when she announced she was resigning as president of the American Red Cross to ponder going after the Republican Presidential nomination next year. Hillary Rodham Clinton did not announce anything, and there is no evidence that she will. But that has not tamped down a persistent buzz in New York political circles — one stoked happily by the press — that she might dive into the Democratic race to succeed Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

The boomlets for Mrs. Dole and Mrs. Clinton, both of whom were at the top of Gallup Poll's survey of most admired women of 1998 (Mrs. Clinton placed first, followed by Oprah Winfrey and Mrs. Dole), are surprising. Both women have formidable professional accomplishments but are nonetheless most famous because of their husbands. Mrs. Dole even overtook the early favorite, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, in a poll last week of Republican primary voters in New Hampshire. (That may reflect little more than her name recognition and the initial excitement over her announcement.)

The enormous interest comes despite — or maybe because of — the fact that their husbands have seen better days: President Clinton faces an impeachment trial; former Senator Bob Dole led his party to a devastating defeat by Mr. Clinton.

But their unusual circumstances have given both women rare political appeal: While some ambitious, bright women threaten voters, particularly men, Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Dole ease such qualms because they are also viewed as loyal, traditional wives.

Besides enduring the cascade of revelations about her husband's affairs, Mrs. Clinton aggressively defended him. And Mrs. Dole did for her husband at the 1996 Republican convention what he could not do for himself: She waded into the audience and tried to rescue his candidacy by articulating a passionate case for his election.

The positive reaction may be the latest example of voters who — after the yearlong Lewinsky drama — have lost confidence in the political structure and see women as representing different values. That happened in 1992 when voters elected four women to the Senate in part out of bitterness over the Clarence Thomas hearings.



Elizabeth Hanford Dole.



Photographs by Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"These women are not Jesse Ventura," said Rachel Gorlin, a Democratic strategist, referring to the professional wrestler who was elected Governor of Minnesota in November. "They are very tested. They are very established. But they are kind of a hybrid: they represent values that are not the traditional back-room guy chomping the cigar but are not completely outside of the political process."

Both Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Dole are devout Methodists who are admired for their devotion to the church. Yet they are also driven, Ivy League-trained lawyers.

"In both cases, you're talking about women who rose professionally because of who they were married to," said Ralph Reed, a Republican strategist. "In Elizabeth's case, when she was named a Cabinet secretary, it didn't hurt that she was married to a Vice Presidential candidate and a powerful Senator. But what makes these women figures of sympathy and desirable on a political level is the perception that they are better politicians than their husbands."

Though Mrs. Clinton, at 51, is 11 years younger than Mrs. Dole, she has forged a more traditional path. She followed Mr. Clinton to Little Rock, where they reared their daughter. By contrast, Mrs. Dole did not have children and by the time she married late in life, she was nearly a decade into her climb up the Governmental ladder.

Mrs. Dole and Mrs. Clinton do not necessarily signal any trend because they are not ordinary politicians. Although Democrats enjoy an advantage over Republicans in wooing female voters, women do not reflexively flock to the polls to vote for women.

For example, Geraldine A. Ferraro, who made history as the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee in 1984, did not do particularly well among Democratic women last year when she lost her party's nomination for Senate from New York after a lackluster campaign. And Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey, a Republican, drew fewer votes from women than did her male opponents in 1997 and 1993. "Christie Whitman's biggest problem is getting women to vote for her," said Mike Murphy, an adviser.

Still, Mrs. Dole and Mrs. Clinton have emerged as possible potent antidotes to what ails their parties: Mrs. Clinton had reignited the fears people have of liberal Democrats by championing national health care, and because of the perception that she would be a co-President. But her image as a compassionate figure who was wronged by her husband has quieted those misgivings.

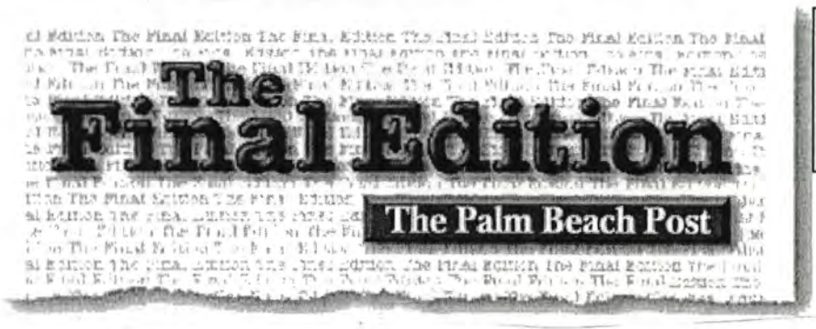
Republicans, increasingly, have suffered a reputation as being dominated by males who are not interested in issues like education and health care. Mrs. Dole is in a position to neutralize that perception, and she would stand out in the sea of men seeking the nomination.

YET timing is a factor: Before Mrs. Ferraro's Vice Presidential candidacy, most people probably would not have dared to advance a Clinton or Dole candidacy.

"I don't see either Elizabeth Dole or Hillary Clinton springing out of the head of Zeus," said Ruth B. Mandel, a political scientist at Rutgers University. "They emerged out of the last quarter of the 20th century from a culture which makes it possible for people to consider women as potential Presidential candidates."

The danger is that if they began running in earnest, their prominence might magnify any blunders they make. And they could not expect to be embraced automatically by women. Referring to Mrs. Dole's opposition to abortion, Mr. Murphy said, "The pro-choice women will turn on her."

That may be why it is far from assured that the names Dole and Clinton will adorn bumper stickers again. Yet there is no question that both women are drawn to political power. After starting a book club in junior high school, Mrs. Dole writes, she took matters into her own hands: "I simply declared myself President."



BELLSOUTH
The Real Yellow Pages
ONLINE
PALM BEACH INTERACTIVE

The Palm Beach Post

January 10, 1999, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: OPINION, Pg. 2E

LENGTH: 674 words

HEADLINE: TOWARD A FEMININE MILLENNIUM?

BYLINE: Fran Hathaway

BODY:

People looking for millennial meaning might note the feminine nature of last week's political news.

In Arizona, Republican Gov. Jane Hull and Arizona's other four top elected officials - all women - took office. In Washington, Elizabeth Dole resigned as American Red Cross president amid reports she will run for president in 2000. Mrs. Dole, who served as secretary of labor and of transportation, has never run for elective office. But she has figured prominently behind the scenes in the campaigns of her husband. That would be former Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., best known lately as a shill for Viagra.

And the buzz in the media ether - from Meet the Press last Sunday to Tuesday's New York Times editorial page and beyond - was that Hillary Rodham Clinton might run for the U.S. Senate from New York in 2000. Mrs. Clinton did not deny the rumors author Gail Sheehy and Watergate Pulitzer Prize-winner Carl Bernstein, said they were writing biographies of the first lady.

Mrs. Clinton never has run for office, either. But for more than 20 years, she has figured prominently behind the scenes in the campaigns for Arkansas governorship and presidency of her husband. That would be William Jefferson Clinton, once known as Bill, who as of this writing remains president.

Now these women are looking toward the millennium and their own 21st-century roles, which some see as continuing a shift toward matriarchal leadership after centuries of patriarchal governance. Psychologists call it the feminine emerging from a collective unconscious long dominated by the masculine. Politicians wonder pragmatically whether voters are so repulsed by the current Washington spectacle that they'll want major change in 2000. Can women do it better?

Until recently, they couldn't do it at all, at least at the higher levels. In 1984, Geraldine Ferraro was the first woman from a major political party to be nominated for vice president. That was a thrill for many women, but few people thought her qualified to lead the country. In 1987, former Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo., explored a presidential bid. Raising the necessary money proved overwhelming.

But Elizabeth and Hillary - inevitably, we would refer to them by their first names - are contenders. You may recall that when Mr. Clinton began running for president, people who knew them said Mrs. Clinton should have been the candidate. And maybe she was, in the only way the office was open to her then.

Ms. Schroeder, 58, and Mrs. Dole, 62, came of age during the 1960s and have "first woman" battle scars. Mrs. Clinton, 51, has fewer. Mrs. Dole was one of the first women to graduate from Harvard Law School. Ms. Schroeder wanted to study aerodynamics in college but was told it would waste her parents' money to have that degree "hanging over a changing table." Ms. Schroeder did go on to become a mother - and the first woman to serve on the House Armed Services Committee.

If Elizabeth "Don't call me Liddy" Dole becomes a candidate, she will be running for vice president, not president - in 2000, at least. As for Hillary, some wonder how she could run for any office - California and Illinois Senate seats have also been mentioned - if her husband is in the White House. But who's to stop her? For a woman who has been both most admired and most abhorred, anything is possible. And how often do seats like retiring New York Sen. Pat Moynihan's open up?

Others think Mrs. Clinton will take a lucrative private-sector job to help pay the family's huge legal bills. Or maybe she figures that's her husband's job. Practically, being a senator would allow her to distance herself, ostensibly maintaining respect for Chelsea's father while creating a separate persona. And - delicious thought - wouldn't it be fun to see this skilled debater slice up some of the Senate troglodytes?

Time to step out from behind those scenes. Run, Hillary, run. You too, Liddy.

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The New York Post

January 10, 1999, Sunday

SECTION: News; Pg. 022

LENGTH: 327 words

HEADLINE: CAPITOL 'HILL' OK WITH CHUCK

BYLINE: BRIAN BLOMQUIST Post Correspondent

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) yesterday said First Lady Hillary Clinton "would be a great person to serve with" in the U.S. Senate.

"She's very smart. She cares about the issues. I care about being a legislator, and I think that would be her motivation too," said Schumer, who just last week took the oath of office for his first Senate term.

New York Democrats say Clinton would be the hands-down favorite if she decided to run for the Senate seat Daniel Patrick Moynihan is vacating after 22 years. The seat is up for grabs in 2000.

"It's sort of a force of nature. There's nothing you can do about it. If she runs, she clears the field. If she doesn't run, she doesn't run," a New York Democratic operative said.

If Clinton ran and won, Schumer would be the one - as the "senior senator" - to escort the First Lady down the aisle to take the oath.

"It would be great," Shumer said. "I think she'd be a graet person to serve with."

Two Democratic contenders recently dropped out of the race: Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, who may have a prime spot on Al Gore's presidential ticket, and state Comptroller Carl McCall.

Two Democratic congresswomen, Nita Lowey of Westchester and Carolyn Maloney of Manhattan, are said to be interested, along with Assemblyman Michael Bragman of Syracuse. The Rev. Al Sharpton also probably will run.

Mayor Giuliani is considered the GOP front-runner. Other Republicans with eyes on the seat are Long Island Reps. Pete King and Rick Lazio.

Mrs. Clinton would have to live in New York at the time of the announcement, according to election laws. But that might conflict with her husband's plans. President Clinton, unless he's removed from office in the Senate impeachment trial, would still be president during the 2000 campaign.

"She'd have to leave the White House, establish residency in New York, pay taxes and register to vote," said Neel Lattimore, Mrs. Clinton's former spokesman.

Chicago Tribune

January 10, 1999 Sunday, CHICAGOLAND FINAL EDITION

SECTION: BOOKS; Pg. 8; ZONE: C; MULTIMEDIA. LISTENER'S GUIDE. What's new on audio cassette.

LENGTH: 449 words

BODY:

THE LITERARY LIFE

BECH AT BAY

By John Updike, Random House Audio, approximately 6 hours, abridged, $25.95. Read by Ron Rifkin.

Updike's erudition and love of language shine through in this book he calls a "metafictional frolic." On the surface, it marks the third volume centered on his alter ego, Jewish-American writer and consummate New Yorker Henry Bech. Chronicling Bech's mostly unproductive literary but highly amorous personal life, this linguistically rich narrative captures an older but not much wiser Bech who is attacked by his fellow writers, sued for libel and preoccupied with thoughts about his place in the literary pantheon.

A PET'S LIFE

DEAR SOCKS, DEAR BUDDY

By Hillary Rodham Clinton, Simon & Schuster Audio, approximately 1 1/2 hours, abridged, $12.

As you listen to these letters written to First Pets Socks and Buddy, you can almost hear Art Linkletter reminding you that "Kids say the darndest things." Indeed they do. And the messages they have written to these two famous animals are a glimmer of the hope and innocence that all children possess. Read by children from the Littleton School in Parsippany, N.J., many of these letters go beyond basic inquiries about Socks and Buddy; they show a deep inquisitiveness about the world and the people who run it. In between letters, Hillary Rodham Clinton offers a history lesson about pets in the White House, which have included FDR's Scottish terrier, Fala; Caroline Kennedy's pony, Macaroni; and Amy Carter's cat, Misty. Says Mrs. Clinton: "Together Socks and Buddy have received more than 300,000 letters and e-mails, including admirers from England, Bangladesh and nearly 50 other countries who have written asking for celebrity shots and pawtographs. By comparison, Thomas Jefferson, one of the most prolific correspondents of his day, received an average of 137 letters a month while he was president."

New York Democrats Dream of Clinton (Hillary, That Is)

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

When Charles E. Schumer wanted a compelling figure to campaign with during the final hours of his Senate race last year, he turned to a Democrat who has never even lived in New York State: Hillary Rodham Clinton. Mrs. Clinton flew in for a clamorous reception at a Schumer rally in midtown Manhattan. After the votes were counted, Republicans and Democrats agreed that her four visits had a lot to do with Mr. Schumer's defeat of Alfonse M. D'Amato by nearly 10 percentage points.

All of which accounts for why an unauthorized political trial balloon, floated by the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee on television last weekend — that Mrs. Clinton might run for the Senate from New York in 2000 in a bid to replace the retiring Daniel Patrick Moynihan — has stirred such interest. Polls indicate there is virtually no public figure who is as popular as the First Lady among New York voters these days, and Mrs. Clinton clearly demonstrated her skill at political warfare with her relentless attacks on Mr. D'Amato last fall.

"This woman is just an exceptional human being with a broad breadth of knowledge on national and international politics," Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of New York and one of Mrs. Clinton's most enthusiastic promoters, said yesterday. "I've seen her on the campaign trail and as a witness in Congress. Her ability to do most anything well is unbelievable."

By most accounts, the prospect of Mrs. Clinton seeking the Senate nomination is, at this point, only the hopeful figments of the imagination of Democrats contemplating the difficult task of keeping Mr. Moynihan's seat under their party's control. The First Lady's associates say Mrs. Clinton has shown little interest in moving to New York and entering partisan politics, and that in any case, she has other things on her mind these days besides a Senate race two years away in a state where she has never lived. She intends still to be occupying the White House with her husband in 2000.

It will probably be months before Mrs. Clinton offers a final word on her political plans. But the excitement stirred by these whispers is evidence of something else: the underlying weakness of New York's Democratic Party, notwithstanding the party's strong showing in November, when Democrats won the Senate seat and the state attorney general and comptroller jobs.

A weakened party's unrequited fancy for a nonresident.

Andrew M. Cuomo, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and son of former Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, announced yesterday that he is skipping the contest. That, it would seem, has left the Democratic Party with a weak bench of backup candidates to replace Mr. Moynihan in a race in which the Republican candidate might be Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, an accomplished and well-financed politician.

The Democrat that Mr. Moynihan had hoped would run for his seat, H. Carl McCall, the State Comptroller, declined, calling the fund-raising demands too exhausting.

Mr. Cuomo's decision is sure to be interpreted, by some, as testimony to Mr. Giuliani's strength, even though many Democrats were skeptical of how the younger Mr. Cuomo, who has never run for public office, might do in a race against someone of Mr. Giuliani's guile and aggressiveness.

As of now, several lesser-known public officials are thinking about running — like Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester and Assemblyman Michael J. Bragman of Syracuse — but there does not appear to be another Mr. Schumer out there. Mr. Schumer, who had nine terms in the House of Representatives, devoted years to preparing to run for the Senate.

Many Democratic leaders are concerned. When Judith Hope, the state party chairwoman, said this week that she doubted Mrs. Clinton would run, she was warned by Democrats not to say anything that might discourage the First Lady "if there was the remotest possibility of her making this race," as Ms. Hope said.

"Obviously, the prospect of the First Lady considering a race for Senate from New York is a very exciting one," Ms. Hope said yesterday. "I know that certain political leaders from New York are encouraging her to give it serious consideration. I know that six months ago she suggested to me that such speculation was a distraction for her at that period in time."

The Democrats who are looking to Mrs. Clinton to protect the "Moynihan seat," as Ms. Hope called it, are taking solace in Mrs. Clinton's refusal to rule out a campaign.



James Estrin/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton with Charles E. Schumer last fall during his successful campaign for the Senate seat held by Alfonse M. D'Amato.

"Clearly, there's a lot of speculation about what she would do," said Marsha Berry, the First Lady's press secretary. "To the question of elective politics, she says she has no plans."

Mr. Rangel said Mrs. Clinton, in a recent conversation, said nothing to dissuade him from advancing her candidacy. "The First Lady told me that we should put any discussion of this subject on hold, until after the President is done with impeachment proceedings in the Senate," Mr. Rangel said. "Me being an optimist, I consider that very favorable."

A Capitol Idea for Hillary Clinton

N.Y. Democrats See First Lady as Strong Senate Candidate; Andrew Cuomo Decides Not to Run

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Jan. 8—Maybe the idea of Hillary Rodham Clinton running for the U.S. Senate in New York in 2000 sounds farfetched. She is, after all, the first lady. She's busy with a day job, and so is her husband. They're also dealing with some rather public problems in their private lives. And lest anyone forget, neither one of them has ever lived in New York.

But the Hillary-for-Senate scenario got a bit more plausible today, when Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo announced that he had decided not to run in 2000. With state Democrats turning up the pressure on the first lady to try to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and with some of her friends dropping hints that she just might be interested, she did nothing to dampen the speculation raging about her political intentions.

"She's certainly flattered by the speculation," said the first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry. "At this point, she has no plans to run for elective office, but she hasn't ruled it out. . . . I can tell you that she does like New York."

It's still hard to imagine Hillary Clinton campaigning to join the body that is now putting her husband on trial. She has her enemies, and they have hammered away at her failed health care plan and her role in the Whitewater affair, but she is a well-respected lawyer and children's advocate, and the most admired woman in America in some polls. There has always been talk that she might run for the Senate someday in her native Illinois or her adopted Arkansas, and exiled Clinton adviser Dick Morris says that in 1990, the Clintons commissioned him to do two polls to test her viability as a gubernatorial candidate in Arkansas.

To be sure, some of her friends point out that she has come to despise Washington and its politics, and that, with her distaste for the media, she might recoil at the tabloid-soaked culture of New York. But political analysts agreed today that if the past year in American politics has made anything clear, it's that nothing is clear in American politics.

"Hey, stranger things have happened," said New York pollster John Zogby. "New York has always liked the Clintons, all the way back to George and DeWitt."

The popularity of George Clinton, vice president to Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and a seven-term New York governor, and his nephew DeWitt Clinton, the former mayor, governor and senator who built the Erie Canal, are not relevant. But New York was Bill Clinton's second-best state in 1992, his third-best in 1996. And a recent Zogby poll suggested that the first lady would cruise to the Democratic nomination here, and would pose a serious challenge to irascible but popular New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) in a general election.

Of course, the election is still two years away. Giuliani, who has been widely credited with reviving the Big Apple, has not yet decided to run, although term limits will force him out of office in 2001. One potential problem is that if the mayor won, he'd have to turn over his job to Public Advocate Mark Green, a liberal Democrat who is one of his fiercest critics.

Giuliani could also face serious competition in a GOP primary, where more conservative candidates tend to appeal to party regulars and upstate voters. Former senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, who was unseated by Democrat Charles E. Schumer in November, is mulling a comeback run, and he remains influential within the state Republican establishment. Rep. Rick Lazio of Long Island, one of the House's top fund-raisers, also could enter the fray.

Cuomo, the son of former governor Mario M. Cuomo, was clearly the favored Democrat. But he said today he still has things he wants to accomplish at HUD, and that he wants to help Vice President Gore win the White House in 2000. "I believe you should finish your current job before seeking a new one," said Cuomo, who is one of Gore's closest advisers and has been mentioned as a possible vice presidential candidate. "I know, it may be novel in my line of work, but I honor my commitments."

Comptroller Carl McCall, the state's most prominent black politician, and environmentalist Robert F. Kennedy Jr., whose late father won this seat as an out-of-stater in 1964 and whose sister is married to Andrew Cuomo, have been mentioned as possible candidates. But McCall and Kennedy withdrew from consideration earlier.

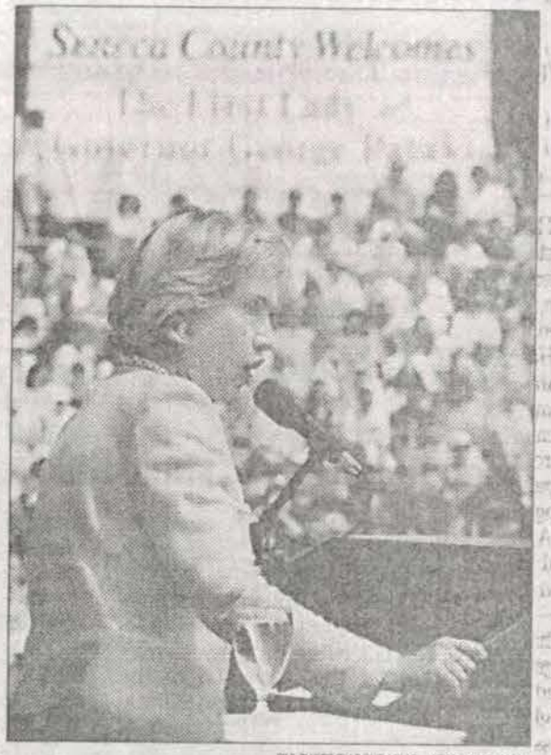
Other Democrats mentioned are less prominent: Green, Rep. Nita M. Lowey of Westchester, Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney of Manhattan, state Assemblyman Michael Bragman of Onandaga County and Al Sharpton, the outspoken black minister. Even the names of nonpolitical figures such as actor Alec Baldwin and entrepreneur Michael Bloomberg have been bandied about, as has Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala's.

But today, the name on Democratic lips here was Hillary Clinton. Some analysts believe her frequent visits last fall gave a real boost to Schumer during his race against D'Amato, who had angered her by aggressively chairing the Senate hearings into Whitewater. In Zogby's poll, her statewide approval rating topped 60 percent. And she would have access to the vaunted Clinton fund-raising machine in what is sure to be a very expensive race.

"I've urged Hillary to look at this seriously," said former Democratic state chairman John Marino. "I think the Democratic candidate in New York in 2000 is going to be very, very strong. And that's going to have a lot to do with what's happening in Washington right now."

If Hillary Clinton does run while her husband is in office—or, if the Senate pulls a surprise, after her husband is removed from office—the world will watch to see how she handles the issue of impeachment and whether she would try to use it against the Republican Party.

"This is a three-act play," said an associate who has spoken with the first lady about a possible Senate bid. "We're near the end of the second act now. For the third act, some hero has to come back, pick up the flag and move it forward. . . . I think she's the denouement of the piece."



FILE PHOTO/BY DOUG MILLS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks at a July 1998 event in Seneca Falls, N.Y., honoring the 150th anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention.

But as New Yorkers say, that and a token will get you on the subway. Running for office in this state takes work, and nobody knows how a first lady would be able to do it. She wouldn't have to maintain an official residence in New York until Election Day, but she wouldn't get any special treatment, either.

"If she runs, I think you'll see a real close look at her background," said New York GOP spokesman Terry O'Brien. "Whitewater. The health care debacle. I'm sure she could raise some serious money, but she's also got some serious baggage."

Staff writer Peter Baker in Washington contributed to this report.

Ellen Goodman

In Their Own Right

There she goes again. Elizabeth Hanford Dole, red suit and white pearls color-coordinated against a tableau of flags, is announcing that she's leaving her job.

Where have I seen this before? In 1988, when Peter Jennings led the news announcing, "One of the most important women in government has given up her job for a man." In 1996, when she took family and medical leave because her husband had a relapse of the political bug.

Elizabeth Dole, two-time Cabinet member and candidate's wife, half of the original Washington power couple, did her time as a political asset. On one memorable night at the Republican Convention. she put on a revival-meeting version of "This is Your Life" for the man she described as "the most compassionate, the most tender person I have ever known."

While many in the hall whispered "she should be running," she was the updated dream of a political wife. All that accomplishment, all that intelligence, all that in service of her husband.

But this time it's different. This time the buzz is that the 62-year-old leaving the Red Cross, an organization bigger than many Fortune 500 companies, will make the power couple jokes a reality. This time, she'll run for president.

Meanwhile, in New York, there are enough trial balloons being floated to lift Hillary Clinton in a basket across the Hudson River. The buzz in the Empire State is that Hillary will run for the U.S. Senate. The cry that greeted her everywhere during the slam-bang campaign this fall—"You Go, Girl!"—may turn into a campaign slogan.

What is going on here? Just three years ago, these women were locked in a battle, a k a cat fight, for most popular wife. They were pitched against each other in polls and conversation, two strong women judged as helpmates.

Back then, Liddy Dole was cast as both the professional and the un-Hillary, a former secretary of labor and transportation who had to smile through her husband's promise that she wouldn't be in charge of health care, "or anything else." Last year as Hillary's ratings rose along with the scandal, many supporters glumly concluded that Americans still like a wronged woman better than an uppity woman.

It looked like marriage was a lousy career move.

Now, Marie Wilson of the White House Project, an effort to get a woman in the Oval Office, says that maybe something else is going on. Maybe people, especially women, are relating to two women who can accomplish a modern juggling act: standing by their man and standing on their own two feet.

"Here are two women who paid their dues. It's possible that dues-paying can be turned into a source of power," she says. "A lot of people are glad to see that some power can come out of building and supporting relationships, because that's so much of what women spend their lives doing."

It's even possible that for two ambitious lawyers, the unpaid labor of wifedom can be exchanged for the political coin of the realm.

Pat Schroeder, a classmate of Liddy Dole's at Harvard Law School, a party-mate of Hillary Clinton's and a former congresswoman who tested the icy waters of presidential politics herself, says, "It's pretty interesting if we end this century with two women who really tried to straddle the gulf between being a supportive spouse and being independent.

"How does being a supportive spouse translate when you stand up and say, 'let me tell you who I really am. If you think I thought my husband was competent to be president, let me tell you how competent I am'?"

It's not an accident that the Dole announcement took place on the same day that Jesse Ventura became governor of Minnesota or the day that the Fab Five women took over the top jobs in conservative Arizona. Voters are looking for leaders with different credentials. Both these women know how to walk into a room and dazzle it with more than stardust.

Dole's agenda is in many ways still a blank slate. We don't know what she stands for and whether the ultraconservative Republicans who rule the primaries will stand for her. We don't know how Hillary would ultimately play in the tough New York that sent another star, Gerry Ferraro, packing.

But these women are not Mary Bono stepping into her late husband's shoes. These are pros in their own right and partners who put their ambitions on hold.

In the great unlamented contest of 1996, Mmes. Dole and Clinton were compared, graded, tested as helpmates. Now, after all these years, after Eleanor and Nancy, after pillow talk and petticoat power, it may take a Hillabeth to break through the glass ceiling for wives as well as women.

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Andrew Cuomo Drops Idea of Bid To Replace Moynihan in Senate

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 — Andrew M. Cuomo, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, said today that he would not run for the United States Senate in 2000 and will instead stay in the Clinton Administration, where he can play what is expected to be a major role in Vice President Al Gore's campaign for President over the coming year.

"My wife actually made this decision for me," Mr. Cuomo, 41, said in an interview, referring to his wife, Kerry Kennedy Cuomo, the daughter of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy. "She said: 'Forget the ego, it's not about ego. It's about public service. How do you serve the most people?' The answer is clear: HUD Secretary. It's not even close."

Had he chosen to run, Mr. Cuomo, the eldest son of former Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, would have immediately jumped to the head of the Democratic pack for the seat held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who has announced that he will retire next year.

But Mr. Cuomo's withdrawl — coupled with the decisions by Robert F. Kennedy Jr., and State Comptroller H. Carl McCall late last year not to seek Mr. Moynihan's seat — leaves the Democrats bereft of a big-name candidate to challenge the man many politicians think will be the Republicans' nominee: Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

In an indication of the Democrats' worries about the Senate race in 2000, several party leaders said today that they remain hopeful that Hillary Rodham Clinton would decide to move to the state and run for Mr. Moynihan's seat. Mrs. Clinton's aides have said she has no plans to do so, though they have not ruled it out.

A few county leaders have begun promoting Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester as the Democrats' next best hope. Ms. Lowey says she is seriously considering running, but many politicians think she is leaning against it.

Other Democrats who are considering running include Representative Carolyn Maloney of Manhattan and Assemblyman Michael Bragman, who is from the Syracuse area.

In addition to Mr. Giuliani, the potential Republican candidates include Representative Rick A. Lazio, from Suffolk County, Representative Peter King from Nassau County, Thomas S. Gulotta, the Nassau County executive, and Jeanine Pirro, the Westchester County District Attorney.

A number of prominent Democrats, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said they thought that Mr. Cuomo had decided against running because Mr. Giuliani would be a formidable candidate.

But Mr. Cuomo asserted that he could have defeated Mr. Giuliani. "Just because you are a good mayor does not mean you will be a good senator," he said.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

January 9, 1999, Saturday, FIVE STAR LIFT EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. 34

LENGTH: 661 words

HEADLINE: GIRL POWER!

BODY:

POLITICS

Arizona, the home state of the first woman U.S. Supreme Court justice, now has another first to claim. Every one of the state's top five offices is held by a woman: governor, secretary of state, treasurer, attorney general and superintendent of public instruction. Befitting the moment, the women were sworn in Monday by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, who was also the first woman elected majority leader of the Arizona state Senate.

But the five Arizonans weren't the only women politicians in the spotlight this week. Elizabeth Dole very publicly resigned from the Red Cross amid widespread speculation that she's considering a presidential run. And trial balloons galore were testing the reaction to a U.S. senatorial campaign, from New York, by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Women are now familiar fixtures of the political landscape, but in relatively few numbers. Of the 535 senators and representatives in Congress, only 56 are women. Of 50 governors, three are women.

Not surprisingly, state legislatures and local governments have been the incubators of women's political achievement. They are the bottom rungs of the ladder, and typically they are also offices that don't require huge infusions of cash.

On average, women hold about 22 percent of state legislative seats. The Missouri Senate has five women out of its 34 members, a historic high. Thirty-six women are in the Missouri House, a drop of three from last lession. In Arizona, though, it's a third. Historically, Western and frontier states, where gender stereotypes weren't as entrenched, have been more open to women's political participation. When Arizona became a state in 1912, for example, it also gave women the vote.

Yet politics on the national level is still very much a man's world, shaped by a profound gender gap. That's what makes Elizabeth Dole a potentially formidable presidential candidate. She's firm but not threatening, assertive but not aggressive and, perhaps most important to the voting public, feminine but not feminist. Her impressive resume begins with Harvard Law School, at a time when women were a real rarity there, and culminates in two Cabinet positions. Yet Mrs. Dole isn't perceived as careerist or power-hungry.

For the Republican Party she's a dream come true. The GOP has had trouble attracting women voters, in part because of the candidates it fields, in part because it's seen as indifferent, at times even hostile, to the issues that concern women. Mrs. Dole, who is strongly anti-abortion, wouldn't alienate the Christian right - unlike pro-choice Gov. Christine Whitman of New Jersey.

Mrs. Dole has never held elective office, a drawback, but she certainly has more government experience than GOP hopefuls Steve Forbes, Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson.

As her husband's political stature has dwindled, Mrs. Clinton's has increased. She was a working wife before she came to the White House. As first lady, she has managed to carve out an identity separate from that of her husband so it is possible to imagine her with an autonomous public life afterward.

Senate seats, in Illinois and now New York, have been floated as possibilities. Mrs. Clinton proved to be a highly successful fund-raiser for Democratic candidates in the 1998 election. So she might be able to raise money on her own. But frankly, given Mrs. Clinton's ordeal of the past year and her penchant for privacy in an era when candidates are pressed to disclose their underwear preferences, she may be disinclined to seek office. But she could well serve in a high-ranking position in a Democratic administration or in an advocacy or philanthropic organization if she chooses not to return to the practice of law.

In their own ways, the Arizona Five, Mrs. Dole and Mrs. Clinton are trailblazers, marking how far women have come and have yet to go. We look forward to the day when the trail for women becomes a well-trod path to success.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: January 9, 1999

Speculation swirls about first lady in Senate run

Pundits ponder whether she's floating trial balloons

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — In political circles, where every utterance is ascribed a motive, word from Sen. Robert Torricelli on Sunday that he believes the first lady will run for the Senate next year launched a week-long wave of speculation about Hillary Rodham Clinton's plans.

Spokeswoman Marsha Berry says only that her boss "has no plans" for life after the White House.

"She really just wants to make the most out of the next two years," Berry says.

Torricelli's spokeswoman, Joy Howell, says the senator's comment on NBC's *Meet the Press* was pure speculation.

"He hasn't spoken with her about it," she says.

But the first lady's staff is not ruling out a run for the seat being vacated in 2000 by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y. And that is fueling speculation that has the East Coast's political and financial capitals abuzz.

Was Torricelli — or Hillary Clinton through Torricelli — floating a trial balloon? Testing the idea to see if it was well-received?

It sounded that way to *The New York Times*. "Senator Rodham?" the *Times* asked in an editorial Tuesday. "This could simply be wishful thinking" by Torricelli, who as head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee is responsible for recruiting Democratic candidates, the *Times* noted. But "the fact that Mrs. Clinton has made no attempt to discourage talk about the Moynihan seat suggests she has not ruled the idea out entirely."

A *Vanity Fair* article has added to the talk. In it, writer Gail Sheehy describes how, at a summer fundraiser in Amagansett, N.Y., State Democratic Committee Chairwoman Judith Hope told President Clinton that New Yorkers love his wife. Clinton responded, "Maybe she should consider running for office in New York." He said it "with a chuckle," the article says.

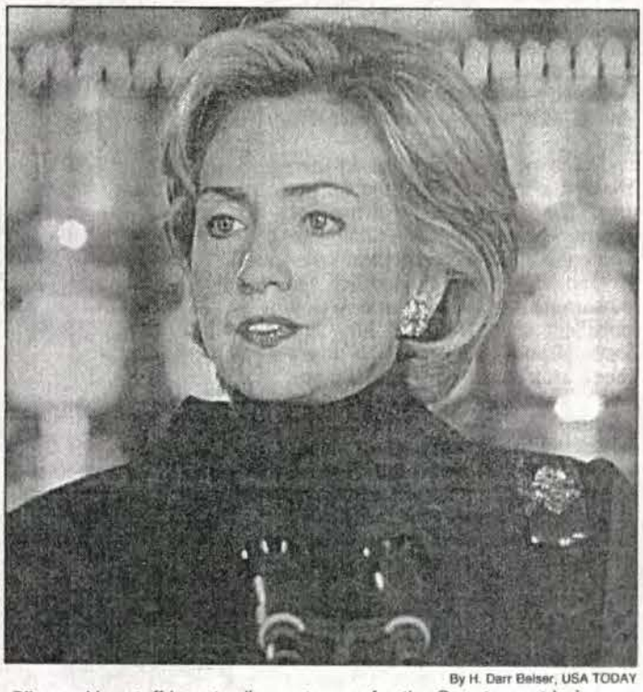
Hope said Wednesday she does not expect the Clinton name on the ballot in 2000. "She has discouraged me from encouraging any speculation that she might run for public office," Hope said. "My guess is that she will find some way to continue her work on the issues she cares about . . . outside of government."

But on Thursday, Hope's office issued a statement saying she had spoken with Rep. Charles Rangel and other New York Democrats, and "they agreed that if there is any possibility the first lady might become a candidate, that is something that should be encouraged."

Legally, she wouldn't need residency in the state until the day before the election. And the *Times* says she wouldn't have to worry about carpetbagging, since non-New Yorkers such as Robert Kennedy have held the seat.

People agree she would be a formidable candidate.

"Mrs. Clinton is a proven fund-raiser and vote-getter," Republican pollster Linda DiVall says. "Her campaigning for Democratic candidates was a definite asset" in 1998.



By H. Darr Beiser, USA TODAY

Clinton: Her staff is not ruling out a run for the Senate seat being vacated in 2000 by retiring N.Y. Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.



AP

Torricelli: T.V. comment sparks talk

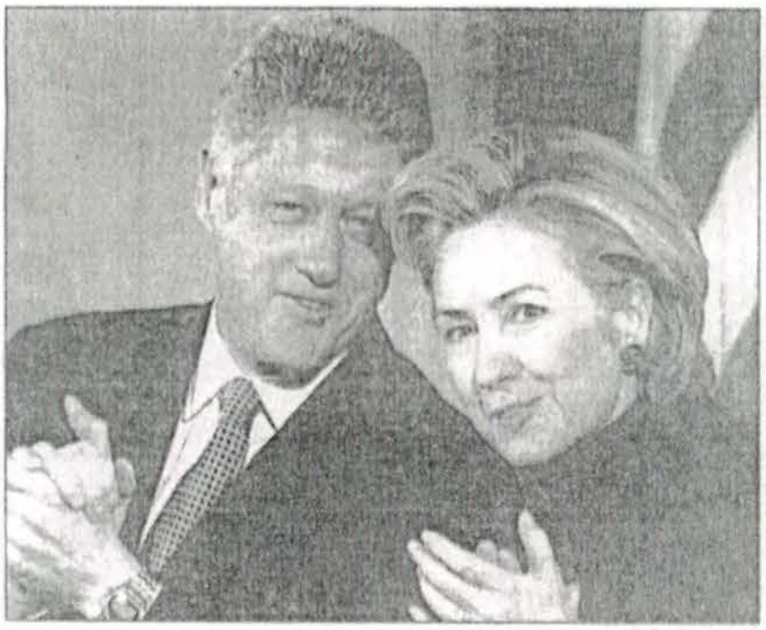
But Clinton friends say there's virtually no chance she would run for the Senate in 2000. Among the reasons:

- She wouldn't be inclined to virtually abandon the White House and her duties as first lady to run a statewide campaign in New York during the last year of her husband's presidency.
- She'd need to make more money than a senator's $136,673 annual salary to help cover debts rung up during years of investigations.
- She wouldn't want to be just one of 100 senators when she probably could wield more influence as head of a foundation or as a goodwill ambassador promoting democracy and women's rights worldwide.
- She wouldn't want to spend six more years in Washington — a city, friends say, she has grown to hate.

The speculation might be put to an end next week, when Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo is expected to announce whether he'll seek Moynihan's seat. Friends say the first lady would never challenge Cuomo, son of former New York governor Mario Cuomo, in a primary.

But Hillary Clinton has never been one to limit her options. And if she decides not to run in New York in 2000, speculation could shift to her home state of Illinois in 2004, when freshman Republican Sen. Peter Fitzgerald is up for re-election.

Contributing: Richard Benedetto



By Ron Edmonds, AP

School plan: President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton after he proposed more funding for after-school programs Thursday in Washington. 'Everyone just has one life. This is about giving people a chance to make the most of that one life,' Clinton said in his announcement.

The Washington Times

★★ FRIDAY, JANUARY 8, 1999 / PAGE A5

NATION

Hillary's supporters circulate her name for 2000 Senate run

New York race 'has not been ruled out'

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton's supporters are quietly circulating her name as a possible candidate to run for the Senate from New York, and the first lady has not ruled out the idea.

Though close aides and confidants say she is not actively considering the Senate bid, there are growing signs of a whisper campaign to encourage speculation as Mrs. Clinton enjoys some of her highest approval ratings ever.

"She's aware that people are speculating about what she might do in 2000, but at this point she has no plans to run for elective office," says spokeswoman Marsha Berry. "For the next two years, she wants to make the most out of being first lady. I'm not in the position to rule it out. I'm just telling you I can't tell you."

Judith Hope, chairman of the New York Democratic Party, says Mrs. Clinton asked her several months ago not to encourage speculation about running for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. She told the Associated Press that she had no reason to believe the guidance had changed. "I would be surprised if this is what she chose to do," Ms. Hope said yesterday, reiterating her comments to other news organizations in recent days.

But a few hours later, she called back to say, "I have reason to believe that my comments have been too negative. If she decides to run, it would be terribly thrilling."

She would not say what prompted her to suddenly view a Hillary-for-Senate in a less negative light.

"I have reason to believe that this possibility has not been ruled out and that gives me cause to be excited," Ms. Hope says.

Several confidants of Mrs. Clinton, all of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity, said there is something to the speculation.

One close friend said this week that she has talked to the first lady about possibly running for the Senate seat.

The conversations were casual and not substantial, but Mrs. Clinton knows friends are circulating her name, the source says.

A leading Democratic official in New York said allies of Mrs. Clinton's have discussed a possible bid with state leaders.

An administration official close to the Clintons says the first lady won't rule out a campaign because she can't give it serious consideration until after the Monica Lewinsky controversy subsides. After that, she likely will take a look at it, though the official said his best guess is she won't run.

That assessment was repeated by several others close to the first lady, who say no polling or organizing has begun.

Friends say Mrs. Clinton has several political options open to her, including seeking Senate seats in Illinois or California and even a presidential race somewhere down the line.

Given the family's massive legal debt, they say, she may instead join corporate boards, return to practicing law or write a book.

She has never been a hotter political commodity.

Polls show a healthy majority of Americans view her favorably. In New York, one poll on prospective Senate candidates showed her in a dead heat with Republican Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City.

Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, the son of former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, is expected to announce by early next week whether he will run. If Mr. Cuomo sought the seat, Mrs. Clinton would be unlikely to challenge him, say allies of both. If he bows out, speculation about a first lady candidacy would skyrocket.

Residency wouldn't be a problem. Lee Daghlian, spokesman for the state Board of Elections, says she would have until Election Day to rent or buy in New York.

Getting elected would be tougher. Party leaders say New Yorkers wouldn't be dazzled by the "first lady" title.

IMPEACHMENT

Clintons still among 'the most admired'

But 42 percent want president tried

By August Gribbin
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

People don't think as much of President Clinton as they used to, but they still regard him favorably. In fact, polls released this week indicate that Americans rank him and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton among the world's "most admired" persons.

As the Senate geared up for the impeachment trial of the president, a CNN-USA Today-Gallup survey found Mr. Clinton's approval rating had dropped to 63 percent from a record 73 five days before Christmas. The 63 percent rating matched those of early December and was just a few points below those of previous weeks.



What's more, some 70 percent of those queried in a separate CBS poll want Mr. Clinton to remain in office.

Still, the CNN-USA Today-Gallup poll found that a plurality (42 percent) want Mr. Clinton tried in the Senate. A huge 85 percent of the respondents declared nothing was "likely to occur in the trial" that would change their opinion of the president.

Further probing the president's popularity, an early week survey of 1,055 adults by the same polling group asked who respondents admired most from a list of famous men that included Pope John Paul II, Michael Jordan and retired Gen. Colin Powell. Eighteen percent of the respondents chose Mr. Clinton, ahead of the pope at 7 percent and the Rev. Billy Graham at 5 percent.

Mr. Jordon came in fourth, Gen. Powell sixth. Software magnate Bill Gates and South African President Nelson Mandela were named by 2 percent.

Similarly, people were asked what woman they most admired. Mrs. Clinton was the choice of 28 percent, compared with 8 percent for second-place finisher Oprah Winfrey. Elizabeth Dole garnered 6 percent, good for third place.

The CNN survey inquired if respondents wanted the president tried. Forty-two percent did. Thirty-two percent prefer censure without a trial, and 21 percent wanted no trial and no censure.

Thirty-three percent of those polled said their senator should vote to convict and remove Mr. Clinton, but almost twice as many — 63 percent — said their senator should vote against removal.

Asked how long they think the trial should last, 62 percent said "just a few days." Twenty-four percent said "at least several weeks."

Those findings represent a change. A CBS News poll of 1,175 adults at the start of the week indicated 63 percent of the public thought a full trial was "not necessary," while 32 percent said it was.

CNN pollsters pushed the point, asking whether the Senate should adopt the plan of Sens. Slade Gorton, Washington Republican, and Joseph I. Lieberman, Connecticut Democrat. The plan called for an early Senate vote to see if there were enough votes for ousting the president and then proceeding with censure if there were not.

Fifty-three percent opposed the Gorton-Lieberman idea and preferred "a full trial"; 42 percent wanted the preliminary vote.

The CBS survey asked interviewees if they would be optimistic or pessimistic about the final two years of Mr. Clinton's term should he survive in office. Sixty percent said they were optimistic; 32 percent pessimistic. Of the optimists, 78 percent were Democrats and 15 percent Republicans.

With the Senate going ahead with preparations for the trial, a poll conducted by Louis Harris and Associates asked if respondents thought people in the Capitol "are out of touch with the rest of the country."

Seventy-six percent said yes.

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The Detroit News

January 08, 1999, Friday

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BODY:

Schools don't reward success, identify failure

WASHINGTON -- A nationwide study released Thursday by the publication Education Week says 48 states now test students to see if they've learned material taught, and 36 states publish report cards on individual schools, but only a handful have comprehensive policies to reward success and identify failure. In the survey, 60 percent of employers and 53 percent of parents favor tying financial incentives for teachers and principals to student improvement. But only 22 percent of teachers said this was a good idea.

Death toll hits 8 in tainted meat case

ATLANTA -- The death toll has climbed to eight in a bacterial outbreak linked to a Michigan meat processing plant, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported Thursday. The CDC found listeria contamination in an unopened package of hot dogs handled at the Bil Mar Foods plant in Zeeland, Mich. Bil Mar Foods is a Sara Lee subsidiary.

Dems urge first lady to seek Senate seat

WASHINGTON -- Some Democrats are urging Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for the Senate from New York in 2000, and the first lady is not ruling out the idea. Friends are quietly circulating her name as a possible candidate. "She's aware that people are speculating about what she might do in 2000, but at this point she has no plans to run for elective office," said spokeswoman Marsha Berry. "For the next two years, she wants to make the most out of being first lady. I'm not in the position to rule it out. I'm just telling you I can't tell you."

Superflares from stars can turn planets to dust

AUSTIN, Texas -- Superflares powerful enough to fry nearby planets regularly erupt from distant stars that are just like the sun, but such death-dealing explosions are unlikely to occur in the solar system, astronomers say. Two Yale University researchers said they have found nine solar-type stars that have erupted in flares up to 10 million times more powerful than anything ever recorded from the sun.

Panel assigns blame in 2 embassy bombings

WASHINGTON -- An official panel investigating the bombings at two U.S. embassies in Africa has concluded that there was a "collective failure" by several administrations and Congress to invest sufficient resources to protect U.S. diplomatic missions, an official with the Accountability Review Board said Thursday night. The panel was convened after the bombings at the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania last August. The report accused the State Department and other agencies of giving low priority to security concerns at U.S. missions abroad.

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HoustonChronicle.com

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Edition: 2 STAR

Snippets

Staff, Wire reports

Hillary is focus of another book

First the news that Pulitzer Prize-winner ***Carl Bernstein*** will write a bio of Hillary Rodham Clinton. Now comes word that best-selling author Gail Sheehy also will put the first lady's marriage and political partnership with the president under the microscope.

Sheehy, author of Passages and eight other books, is expected to announce a deal by next week, said her agent, Lynn Nesbit.

In the race to publish, Sheehy appears to have the jump on ***Bernstein*** with a 15,000-word article exploring the Clintons' marriage in Vanity Fair's February issue.

Relying on interviews with family, friends, unidentified associates, aides and lawyers and from previous interviews with Mrs. Clinton, Sheehy characterized the first lady as a woman with two identities: a moral Methodist and a radical feminist.

"Her life strategy, decided long ago, was to take the raw material of a brilliant, emotionally battered child with a good heart and a desperate ambition, and shape him into a political star. . . . It took a Hillary to raise a president," Sheehy wrote.

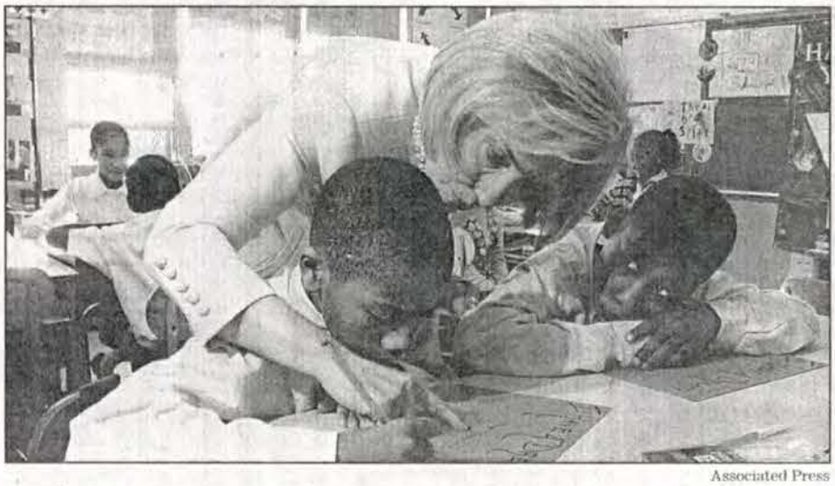
Sheehy's book is due out in a year at most, Nesbit said. ***Bernstein*** said he has just started research and wouldn't speculate on a publication date.

POLITICS

Thought of Sen. Hillary Clinton Has N.Y. Giddy

Book deals, pundits feed a growing Empire State interest in first lady, and an intriguing political scenario.

By JOSH GETLIN
TIMES STAFF WRITER



Associated Press

One New Yorker said it would be "fa-a-a-bulous" if Hillary Rodham Clinton, shown visiting a Harlem school last year, were to run for the Senate.

NEW YORK—Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton. New Yorkers love the sound of those words—improbable as they might be—if a media frenzy bubbling away in the Big Apple is any indication.

Would the first lady be a strong candidate for the Senate seat being vacated in two years by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan? "You go, girl!" said bicycle deliveryman Carlos Rodriguez, at a red light in midtown Manhattan. "What an incredible idea!"

Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) thinks so too, and the chairman of the National Democratic Senate Campaign Committee sparked the Hillary boomlet last weekend when he suggested to NBC-TV's Tim Russert just before "Meet the Press" that Mrs. Clinton would run for the office.

"Here's a little mini-bombshell," Russert told viewers, spilling the beans, and New York journalists have had a field day ever since. Indeed, many locals seem far more caught up in the idea of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy than the degrading spectacle of her husband's historic impeachment trial, set to begin today.

Interest in the first lady here is enormous, and it's been fanned not only by dreamy-eyed political operatives but by book companies and journalists. This week, Knopf, a division of Random House, announced it will publish a biography of Mrs. Clinton by Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein; HarperCollins and William Morrow said they will also produce books about her.

Meanwhile, Vanity Fair has just published a penetrating profile of the first lady by best-selling writer Gail Sheehy, whose agent announced that she too is penning a book about Mrs. Clinton and her relationship with the president.

"The public's curiosity about this woman and what she's going to do is insatiable," said Random House publicity director Stuart Applebaum.

Americans' appetite for Mrs. Clinton's memoirs will be intense, should she write them, yet the first lady has not broached the subject with her publisher, Simon & Schuster, said editorial director David Rosenthal.

Mrs. Clinton has been equally tight-lipped about the idea of running for the Senate. A host of political experts insists she is unlikely to enter the race, even though she has made a flurry of high-profile appearances here in recent months, either showing up for society events or stumping for candidates.

"I think the chances of her [entering the race] are zero to none," said veteran Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf. "She's not going to enter an arena that might expose her to any more abuse, not after the last six years in the White House."

A friend of the first lady also doubted Mrs. Clinton would seek elective office. "Where I could see her is as the U.N. ambassador. I see her in a much more global role," this person told Reuters.

Yet that didn't stop the New York Times from devoting its lead editorial Tuesday to the suddenly hot notion that Hillary Clinton *might* throw her hat in the ring. Ditto for the New York Post, Newsday and a swarm of TV and radio commentators.

"In New York," wrote Boston Globe columnist Ellen Goodman, "there are enough trial balloons being floated to lift Hillary Clinton in a basket across the Hudson River."

While some New Yorkers might call the first lady a carpetbagger if she moved to the Empire State and ran for office, others remember that former Sens. Robert F. Kennedy and James Buckley did the same thing years ago and won. Under the Constitution, senators must only maintain a legal residence in the state they represent.

The open New York seat is already attracting a growing cast of potential candidates, including Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, the Rev. Al Sharpton and former GOP Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato.

Few doubt that Mrs. Clinton could raise the millions needed for such a contest, and some politicians salivate at the notion. Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.) told Newsday he has asked the first lady to run. "She says, 'Tell me more.' She smiles. She does very little talking, but she listens," the Harlem power broker said. "Ain't nobody going to run against the first lady."

And if they did, said Bronx businesswoman Suzanne Turrey, "Hillary would *cream* them."

Pausing on a freezing midtown street, Turrey offered Mrs. Clinton her unqualified support: "I think it's a fa-a-a-bulous idea! She's a rock of Gibraltar. She stands by her man, and by her convictions."

To be sure, Hillary Clinton wouldn't be the only tough candidate. New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani is also considering the contest, yet the normally outspoken Republican seemed taken aback when he was asked if he could "whip" the first lady. Playing it safe—and strictly for laughs—he replied: "They start investigations for less than that!"

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The Great Hillary Hope

Speculation persists, but most think she won't run for Senate

By JOEL SIEGEL
Daily News Senior Political Correspondent

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has a huge list of things to do with the rest of her life, but running for Senate in New York next year is not among them, friends and political associates say.

More than a half-dozen pals and top administration officials interviewed by the Daily News said there's virtually no chance she will seek the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan.

"It's an incredibly flattering scenario. But I would be surprised if it became a reality," friend and former press secretary Lisa Caputo said.

A top White House aide, who asked not to be named, was more blunt, dismissing the Hillary 2000 scenario as "a total flight of fancy."



Lee AP
Hillary Rodham Clinton

"She's certainly political, but he's the politician in the family. She's never shown any particular liking for the nuts and bolts of the political process. She'll head up a foundation and promote political causes."

Added Harold Ickes, former deputy White House chief of staff, "I have spoken to people around her. She has [other] serious things to think about. Based on what I know, I don't think she has given [running] an ounce of thought."

The friends and White House aides said the Sen. Hillary Scenario makes no sense on several essential levels.

First, the Clintons have huge debts and no money. The financial squeeze means they'll have to write books and lecture to generate quick cash after leaving Washington.

Second, the friends said, the First Lady sees herself as having a national and international platform to promote her causes and ideas post-White House — in short, being higher on the pecking order than the rung accorded the junior senator from New York.

Finally, "Given what the Clintons have been through, the last thing she wants to do now is run for office; no one knows the toll it takes on you personally more than she does," one friend said.

Nevertheless, the Democrats pine for the First Lady to jump into the race.

In part, that underscores an amazing reversal of her political fortunes. Four years ago, her poll numbers were in tatters, along with the health- care overhaul she tried to ram through Congress. Now, her ratings are sky-high.

The clamor also reveals the deepening concern among some Democrats that they might not have a marquee candidate to run against the early Republican favorite, Mayor Giuliani.

Robert Kennedy Jr. and Controller Carl McCall have opted out. Now the pressure is on U.S. Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, son of the former governor, to run.

Cuomo is intensely interested, but running would mean yielding a big role in Vice President Gore's White House campaign.

If he doesn't run, Democrats acknowledged, the party would face a pool of less-formidable potential candidates, including Reps. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), Carolyn Maloney (D-Manhattan) and Louise Slaughter (D-Rochester).

The optimism of the Hillary Hopeful surged Sunday when NBC-TV "Meet the Press" host Tim Russert broadcast an apparent bombshell: The head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.), had told Russert "if he had to guess, he believes Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the United States Senate from New York."

But a Torricelli confidant acknowledged that the senator never spoke to the First Lady or anyone around her.

Pro-Hillary Democrats also find solace in the refusal by Marsha Berry, the First Lady's press secretary, to categorically rule out a Senate race. But one confidant said Clinton simply is following the old political adage of "not foreclosing any option until you have to. But I doubt she will run."

State Democratic chairwoman Judith Hope, who launched the first Sen. Hillary trial balloon many months ago, said for the first time yesterday that the First Lady had asked her last year not to float such ideas again.

"She sought me out and asked me to discourage that kind of speculation," Hope said. "She said it was not helpful to her. . . . She has her issues she is passionately devoted to — children, families and education — and this creates a distraction."

Still, a new round of Clinton speculation is beginning. The new Jane magazine cover features a headline touting a Clinton for President — the First Daughter, Chelsea.

With Thomas M. DeFrank and Kenneth R. Bazinet

Original Publication Date: 01/07/1999

Related Stories

Outside the Beltway, the 'When Not in Washington' Rule Applies

By KATRINA SOSTEK
Special to The Washington Post

I began my freshman year at Stanford University this September after growing up entirely inside the Beltway. No, I don't know Chelsea Clinton or anything about her. And I don't know anything about her boyfriend. Or anything about Carolyn Starr, either.

When I return to the Washington area, I feel like I attend "Chelsea School" rather than Stanford University. People inevitably ask me the following questions: (1) How do I like school, and (2) Do I have any inside information on Chelsea. I tell disappointed people that not only do I not know anything about her, but that most students don't pay much attention to her. Since I don't even know what the tabloids are reporting, I cluelessly listen while those who have stayed inside the Beltway tell me about Chelsea's life at Stanford. Chelsea's name made its way into almost every one of my conversations over Thanksgiving break.

I will admit that I acted like a tabloid reporter when I had my first Chelsea sighting during a visit to Stanford last spring. She walked past me in the opposite direction toward the athletic facilities. Next, two disguised Secret Service agents with ear coils passed me, one dressed in shorts and a T-shirt and the other following on a bike with a backpack. I used my Nancy Drew knowledge to wait about 10 seconds before swiftly turning around to follow. I stood as casually as I could next to one of the Secret Service agents, who was looking at a water polo match through a fence. I then followed his eyes to find Chelsea in the crowd, then watched her, arming myself with a Chelsea story to tell everyone at home. Sure enough when I came home, everyone asked me if I had seen Chelsea, and I delivered, telling the story over and over.

When I decided to attend Stanford this fall, I anticipated more sightings and more stories. Apparently, everyone else did, too, because as I said goodbye they joked, "Say hi to Chelsea for me," or "Tell me if Chelsea and Carolyn Starr get in a fight."

When I arrived on campus in September, while going to class or events, I always made sure to look at the faces of people I passed to make sure I didn't miss a potential sighting. I finally saw her one day as she was getting off her bike to go to class. I immediately had an urge to follow her. But then a strange thing happened. I stopped and looked around and saw my fellow students getting off their bikes and walking to class, and, like Chelsea, minding their own business. I couldn't believe it; no one else seemed to care. I decided to follow the "When in Rome" rule and abort my clandestine plans. I was amazed that the "When Not in Washington" rule meant treating Chelsea like a normal person rather than a political celebrity.

Now that I am home for winter break, I am seeing local friends again. A few days ago, I was having dinner with two of them when one suddenly exclaimed, "Oh! You go to Stanford! Do you ever see Chelsea?" I explained that I had seen her, but it was no big deal. Second friend: "Well, if I were you, I would walk up to her and make a lewd joke about her father." First friend: "I would go up to her and bug her, asking, 'Are you really Chelsea Clinton, are you sure?'."

I told them that I hadn't heard of anyone harassing her at Stanford; it would be seen as uncouth. The second friend, who attends the University of Maryland, sighed and said, "Yeah, I forget that this insanity only exists inside the Beltway."

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

Honorary New Yorker

If first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton decides to run in 2000 for the Senate seat now held by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat, her candidacy "would represent a remarkable change in the dynamics of a marriage in which his career has come first," the New York Times observes.

However, "the public reaction might not be so predictable as some Democrats imagine. The fact that Mrs. Clinton wows party donors in the Hamptons does not automatically mean that her appeal will extend across the board. Nor does the fact that Andrew Cuomo has announced that he will check with President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore before running mean that other ambitious Democrats would fold automatically," the newspaper said in an editorial.

"It might even be true that Republicans in the mold of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani would welcome Mrs. Clinton's candidacy as a polarizing force that would turn out their own votes. Once the campaign heated up, both political rivals and the press would probably take another look at such mysteries as Mrs. Clinton's migrating billing records."

Hillary Watch: Rangel Pushes Senate Bid By First Lady

SENATE RACES

IN THE LATEST TWIST in the speculation over a possible 2000 Senate run by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Democratic **Rep. Charles Rangel** — the senior member of the New York delegation — is working to convince the first lady to seek the seat of retiring Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, *Newsday* reported Wednesday.

Whenever he is within earshot of the first lady or President Clinton, Rangel said, he has made pitches for the first lady to run.

"She says 'Tell me more,'" Rangel told the newspaper. "She smiles. She does very little talking, but she listens."

Rangel has told both Clintons there is plenty of support, money and an easy glide path in the primary. "We can guarantee funds and no primary [opponent]," he said. "Ain't nobody going to run against the first lady."

Rangel's comments come just days after NBC's "Meet the Press" quoted **Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman Robert Torricelli** of New Jersey as predicting Hillary Clinton will seek the New York Senate seat next year.

Torricelli's office has declined to elaborate, and New York state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope subsequently said she doubts the first lady would run. The first lady's press office has repeatedly said she has no plans to run for office.

But that has not stopped Rangel. Impressed with the first lady's popularity and campaign style during her trips to the state to raise funds and support Democratic candidates, Rangel said he started talking to her after the November elections about running for office herself.

Rangel said he broached the subject with the president, who asked about the residency requirement. "I told him it's not a big deal," Rangel said. The late **Sen. Robert Kennedy**, D-N.Y., served in Washington as attorney general until 1964, then got an apartment in New York and won the seat.

"It would be a shot in the arm for Judith Hope, it would be a welcome gift to New York to have her as a candidate," Rangel said of Hillary Clinton. "People love her. She would be a winning candidate."

While Hope said there are plenty of New York Democrats — including **Reps. Nita Lowey** and **Carolyn Maloney** — who could run for the Moynihan seat, two who had been among the leading contenders — state Comptroller H. Carl McCall and environmental attorney Robert F. Kennedy Jr. — have taken themselves out of the running in recent weeks.

"[Hillary Rodham Clinton] says 'Tell me more,'" Rangel told the newspaper. "She smiles. She does very little talking, but she listens."

McCall, the first black elected to statewide office in New York, cited the cost of the race — while Kennedy, son of the late senator, cited family considerations.

A third potential Democratic candidate, HUD Secretary Cuomo, is expected to decide on the race in about two weeks — but there is increasing speculation he will forego the contest and run Vice President Gore's 2000 presidential campaign. That could leave the Democrats without a candidate who already has statewide name recognition — unless Hillary Clinton runs.

The Democrats' need for a highly visible nominee comes in the face of increasing signs that popular New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is gearing up to seek the GOP Senate nod in 2000.

In the latest such sign, Giuliani Tuesday named his mayoral chief of staff, Bruce Teitelbaum, to take charge of his federal political committee, the *Associated Press* reported.

Giuliani is barred by law from seeking a third term at City Hall in 2001 and has refused to rule out any political options, including a presidential run. But he has indicated he is seriously considering a bid for the Senate and plans to accelerate his fundraising to prepare for that possibility.

When asked if Teitelbaum's appointment Tuesday marked the unofficial start of his Senate campaign for 2000, Giuliani responded: "No." He went on to tell reporters that it is "up to you to interpret."



HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Biographers Take To the First Lady

Is anyone writing any biographies of President Clinton? Maybe, but the potential biographee who has would-be authors using words like fascinating and remarkable — and warming up their word processors — is **HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON.** In the next year or so, there could be more biographies about her than about him.

GAIL SHEEHY, the cartographer of personal milestones in best seller after best seller, said that she was interested in writing a book about Mrs. Clinton. Her agent, **LYNN NESBIT**, sounded more definite. Asked whether Ms. Sheehy was working on a biography of Mrs. Clinton, Ms. Nesbit gave a one-word answer, "Yes."

Ms. Nesbit need not circulate a proposal when the time comes to find a publisher.

"I wrote a 15,000-word article," Ms. Sheehy said. "It's better than any proposal."

The article, in the February issue of Vanity Fair magazine, will reach newsstands in New York today or tomorrow, Ms. Sheehy said. "It won't even get to Washington until next week," she said.

Ms. Sheehy said she doubted that Mrs. Clinton would run for the Senate from New York.

"She doesn't want to be in Washington," Ms. Sheehy said. "It's been a horrible place for her, and she doesn't like to answer questions. I'm betting she likes being wooed, but in the end she'll write a book and find her own platform."

But living in New York is a possibility, Ms. Sheehy said. "Whether or not they persuade her to run, she might very well move to New York, as Jackie Kennedy did after her husband's demise. Or Eleanor Roosevelt, who only found her own voice after she stopped caring about her marriage."

Back to biographies.

CARL BERNSTEIN, who was half of the team at The Washington Post that unraveled the Watergate story in the 1970's, has signed a contract with Alfred A. Knopf for a book about Mrs. Clinton's life.

"She's infinitely interesting," he said after using the word remarkable to describe her twice in less than 90 seconds.

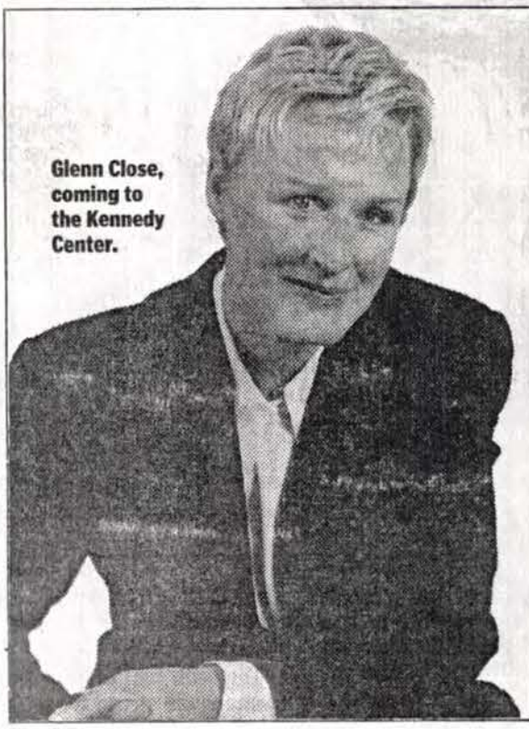
Mr. Bernstein said that he did not know when his book would come out — "I want to be thorough," he said. "I don't want to rush it." — or how long it would be.

"I don't like to write books more than 500 pages at the most because I don't think people read them," he said. "The Pope book ran 525 and was actually longer than I wanted." ("The Pope book," titled "His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Time" and written with Marco Politi, was published by Doubleday in 1996.)

Knopf would not say how much it had paid for the book on Mrs. Clinton; neither would Mr. Bernstein. Knopf seems to be betting that Mrs. Clinton will be at least as popular overseas as she is in this country, if not more so: it also acquired the foreign rights.

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer



Glenn Close, coming to the Kennedy Center.

A Close (and Flockhart) Encounter With Bosnia

■ Human rights. Women's rights. Ravaged women. Power women.

All will converge Jan. 12 when **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and 450 other invitees gather at the Kennedy Center to see **Glenn Close** play an American on a fact-finding mission to Bosnia, and **Calista Flockhart** (who in real life has been denying reports she's anorexic) play a Bosnian war victim.

They're part of an all-female cast that will read "Necessary Targets," a play about how an American presidential appointee's life is transformed after she meets with women traumatized by years of bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia.

The play was written by **Eve Ensler,** best known as the author and star of "The Vagina Monologues," after she took a 1995 trip to Bosnia, where she interviewed dozens of war victims.

Last summer, Close, Ensler and her producer, **Willa Shalit,** staged the play in Sarajevo, co-starring **Marisa Tomei** and a Muslim and Christian cast of Bosnians, Serbs, Croats and Albanians. Democratic fund-raiser **Beth Dozoretz,** who was on that trip, offered to get a Washington reading. The Kennedy Center donated the Terrace Theater, said Shalit. (Dozoretz's husband, **Ron,** sits on the center's board.)

Among those expected: actress **Whoopi Goldberg** and singer **Phoebe Snow,** who are regulars in Ensler productions, and **Rada Boric,** whose refugee center in Zagreb aids women from all ethnic backgrounds.

FILE PHOTO/BY STAN HONDA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



BY J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE—ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Clintons: She's mum to mom on her marriage.

From Mrs. Clinton, Nothing Personal

■ To whom does **Hillary Rodham Clinton** turn when her travails seem intolerable?

Not her mother.

"I don't talk to Hillary about anything deeply personal concerning her marriage," **Dorothy Rodham** says in February's Vanity Fair. "We don't sit down and have those mother-daughter discussions about how she relates to her husband, her daughter, or anything else as far as her personal life is concerned."

That's not to say that her only daughter doesn't feel pain. "Of course she does—she is a very sensitive person," Rodham told **Gail Sheehy.** "But she is able not to overemotionalize it. She doesn't go into one of these horribly overwrought emotional tizzies. That's one thing I never did, either."

The race is on to write about Hillary
By DEIRDRE DONAHUE
USA TODAY

Impeachment and adultery must be hard on the first lady. But the continuing passion play of politics and pain has only stoked book publishers' fascination with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

This week, Watergate legend Carl Bernstein signed a contract with Knopf to publish a forthcoming unauthorized biography of Hillary Clinton. And Gail Sheehy's agent, Lynn Nesbit, said she is fielding phone calls from publishers interested in signing Sheehy to write an unauthorized book after seeing Sheehy on ``Meet the Press,'' talking about her profile of Hillary Clinton in the February ``Vanity Fair.'' Sheehy tries to unravel the mystery of the Clinton marriage.

According to Bernstein, 54, his biography ``is not going to be a book about Monica Lewinsky.'' Rather, he sees certain parallels with the subject of his most recent book, Pope John Paul II. Both are immensely famous, yet ``people don't know too much about what they do and how they do it.'' He doesn't know when he'll finish.

By contrast, Gail Sheehy intends to report and write her book on Hillary Clinton within 12 months, Nesbit said.

But the real hot ticket will be Hillary Clinton's own story, if she chooses to write it. Memoirs by first ladies traditionally outsell their husbands'.

She has a long-standing relationship with Simon & Schuster, which published her books, ``It Takes a Village'' in 1996 and the recent ``Dear Socks, Dear Buddy.'' While very interested in publishing Hillary Clinton's potential autobiography, Simon & Schuster publisher David Rosenthal said the appropriate time to sign up the book will be when President Clinton leaves office.

Writer Carl Sferrazza Anthony, an expert on the role of the first lady, said that writing an autobiography is not what she is thinking about. A friend of Mrs. Clinton, Anthony said she is still focusing on improving the lives of Americans. He also believes that long after Clinton has left the presidency, Americans will find Hillary Clinton fascinating because ``she is a substantive woman.''

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The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Senator Rodham?

Hillary Rodham Clinton's spokesmen say she has not thought of running for the Senate in 2000. But Robert Torricelli, who heads the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, floated what certainly looked like a trial balloon over the weekend.

Senator Torricelli says he had no inside information from the White House about the First Lady's plans, but he told Tim Russert of NBC that his guess was that Mrs. Clinton would run for the seat now occupied by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring at the end of his term. This could simply be wishful thinking. Mr. Torricelli's job of raising money for Senate candidates would be easier if a fund-raiser as formidable as Mrs. Clinton was involved in the New York campaign.

The fact that Mrs. Clinton has made no attempt to discourage talk about the Moynihan seat suggests she has not ruled the idea out entirely. Running while her husband is still President would certainly be a dramatic break with tradition, and it also suggests a First Lady who is thinking of building a career and legacy that is separate from and extends beyond the tarnished record of Mr. Clinton. Her candidacy would represent a remarkable change in the dynamics of a marriage in which his career has come first.

As for public reaction, there are surely those who would think it opportunistic and unseemly for a First Lady to hit the campaign trail. One thing Mrs. Clinton would probably not have to worry about is charges of carpetbagging. Both Robert Kennedy and James Buckley won despite what might be charitably regarded as late-breaking residency. Empire State voters tend to regard anyone famous as an honorary New Yorker.

Otherwise, the public reaction might not be so predictable as some Democrats imagine. The fact that Mrs. Clinton wows party donors in the Hamptons does not automatically mean that her appeal will extend across the board. Nor does the fact that Andrew Cuomo has announced that he will check with President Clinton and Vice President Gore before running mean that other ambitious Democrats would fold automatically.

It might even be true that Republicans in the mold of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani would welcome Mrs. Clinton's candidacy as a polarizing force that would turn out their own votes. Once the campaign heated up, both political rivals and the press would probably take another look at such mysteries as Mrs. Clinton's migrating billing records.

All that is simply to say that the conditions that make New York attractive to famous candidates can also make it tough for them. Our one prediction for the 2000 Senate race is that no one will win it in a walk. But we are strongly on the side of large fields, intense competition and the general theory of the more the merrier, including those who move to New York to find work.

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

Carl Bernstein's Next White House Target?

Attention **Hillary Rodham Clinton:** Reporter **Carl Bernstein,** who has written books about **Richard Nixon, Pope John Paul II** and his own parents, **Alfred** and **Sylvia Bernstein,** is working on one about you.

He's inked a deal with Knopf to chronicle the life of the woman he calls "clearly one of the most remarkable figures of our time. She's had a major impact on policy and the country."

Hmmmmmm. Spoken like a writer who would like some significant face time with the first lady, not to mention a nod to her friends that it's okay to talk to Bernstein.

Clinton spokeswoman **Marsha Berry** told The Source she had not spoken with Bernstein about the project and couldn't comment on whether the first lady would submit to interviews or encourage chums to chat with him. Nor would Berry say whether Mrs. Clinton might cut out the middleman and write her own memoir.



Bernstein, researching the first lady.

FILE PHOTO

"She certainly would be the best source for a book on herself," said Berry.

No problem, said **Jonathan Segal,** a Knopf vice president and Bernstein's book editor, who said, "I think very often the best biographies are totally unauthorized." Bernstein—who as a young Washington Post reporter helped expose Watergate—was mum about the book's title, publication date and how big an advance he'll get, except to say, "It's up there."

And has he met his subject? Yes, he said: at her husband's second inauguration and on Martha's Vineyard.

The Washington Times

PAGE A4 / *TUESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1999* ★

Republicans praise Clinton's proposed caregiver tax relief

ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Clinton proposed tax breaks and other steps yesterday to ease the financial burden on families that care for a chronically ill or disabled relative.

The proposal, carrying a price tag of $6.2 billion over five years, drew praise from many Republican members of Congress, who said Mr. Clinton was resurrecting a GOP idea he once opposed.

"I'm delighted he has changed his tune," said Rep. Bill Thomas, California Republican and chairman of the House Ways and Means subcommittee on health. "This GOP initiative the president has adopted can make a difference." He said House Republicans made a similar proposal in their 1994 "Contract With America."

Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Iowa Republican, chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, applauded Mr. Clinton and said he plans to introduce two bills this year to make long-term care more affordable.

The praise was tempered by concerns about how Mr. Clinton intends to pay for the proposals, which include a $1,000 tax credit to compensate caregivers for such expenses as adult day care and lost wages in cases in which they must work less to be home to provide care.

In announcing his initiative at a White House ceremony, Mr. Clinton said the revenue loss from the tax cuts would be offset in a balanced budget he will submit to Congress in February. He provided no details, however.

Several members of Congress, including Rep. Phil English, Pennsylvania Republican, said the plan must not be paid for with tax increases.

"The president's idea has an excellent chance of moving forward if he does not raise taxes or propose other creative revenue-raising schemes that have been defeated two and three times in the last several Congresses," Mr. English said.

Mr. Clinton called his plan "a critical new initiative to give care to the caregivers." He said long-term care would become an increasingly important issue in the 21st century as the baby boom gives way to a "senior boom."

Appearing with the president to provide personal testimony to the needs of family caregivers was Patricia Darlak of Waldorf, Md. She told the White House audience she is struggling to care for her mother, who is suffering from dementia. She said the cost of her mother's care is such a burden that she may have to delay her own retirement in order to pay the bills.

Mr. Clinton's initiative also proposes that the government start offering federal workers and retirees private, long-term care insurance, in the hope that other employers would follow suit. Officials estimate that 300,000 government employees would participate in the model program.

Mr. Clinton will ask Congress for $625 million in grants to state and local agencies on aging.

Paul Willging, president of the American Health Care Association, representing nursing homes and other health care providers, called Mr. Clinton's plan a "balanced approach" that at least will stimulate debate on a topic that has gained little attention in recent years.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who appeared with the president yesterday, said help for family caregivers is long overdue.

"Everyone knows that there is not a substitute for families being able to care for their loved ones," Mrs. Clinton said. "But we sometimes forget that caregivers also need care. They, too, carry enormous burdens."

PEOPLE

Sheehy suspects Bill is 'Hillary's addiction'

In the wake of **President Clinton**'s public indiscretions, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** remains committed to their marriage because she loves him and is addicted to him, according to writer **Gail Sheehy** in the February *Vanity Fair*, out Jan. 12.

"Hillary's addiction is Bill," Sheehy writes. "He is her only rebellion, the one thing she can't logically explain. ... Bill was for Hillary a taste of freedom, a flight from her Calvinist 'shoulds.' He was, at least at the beginning, her escape — her **Monica**."

The author of the best-selling book *Passages* traveled with the first lady during the 1992 presidential campaign for a piece on the couple that appeared in *Vanity Fair*'s May 1992 issue. Sheehy interviewed more than 50 people close to the Clintons for the update.



By Joyce Naltchayan, Agence France-Presse

Can't help loving that man? Hillary Rodham Clinton, with the president last year

Among those she talked to was Hillary's mother, **Dorothy Rodham**, who says she and her daughter never discuss "deeply personal" matters: "We don't sit down and have those mother-daughter discussions about how she relates to her husband, her daughter, or anything else as far as her personal life is concerned."

As for whether Hillary feels pain deeply, Rodham says her daughter is a sensitive person, but "she is able not to overemotionalize it. She doesn't go into one of these horribly overwrought kinds of tizzies. That's one thing I never did, either."

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

Cuomo's choice

Just when some folks are pushing the idea of Hillary Rodham Clinton running for a U.S. Senate seat from New York in 2000, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo says he will ask President Clinton's advice on whether to seek the seat held by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Actually, Mr. Cuomo — son of Mario Cuomo, a former governor of the state — said he will also confer with Vice President Al Gore, and that the two men's advice will be a "determining factor" in his decision.

"It's a tough decision for me, and a strong case can be made on both sides of the question of whether to run," Mr. Cuomo told the New York Post's Fredric U. Dicker.

"A determining factor will be my conversation with the president and the vice president. I plan to speak to both of them over the next several weeks."

Mr. Cuomo, who had been expected to play a key role in Mr. Gore's campaign for the presidency, promised a quick decision on a Senate candidacy.

"Obviously, I'm giving it a lot of thought. I've gotten a lot of calls from Democrats, as well as some Republicans, in New York urging me to get in," he said.

Girl talk

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton stays mum with her mom on the subject of her marriage, Vanity Fair reports in an article featuring rare public comment from President Clinton's mother-in-law. Dorothy Rodham said she and her daughter do not discuss "deeply personal things."

The AP reports that Gail Sheehy quotes Mrs. Rodham as saying her daughter is a "very sensitive person" but "doesn't go into one of these horribly overwrought kinds of tizzies," she said.

Mrs. Rodham said her daughter is not the type to call her for unconditional love and support in a trying time. "Hillary is really so mature," she said. "She always has been. . . . She's always thought things out for herself. Then, if she needs more help or direction, she'll discuss things."

Inside the Ring

By Ernest Blazar

The hunt is on

The president's State of the Union speech is only weeks away, and already the Pentagon is in high gear to find window dressing to accompany first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton that evening.

The decoration? A young soldier, sailor, airman or Marine freshly plucked from the field.

"The Services have been asked to provide Service recommendations for a Military member to sit with the First Lady at the State of the Union address on 19 January," began the Dec. 22 message from the Pentagon's Joint Staff director Vice Adm. Vern Clark.

"Candidates should be from the E-4 through E-7 regime [meaning noncommissioned officer] and should represent the forward deployed total aspects of Services worldwide," it continued.

Adm. Clark instructs the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps to forward one candidate each, along with bio and photo to the National Security Council at the White House. "Once the service member has been selected, the parent Service will coordinate directly with NSC and provide transportation support."

No word on whether candidates will be vetted for their views on the commander in chief.



A military escort is being picked to sit next to Hillary Rodham Clinton for the State of the Union.

Clintons Are Most Admired Man, Woman In Annual Poll

Associated Press

Despite scandal and impeachment, President Clinton was again named the nation's most admired man, and Hillary Rodham Clinton was the most admired woman in the Gallup Poll's annual survey.

Clinton was selected by 18 percent of those questioned, becoming the top choice for the sixth year in a row. Last year, he was selected by 14 percent of those Gallup surveyed.

The Gallup Organization noted that sitting presidents are usually selected by Americans as the most admired person.

Pope John Paul II was runner-up, named by 7 percent. The Rev. Billy Graham was third, making the list for a 35th time. Basketball star Michael Jordan and retiring Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio), a pioneering astronaut who recently flew a space shuttle mission, rounded out the top five.

Hillary Clinton was the most admired woman for a second year, named by 28 percent of those surveyed. She was followed by television personality Oprah Winfrey, American Red Cross President Elizabeth Hanford Dole, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and former first lady Barbara Bush.

The Dec. 28-29 poll of 1,005 adults has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Clinton optimistic as new year starts

President hopes issues will come to the fore

ASSOCIATED PRESS

HILTON HEAD ISLAND, S.C.—President Clinton opened 1999 with a note of optimism and a midnight kiss for his wife. He also called on Washington to "move away from the politics of personal destruction."

No overt reminder of his political peril darkened the dawn of the new year for Clinton, even as the Senate is poised to weigh articles of impeachment against him.

Taking about two dozen questions on New Year's Eve—first in a dialogue with teenagers and twentysomethings at the Renaissance Weekend retreat, then in written submissions from their parents—Clinton did not receive a single query on the House votes to impeach him or the pending Senate trial to remove him from office.

The president came closer than any questioners to addressing the issues stemming from the Monica Lewinsky affair.

Asked about the Republicans' 1994 "Contract with America," Clinton sounded almost wistful for the days when issues divided the political parties. The aggressive GOP legislative agenda may have won Republicans House control in 1994, but the public backlash two years later got him re-elected, Clinton said.

He said he wanted Democrats and Republicans in Washington to get back to a vigorous debate of issues such as Social Security reform and "move away from the politics of personal destruction."

The president's off-the-cuff comments in the two private, invitation-only sessions were relayed to reporters by White House spokeswoman Amy Weiss.

One of the youngsters asked Clinton, at the uncertain midpoint of his second term, what he had learned about life.

"He said he's more optimistic than when he took office in 1993 about the capacity of the American people to make changes and the ability of the government to help people improve their lives," Weiss said.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton answered many of the same questions. Asked how she wanted to be remembered by history, she referred to earlier in the evening when the emcee jokingly wondered how a Wellesley grad landed in Vogue magazine. "I don't have to worry about a legacy, I've been on the cover of Vogue," Hillary Clinton said, laughing.

Chelsea Clinton, on a holiday break from her sophomore year at Stanford University, accompanied her parents on the 48-hour retreat to this resort island.

The president made an early-morning tee time New Year's Day and watched his beloved Arkansas Razorbacks fall 45-31 to Michigan in the Florida Citrus Bowl.

Clintons top 'most admired' survey

By Ron Elving
USA TODAY

Once again this year, President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton led the list when the Gallup Poll asked Americans to name the man and woman they most admire.

Both were named by a higher percentage this year than last. The percentage of survey respondents naming the first lady this year doubled.

Clinton faces the prospect of a trial in the Senate that could lead to his removal. Yet he led the "most admired" list for the sixth straight year.

He was named by 18% of those surveyed Monday and Tuesday, compared with 14% at the end of 1997. The runner-up both years was Pope John Paul II, named by 7% (up from 5% in 1997). The runner-up to the first lady (who rose from 14% to 28%) was TV-and-film star Oprah Winfrey, whose 8% was an improvement on her 5% in 1997.

Third and fourth among the most admired men were evangelist Billy Graham (5%) and basketball star Michael Jordan of the Chicago Bulls (4%). Rounding out the top 10 were astronaut and retiring Sen. John Glenn of Ohio (3%), retired general Colin Powell (3%), former presidents Ronald Reagan (3%) and George Bush (3%), South African President Nelson Mandela (2%) and computer software billionaire Bill Gates (2%).

Third among the women mentioned was Elizabeth Dole, head of the American Red Cross and wife of 1996 Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole (who tied for 14th on the male list with another former presidential candidate, Jesse Jackson). She got 6%.

Completing the women's top 10 list were former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher (4%), former first lady Barbara Bush (3%), Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (3%), poet Maya Angelou (2%), Queen Elizabeth (1%), Attorney General Janet Reno (1%) and Monica Lewinsky (1%), the former White House intern whose affair with the president led to his impeachment.

Presidents are usually the men most often named as most admired in such surveys. They have tended to top the list even when their job approval ratings were below 50%: Reagan did so in the recession year of 1982, Bush in 1992 (the year he lost to Clinton) and Clinton in 1994 (the year Republicans took over Congress).

But there have been exceptions to the Oval Office rule. In 1980, President Jimmy Carter's last year in office, the top finisher was Pope John Paul II. In 1973 and 1974, the last two years in which President Richard Nixon held office, the top two names were Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Billy Graham.

In 1967 and 1968, his last years in office, President Lyndon Johnson lost to former president Dwight Eisenhower, who had topped the list before he was president (in 1951 and 1952, the last two years in office for President Harry Truman).

Respondents in the Gallup Poll were asked to name two men and two women without a list from which to choose. The survey included interviews with 1,005 adults interviewed by telephone Monday and Tuesday after being selected at random by a computer search of all working residential telephone numbers. The margin of error for such a poll is +/- 3 percentage points.

The Washington Post

Style

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1998

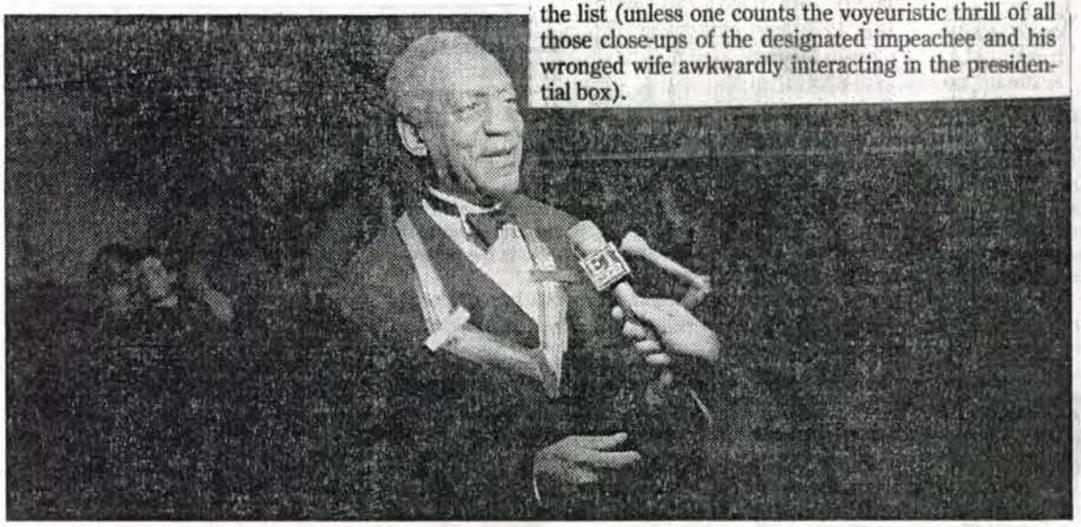
TV Preview

Kennedy Center's Ponderous Honors

By LLOYD GROVE
Washington Post Staff Writer

Someday, somehow, someone is going to figure out a way to make all these television awards shows somewhat watchable. Until then, we get yet another windy, glacial and maddening example of the genre in "The Kennedy Center Honors: A Celebration of the Performing Arts," a highly fidgetable but occasionally affecting two hours airing tonight at 9 on Channel 9.

The program—an abbreviated version (!) of the 21st annual gala held at Washington's high-culture emporium earlier this month—does of course put the spotlight on a handful of worthy artists and countless worthy values. But entertainment values aren't big on the list (unless one counts the voyeuristic thrill of all those close-ups of the designated impeachee and his wronged wife awkwardly interacting in the presidential box).



BY MICHAEL LUTZKY—THE WASHINGTON POST

Bill Cosby deflated the pompous proceedings with a little shtick.

Kennedy Center's Lengthy 'Honors'

TV PREVIEW, *From D1*

The honorees—every one of them wonderful, to be sure—are Broadway music men John Kander and Fred Ebb, comedian-philanthropist Bill Cosby, balladeer Willie Nelson, conductor-pianist Andre Previn and American icon Shirley Temple Black.

They are feted by the likes of Walter Cronkite, Phylicia Rashad, Mia Farrow and Jack Lemmon, with assists from Kris Kristofferson and Henry Kissinger (or a plump man in a monkey suit doing an excellent impression). There is, as usual, a surfeit of stiff standing ovations. And if things weren't already moving ve-er-ry slo-ow-ly, Kennedy Center Chairman Jim Johnson brings the show to a halt with an excruciating commercial announcement for the center's various good works.

Cosby, up in the balcony, manages to be more compelling than any performer onstage, putting his shoes up on the red velvet railing in a pomp-puncturing move. While the comic Sinbad is favoring him with a tasteless and unfunny monologue, he stands atop his lushly upholstered seat and tries to climb to the balcony above in a get-me-out-of-here gesture that many viewers will identify with.

Despite all the good intentions, there *is* a lot of dross: everything from tap-dancing girls in curls and frills spreading Black to a bloom-

looking, wobbly-voiced Liza Minnelli belting out Kander and Ebb's "New York, New York." More often than is tolerable, President Clinton is shown shaking his head in rhythm and lustily singing along. What, *him* worry?

It's nice to see the redoubtable Black again, looking fit and zesty at 70. During the Great Depression, she assured her immortality as America's brightest child star, then quit Hollywood for good in her twenties and went on to a career in diplomacy—as ambassador to the United Nations, Ghana and Czechoslovakia—and became the White House's first female chief of protocol.

"I share something in common with a generation of Americans," Lemmon tells the audience at one point. "The first drink I ever had was a Shirley Temple."



BY ROBERT A. REEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Music men John Kander, right, and Fred Ebb at the honorees' dinner.

FIRST LADY'S FEAR? Can it be true? Hillary Rodham Clinton, the savvy first lady, can't handle a digital alarm clock? During a speech Monday about the Social Security Administration's successful efforts to combat potential Y2K computer problems, President Clinton tattled on his wife. "I was describing this Y2K problem to Hillary," he said, "and she got so technophobic that I gave her a little digital alarm clock for Christmas. And she gave it back to me after I talked to her about it, and she said, 'Why don't you just get me one that winds up?' "



USA TODAY

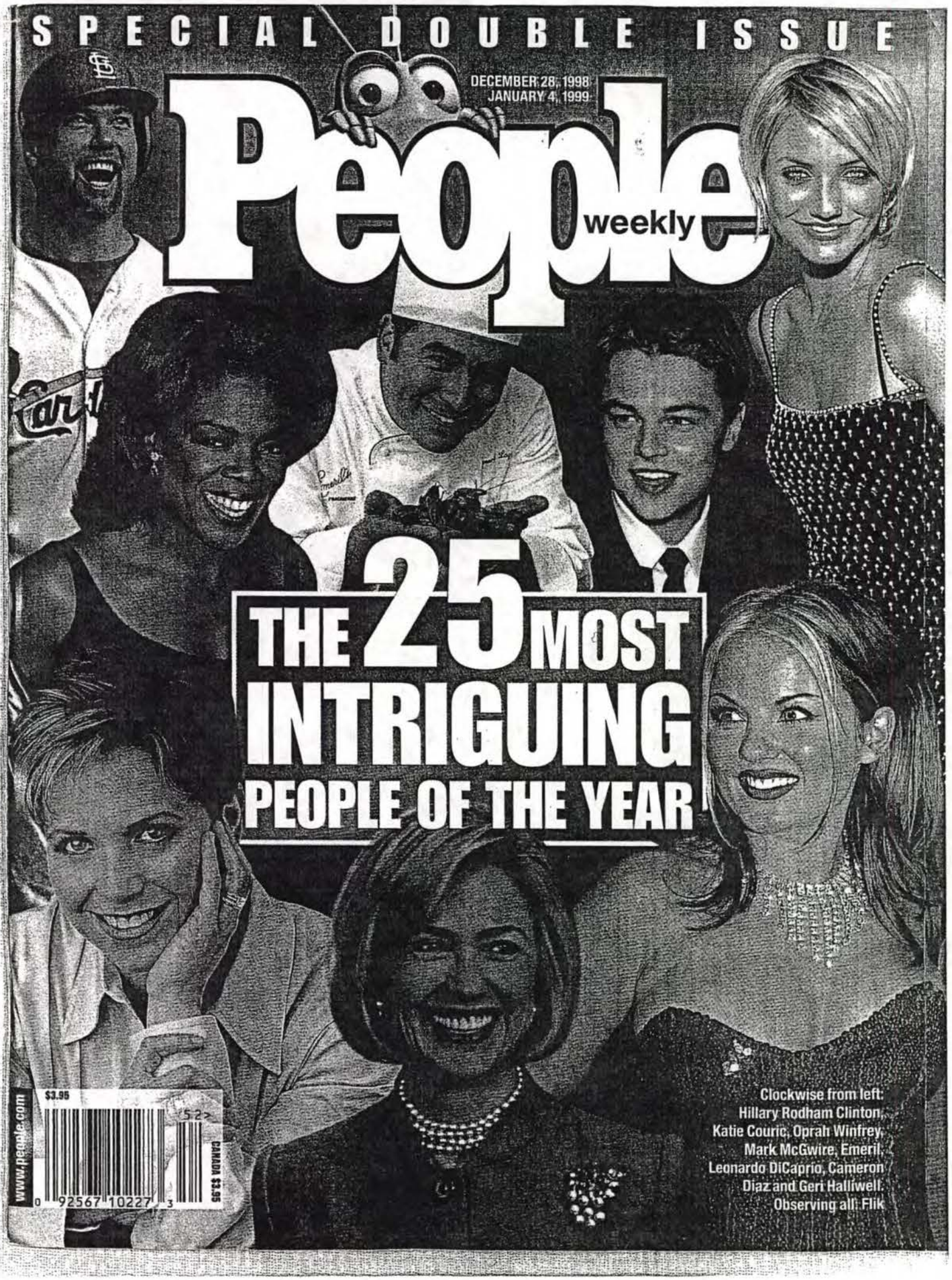
Clinton: Prefers windup clock

Compiled from staff and wire reports

SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE

DECEMBER 28, 1998
JANUARY 4, 1999

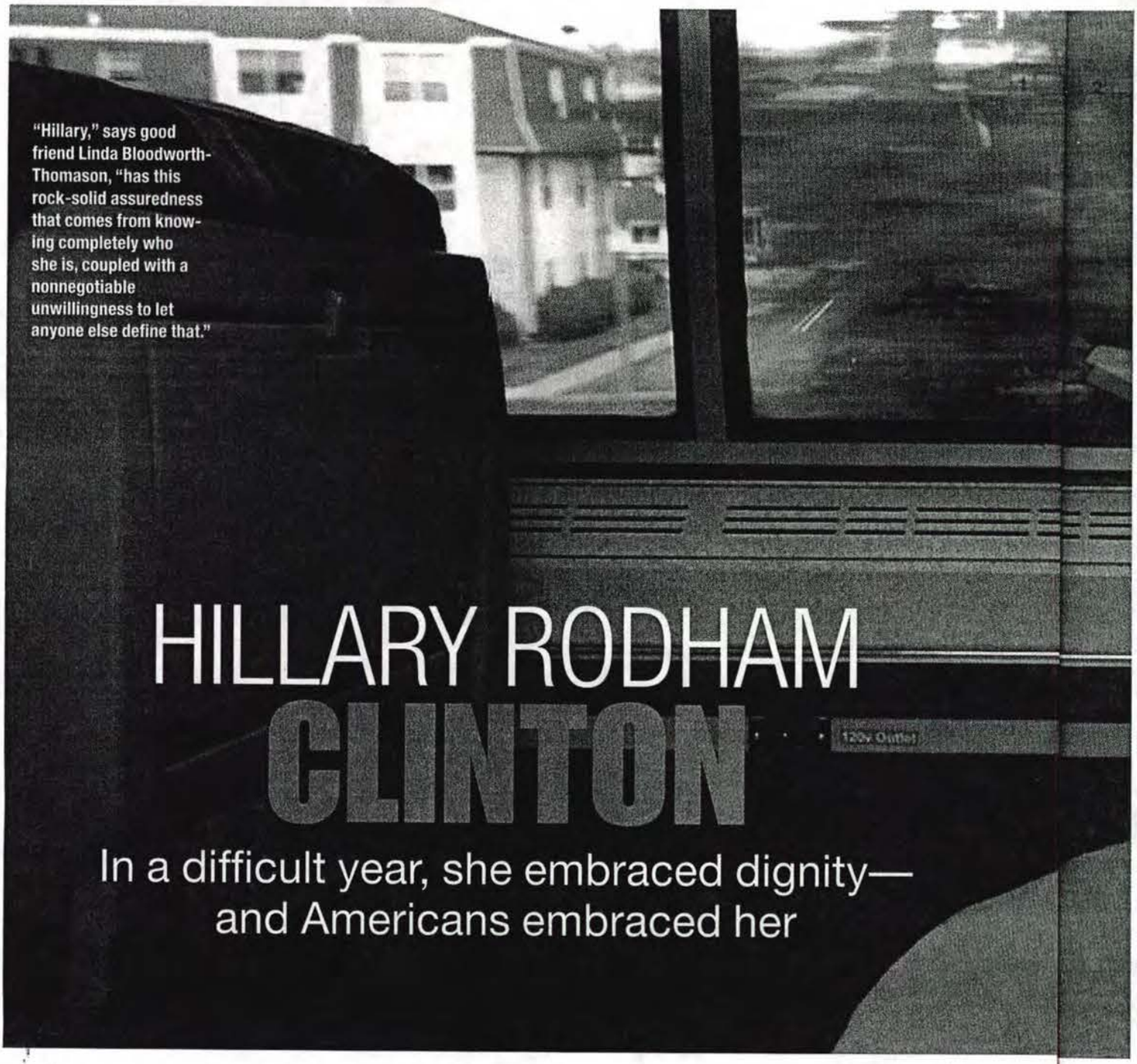
People weekly



THE 25 MOST INTRIGUING PEOPLE OF THE YEAR

Clockwise from left: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Katie Couric, Oprah Winfrey, Mark McGwire, Emeril, Leonardo DiCaprio, Cameron Diaz and Geri Halliwell. Observing all: Flik

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"Hillary," says good friend Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, "has this rock-solid assuredness that comes from knowing completely who she is, coupled with a nonnegotiable unwillingness to let anyone else define that."

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

In a difficult year, she embraced dignity—and Americans embraced her

All through this most trying year, Hillary Rodham Clinton lived by a motto from Eleanor Roosevelt: "A woman is like a tea bag. You never know how strong it is until it's in hot water." Month after month, independent counsel Ken Starr burrowed into her husband's most private moments, tossing up phone sex and gift ties. Month after month, the cameras clicked and whirred, waiting for her to reveal the emotional impact of her ordeal. Through it all, Hillary held her ground. "The more mortifying the public situation," says Clinton presidential campaign adviser Mandy Grunwald, "the more private she will become."

Still, many questioned that stance, wondering why she supported the spouse who had betrayed her, and what motivated her political resolve. Had she publicly turned against her husband, his presidency probably would have ended months ago. "All she had to do was just push, and Clinton would have been out of there," says ABC News White House correspondent Sam Donaldson. But she didn't. Not even after that August Monday before the Clintons left for Martha's Vineyard, when he told the nation he had lied about Monica Lewinsky.

Like an athlete preparing to compete, those close to her report, she went deep within herself. "She has great inner strength, a circle of devoted friends and a terrific capacity to keep things centered," says Diane Blair, an Arkansas friend. And even during the worst of it, she kept Chelsea as safe from public prying as she has throughout her daughter's life. When Hillary surfaced weeks later, it was as the Democratic party's star campaign attraction, traveling coast-to-coast to raise millions for candidates who might have hesitated to share a platform with her husband. Says Bill Clinton biographer David Maraniss: "She has consistently transformed her personal pain into the political cause."

Back during her husband's first term, when her national health care plan was in a shambles and the shadow of White-

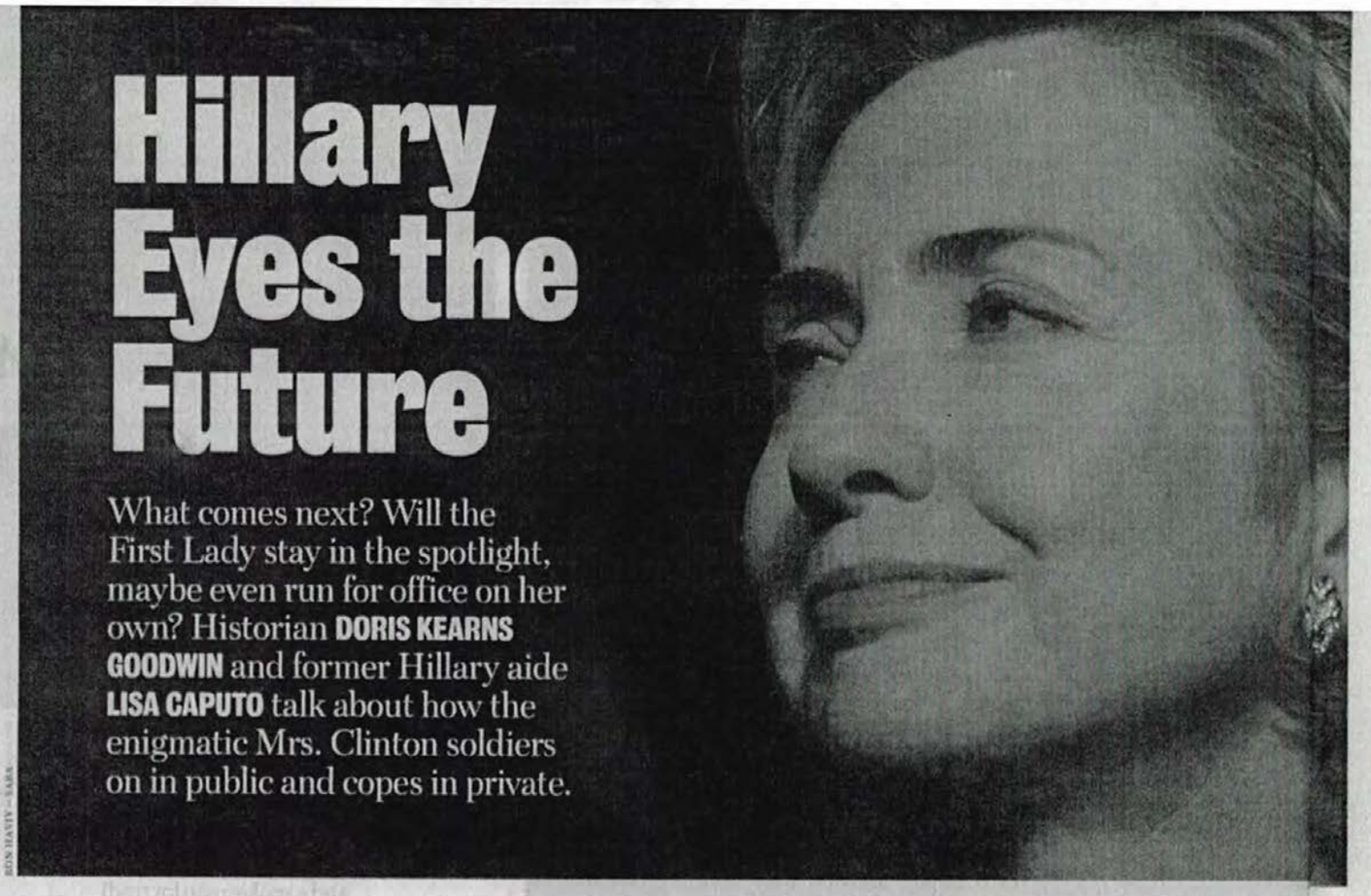
Photograph by Doug Mills



water hung over her, Hillary's approval ratings often hovered around 40 percent. By October of this year, they hit 70 percent. Even as her husband faced an impeachment vote, she landed in triumph on the cover of *Vogue,* poised, perfectly coiffed (at last!), resplendent at 51. In early December she made a kind of victory tour of New York City, lighting the Rockefeller Center Christmas tree with Garth Brooks, turning up at the premiere of ***Shakespeare in Love*** with Miramax chief Harvey Weinstein, joining Whoopi Goldberg and Rosie O'Donnell at a For All Kids Foundation dinner and promoting her campaign to prevent teen pregnancy at a TEEN PEOPLE lunch. "She is the great First Lady of the 20th century," contends Ann Douglas, the Columbia University professor who wrote the *Vogue* profile. "She is simply smarter than anybody around her." Others, though, were dismayed by the advent of "Hollywood Hillary" and appalled that her unprecedented public esteem springs from being publicly demeaned. She is now lauded, complained *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd, not "for something that she has done, but for something she has endured."

After the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Americans admired Jacqueline Kennedy as much for the pain she did not show as for the pain she did. Hillary Clinton's hardy response to her different but still hurtful predicament won her something akin to that approval, though there were signs during this month's trip to the Middle East that she was no longer willing to act the camera-ready part of affectionate wife. Does the First Lady envision herself in the starring role? *CBS Evening News* anchor Dan Rather suggested on *Larry King Live* that Hillary might be the Democratic presidential nominee in 2000. More realistically, there's talk about a future Senate run—though one former White House aide says, "I can't imagine Mrs. Clinton will get into elected politics when it has pretty much ruined her life."

Hillary Eyes the Future



What comes next? Will the First Lady stay in the spotlight, maybe even run for office on her own? Historian **DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN** and former Hillary aide **LISA CAPUTO** talk about how the enigmatic Mrs. Clinton soldiers on in public and copes in private.

STRONG-WILLED AND DETERmined, Hillary Clinton has struggled to maintain her dignity and sense of purpose amid constant scandal. NEWSWEEK asked two noted observers—Doris Kearns Goodwin, author of books on the Kennedys and the Roosevelts, and Lisa Caputo, Mrs. Clinton's former press secretary—to discuss the First Lady's possible career paths after the White House. Highlights:

DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN: In many ways, Hillary Clinton's experiences over the last year are similar to what Eleanor Roosevelt went through when FDR died. Mrs. Roosevelt realized that her husband had been with his old lover, Lucy Mercer, at the time of his death. And though it was painful, she never allowed the outside world to know the terrible hurt and the shock she was experiencing inside. Later, she would comment that at a time like that you really don't feel your own feelings. When you are caught in a public pageant, you act almost like an automaton. You build a façade for everyone to see, an outward image to protect you, and you live separately inside the façade. It seems to me that Mrs. Clinton, like Eleanor Roosevelt, is almost two people, and she has kept whatever hurt or pain or anger she feels as one person, and she keeps that to herself. The other person is the strong, unwavering, energetic Hillary who has appeared in public.

LISA CAPUTO: I agree. As someone who has known the First Lady for several years, I would add that Mrs. Clinton is sending two clear messages: First, that despite the intense public scrutiny she faces every day, she feels this is a personal and private issue. She long ago decided to keep her personal feelings to herself and maintain a zone of privacy for herself and her family. Even her critics must agree that she has dealt with this difficult time with dignity and poise. Second, Mrs. Clinton has made it clear that she is a fighter and will not give up—not just on her marriage, but on the issues that are important to her. And that resolve will extend beyond her time in the White House. After the president's second term is up, she will continue her work on behalf of women and children and families—not just domestically but internationally. I think I could see her involved with a nonprofit foundation, or working informally with the United Nations in one role or another.

I must say that I do not see Mrs. Clinton running for elective office. I've repeatedly heard her say that she's not interested. There is plenty of talk in Washington that she is considering a run for president in 2000. And there are various rumors that she'll run for the Senate—in Illinois, New York and Arkansas! That is all very flattering, but I would be surprised if it happens. Ask her about it and her answer is always the same: thanks, but no thanks. I just don't think she has the burning desire that running for office requires in today's political climate. Perhaps no one in public life better understands the toll it can take.

DKG: I'm not quite convinced she would

The Kid Question

A privacy expert familiar with fame on what to tell the children

BY CAROLINE KENNEDY

IN MY FAMILY, WE were taught and shown by example that politics can be a noble profession, that each of us should serve the country that has given us so much. Over the past year, however, I worry that my own children have developed a profound fear of government. What is happening in Washington makes them confused, uncertain and afraid—not unlike many adults.

Though I don't think President Clinton should be removed from office, I don't condone his conduct. It was

never run. I can imagine that at the point when this presidency is over, Mrs. Clinton will have to make a choice. She could write a book or two, devote herself to the Clinton presidential library in Arkansas, go on the lecture circuit, continue her advocacy work. In other words, take on a series of commitments to keep herself busy and challenged. But at some point, after she has had time to readjust to life after the White House, I believe she'll feel the need to focus on what her next big career move should be—to say, in effect, now is my time. She has been able to do a lot of things in the past, but always in the shadow of her husband.

I can see her creating a very high-profile platform for herself that would allow her to focus her energies on the issues Lisa mentioned. Instead of an informal role with the United Nations, she might actually become U.N. ambassador. Or perhaps secretary of State in a Democratic administration. Perhaps, after serving in a nonelected role, she would consider making a run at public office. Certainly, her experiences over the last few years would make it unlikely that she would want to immediately go out on the campaign trail. There has been a lot of anger, a lot of hurt, and maybe not as much satisfaction as she might have hoped for when she first came to Washington. But it still seems to me that she might eventually overcome her understandable reticence about running.

LC: Doris is right that the First Lady needs to decide, what is my next career? She is going to be very young when she leaves the White House. And I think she will consult with a lot of friends and advisers—and her husband—and bounce ideas off of them. I would imagine they will both go on the lecture circuit, at least for a time. That will stem in part from a financial need to do so. And she will likely campaign furiously for Vice President Gore. She is, as everyone knows, a very talented campaigner. And I can see that at some point down the road she might accept an appointment in a Gore administration. But first, I think she will need some time away from Washington. It's important for anyone who leaves the White House to take time away, to get grounded again, to get reoriented, to find him or herself. It is a very unique lifestyle, almost as if you're living in a surreal world. It's a very heady experience, and you go through a transitional time as you work back to normality again. Both Clintons are deeply involved in the presidential library in Little Rock, and I can see them being sort of bicoastal for a while, flying back and forth between the East and West coasts, with Arkansas as a kind of hub.

DKG: That is certainly true. I think it's hard for people who have just completed their time in the White House, however it ends—whether on a high note or a sadder note than they might have hoped—to stay around Washington. It's a huge transition to leave the White House. You get accustomed to enormous privileges. You board Air Force One and the minute your fanny hits the seat the plane goes up in the air. You have to find your grounding somewhere else, and then you can come back. But I think it would be very hard to move from the White House to just another house in Washington. There is a great story about Dwight Eisenhower. When he went back to his home after the presidency, and after having been general for so long, he tried to make a phone call. But he hadn't actually placed a call for such a long time that when he heard this buzzing sound in his ear, he had no idea what it was. He didn't even know that old-time switchboard operators had been replaced by dial tones.

LC: I think it's safe to say that no matter what she chooses to do, there will continue to be a public fascination with Hillary Clinton. She is the first working mother we've had in the role of First Lady and she continues to be the topic of a lot of conversation. She represents so much of what people mean when they talk about the role of women in modern life. And the interest in her will remain alive well after she leaves the White House.

DKG: It sure will. When FDR died, reporters came to Eleanor Roosevelt and she said she had nothing to say because the story was over. She assumed that her public life died with him. Of course, in so many ways, the story was just beginning for her. She went on for 17 more years, to have an extraordinary life and public career of her own—certainly more than she'd have thought was ever possible. For Mrs. Clinton, too, the richest chapters may still lie ahead. ■



A DIFFERENT TIME
People should not be judged only by the worst of what they've done, writes Caroline (with JFK in '63)

wrong. Children must be taught to tell the truth, and that they will be punished if they don't. My 5-year-old son Jack recently saw a picture of Clinton and said, "He lied." I couldn't disagree, but I explained to him that people make mistakes and should be judged by their whole life and work, not by the worst of what they've done.

Certainly, we have a right to know about the character of the people we elect. But that right must be balanced against the right to privacy, which often conflicts with other values. For example, the right to keep your personal life private, particularly if you're a public figure, conflicts with a free press.

But while anyone who enters public life must be willing to sacrifice much of their privacy, they should not have to sacrifice all of it. When asked whether my father would go into politics today, with all its prying questions, I'd still like to think yes. He was committed to public service, as my family has been since the days of my kids' great-great-grandfather Honey Fitz. But I fear that today's vicious partisanship and intrusions will discourage people from both parties from thinking they can make a difference.

The nation pays a price every time a president, for whatever reason, does not finish his term. I've seen that firsthand. But if Clinton is censured and prosecuted later, it is *he* who will suffer the consequences—not the rest of us.

More importantly, such an outcome would teach kids that right and wrong matter and that the world they're growing up in is fair. Hopefully, they will then come through this believing that when they are ready to create a new and better world, public service will still be an honorable calling.

KENNEDY *is the co-author of "In Our Defense: The Bill of Rights in Action" and "The Right to Privacy."*

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

We Wish You a Merry Crisis Edition

The CW liked it better when it could obsess over gossipy media events like O.J. and Diana. At first, Monicagate looked like the same kind of good, clean fun (thongs, cigars, Altoids, Henry Hyde's extended youth). But then it went Beltway Bad. Thanks for the Christmas present, Congress. We were hoping for one more happy holiday before the Y2K Bug kicks in.

Players	Conventional Wisdom
	**Clinton:** Kind of a slow year for him. Here's to a more eventful '99.
	**Hillary:** A woman with a future: Cover girl, advocate, candidate. Paging Raoul Felder.
	**Gore:** One Senate vote away from presidency. If Flynt has dirt on him, we give up.
	**Starr:** Thanks a lot, pal. Was it really worth it? And where's that Whitewater report?
	**Saddam:** Rope-a-dope game works all year—until it's "Wag the Dog" time. Arf!
	**Monica:** 1999 Preview: "Yes, Justice Rehnquist, that's thong. T-H-O-N-G."
	**Newt:** Neutered in '98. CW sez: Let the rehabilitation begin!
	**Hyde:** His affair was a "youthful indiscretion." What's the excuse for Judiciary Cmtee?
	**Yeltsin:** Still shows up for photo ops. Give that taxidermist a raise!
	**Greenspan:** The Mark McGwire of the global economy. And he did it without andro.
	**G. W. Bush:** The CW has practically elected him for '00. Bring on the Special Prosecutors!
	**Oprah:** Old: America's beloved girlfriend. New: Preachy maker of flop movies.
	**Glenn:** The CW applauds him. But if we hear "The Right Stuff" one more time, *we'll* barf.
	**Ventura:** Governor-elect of the year. Of course, the CW doesn't live in Minnesota.
	**Broccoli:** Vegetable of the Year: Fights cancer, easy to draw. Don't knock the broc!
	**Chelsea:** Everybody's favorite Clinton. Let *her* lead the Senate defense.
	**DeLay:** The Exterminator squashes censure like a bug. Beware toxic aftereffects.
	**McGwire:** Singlehandedly restores baseball glory. Well, no, there was Sosa too ...
	**Gates:** M'soft wizard suffers memory crash during deposition. Reboot for appeals court.
	**Livingston:** Hef o' the House gets Hustled off stage. But he still has his lobbyist friends.

Players	Conventional Wisdom
	**Charles:** Old: Dump this cold fish. New: Cuddly dad, PR whiz. Crown 'im!
	**Sinatra:** Forget those FBI files, Jack. He will always be The Voice.
	**TV Nets:** Can only be saved by fresh new ideas—the things that scare them the most.
	**Tripp:** In a year of wretched behavior, no one comes close to Cruella de Beltway.
	**C. Diaz:** CW tries to avoid another "Something About" joke. CW fails.
	**'Star Wars':** 2-minute trailer outgrosses "Joe Black" and "Babe II" combined. Yo-dah!
	**Drudge:** Old: No journalistic experience or ethics. New: So what? He's a player.
	**P. Jones:** New nose, new bank account. Downside: Had to kiss Abe Hirschfeld.
	**Conyers:** Old: Spacey Dem. Judiciary relic. New: Joins Gephardt as serious party leader.
	**A. Sandler:** Makes Jim Carrey look like John Gielgud. That's box-office magic.
	**DNA:** Dishonorable discharges nail Bill. Jefferson. Was Geo. Wash. *really* father of U.S.?
	**Puffy:** Hip-hopper hits the Hamptons. Next: Ron Perelman in baggy jeans.
	**Viagra:** Swollen expectations, then health-warning letdown. Dole stays the course.
	**C. Flockhart:** Ally handles too-thin charge with aplomb. But CW sez: Have a cookie.
	**Furby:** Funny looking, incomprehensible, drives economy. Or was that Greenspan?
	**B. Bradley:** He's running! CW preparing for epic charisma duel vs. Gore.
	**M. Manson:** Rocker's fake boobs bomb, but good on chat shows. Next gov. of Minn?
	**AOL:** Net giant's got Netscape, Hanks and Ryan. Microsoft: You've got competition.
	**Madonna:** Good news: Best album of career. Better news: She's learning to shut up.
	**D'Amato:** *Putzhead* of the year proves you *can* be too obnoxious, even for New York.

TOP TO BOTTOM, LEFT: RON HAVIV—SABA, RICHARD ELLIS—SYGMA, IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK, © RICK BLOOM—SABA, AP, STEVEN M. FALK—PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS-SYGMA, ROBIN NELSON, HUCK KENNEDY—IPOL, SEL AHMET—SIPA, JOE MARQUETTE—AP, HARRY CABLUCK—AP, KEN REGAN—CAMERA 5, LINDA SPILLERS—AP, AP, DAVIES AND STARR—TONY STONE IMAGES, RICHARD ELLIS—SYGMA, JOE MARQUETTE—AP, PETER RODGER—OUTLINE, THOMAS DALLAL—SIPA, © RICK BLOOM—SABA; TOP TO BOTTOM, RIGHT: DAVE CHESKIN—PA, GLOBE PHOTOS (2), AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE—CORBIS-BETTMANN, GLENN WATSON—© 20TH CENTURY FOX, NO CREDIT, JAMES M. KELLY—GLOBE PHOTOS, NATIONAL ENQUIRER—GAMMA-LIAISON, DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWSWEEK, DAN LITTLEJOHN—© TOUCHSTONE PICTURES, © RICHARD FELDMAN—PHOTOTAKE, MITCH GERBER—CORBIS, TOM LYLE—MEDICHROME, JEFF SLOCOMB—OUTLINE, TIGER ELECTRONICS, ANDREA RENAULT—GLOBE, WALTER WEISSMAN—GLOBE PHOTOS, NO CREDIT, ALEC MICHAEL—GLOBE, LISA QUINONES

NAMES & FACES

The Clintons' Sunday Outing

After spending a quiet Christmas at home, **President Clinton** and his family ventured out into the city yesterday for brunch and Shakespeare.

The first family attended services at Foundry United Methodist Church. The president helped first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton,** who has been nursing an aggravated back muscle, up and down the steps.

The Clintons headed to Chinatown for brunch at the Golden Palace and then strolled through the neighborhood with the restaurant's owner, **Yeni Wong.** As Clinton and daughter **Chelsea** stopped in at Starbucks for coffee, they were greeted by cheering tourists. Afterward, the three of them took in a production of "Twelfth Night" at the Shakespeare Theatre, where their entrance prompted a standing ovation from the crowd.

Later this week, the first family will travel to South Carolina for the annual Renaissance Weekend. They will return to Washington New Year's Day.



BY MARK WILSON—REUTERS

Out and about: After attending services at Foundry United Methodist Church, the Clintons had lunch in Chinatown and then strolled around the neighborhood.

CAPITAL ROUNDUP

First family spends day eating out, seeing play

After spending Christmas in the confines of the White House, President Clinton ventured out Sunday with his family for brunch and an afternoon of Shakespeare. Clinton, his wife, Hillary, and daughter, Chelsea, attended services at Foundry United Methodist Church. The first lady, who has been nursing a sore back muscle, navigated the church's steps slowly while Clinton helped her to and from the building.

The first family had brunch at the Golden Palace restaurant and took a short walk through Chinatown with owner Yeni Wong. Clusters of tourists cheered and rushed over to meet Clinton as he and Chelsea stepped into a Starbucks for coffee. Afterward, the Clintons went to the Shakespeare Theatre to see *Twelfth Night*.

Trial before censure, GOP insists

Both parties agree on the need for speed in Senate proceedings

FROM WIRE REPORTS

WASHINGTON — Key Senate Republicans say censure should be considered only after a speedy impeachment trial — and perhaps only after a vote on whether to remove President Clinton from office.

"We ought to vote on these articles of impeachment, and then that is the appropriate time to consider a censure," said Sen. Mitch McConnell, a Kentucky Republican.

"Assuming neither of those articles pass, which is what's widely expected will be the outcome, you sit down and you negotiate the censure alternative."

The Senate is set to consider two articles of impeachment passed this month by the House, but significant questions remain about whether a deal for censuring the president can be worked out before a trial begins.

There is widespread agreement among Republicans and Democrats that any trial should be quick, given that senators of both parties widely agree that there's little chance that the chamber will vote to convict and remove Clinton.

Internal surveys to see whether two-thirds of the Senate would vote for removal will not begin until after the trial [*See Impeach, 5A*]



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Steadfast: *First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who enjoys sky-high popularity, receives a hug from a churchgoer as she leaves Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington with President Clinton and their daughter, Chelsea.*

Loyal first lady stays the course

Hillary Clinton fights to redeem husband's damaged presidency

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — When Hillary Rodham Clinton arrived at a children's Christmas reading at the White House last week, it was not so much her chitchat with students that caught the attention of those watching, or her multicolored, embroidered Santa sweater and sparkly red-and-green earrings. Instead, it was a statement far more subtle.

Ever so briefly, she held her husband's hand.

Somewhere in that gesture — a quick grasp of the president's hand as they left the East Room — was a hint of defiance to those who would question a marriage under scrutiny and a presidency in crisis. In this latest chapter of the impeachment saga, Mrs. Clinton has allowed her actions to speak for her. The message: The fight for the presidency is far from over.

In the past, Mrs. Clinton has been in the forefront of a White House strategy that unleashed a legalistic attack on Kenneth W. Starr's findings and charged that a "vast right-wing conspiracy" was behind the Monica Lewinsky revelations. Today, she stands by her man on a different front, fighting her war with images of loyalty and perseverance.

In doing [*See First lady, 4A*]

Loyal first lady is her husband's best advocate

[*Firstlady, from Page 1A*]

so, she has emerged as one of the president's most credible defenders. Her public allegiance to Clinton perhaps appears stronger with the Lewinsky scandal, signaling to one-time allies that if she can forgive him, they should as well.

"There's politics in her gut — it is in her gut to have this administration succeed," said Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution. "It's really clear that she has separated this. She doesn't view it from a personal dimension, and so now she is really speaking about the presidency with gusto and great effectiveness."

After dropping out of view after Starr issued his report to Congress in September, Mrs. Clinton has resurfaced, this time as perhaps the White House's most effective public advocate. With her popularity ratings soaring to record highs, she has emerged as an ideal defender.

Of course, images are hard to control. More than ever, the public reads her actions like tea leaves. Consider the vastly conflicti conclusions about her role ov the past month:

Mrs. Clinton appears on t cover of *Vogue* with her h slicked back, similar to a cool po Princess Diana took in *Harpe Bazaar* after her breakup wi Prince Charles. Observers say s is defiant, a survivor.

She visits the gravesite of Isra

li Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and pulls her arm from her husband's grasp. They say she is angry, a woman wronged.

She lobbies Capitol Hill for the president and stands at his side in stoic solidarity on Impeachment Day. They decide she is steadfast, a fighter.

It is this last image that some say makes the most political sense. With the White House in a near-panic the morning of the impeachment vote, Mrs. Clinton rallied Democratic allies in Congress and snuffed out any suggestion of her husband's resignation. Her almost aerobic nodding as her husband delivered a post-impeachment address sealed the picture of the loyal combatant.

"There was strength there," Rep. Dennis Kucinich, an Ohio Democrat, said after the Capitol Hill meeting where Mrs. Clinton reportedly accused Republicans of trying to "hound" her husband out of office and thereby derail his policy agenda. "It was right that she showed that. Because the nation needs her strength now."

At the White House, Mrs. Clinton's staff says she is doing what she always does: staying the course, soldiering on and pursuing the work that brought her and her husband to Washington.

"She's really focused on what she believes the American people elected her husband to do," said Marsha Berry, her press secretary. "She keeps her thoughts on what's important."

As the Senate decides whether to put the president on trial, the White House is pondering the role Mrs. Clinton will play in coming weeks. She must tread carefully. She cannot be seen as openly accepting the president's behavior. And any effort to lobby senators before an impeachment trial would look unseemly — something akin to jury tampering.

Yet Mrs. Clinton can make a considerable contribution to her husband's cause. Many believe that it is she, not he, who can best shore up support for the administration.

"She certainly will be involved behind the scenes," Berry said.

Popularity and sympathy

If ever the first lady was in a position to influence public opinion, it is now. Her popularity has been sky-high all year; not since a brief honeymoon after the 1992 election has she polled higher.

The White House used this popularity to great effect when she helped rally the Democrats to a surprisingly successful showing in the midterm elections — a vote widely viewed as a referendum on how the Lewinsky saga had been handled. The White House had a crisis; she helped fix it.

Part of Mrs. Clinton's new power derives from the sympathy that surrounds her. Friends say the first lady does not want to be seen as victimized and helpless. Yet the perception that she is vulnerable has engendered the goodwill toward her that has lasted all year.

"She's the only one coming out of this entire controversy with her image enhanced," said William Schneider, a political analyst with the American Enterprise Institute. "There's a tremendous wave of public support for her. One reason she seems to be more assertive these days is because she doesn't want to be seen as a victim."

Managing that image is a challenge. Friends say the first lady carefully chooses when and where to appear, striking like a smart bomb when the time is right.

"I think when Mrs. Clinton is very certain about something, including certain about when she can be effective, she acts," said a longtime friend of the Clintons who asked not to be named. "If she's not sure something is a good or a bad idea, she takes that uncertainty as a signal to wait."

Even when Mrs. Clinton goes about business as usual, she is studied intensely. Early this month, critics said Mrs. Clinton was conspicuously absent as the impeachment vote neared. Instead of working for the president's cause in Washington, she was lighting the Christmas tree at New York's Rockefeller Center and singing a duet on the "Rosie O'Donnell Show."

The next week, when the Clintons visited the Middle East, cameras caught her pulling her arm away from her husband's. The next day, the *New York Post* headline read: "Frigid Hill Sends Chill Up Bill's Spine."

This holiday season, the Clintons have offered some well-timed smiles together. And Mrs. Clinton marched through her back-to-back holiday engagements despite having aggravated an injured back muscle during impeachment week.

'Zone of privacy'

Even so, lovebird images of the Clintons spending time together these days are rare. Last year after New Year's, cameras captured the Clintons dancing on a Caribbean beach (much to the ire of a then-unknown named Monica Lewinsky). This year, there will be no such pictures. A Caribbean trip is not on the schedule.

As for dealing with the pain of the scandal and its aftermath, friends say Mrs. Clinton, a Methodist, copes by reading the Bible, working out on her treadmill, talking to friends and staying busy with issues affecting women and children. Her new book of letters to the Clinton pets, "Dear Socks, Dear Buddy," hit the stores last month.

Mrs. Clinton may play out her fight for her husband's presidency in public, but any such battle for her marriage will remain as fiercely guarded as ever. In this realm, words are scarce.

"She has not done any interviews about the topic — she has not spoken," said Lisa Caputo, her former press secretary. "She has reasserted her zone of privacy."

Sun staff writer Jonathan Weisman contributed to this article.



ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN DEERING

A Clinton in the Senate?

By Miles Benson
Newhouse News Service

WASHINGTON — Imagine a political leader, at age 51, with long years of experience working on both state and national policy problems, the last eight years as an insider at the pinnacle of national power, a candidate with a firm grasp of complex domestic problems, who also has personal relationships with many foreign leaders, who is well-known to voters and well-liked, who possesses a rhetorical style that radiates sincerity, who has the ability to raise money by the ton—but has never run for elective office.

Is this somebody with a political future? Like a seat in the U.S. Senate? Running in New York? Or Illinois? Or Arkansas? Or California?

What if the candidate's name is Hillary Rodham Clinton?

As her embattled husband, Bill Clinton, looks forward to two more years in the White House, many Republicans as well as Democrats say the first lady would be a formidable candidate in her own right—with three big "ifs."

■ If Bill Clinton survives his impeachment inquiry.

■ If Hillary Clinton escapes further legal problems of her own with Independent Counsel Ken Starr.

■ If she wants that kind of life after all the shocks, bruises, crises and humiliations she has already endured in the political arena.

The first lady has always said she has no plans to run for public office. Most recently, on a visit to the Dominican Republic last month, when pressed, she declared: "I really don't respond to those things. I just smile when asked."

Nevertheless, the first lady's political future after the White House is a hot topic of gossip and speculation.

"It seems to me Mrs. Clinton is a viable candidate for office simply because she has the political skills, the name recognition, the fund-raising ability, the messages that are very important, in a capsulated form," said Republican Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana, whose politics are far more conservative than those of the first lady, who has a reputation as a liberal Democrat.

"I thought she was very effective in the 1998 campaign, in the appearances that she made, and she was indefatigable," Lugar said.

Lugar noted her high poll ratings, with 70 percent of the American people expressing approval of her in November, even better than her husband gets.

"So I don't know," Lugar said. "You always have to trace what is the constituency, you know, where (to run). But other people have made this shift. Robert Kennedy ran for the Senate in New York while living pretty close to me in McLean, Va., and he made the transfer beautifully, in large part because of message, name recognition, the ethos of the times."

Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb., the outgoing chairman of the National Democratic Senate Campaign Committee who is always on the lookout for political talent, is also thinking New York for Hillary.

"I'd love to see her do what Bobby Kennedy did, move to New York and run for the Senate," he said.

There will be a vacant Democratic Senate seat in New York in the year 2000 when four-term Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan intends to retire.

Illinois is her native state, but the next Senate election there will be in 2002, when Democratic incumbent Richard J. Durbin is expected to seek re-election. The next opening for Hillary Clinton in Illinois would be in 2004 when the first term of Republican Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, who unseated Democrat Carol Moseley-Braun last month, will be ending.

Arkansas, the state Hillary Clinton called home

See **IS THE,** Page 8J

DEC 27 '98 12:50 FR SKIP RUTHERFORD TO MARSHA BERRY P.02/12

DEC 27 '98 12:50 FR SKIP RUTHERFORD TO MARSHA BERRY P.03/12

Is the senate in Hillary's future?

• Continued from Page 1J

in the pre-White House years when Bill Clinton served as governor, will have a Republican Senate seat held by Tim Hutchinson up for grabs in 2002.

And California, where she is popular, where she has campaigned frequently for Democratic candidates, and where she would have a ready cadre of workers to mount her own campaign, has two Democratic senators now, but Sen. Diane Feinstein's term will end in 2000 and there is a possibility that Feinstein might leave the Senate to run for governor.

Of course, Clinton might not be welcomed by everyone in the state she moved to, warns Bob Teeter, a Republican pollster who advised President George Bush. "Wherever she goes, if a Senate or governor's seat is open, there is not usually a lack of people wanting it. Lots of people have been waiting for an opportunity to run," Teeter said.

Still, to Teeter's experienced eye, the first lady has compelling political credentials for elective office.

"Obviously, she's a universally known national figure, which automatically gives anyone a huge leg up," Teeter said. "She also has a base of very dedicated, zealous followers who think she's terrific. That's a good place to start."

But Teeter wonders if Clinton would want to "subject herself again to all the scandal stuff."

Although her favorite issues involve matters of broad concern—families, children, health care and Social Security—Teeter said, "

She always struck me as being ideologically out of tune with the country, and pushed the administration further to the left. I think she is a hard-core left-wing liberal."

Colorado Gov. Roy Romer, a Democrat, unsurprisingly disagrees. "If she wants to have a political future, it would certainly be open to her," Romer said. "She's obviously capable and well regarded and has a basis of continuing at many levels," although he would not suggest a place for her to start.

> Amid the fury of colliding events and images that is her life, Hillary Clinton continues to project peaceful serenity.

There is something about Hillary Clinton that makes even aggressive Republicans cautious.

Bill Bennett, the former national anti-drug czar and secretary of education who called for Bill Clinton's impeachment, ducked an opportunity to discuss Hillary Clinton's fitness for elective office.

"I have no idea," Bennett said. "She's obviously quite popular, but I have no idea. I don't have any comment on it."

Reminded that he has frequently and publicly expressed strong views on Bill Clinton's fitness for office, Bennett replied: "Yeah, and I'm going to keep 'em to Bill Clinton."

Bill McInturff, another Republican pollster and political strategist, acknowledges the first lady's political strengths, believes she will remain in public life, but also doubts it will be in elective office.

"She may be popular now, but she's popular because she's not in anybody's hair," McInturff said, echoing Teeter's point that other Democrats might be unwilling to step aside for her.

"And when you go from icon to candidate, you go through the meat-grinder process and you look a lot less attractive at the end of that," McInturff said. "It's more likely we will see her in some senior appointive position in some future Democratic administration, maybe a Cabinet secretary or U.N. ambassador.

Or more likely she'll be one of these people in a public policy role who gets to be head of every special commission in the world."

Amid the fury of colliding events and images that is her life, Hillary Clinton continues to project peaceful serenity.

A vivid example: One day recently the first lady was in full ceremonial mode, standing in the hot white lights of a phalanx of television cameras in the state dining room of the White House, adorned for Christmas with a gingerbread castle and cutouts of first dog Buddy and first cat Sox on ice skates.

A children's choir sang about snowflakes, and Hillary Clinton sang along. Poised and composed, she wore a sober gray pantsuit and lectured a large crowd of reporters about the themes and traditions of the White House Christmas decorations. Meanwhile, just outside the black iron gates of the mansion, a bagpiper in kilts and battle regalia played the Marine Hymn and slow-marched at the head of a band of protesters waving signs demanding "Clinton—Resign," "Congress—Do Your Duty" and "Must Impeach."

At the same moment, on Capitol Hill, the House Judiciary Committee was preparing to vote on articles of impeachment of Bill Clinton based on perjury and his adulterous conduct with a young White House intern.

Through it all, Hillary Clinton's star burns brightly.

The December issue of *Vogue* magazine has on the cover a portrait of a smiling first lady, gowned in wine-colored velvet, seated beside a spray of roses in the Red Room of the White House. Inside is a flattering opinion essay, "The Extraordinary Hillary Clinton."

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

John McCaslin is on vacation. His column will resume Monday.

Hillary's back hurts

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is trying to stay off her feet this holiday season after aggravating a previously injured back muscle.

The injury, suffered last spring, flared up last week as a result of too much walking and standing during several days, Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said yesterday.

"She has pulled a muscle that has made it difficult for her to stay on her feet for long," the spokeswoman said. "So, she's staying off her feet."

Despite the stiffness, Mrs. Clinton has continued with her holiday activities. She was moving slowly as she greeted children who came to the White House to hear President Clinton read a holiday story, but otherwise showed no discomfort, the Associated Press reports.

Swing into '99

Gift

1998 MEN OF THE YEAR

THE BETTER HALF

Men of the Year
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Hillary Clinton
Mark McGwire
TIME Gallery
Faces of Hillary
Scandal Timeline
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The Better Half

During her husband's greatest crisis, Hillary has come into her own

BY KAREN TUMULTY AND NANCY GIBBS

One monday in January, five days into the longest year of her life, Hillary Rodham Clinton was making her usual rounds. At the Harriet Tubman school in Harlem, third-graders told her they were studying the four values: honesty, caring, respect and responsibility. "Those are really important values," Mrs. Clinton said. "Boy, that's a big word--responsibility--isn't it?" She went on to visit a literacy program before heading to a 50th anniversary gala for UNICEF. She was talking about the things she has always cared about, normally to rooms full of earnest activists and an indifferent camera or two. This time CNN carried her live, and the UNICEF ballroom was packed with reporters, all wanting to see if she was falling apart, since her marriage looked as if it had.

"Well, it's nice to see," she told an aide as they drove away in the limousine, in pursuit of silver linings, "that the press now cares about children's issues."

It would not be the last time she would put that rude spotlight to use. All through the year, as she pursued the private rescue of a marriage and the public rescue of a presidency, she was the one person who seemed to see the larger story and shaped its telling. When talk of resignation spread, she was the one who said, Let this unfold. "We've got a fight on our hands," she told top adviser Doug Sosnik. "You be focused on that and not how bad things are." When everyone thought the story was about Bill Clinton, she said it was about Kenneth Starr. When her husband's confession finally

Poll: Hillary Clinton
Express your views on the First Lady

Test Your Knowledge
How much do you know about Hillary Clinton?

The Clinton in Us All
Margaret Carlson on the similarity between accusers and accused

Faces of Hillary
The first lady has evolved in surprising ways since 1992



confronted her and us with the truth of his lies, she led the way, from denial through fury to a grudging acceptance. The code was always clear: if she can stand by him, she who has been so directly wronged, so should we. And in the fall, when the Republicans promised an election that would give Clinton his comeuppance, she went out and gave the Democratic faithful, many of whom she had let down in the past, something to cling to, straight on to victory in November.

Now at year-end Hillary Clinton finds herself in places she has never been: embraced and admired by more Americans than at any other time in her public life, freed to work on her own causes--and cast as the "single most degraded wife in the history of the world," as Maureen Dowd lethally put it in the New York Times. Public pity, for Hillary Clinton, is an enormous price to pay for popularity. Frustrated feminists and cutting commentators note that her apotheosis comes not in the Congressional Record but on the cover of Vogue, not for what she achieved but for what she suffered. The role was not trailblazing but utterly traditional, born of a mythology of humiliation shared by Princess Diana and Kathie Lee Gifford.

Even beatification, if it comes on these terms, is a kind of punishment for a First Lady who swept into Washington wanting to put her stamp on social policy and bring government back into fashion. Instead she handed Newt control of Congress with her health-care plan and had her place in history established as the first First Lady ever to be forced to testify before a grand jury. But with those defeats, Hillary also began to accept what Dolley Madison and Lady Bird Johnson had taken for granted, and what Eleanor Roosevelt must have told her when the two communed. As her former chief of staff Maggie Williams put it, "One of the things she's learned about being First Lady is, it's not just about doing, it's about being a symbol." Whatever judgments voters were asked to make about the flaws they would tolerate in a reckless politician whose leadership they valued, she mirrored in her own decisions about a faithless husband whom she loved. She was his salesman, but also our surrogate. In a sense, it has been ever thus: the history of the Clinton presidency is and always has been the history of the Clinton marriage, which is why the distinction between public and private in this presidency has always been messy. From the start their union was a vessel not only of love but of ambition, a shortcut for two stars in a hurry to reach heaven. She signed on to be wife and business partner in the hope that they could have great fun and do great things by pooling her discipline, his charisma, her vision, his guts. And there was always the risk that if one stumbled, it would bring down the other too.

So it should be no surprise that as the presidency is teetering, people are quick to look for hints that the marriage is too. Those who have socialized with them in recent months see signs both that healing is under way and that it will be a very long, steep climb. The President shows a new tentativeness when he is with his wife, looking to see if she thinks a joke is funny before he laughs, and for the first



time deferring to her choice in what movies they select, watching fewer car chases and more dramas. Where she used to have to nag him to get his sleep, the night-owl President can now be persuaded to retire when his up-with-the-birds wife is ready.

Their moments of open affection, when they happen, now have a sepia tone to them. "Flashbacks" is what one friend calls them, because they are brought on by a Christmas carol they both love or a recollection of a long-ago vacation. But those close to them also find reassurance in the fact that they talk of their future together in very concrete terms, musing aloud about where they might live and whether either might land a job that comes with a plane.

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Swing into '99

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Chapter One: January
There was some justice in the fact that Hillary saved her husband time and again, since her actions helped sow his troubles in the first place. She did not make him a philanderer, though even her allies argue about whether she may have enabled it. But she did help create the atmosphere that swallowed him whole this year. Until Monica Lewinsky came along, it was always Hillary who was Starr's prime target: Hillary whose fingerprints were all over Travelgate, whose resistance to releasing any documents or answering any questions helped make Whitewater a four-year saga rather than a two-day story, who opposed settling the Paula Jones case and making all those prying lawyers go away. At the same time, no one was hit harder by the shock wave in January than Hillary. Her marriage was on gruesome display; even if she believed Clinton's denials, she could still foresee the toll. For 22 years they had worked to get to this point, a liberated, second-term presidency with a merry economy, a contented public and the time to spend on the issues she cared about. Instead, every last dime of their joint political capital was going to have to be invested simply in surviving in office.

When the Washington Post first reported on Wednesday morning, Jan. 21, that Starr was officially pursuing charges of an affair between the President and an intern, the White House stopped in its tracks, clutched its heart and crumpled. Hillary's reactions, both private and public, were crucial. In that sense, her calculation was clear: the presidency first, the relationship later. She was virtually alone in her will to fight. "I don't think there was a person in the White House who gave him a snowball's chance in hell, except Hillary," says a former official. "Neither one of them is a quitter. He's a sniveler and

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a whiner, but when push comes to shove, he's got a backbone of steel--exceeded only by hers."

That force, for a while, was all Clinton had. No one in the White House could manage a convincing denial of the Lewinsky charges. Clinton himself was practically in the fetal position, "freaking out," an associate said, a sort of response that was enough to convince many who had watched him over the years that the stories were substantially true. Only Mrs. Clinton seemed more angry than broken, appalled by the very notion of a sting operation against a President, reminding people how offended everyone had been to learn about J. Edgar Hoover's wiretapping Martin Luther King Jr. and spreading stories about his sex life. Wasn't Starr doing the same kind of thing to the President? She plotted the counterattack very quietly, in phone calls and by pulling people aside before photo ops and between meetings. But she knew she could not fight alone, and she had little use for the available recruits. Of her husband's staff, says a close ally, "she thinks they are fairly weak, with little backbone and little courage." At the worst moment of his presidency, after the 1994 election wipeout, sources tell TIME, Hillary was even privately advocating the firing of much of the upper echelon of the White House staff. So she needed some kindred spirits to shape the strategy, people who could double as surrogates in the conversations that could not possibly take place in front of her.

David Kendall was a natural choice: unlike Robert Bennett, Clinton's garrulous lawyer in the Jones case, Kendall was Hillary in a gray suit, polished to a smooth, tough sheen, fast on his feet, discreet and unflinching under pressure. Hillary viewed him as that rarest ally, "someone I could count on and trust implicitly," the First Lady told TIME in an interview. If the months to come brought a fight between the President's legal advisers, arguing to add another brick to the stonewall, and his political aides, urging confession, the fact that the lawyers kept winning said a lot about who was really in charge.

Throughout Hillary's public life, people have looked at these moments, and at her whole partnership with Bill Clinton, with a jaded eye. As far back as 1992, when the couple emerged as a unique partnership in American politics, more than half of those surveyed thought the union was some kind of stock swap; only 22% thought it was a "real marriage," according to a poll done for Vanity Fair. But critics who dismiss her as a faux feminist, someone who craved power and got it the old-fashioned way--by marrying it--miss the point: she didn't need to. At Yale Law School, it was Hillary who was the star, not the husky, glad-handing boy from Arkansas. Her classmates were struck by her fervor to go out and do good, a specific Methodist view of her life as a chance to express her gratitude by serving others. So when she left Washington in 1974 to join Bill Clinton in Arkansas, she probably thought the move was only temporary; he was, after all, already running for Congress.

She maintained her Washington profile, lobbying for children's issues, serving as chairwoman for the legal-services corporation, enjoying a dual life right



up until the day it helped cost Governor Clinton his job in 1980. Arkansas voters had had it with the charming, unfocused boy Governor who stayed up all night playing pinball in the basement of the Governor's mansion. And what was that business of his wife's keeping her name? Bill lost to Frank White, a savings-and-loan executive who acted grown-up and had a very shiny, inseparable spouse.

It was Hillary Rodham--soon calling herself Hillary Clinton--who understood the price that would have to be paid. She scraped off the identity she had forged, began applying makeup, bleached her hair, fired Clinton's operatives and recruited Dick Morris to help run an operation that would bear Hillary's stamp of decisiveness and discipline. "She kind of pegged [her husband] as a woolly-headed dreamer who would get killed in the world of practical politics," Morris says. "She acquired a role as his guardian."

Here enters for the first time the Lady Macbeth view of Hillary that has followed her since. But to assume all her efforts were designed to save his job misses the point that she also had to save her marriage. It was at just this time that the rumors of Bill's affairs were rampant, the days when Clinton, according to his masterly biographer David Maraniss, would soothe his 1-year-old daughter with the lullaby, "I want a div-or-or-or-orce." Once Clinton acquired his reputation as a serial philanderer, the questions about the marriage took a very pointed turn: Was she his co-conspirator, who kept cleaning up after him because she was so intent on holding on to her power? Or was she the ultimate family-values conservative, holding her family together for better or worse and in denial about how much worse it could be?

As this year's scandal unfolded, people's assumptions about what Hillary knew and when she knew it often reflect more about them than her. Conservatives from the Lady Macbeth camp and feminists who hated the image of Hillary as victim both held to the view that there were no secrets in this marriage. But this time, at least some of the First Lady's confidants argue otherwise. No, they say, she didn't quite buy the internal White House cover story; that an employee named Monica had a crush on the President; that it had got out of hand; that he had tried to "counsel her," talk about her family problems, her job hopes; that she had eventually been banished; and that the rest was a fabrication by the President's enemies.

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Instead, says a person who has talked to her about it, Hillary "believed he did something peculiar that was not appropriate, something he was going to be accountable for to her. But the enormity of it hadn't anywhere close to crossed her mind. They both have kind of built-in avoidance mechanisms ... That's why he's a survivor. If he sat there and confronted the enormity of how awful it was with his wife, he never would have transcended it."

In Bill Clinton we call it "compartmentalization." Hillary's allies bristle when the same term is applied to her. Says one: "You call it compartmentalization. I call it focus ... Her natural reaction is to remain clear-headed and not let the emotional part guide her thinking. If there is an emotional part, it is something for her to take home."

And if, upon hearing of the latest charges, there was one thing she could focus on to the exclusion of whatever she was thinking about her husband, it was her hatred of Starr. She was predisposed to view Clinton as more victim than villain because she has always taken his enemies seriously, and none more so than the prosecutor who had questioned her integrity, made her run the gauntlet of cameras to testify before a Washington grand jury, implicated her in every alleged White House misdeed. "This is a fight that she is goddam well not going to lose," said a former top White House official. Whatever humiliation she felt, "it would be more humiliating to be run out of town and be beaten by him."

Hillary's feelings about Starr served a useful private purpose in steeling her for the fight, but in the end they may have been even more helpful in what became her public defense campaign. Right up until

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Hillary appeared on the Today show six days into the scandal-- the round-the-clock commentary had been entirely about the scandal: what Clinton had done, whether he could survive--with virtually no one out to defend him. Then Hillary sat down across from co-host Matt Lauer and challenged the press to pay attention to a different story: "this vast right-wing conspiracy that has been conspiring against my husband since the day he announced for President." She shone the light on Starr--his agenda, his henchmen, his ideological gene pool--and suggested that this was the real story, the real danger, rather than anything her husband might have done.

From the commentariat, at least, her "right-wing conspiracy" theory was mocked as the last resort of a woman in denial about the cad she had married. But that perception would change: By the end of the year, a majority of the public had come to agree with her about Starr, their fear of unaccountable government agents more intense than their distaste for even a lecherous, lying President. Yet if Hillary's Today show performance gave Clinton a lifeline, it was at great personal cost. People close to her say that of all the year's betrayals, this was one of the most painful--that he sent her out there alone, risking her reputation by having her defend him, effectively lie for him, to buy himself some time. "Oh, that did not make her happy," says a close friend. He used her, and she saved him.

Chapter Two: August

Though no one may ever know how the Great Confession went between the two of them, everyone seemed to have an opinion about it, most revealingly within the White House itself. Two irreconcilable story lines began seeping out, one so painful it was hard to hear, the other so cynical it was hard to believe. The President's men were saying Hillary had known all along; the First Lady's press secretary Marsha Berry was calling reporters and telling them no, she hadn't; he deceived her too. It was as though there were an internal debate over whether it was worse for Hillary to appear as a stupid, duped wife or as a conniving hypocrite who had been covering for her husband all year.

Close associates of Hillary's presented the portrait of pain in the days leading up to the President's Aug. 17 testimony: Clinton's fear of this moment had been palpable, says a friend in whom he confided on the eve of his private confession. He had to tell Hillary not only what exactly had been going on in their own house but also admit the fact that he had handed their mortal enemy the weapons that Starr could use to kill them. The next day, the friend could sense how badly it had gone: Hillary seemed a different person--not speaking, not touching, not smiling, barely breathing. She disappeared for the weekend, save for church and a prescheduled birthday party for her husband on the South Lawn, and didn't emerge until moments before he semi-confessed on national television. "It's your speech," she said. "You say what you want to say," which turned out to be bad advice.

If his revelation made a very smart woman appear to have been very stupid about her own husband, her



friends make a case that this was nothing new. They say Hillary has always been a bit dense about herself and those close to her in a way typical of a certain kind of overachiever: a woman who can talk about school vouchers, Medicare Part B and the Third Way of post-cold war politics but who didn't see the psychological implications of taking her family along on her honeymoon; who thought it would be a good idea to toughen up six-year-old Chelsea at the dinner table by telling her all the terrible things being said about her father; who didn't know her close friend Vince Foster was in trouble until the day he shot himself. "She has always thought psychological analysis for her was kind of a petty self-indulgence, says one of her closest friends. "She's not interested in it. It's not her thing."

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The first time she showed a real curiosity about psychological pain was right after Foster's suicide in 1993. She picked up books about depression and started to think of the subject as a real disease. Tipper Gore, for one, helped with Hillary's education in this regard, as did some clergymen, says a friend, whom she consulted about the roots of Bill's recklessness. She hoped to convince herself that "it stems from his screwed-up childhood and his own insecurities, that this is not about her."

That idea--that it was never about her--had always been some comfort in the face of Clinton's infidelities. One friend, at least, says Hillary has never thought of Clinton's dalliances as a commentary on their marriage. Never. "It doesn't occur to her that he doesn't love her," she says. She sees his sexual escapades "as a weakness, a vulnerability, the stuff of junior high school. And as a very small part of his life." And that's why, over the years of rumors and revelations, Hillary was not fundamentally insulted by it. "She doesn't feel it's because she's let him down in some way."

But if over the years she had made a sort of don't-ask-don't-tell marital contract, that still did not fully equip her to handle Lewinsky. That he had continued to carry on right in their home, when she was out of town, after church on Easter, once on their anniversary, with at least the complicity of co-workers, was demeaning to her; his choice of paramour, meanwhile, demeaned him. "It wasn't an adult relationship. It was a man thinking he was 14 years old," says a friend.

But the way that dramatic weekend played out also raised some suspicions: Sunday morning dawned, and it was time for church. He held his Bible. She

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held his hand. It all seemed just a little too tidy, this tableau of grief and rage and reconciliation. With White House operatives leaking that Hillary had known all along, the showdown in the private quarters looked as though it was being carefully stage-managed for the benefit of an audience that was looking to Hillary for its own cues. If that view was surpassingly cynical, it had its own history. Back in January, as Clinton was preparing for his deposition in the Paula Jones case, the cameras had "caught" him and Hillary in a private moment, dancing on the beach in the Virgin Islands. As the year unfolded, casual friends of the Clintons noticed something a little creepy in the occasional offhand remark from the First Couple--as in "Buddy jumped in bed with us this morning"--whose only purpose seemed to be to signal the connubial geography. Privacy, it seemed, could be auctioned off for the right price.

The ultimate public display of private drama came, of course, on Tuesday afternoon, the day after Clinton's testimony and speech, when husband, wife and daughter, hand in hand in hand, did their "it's nobody's business but our own" walk across the endless South Lawn to a helicopter waiting to swoop them off to Martha's Vineyard for family therapy. Hillary wore blue, with dark glasses. Her eyes never met the camera. The President smiled slightly. Had the family temperature at that moment seemed too warm, it would have been dismissed as phony; too cold, and it would have invited the audience to give up on the rogue husband. Hillary, without saying a word, had to get it just right.

It is possible, of course, that the false choices of August--Was this pain real, or was it all being staged?--obscured what was in plain sight. For a family braced for invasion, hardened to humiliation and threatened with oblivion, what more natural course than to take a moment of pain they could no longer avoid and try at least to put it to some use? By letting people see enough of the healing process, Hillary could let their imagination do the rest. Maybe it would help. Nothing could make it hurt more than it already did.

Bill and Hillary had had hard conversations before, but friends of hers put their Martha's Vineyard talks in a category all their own. Up until then, her image was always shaped by his needs; don't be too visible, too feminist, too liberal. But however willing and complicit she was in all her physical and ideological makeovers along the way, the crisis in August went directly to the soul of her identity as a devout, practicing Christian. In the days following his confession, Bill Clinton left her with an excruciating choice. She might want to kill him for what he had done to her and their daughter, refuse to let him get away with it--but she could not do that and still call herself a Christian.

And so when he raised this very question with her--the question of what it means to be a Christian--it went straight to the most basic requirement: God forgives a great many things, except being unforgiving. This is so much a part of who she is that she effectively had no choice, and they both knew it, and so there followed what



several close friends describe as "a lot of Christian talk" between the Methodist First Lady and her Baptist husband.

It has been said that the difference between Methodists and Baptists is that Methodists are always looking for a mission, while Baptists think they are the mission. Bill Clinton set out to pave a road to personal redemption with apology after apology after apology--all in his fashion, without saying precisely what he had done wrong. Hillary refocused on their life's plan. "Acting on our faith is never easy," she told the Methodist General Conference in 1996. "And it is often a test of our own resolve as much as anything else."

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Chapter Three: October
Maybe Hillary had fought for her husband in January because her reflexes told her to. And maybe she had stood by him after his August testimony because a First Lady does not have the option of tossing her husband's things over the Truman Balcony onto the lawn. But as summer turned to fall, the state of their union was becoming a burning political question. Republicans didn't have to talk up the prospect of his resigning; Democrats were doing it for them. Even his most reliable friend, luck, was giving Bill Clinton a cold shoulder: Saddam was mocking him, Russia was collapsing, and so were the world markets.

Once back on the job, Hillary found that her every shudder invited scrutiny. There was the way she ignored the President's touch at a speech in Moscow, and the way she charged half a block ahead of him while working a crowd in Ireland. She spent their 23rd anniversary at a women's conference in Bulgaria; he spent it in budget talks at the White House. But the First Couple danced together three times at a state dinner for Vaclav Havel. "Hillary and I, we're doing fine," her husband said.

No one was buying it, any more than they had his public apologies--particularly after the delivery of the Starr report on Sept. 9. "She's never read it," says Berry, "but she certainly has the gist." Clinton himself, sources tell TIME, has complained to confidants that the independent counsel seemed to be going out of his way to hurt the First Lady and make the marriage unhealable. Why else include not only every last soul-destroying sexual detail but also Lewinsky's testimony that the President had told her that he expected to be alone after he left office and

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that he had had "hundreds" of affairs before he turned 40?

What the gods of conventional wisdom were demanding was another offering: the First Lady must undress her pain before Diane or Oprah so Americans would be convinced that she was--and they were--really capable of forgiving him. This was where Hillary drew the line. "She's tried so hard to protect her privacy and her child," says her top aide Melanne Verveer. "There was enormous pressure for her to say something, but she was adamant that whatever she did she would do in her own time and her own way."

In the meantime, there were serious problems to fix. The fall campaign season could hardly have looked more dire for the Democrats. In mid-September, two dozen Democratic Congresswomen came to the Yellow Oval Room and laid out their desperation to Hillary over coffee and Danish. Their problem was what they called, out of politeness, "the clutter." Clinton himself was useless to them as a campaigner; he was a prisoner of the briefing room and the fund raisers. She was the one politician in the country who would not be interrupted with questions about the scandal. In the miraculous month of October, while her husband made peace in the Middle East, the markets rebounded and John Glenn lifted off, Hillary barnstormed the country. Voters heard her on their car radios when they left for work in the morning and on their answering machines when they came home. The last week of the campaign saw her hitting nine states, with two stops each in Florida and New York. Her appearance in Iowa on the last weekend of the campaign fueled the surge that gave Tom Vilsack the surprise win that made him the first Democrat to be elected Governor there in 30 years. Said his media consultant David Axelrod: "Our voters had a lot more energy than theirs, and she was the major factor in that."

She worked offstage as well, taking on the cases that others thought hopeless. Hillary herself recruited topflight political hand Tony Podesta to set up shop in Illinois and take control of Senator Carol Moseley-Braun's doomed re-election campaign in its final days. "The First Lady was calling me up at home, in the office, from the road and from the White House with suggestions and ideas and a clear sense of what my personal priorities ought to be for October," Podesta says. Infuriated that even women had given up on Moseley-Braun, the First Lady assembled about 50 influential Democratic women in a hotel meeting room and gave them hell. "She talked about strategy and why one election matters, even if you don't live in Illinois," said Adlai Stevenson's III's wife Nancy. "What surprised me the most was how candid she was about what the situation was. [Her speech] was frank and clear and exceedingly personal." Hillary spoke without notes, says Mrs. Stevenson, "but she knew her facts down to the last detail."

On election night, as the President downloaded results in chief of staff John Podesta's office, a television commentator caught Clinton's attention with the observation that Hillary had won the day for



the Democrats. "That's right," he announced to the crowd around him. Hillary's morning-after assessment: "We could have done better."

Epilogue

There is a faraway sense in virtually everything Hillary does now, a hint that she is already on her way to something else. It is hard to believe there is anything accidental about the fact that her schedule of late has kept her away from the White House and Washington, where her husband was devoting an unseemly amount of his time to golf. Her visit to New York City earlier this month, something the White House would usually book as a day trip, stretched over three long days and two late nights, all packed with events nourishing her ego and her image and her agenda. Hillary gamely crooned a funny, off-key duet with Rosie O'Donnell. She lighted the Rockefeller Center Christmas tree with Garth Brooks under a full moon, and lingered later than anyone expected at a movie premiere.

It is easy to imagine her having a far better ex-presidency than her husband will. Those who know her dismiss the notion that she might run for the Senate, from Illinois or New York. If anything, it would seem a comedown and would tie her to a capital she has come to hate. A more likely possibility, they say, is that she might head a child-advocacy organization, or run a think tank, maybe connected with his presidential library, or continue the overseas work she has come to love so much, perhaps as U.N. ambassador or head of a major international organization. She also expects to write at least two books: one a memoir, the other on health care.

For now, there is a battle to be fought and a family to heal. During their Middle East trip, at the gravesite of slain Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Hillary yanked her arm from her husband's grasp. The New York Post called it an "icy graveyard brush-off." And yet as Air Force One prepared to take off from Ben Gurion Airport early Tuesday evening, returning to Washington and the impeachment ordeal, Congressman Sander Levin encountered the First Lady as he made his way back to his cabin. She talked for 15 minutes about the history that her husband had made during that trip, how inspired she had been by his speech to Israeli youth, how awed at the importance of his address to the Palestine National Council and how unfair a judgment the House was about to make of his presidency. "You know, he's my President too," she told Levin. It was more an endorsement than an embrace--but still, Levin found himself wishing the whole country could hear her talk like this. As the House vote neared on Friday, Hillary spoke out for the first time since January. She called for reconciliation. She counted blessings. She invoked the needs of those less fortunate. It was a Christmas card, to us and to him, preprinted but a keepsake nonetheless. Hillary had brought her husband and the country this far, and there was little chance she would let go now.

--With reporting by JAY BRANEGAN AND MARGARET CARLSON/WASHINGTON AND PRISCILLA PAINTON/NEW YORK

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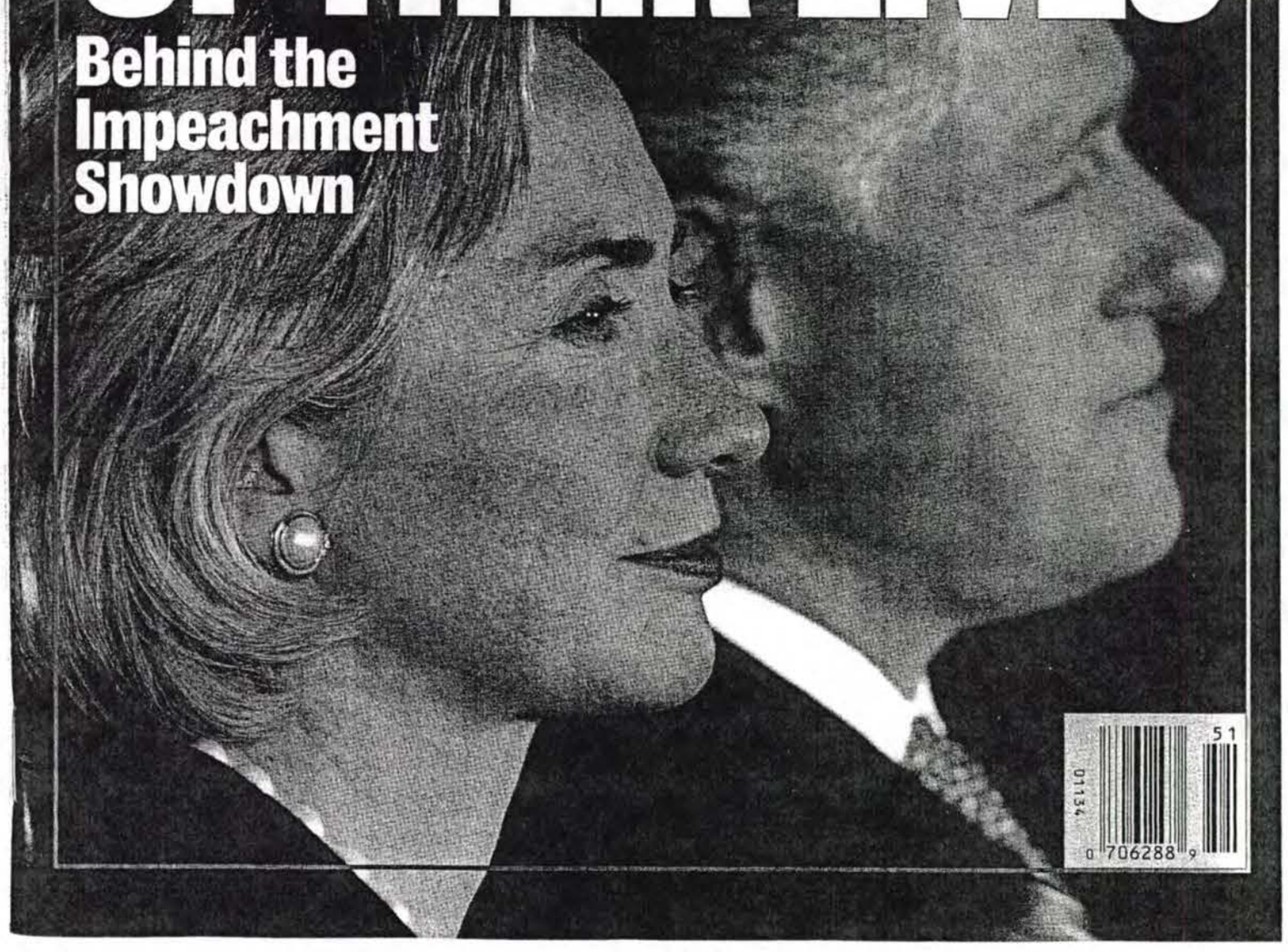
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THE FIGHT OF THEIR LIVES

Behind the Impeachment Showdown



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A Crisis at Home





PHOTOS BY DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWSWEEK

The Clintons are in the fight of their lives—to save his troubled presidency, their shared legacy and their own self-respect. BY HOWARD FINEMAN

THEY STOOD SIDE BY SIDE, smiles affixed, man and wife atop the wedding cake of public life. It was Christmas season in the White House—all aglow with gingerbread houses and twinkling trees—and downstairs in the Map Room Bill and Hillary Clinton were doing what comes naturally: working a receiving line. With the stamina and grace acquired in a quarter century of politics together, they stood for hours in holiday finery as hundreds of visitors floated by for a quick chat and a souvenir photo. A social secretary called out names, but the Clintons rarely needed reminding. They were gifted—the best and the brightest of the baby boom—and one of their gifts was a knack for instant, serial intimacy. When Congressman Tim Roemer of Indiana approached, he was astonished to find that Hillary remembered her visit last year to his hometown. She recalled the children they'd met in South Bend, the early-education program she'd visited, even the precise number of Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle Popsicles they'd brought for the kids: 30.

The scene was out of Currier and Ives, if they had been alive to depict photo ops: happy, relaxed and unremarkable. But of course it wasn't any of those things. The White House last week was caught in an undertow of tension, sadness—and the dangerously surreal. In this season of peace, Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton are in the fight of their lives. It's a fight not just to save their presidency from implacable Republicans in Congress, or to save their personal reputations and precarious family finances, but to find their own, individual destinies and spiritual purpose after a life of shared ambition. "They'll never split up," says a friend who's known them since Yale Law School in the early '70s. "But they may be having what we used to call an 'identity crisis'."

Only in America would we have such a story: soap-opera impeachment. But the marriage of Bill and Hill has long since become an emblem of our times, and of the generation they have long sought to lead: a maddening saga of idealism and self-regard. These are not the dramas of global crusades to rescue democracy, or the searing pain of wounds of war. These are the self-inflicted crises of lawyers who can't speak plainly and spin doctors who have no medicine to heal themselves. Now there's even the prospect of dramatic political death—impeachment and removal—to give the next episode urgency if not ratings. The president seems headed for

The Judiciary Committee voted each of the four articles of impeachment, beginning with Article One below, along strict party lines. The lone defector: S.C. Republican Lindsey Graham.

1 Alleges that, on Aug. 17, 1998, William Jefferson "false and misleading testimony" before Independent





While the House Judiciary Committee battled in marathon impeachment sessions, the president and First Lady caroled at the national Christmas tree lighting ceremony

congressional reprimand, or worse; his wife for political beatification, at least.

The Clintons these days are together and alone at the same time. She is waging an independent fight for her own place in history and her own role in public life after the White House. And for the first time in their shared careers, her husband must wage a political battle without her. Even if she wanted to be more involved in his defense—and she does not—she wouldn't. The very name "Monica Lewinsky" is a personal reproach, and Hillary's feminist supporters wouldn't stand for too much standing by her man. Upstairs, in the private quarters, the atmosphere is chilly. Longtime friends who dined with them this fall were struck by the unease in the air. It's not like the old days of open, affectionate Clinton-to-Clinton combat. "It's very different," one friend told NEWSWEEK.

Ironically, the First Couple greeted guests last week in the same room where the president's most serious legal troubles began. It was in the Map Room, after all, where he lied in his federal grand-jury testimony about his long relationship with Lewinsky. He's been trying to dig himself out—legally and politically—ever since, with a series of incremental semi-confessions.

He tried again late last week. The president stepped into the Rose Garden to make yet another apology for not having told the full story under oath. He expressed "profound remorse" and, for the first time, said he would be willing to accept "rebuke and censure" from the Congress to avoid impeachment in the House followed by a trial in the Senate. It was his most expansive apologia to date.

But it wasn't nearly enough—perhaps nothing would be for Republicans bent on punishing him. Only minutes after he finished speaking, the GOP-led Judiciary Committee began voting out impeachment articles. With the Clintons having flown off on a four-day diplomatic mission to Israel last Saturday, it was left to one of their oldest friends from Yale Law School days to protest angrily after the votes were cast. Impeachment, declared White House

n Clinton "willfully provided perjurious,
t Counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury

REPUBLICANS Yea: 21
DEMOCRATS Nay: 16

In this NEWSWEEK Poll, **60%** of Americans say they do not think the House should impeach President Clinton and make him stand trial in the Senate

lawyer Gregory Craig, would recklessly "divide the country, gridlock the government and defy the will of the people."

But Craig couldn't roll back what the committee had done. The panel approved four articles of impeachment accusing the president of perjury, obstruction of justice and abuse of power. The committee refused to vote out a censure motion, blocking precisely what the Democrats and Clinton most want: a pre-emptive deal on the House floor. If the full House approves any of the articles—the one that accuses him of lying to the grand jury has a good chance—Clinton would become the first president since Andrew Johnson 130 years ago to face a trial in the Senate.

And where was Hillary when her husband was in the Rose Garden? She was in San Francisco, announcing a grant to restore a landmark flower conservatory. She'd had no input in her husband's latest apology, sources told NEWSWEEK, and evidently hadn't even known one was coming. She jetted back to Washington to join the president and Chelsea on Air Force One for the mission to the Middle East, but maintained the silence she has imposed on herself since she learned the details of the Lewinsky affair last August. "She hasn't been hands-on in any of this," says one friend.

In earlier times of public marital crises, Hillary was Tammy Wynette in a St. John's suit. Since last summer she has done nothing directly to pick her husband up, dust him off with public praise and send him back into the fray. She campaigned aggressively—and effectively—for party candidates this fall. But since then she has focused on her own schedule and agenda, on issues such as education, child care, women's health care, Third World economics and historic preservation. "The most important legacy of the Clinton years," says Democratic activist Mary Louise Oates, "will be Hillary Rodham Clinton."

The First Lady at times seems tired of the political stage—who could blame her?—and wistfully yearns for the quotidian pleasures of private life. "She talks a lot about how she wants to drive a car again," her former chief of staff, Maggie Williams, told NEWSWEEK. "She really misses it." And yet Hillary has added a touch of glam to the earnest uplift, hobnobbing in recent weeks with Rosie O'Donnell and Gwyneth Paltrow and Hollywood moguls.

The public, as a whole, seems eager to avert its eyes from the entire impeachment spectacle. In the new NEWSWEEK Poll, only 35 percent think the House should impeach the president and send the matter to the Senate for trial. Only 17 percent think a Senate trial is necessary to unearth more facts, compared with 76 percent who think the nation already knows enough—if not too much. By a 61-31 percent margin, voters think that the remorseless House Judiciary Committee didn't pay "enough attention" to public sentiment, and a majority thinks that the GOP majority was "too partisan." Clinton's own job-approval rating remains a solid 60 percent.

And yet there is lingering resentment toward Clinton, and a notable sense that he should be punished in some way. The country is evenly split—48-48—on the question

Holdouts and Fence Sitters

When the House convenes to vote on impeachment this week, all eyes will be on a handful of wavering Republicans—and defectors from both parties. A sampling:



Brian Bilbray (R–Calif., 49th dist.) The San Diegan is a raging moderate, and his fickle district doesn't hesitate to throw out incumbents. Anti-impeachment forces think his vote is gettable.



Jim Leach (R–Iowa, 1st dist.) The House Banking Committee chair is a key player, and his example could sway other fence sitters. Insiders doubt he'll decide until a day before the vote.



Ralph Hall (D–Texas, 4th dist.) Easily the most conservative Democrat in Congress, former judge Hall doesn't take perjury lightly and is a solid vote for impeachment.



Chris John (D–La., 7th dist.) Pro-impeachment forces hope to sway this conservative, Blue Dog Democrat. But he says his Cajun country district opposes impeachment 2 to 1.

2 Alleges that the president "willfully provided perjurious, sworn, written answers and videotaped testimony in Paula

FOR THIS NEWSWEEK POLL, PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES INTERVIEWED 806 ADULTS DEC. 10–11. THE MARGIN OF ERROR IS +/- 4 PERCENTAGE POINTS.

THE NEWSWEEK POLL © 1998 BY NEWSWEEK, INC.

If Clinton is impeached but not removed from office by the Senate, **47%** say that would be punishment enough; but **37%** think he should still be censured

of whether giving "misleading testimony" to Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury is enough to warrant the president's removal from office. And they are split on the question of whether action, or inaction, would be worse: 39 percent think a Senate trial would do more harm than letting Clinton go without official punishment; 41 percent think the opposite.

How did this most savvy of First Couples end up in this place, so painful in both political and human terms? There's the president's own mendacity, of course, for which he apologized again last week without admitting that it amounted to a legal lie. Hillary's concern for the financial bottom line is another factor. She has steadfastly (and privately) opposed a deal that would include a monetary fine. "Why should she have to pay for her husband's misdeeds?" asks one ally. Nor does she favor a deal that doesn't shield the president from indictment after he leaves office. Another case to defend could add millions to legal bills that already total at least $4 million. And just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they aren't out to get you: the Clintons' right-wing foes surely are, with a thirst for vengeance that no amount of contrition could satisfy.

But there were also plenty of legal and political miscalculations. Having so long demonized the GOP right, the Clinton White House never bothered to truly understand the relentless mentality of its conservative foes. "They're never satisfied," says one senior White House staffer. But if the Clintonites knew that, they should have set off alarms, in the country and in the Congress, about the likelihood of impeachment. They didn't until last week—very late.

Clintonites, who navigate their every move and gesture with the guidance of polls, can't comprehend an enemy who seems unafraid of political self-immolation. "If they impeach Bill Clinton, it's going to be the death knell of the Republican Party," declared Democratic polltaker Brad Bannon. He may be right, but the bulk of GOP members in the House either are blinded to their own best interests by their hatred of Clinton—or they think the rule of law would be ruined by letting him go.

Most important, at an even deeper level, the Clintons are paying for the traits that helped them survive until now: their annoying lawyerliness, fierce partisanship and unwillingness to court the Washington establishment. Now they need the boring old moderates—the wise men they ridiculed. But the clubmen aren't very interested. Elders such as Bob Dole and Howard Baker have been approached recently by White House intermediaries, Republican sources tell NEWSWEEK, so far with no results. There is



Fred Upton (R-Mich., 6th dist.) A dyed-in-the-wool moderate, Upton has a reputation for bipartisanship. Neither side will guess which way the tight-lipped rep will vote.

Nancy Johnson (R-Conn., 6th dist.) Though she's backed Clinton on gun control and choice, leaders of both parties are beginning to think the chairwoman of the ethics committee will vote yea.

Rick Lazio (R-N.Y., 2d dist.) He was prime for lobbying while accompanying Clinton to Israel. But Lazio may run for Moynihan's Senate seat and knows he'll need conservative backing.

Amo Houghton (R-N.Y., 31st dist.) He broke ranks with the GOP to condemn impeachment and urge "forgiveness." "If we didn't get Houghton, we would have been toast," said one Hill Democrat.

Connie Morella (R-Md., 8th dist.) Her solidly Democratic district is ground zero for Federal employees. Even though she'd pay if she voted to impeach, GOP leaders think she may back her party.

W. J. (Billy) Tauzin (R-La., 3d dist.) This former Democrat is now one of speaker-elect Livingston's best friends. But he has an independent streak—and a district that went for Clinton in '96.

Gene Taylor (D-Miss., 5th dist.) Representing the shrimp shacks and casinos along the Gulf Coast, this conservative is known for bucking his party. True to form, he'll be voting to impeach.

false and misleading testimony" in Jones's civil rights lawsuit

REPUBLICANS	Yea: **20**	Nay: **1**
DEMOCRATS	Yea: **0**	Nay: **16**

LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM: SAN DIEGO UNION TRIBUNE—AP, DAVID WOO—DALLAS MORNING NEWS, MIKE THEILER—REUTERS, G. ANDREW BOYD—TIMES-PICAYUNE, BRADLEY S. PINES—KALAMAZOO GAZETTE, JOHN GAPS III—AP, DENIS PAQUIN—AP, ALYSON LONG—SUN HERALD, ED BAILEY—AP, JOHN LONG—HARTFORD COURANT, TOM ALLEN—THE WASHINGTON POST

even a wild hope among some Democrats that former president George Bush would step in to call a ceasefire. But there is no love lost between the two presidents, and Bush is an unlikely enlistee in any event. His eldest son may soon run for president himself, and can't afford to alienate the GOP right wing.

So a sense of urgency, even panic, finally hit the White House last Thursday night. After the regular staff meeting in the residence, a rump parliament of lawyers and spinners also met with the president. Clinton approached Craig and counsel Charles F. C. Ruff, the public leaders of his legal team, and congratulated them for having made his best case before the panel (and on TV). Then Clinton disappeared to help his daughter, Chelsea, with a college paper she was writing about the Jesuits. Some aides thought the time had come for another on-camera apology. After he left someone leaked a draft to MSNBC. In the script, the president would say that he had "crossed the line" and committed a "terrible wrong." Clinton had never seen it, and was furious when he did. But the ploy worked. By Friday afternoon he was in the Rose Garden.

Which way lies political salvation? The emerging strategy was to beat the drums for a censure vote. Democrats had already drafted a toughly worded resolution they hoped would draw enough GOP support. House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt called on the incoming GOP speaker, Bob Livingston, to allow a censure vote. Late Saturday, Livingston flatly turned him down. The perjury



DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWSWEEK

Judiciary Committee sessions were somber—and partisan

The Guessing Game

A seasoned operator handicaps the vote—and the punishment. BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

IN AUGUST 1993, I SAT BESIDE President Clinton as we worked the phones on the president's first big test in Congress, a massive budget-cutting bill. We were eight votes behind with just a few hours to go before the House members cast their votes. One congressman wanted a helium plant kept open in his district. Another wanted to play golf with the president. Another wanted stronger language about deficit reduction in the future. With promises and persuasion, we made it over the top—but it was very close, and we didn't get the last vote until the time was almost up.

That was business as usual on Capitol Hill. Impeachment is totally different. Vote counting this time is nothing more than a guessing game. It's not like you can buy off an impeachment vote with the usual pork-barrel promises. On a matter this grave, most members of Congress would be insulted by talk of trade-offs.

In the end, of course, most members will vote along party lines. The key for party leaders is to zero in those who might not—the 40 or so potential crossover votes who could push the decision one way or another. This group includes a handful of conservative Democrats who are in favor of impeachment, and an equal number of moderate Republicans who are against it—but who are afraid to tell their leaders. The others are still truly undecided. They will wait until the last minute, hoping for some kind of political cover—an excuse to vote no. GOP Whip Tom DeLay seems determined to deny them the most convenient out, a vote to censure the president. If he refuses to let a censure motion come to the floor, moderates will face a very hard choice. My own guess is that at the end, the waverers will peer into the abyss—a seamy Senate trial that will drag on for months—and decide to vote against impeachment.

What can the president do to help his own cause? The old Bill Clinton might have tried to bluff his way through—to risk it all on an up-and-down impeachment vote, knowing that if it failed, he would finally be home free. But a newly contrite president signaled last week that he would be willing to accept censure. The real question is whether he will have to do more. He may have to indicate his willingness to pay a big fine. So far, the White House has balked at the suggestion of any figure over $300,000 (the amount Newt Gingrich paid when he was reprimanded after an ethics probe). The Republicans want $4.5 million—the cost of Starr's investigation of the Lewinsky matter. My guess is that Clinton will agree to pay whatever it takes. He'll hate it, and so will Hillary, but they'll do it if they have to. Clinton may also have to go beyond expressing his personal shame and contrition and admit he brought dishonor on the office of the presidency. The one thing I predict he won't do is admit that he lied. His lawyers—fearing a possible perjury trial—won't let him. And he doesn't want to admit that he lied because he has convinced himself he didn't. His advisers are torn. They're afraid that such an admission will give some an excuse to vote no to impeachment—but others the perfect pretext to vote for it.

STEPHANOPOULOS, *former senior adviser to the president, is a contributor to ABC News and* NEWSWEEK.

61% believe that in its impeachment deliberations, the House Judiciary Committee did not pay enough attention to what the American people think

votes—expected to be very close—are the crucial test.

The search continued for anyone who could help or broker a deal or sway wavering GOP moderates. The White House geared up a lobbying campaign, but it's an awkward exercise. The basic strategy: to enlist business allies to convince Republicans that impeachment would wreck the economy. Chief of staff John Podesta is the man in charge, but most calls have been left to people outside the White House—indeed, outside the cabinet. "I'm not going to call these business guys," said one cabinet member. "You think I want Ken Starr on *my* case?" Still, every other avenue was open. Word on K Street was that the White House had examined its 1996 campaign-spending reports, calling any Republican fat cats it could find. Lobbyists allied with both parties, including former members, were calling Hill allies—with God knows what expectations of White House paybacks if the president survives.

Hillary, her friends and allies say, remains aloof from her husband's fight. Publicly stoic, she rebuffed earlier attempts by the "boys" in the West Wing for an all-is-forgiven interview. "She's got no interest in sharing her hurt with the world," says a close friend. Instead, she chose last fall to walk a separate path, as the ultimate good soldier in the campaign. She breakfasted with precinct captains in Chicago, worked the boroughs of New York with Chuck Schumer and hustled California votes for Sen. Barbara Boxer.

Now Hillary works in the limelight on her own time and terms. Building on a four-year relationship with star photographer Annie Leibovitz (who photographed her in 1994 and traveled with her to Africa), Hillary sat for a radiant Vogue cover shoot and spread. In New York recently, she lunched with Whoopi Goldberg, popped up at a Miramax movie première and taped a Rosie O'Donnell show. "Hillary is my favorite Clinton," O'Donnell gushed to NEWSWEEK. To some observers, the roadshow was nauseatingly self-aggrandizing, and annoyingly hypocritical for a woman who claims to cherish the role and sanctity of the family—including, presumably, her own. "She came in as Eleanor Roosevelt," wrote New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd, "and left as Madonna." To her defenders, it was just the opposite: Hillary was carrying the Democratic torch for her enfeebled husband, and demonstrating strength in the process. "The *last* thing she wants is to be a victim," says a close friend.



MIRAMAX



AMATI-WARNER BROS.—AP

Hillary hobnobbing with Gwyneth Paltrow (top), Rosie O'Donnell

Hillary and her husband are on another journey, a spiritual one. But they can't walk that one together, either, at least not now. Hillary herself is a devout Methodist who increasingly turns to prayer in times of crisis. She seeks guidance from Ed Matthews, her pastor in Little Rock, and Don Jones, a childhood pastor from Chicago who now teaches in New Jersey. When Clinton reached out publicly to three Protestant ministers for spiritual counseling, they wanted to know if Hillary approved of the idea (she did, wholeheartedly), but they didn't ask her to participate.

The president is serious about his own spiritual quest, according to the First Family's Washington pastor, the Rev. J. Philip Wogaman of the Foundry United Methodist Church. When Clinton couldn't attend services one Sunday in September, Wogaman writes in his new book, Clinton called to receive a personal, over-the-phone version of the sermon he confessed that he would miss.

Perhaps there is an unintentional spiritual meaning in the Clintons' trip to the Holy Land. The Bible evidently was much on the president's mind earlier last week, as he flew back from Al Gore Sr.'s funeral in Tennessee. As Clinton rode to Washington on Air Force One, he talked at length about the history depicted in Scripture. "He was deeply into it," said Howard Baker, the GOP elder statesman from Tennessee. "He talked about it nonstop. Maybe he didn't want to bring up a certain other topic." It wasn't clear to Clinton's companions precisely which Bible stories he found most compelling, those of vengeance or mercy. In any case, his wife wasn't listening. She was sitting far away from the politicians, in another part of the plane.

With DEBRA ROSENBERG *in Jerusalem and* MATTHEW COOPER, MARK HOSENBALL *and* DANIEL KLAIDMAN *in Washington*

3 Alleges that the president "prevented, obstructed, and impeded" justice

REPUBLICANS Yea: **21**
DEMOCRATS Nay: **16**

The Boston Herald

December 19, 1998 Saturday ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 022

LENGTH: 693 words

HEADLINE: IMPEACHMENT DEBATE; Hillary: Let's put aside bitterness

BYLINE: By J. M. LAWRENCE

BODY:

Making a last minute defense of her husband, Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday said the nation would benefit more from reconciliation than bitterness during the holidays as she made plans to address House Democrats before today's impeachment vote.

"In this holiday season, as we celebrate Christmas and Hanukkah and Ramadan - and at the time for reflection and reconciliation among people - we in our country ought to practice reconciliation and we ought to bring our country together," the first lady said. "We ought to end divisiveness because we can do so much more together."

Responding to reporters' questions at the White House following a Mothers Against Drunk Driving presentation, Hillary Clinton gave high praise for the president's work.

"Well, I think the vast majority of Americans share my approval and pride in the job that the president's been doing for our country," she said. "And I think that the view is shared not only by the vast majority of Americans, but by people all over the world, as I saw recently on the trip to the Middle East."

The first lady wanted to give a pep talk to House Democrats in their morning caucus today just prior to voting, a White House official said.

Spokeswoman Marsha Berry said Hillary Clinton was invited by House Democratic leader Richard Gephardt to appear before the party's lawmakers "so they can show their support for her and the president."

But while she supports his mission, the first lady has held back her views on the man.

Her decision not to speak publically about how she is coping with the revelations that her husband lied about his affair with Monica Lewinsky to her - and the nation - has led to rampant speculation and intense press scrutiny of their interactions.

Reporters seized on a moment between the first lady and her husband during their recent trip to Israel as the first sign of a crumbling marriage. When the president reached for her hand, she appeared to pull away from him.

Several pundits have noted that Hillary saved her husband in the past when his political career teetered on the brink. But she has appeared to do little

to stave off his impeachment.

"That's a lot to ask because she's in so much pain herself," said family therapist Dr. Eileen Mager, who has spent 20 years helping couples survive the wounds of infidelity.

If Hillary is worried, angry, sad or embarrassed that her husband's lifelong political career is on the chopping block, her public face did not show it yesterday.

"Hello, everybody," she beamed at the National Children's Medical Center, waving to young patients and performers at the hospital's annual Christmas program.

Seated in a rocking chair beside a towering Christmas tree and with Socks snuggled on her lap, the first lady read aloud from "Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets," her new book. She answered questions such as "How many lives has Socks used up?"

In private the first lady likely has been reeling with emotional and actual physical pain since the president's lies were exposed several months ago, Mager said.

"Many times the spouse is suffering from symptoms of post traumatic stress," she said. "It may be a lot to ask for her to be supportive of him or be sympathetic to him."

But the impeachment hearings as well as the nature of the holiday season have probably put a mountain of pressure on the first lady to project an even braver face, Mager said.

Research shows couples usually take about two years to work through the devastating effects of infidelity, Mager noted.

While many Americans speculate Hillary will make a beeline for divorce court once the president leaves office, Mager said the couple could overcome Clinton's affairs if they received clinical help.

At the White House yesterday, Hillary Clinton gingerly advised the country to weave away from troubles rocking her husband's career.

"There are so many important issues for us to address," she said. Photo Caption: BRAVE FACE: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton went about her official duties yesterday, offering lukewarm support for her husband but urging reconciliation during the holidays. AP PHOTO

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MONDAY TUESDAY WEDNESDAY THURSDAY **FRIDAY**

DEC. 18, 1998



Political Roundup

Poll: First Lady Runs Well In Primary For Moynihan Seat ...

■ In a hypothetical 2000 Democratic primary contest for the seat of retiring **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, D-N.Y., First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton would win with 32.5 percent of the vote, according to a newly published Zogby International poll.

The poll of 704 likely voters, conducted Dec. 9-10, found Hillary Clinton would defeat state Comptroller H. Carl McCall, who would garner 21.1 percent. New York City Public Advocate Mark Green, who unsuccessfully sought the Democratic Senate nod this year, gets 9.9 percent, and **Rep. Nita Lowey**, 3.5 percent. However, one in three voters are undecided.

The poll indicated that two factors favor Clinton in the primary race. She would attract two in five women voters: 40.7 percent. Also, Clinton would be backed by more than 45 percent of African-American voters — even though McCall is the first black to hold statewide office in New York.

But when the first lady is pitted against New York City Mayor Rudolph Guiliani in a general election matchup, Giuliani wins by a slim margin, 46.3 percent to 41.5 percent.

The poll's overall margin of error is 3.8 points; the margin of error for the Democratic primary is 5.7 points.

It remains unclear whether Hillary Clinton is interested in such a race. And, if her husband survives the current impeachment process, he would still be in office at the time of the 2000 election — which could provide a political obstacle to her running.

Meanwhile, there also has been speculation about the first lady waiting until 2004 and running for Senate in her native state of Illinois — when GOP **Sen.-elect Peter Fitzgerald** would be up for a second term.

A Social Security deal rests in many hands

■ **Bill Clinton.** Only he can lead the way. But while he hankers for a legacy (beyond Monica), even he is not sure what he means by "saving Social Security": privatization or other less drastic reforms? While aides battle for his heart and mind, liberals on the outside fret that he will "end Social Security as we know it." According to White House sources, there will be a plan to open bargaining by January's State of the Union address.


Summers

■ **Lawrence Summers.** Even more than presidential economic adviser Gene Sperling, he may be a key indicator of the administration's mood. Conventional wisdom holds that Treasury's No. 2 is the biggest fan of privatization. But recently, he has cooled. Could it be that this Gore guy is protecting the veep's 2000 prospects? As in: Can Gore afford to tick off liberals with a Social Security overhaul?

■ **John Sweeney.** Wall Street and right-wingers, the AFL-CIO boss says, dreamed up the Social Security "crisis" as a pretext for trashing the current system. To preserve the status quo, the union pledges to launch "the most aggressive grass-roots campaign" in its history. Which Democrats will be first to throw themselves in the union's way?

■ **Hillary Clinton.** Once maligned as the Democratic Party's most knee-jerk liberal, she's now among its best hopes for unity. Because of her stunning performance on the campaign stump, the first lady may be the only person in the White House capable of rallying the Democrats' left and center wings around a single reform.

■ **Bob Livingston.** The soon-to-be speaker says it's his No. 1 priority, alongside tax cuts. And he's just the seasoned closed-door deal maker to work it out with the White House. But if Clinton's got problems on the left, Livingston has them on the right. He has to contend with a plethora of Republican plans and egos. The key issue may be whether he and Ways and Means Committee Chair Bill Archer can get on the same page.


Archer


Clinton

■ **Trent Lott.** The majority leader has yet to stake out a clear position. This leaves him plenty of wiggle room for a back-room compromise, as he did with the balanced budget. But after the election debacle, Lott seems in no mood to dole out concessions—or trust the White House.

■ **Steve Forbes.** Will it be a deal or a campaign issue? Keep an eye on presidential contenders like Mr. Free Market himself. As with many libertarians, the millionaire-cum-presidential candidate will tolerate nothing short of total privatization.

■ **Alan Greenspan.** Even the most mild kvetching from his economic bully pulpit could sink any reform proposal. Already, the Federal Reserve's high priest has said that he is keen on the idea of private accounts. But what else does he think?

■ **John Rother.** So far, there's only deafening silence from the top lobbyist for the American Association of Retired Persons, the group that turned Social Security into the "third rail" of politics. Have its 37 million members decided it just really is not their problem anymore?

■ **The bull market.** An ill-timed dive in the Dow Jones industrial average could put a sock in all this talk of sticking retirement dollars in the stock market until the deal-making window closes. *–F.F.*

(TOP LEFT) LIZ LYNCH; (TOP RIGHT) CHICK HARRITY FOR USN&WR



exclusive! *Marie Claire* enlisted these prominent Americans to raise the issue of human rights abuses that you can help transform.

you can make a difference

Rape, genital mutilation, unjust imprisonment. Fifty years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted, people around the world are still being persecuted every day. Join *Marie Claire*'s campaign for change

Hillary Clinton

WORLDWIDE WOMEN'S RIGHTS

First Lady of the United States

Fifty years ago, at the end of the Second World War, we acknowledged a new common standard for human dignity—a code for the people of the world to live by. In the wake of the most violent revelation of the extent to which human beings can dehumanize one another, the world as a whole was ready at last to accept an agreed-upon standard for human rights.

Yet despite half a century of progress in this arena, we have not expanded the circle of human dignity far enough. There are still too many of our fellow men and women who have been excluded ▷

Let us say this so loudly that the entire world will hear us: Violence against women is not simply criminal. The full enfranchisement of women is unfinished business.—Hillary Clinton

from the fundamental rights proclaimed in the Declaration; too many against whom we have all hardened our hearts—those whose human suffering we fail fully to see, to hear, to feel.

Today, especially, we still choose not to hear the voices of women. In too many countries, women are blocked from participating in political life.

Too often, we choose not to see the injustice of legal systems around the world that continue to treat women as less than complete citizens. In too many places, female heirs receive less inheritance than male heirs. Inequitable divorce laws compel women to remain in cruel marriages. And courts of law require the testimony of two women to equal that of a man.

Our vision is limited in other areas; we choose not to see that women are discriminated against for bank loans, jobs and promotions. They are denied equal pay—or, sometimes, any pay at all. And they live in disproportionate poverty, making up 70 percent of the world's poor.

In too many places, girls and women never even learn to project their voices. Two thirds of the 130 million children not in school are girls. Two thirds of the 96 million people worldwide who can neither read nor write are women.

In too many places, the suffering of women is defined as trivial; explained away as a "cultural phenomenon."

Perhaps it is for this reason that women do not receive proper health care. Perhaps it is why genital cutting, which in some countries more than 90 percent of women have undergone, is still practiced and why rape and sexual assault continue to be tactics of war. Perhaps it is why domestic and sexual violence remain the most serious, underreported and widespread human rights violations in the world.

Let us say this so loudly that the entire world will hear us: We do not believe that violence against women is simply a criminal phenomenon. The full enfranchisement of women is unfinished business for all of us in this turbulent century.

We must challenge ourselves to see more sharply, to hear more clearly and to feel more fully. We must rededicate ourselves to completing the circle of human rights once and for all.

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First Lady Defends Children's Rights

Lecture Series Commemorates 50 Years Since Human Rights Declaration



WILLIAM BROWNLOW/*THE HOYA*

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton encouraged students last Friday in her Gaston Hall address to protect the rights of the child. The talk was given as part of the Eleanor Roosevelt Lecture Series 'Human Rights: The Unfinished Agenda for the New Millennium.'

BY HEATHER BURKE
HOYA STAFF WRITER

While protection of children's rights has improved globally over the past 50 years, the world must still strive to better respect the basic dignity of all children, according to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Clinton gave a speech entitled "The Rights of the Child" Friday afternoon in Gaston Hall as part of the Eleanor Roosevelt Lecture Series "Human Rights: The Unfinished Agenda for the New Millennium."

The lecture series commemorates the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was passed by the United Nations. In the UDHR, the international community accepted common responsibility for the protection and pursuit of global human rights. The lecture series focuses on one human rights issue in each lecture in order to highlight the UDHR and to show how much work still needs to be accomplished in order to achieve universal protection of human rights.

University President Leo J. O'Donovan, S.J., who introduced Clinton, said that the Declaration on Human Rights is one of the most significant documents of the 20th century and probably in humankind. "It embraces a broad spectrum of social concerns if a society wishes to be truly peaceful," he said.

Clinton first praised Eleanor Roosevelt's human rights legacy. According to Clinton, Roosevelt's work can be an example for those seeking to protect the rights of all humans, especially those of children. "I believe this is an important, unfinished piece of business of our

SEE **CLINTON**, P. 8

First Lady Extols Child Rights In Speech Given in Gaston Hall

CLINTON, FROM P. 1

century and one of the challenges of the new millennium," she said.

Clinton said Roosevelt reached out to give support and a voice to those who had neither, and to those who faced discrimination, such as migrant workers, African-Americans and Japanese-Americans during World War II. "Without fanfare she went everywhere and anywhere she thought her presence could make a difference," Clinton said. "Then she rolled up her sleeves and tried to do something about what she saw."

Clinton told the audience that everyone must work to fulfill Roosevelt's greatest achievement: the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights. Roosevelt chaired the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, which drafted the document from 1946 to 1948. All U.N. member nations signed it Dec. 10, 1948 as "a world-wide response to evil." More specifically, it responded to the discrimination and killings carried out by the Nazis during World War II. In its 50-year lifetime, the document has provided an ideal for nations and people to reach for, according to Clinton.

Clinton did note several areas in which the world has made progress in protecting children's rights. More children than ever before are likely to reach their fifth and 75th birthdays. Three out of five countries, in terms of targets for health, nutrition, education, sanitation and water supply, are on track to reach the child survival goal set by the 1990 World Summit on Children. Three million children have been saved from death due to disease over the past two decades as infant immunization has risen from five to 80 percent.

However, Clinton said that the world still has work to do. The U.N. Declaration on Human Rights inspired the 1989 U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, which President Bill Clinton (SFS '68) signed. Mrs. Clinton said she hoped the U.S. Senate would ratify the convention, joining all other nations, except Somalia, which also has yet to ratify the convention.

"It is unconscionable that we still are not seeing the circle of human dignity to include children of all the world," she said.

Nations cannot move ahead if their children are left behind, Clinton said. All children have the social protections and inalienable rights of full human beings, but need to be treated with extra care, she said.

Clinton said that over time, society has grown to realize that children are not just "little adults" and need extra nurturing, care, love and discipline. This century, the United States has realized children are not property, which has meant passing laws against abuse and giving them a compulsory education.

Clinton, who has worked with abused and neglected children for 25 years, said, "So often we fail at that very basic fundamental task of respecting them." She said that according to the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, children have the right to be protected from abuse, violence and work that threatens their health. They also have the right to worship freely, to express opinions and aspirations and to health, education and life, she said. "It is up to us as adults to make these protections real for children," she said.

However, Clinton warned that there are many places around the world where children are suffering. They face "old foes," such as malnutrition and malaria , and new problems, such as child trafficking and child prostitution, that did not dominate the headlines 50 years ago. "We can't just be satisfied with giving children health and nutrition for emergencies, we have to look at root causes," Clinton said. "We can't forget the faces of these children here in our country at this time of prosperity and peace."

Clinton said we must combat malnutrition, which kills seven million children a year, and discrimination against girls that causes them to be fed last and least because they are not valued as much as boys. Children, especially girls, must have increased access to education, Clinton said, noting that 140 million primary school-aged children are not in school.

According to Clinton, society must work to stop child labor, especially when children are forced and sold into labor. She said this situation should not be excused by the fact that parents need money. One hundred and twenty million children in developing nations work full-time, and most of them are the major supporters of their families. Clinton especially decried the international trafficking of girls as slaves and prostitutes, which has left children as young as 12 dying of AIDS, physically abused, malnourished and worked to death.

Clinton said that it is deplorable that children are killed, injured, forced into military service, orphaned, raped, abused and left homeless by the horrors of war. "Who will speak for those children who are being used as instruments of war?" she asked.

Still, Clinton said she has seen places across the world where children are taken in and cared for, which gives her hope. She said that the Clinton administration has taken steps to promote children's rights, including moving more U.S. children from work to school, combating trafficking of girls with the Ukraine with the assistance of the Ukrainian government, and providing birthing kits, medicine and Vitamin A to mothers and children in developing nations. But she added that there is more that the United States must do, including Senate ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Tracy Roosevelt, a Maryland high school student and great-granddaughter of Roosevelt, thanked Clinton. Clinton's speech was followed by a panel discussion on children's rights featuring Ambassador Betty King, U.S. representative to the U.N. Economic and Social Council, Dr. Phyllis R. Magrab, director of the Child Development Center and Dr. Wallace J. Mlyniec, an associate dean at the Law Center.

The lecture was also sponsored by Lauinger Library, the Child Development Center, the History Department, the Lecture Fund and the Wagner Family Trust. The Eleanor Roosevelt Center at Val-Kill, which uses the former first lady's New York home to "preserve and promote Mrs. Roosevelt's legacy in a variety of areas, including human rights," sponsors the series.

Sunday Reader
Science, Health & Commentary



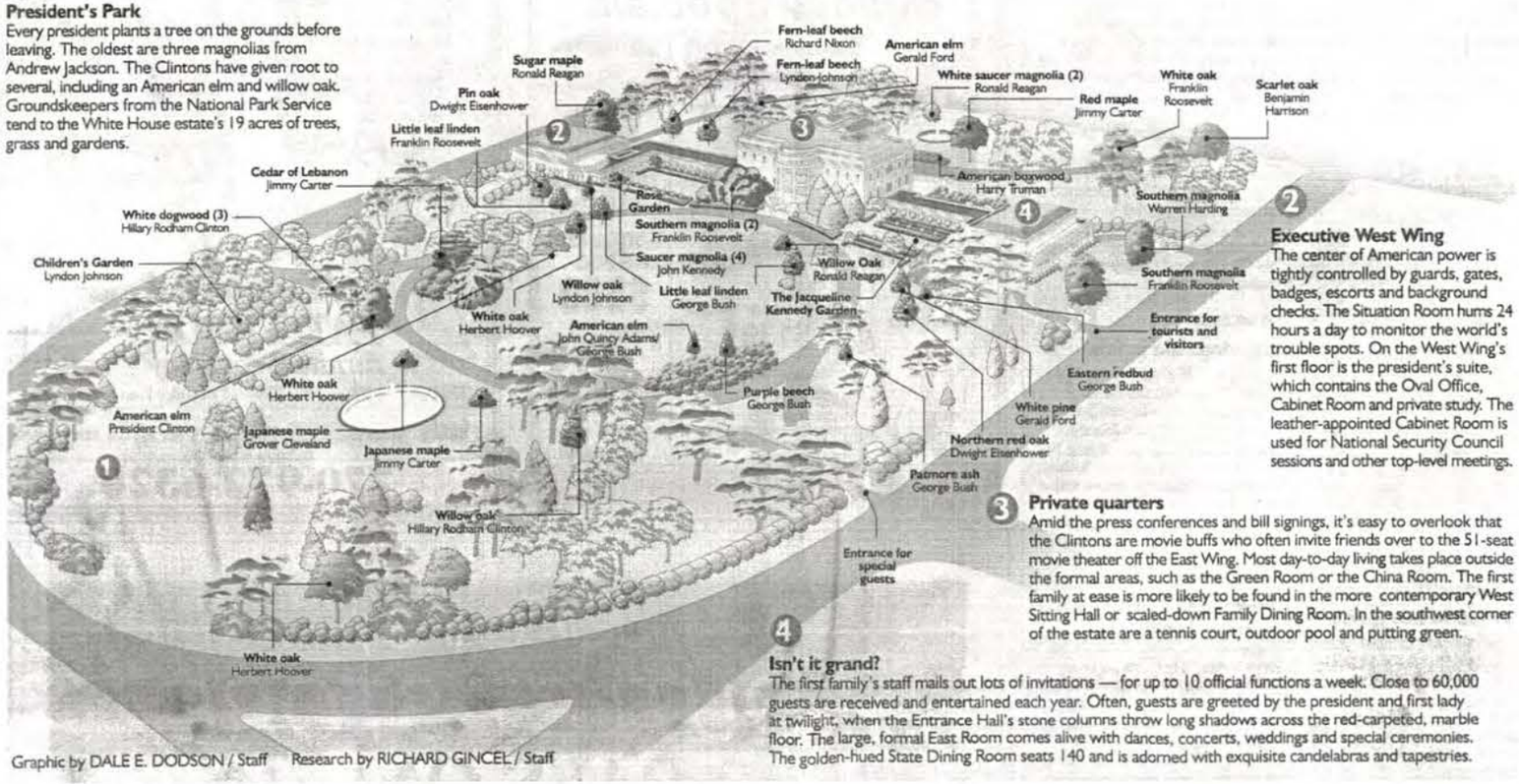
Back to Mars
NASA will begin a new search for past life on Mars this month with the launch of two spacecraft to the Red Planet.
SCIENCE WATCH, C10

● Up to Speed, C2
● Earthwatch, C10

A day in the life of the WHITE HOUSE

The quiet, graceful exterior of this nearly 200-year-old mansion belies the hard work needed to hold down the fort. Equal parts residence, museum and presidential command center, it's a national treasure that endures through the pride and service of its many workers.

1
President's Park
Every president plants a tree on the grounds before leaving. The oldest are three magnolias from Andrew Jackson. The Clintons have given root to several, including an American elm and willow oak. Groundskeepers from the National Park Service tend to the White House estate's 19 acres of trees, grass and gardens.



2
Executive West Wing
The center of American power is tightly controlled by guards, gates, badges, escorts and background checks. The Situation Room hums 24 hours a day to monitor the world's trouble spots. On the West Wing's first floor is the president's suite, which contains the Oval Office, Cabinet Room and private study. The leather-appointed Cabinet Room is used for National Security Council sessions and other top-level meetings.

3
Private quarters
Amid the press conferences and bill signings, it's easy to overlook that the Clintons are movie buffs who often invite friends over to the 51-seat movie theater off the East Wing. Most day-to-day living takes place outside the formal areas, such as the Green Room or the China Room. The first family at ease is more likely to be found in the more contemporary West Sitting Hall or scaled-down Family Dining Room. In the southwest corner of the estate are a tennis court, outdoor pool and putting green.

4
Isn't it grand?
The first family's staff mails out lots of invitations — for up to 10 official functions a week. Close to 60,000 guests are received and entertained each year. Often, guests are greeted by the president and first lady at twilight, when the Entrance Hall's stone columns throw long shadows across the red-carpeted, marble floor. The large, formal East Room comes alive with dances, concerts, weddings and special ceremonies. The golden-hued State Dining Room seats 140 and is adorned with exquisite candelabras and tapestries.

Graphic by DALE E. DODSON / Staff Research by RICHARD GINCEL / Staff



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By Bob Dart
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington

A day in the life of the White House begins an hour before midnight when Susanna McGuire rubs her coded photo ID across the electronic scanner at a wrought-iron gate, punches in a personal number, then enters under the gaze of a uniformed Secret Service agent.

An ambitious young press aide who will spend the night clipping papers for President Clinton's morning news summary, McGuire is one of hundreds of human cogs who make the White House a perpetual motion machine — running day after day, decade after decade, president after president.

Unique in the world, the building where the president lives and works is among the most recognizable symbols of democracy. It is a home and a museum, a fortress and a bureaucracy, a playground and a monument and a backdrop for TV newscasts. It is a place permeated with the temptations of power, of course, but also blessed with the virtues of community and continuity.

During the depths of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, White House correspondents sometimes described a paralysis in the building looming dramatically behind them. Images of inactivity could not have been more misleading, however, in portraying the legions of employees who every day continued to shepherd through 6,000 tourists, open 10,000 letters, answer 1,600 phone calls, entertain foreign dignitaries, cook meals, plan parties, prune shrubbery and oversee operation of the federal governments.

Until he recently fell ill, for instance, 78-year-old John Muffler continued to wind the 85 or so clocks in the White House every Friday — a routine he had followed for half a century. Now semiretired, the courtly electrician's tasks have ranged from changing light bulbs for Harry Truman to programming a VCR for Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Head florist Nancy Clarke keeps fresh flowers in nearly every room — careful not to aggravate President's Clinton's allergies with pollen and not to provide tourists with tales of bugs crawling out of blooms.

Overseeing a staff of four full-time designers in the basement flower shop below the North Portico, Clarke has accommodated floral tastes of first ladies since Nancy Reagan hired her in 1981. Regardless of the time of year, for example, Reagan wanted peonies in arrangements. When the Reagans left, Clarke made for the first lady a needlepoint pillow decorated with a bright peony and the inscription "Peonies Bloom in May."

Theodore Roosevelt officially named this building the White House in 1902. Before, it was known as the President's House and the Executive Mansion.

In 1909, he added the West Wing and its famed Oval Office to handle the increasing need for offices for presidential staffers. The mansion and West Wing are connected by the press area, built over what was a swimming pool from 1933 to 1969. The president walks from home to office through an open-sided colonnade between the Rose Garden and windowless press rooms.

In 1942, Franklin Roosevelt added the East Wing, where the first lady has her office. The Old Executive Office Building, a massive gray structure that once housed all Cabinet offices next door, now is part of the White House complex enclosed by a protective and decorative wrought iron fence. Also inside the fence are the 19 acres of lawns, gardens and trees that make up the White House grounds.

It is a setting where there are no typical days.

At 8 a.m., Chief of Staff John Podesta convenes the daily meeting of senior presidential staffers in the Roosevelt Room of the West Wing. The photocopied news summary begun by McGuire already has been distributed to their desks. All are stapled except the one bound for the Oval Office. A senior adviser shuffles the summary according to priority for presidential reading.

Small tables are fit together in the middle of the room to make a large conference center. Top presidential advisers on domestic, foreign and political issues fill the leather chairs around the tables and the overstuffed armchairs and sofas along the walls. The Roosevelt Room's namesake presidents look down from portraits — Teddy on horseback and FDR signing legislation at a desk. The Nobel Peace Prize won by Theodore Roosevelt sits on the mantel over a fireplace.

A 49-year-old fitness buff who likes to jog shirtless, Podesta is regarded as an unpretentious boss and is known for cooking elaborate Italian meals and having a passion for riding roller coasters. However, the chief of staff can be demanding and has a dark side nicknamed "Skippy" by underlings. Nobody wants to provoke "Skippy."

In the workaholic West Wing, where days routinely stretch from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. or later, Podesta sets the standard.

"As we say here every Friday, only two more working days till Monday," he has observed. Indeed, before the 8 a.m. session, Podesta has completed a smaller meeting in his nearby office.

The day's agenda is set at the senior staff meeting, which usually lasts less than an hour. Afterward, attendees scatter to preside over daily meetings of their departments. Press secretary Joe Lockhart, for instance, holds a communications staff meeting at 8:45 a.m.

By then, the president is usually in the Oval Office. Awakened by a call from a steward, Clinton has breakfast — often coffee and fruit — in an upstairs family kitchen decorated with cheery fruit-patterned wallpaper. The Clintons converted a butler's pantry into this "ordinary" room shortly after arriving in 1993.

Most mornings, a national security briefing is an early order of presidential business. The data comes from the top-secret, high-tech Situation Room on the floor below the Oval Office.

The West Wing has three levels, with staffers' offices on floors above and below the Oval Office. The Situation Room is staffed 24 hours a day by experts monitoring trouble spots around the world.



RICK McKAY / Washington Bureau

Head florist Nancy Clarke checks a flower arrangement in the flower shop located in the basement of the residence.

➤ *Please see* **WHITE HOUSE, C6**

INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE

THE GRAND TOUR:
Parts of the ground floor and second story are open to non-staff visitors who enter on the east side and proceed on a guided tour through the library, then climb the stairs to the state floor to view four staterooms and the State Dining Room.

East Room*: Seven presidents have lain in state here. Traditionally used for large ceremonies.

Red Room*: Graceful sitting parlor occasionally used for small dinner parties.

Green Room*: Refurbished in 1971, the parlor boasts exceedingly rare furniture, much of it from the Federal period.

State Dining Room*: Sparkling, golden-hued room seats up to 140 guests.

Other rooms:
A. South Portico
B. Family Dining Room
C. Cross Hall*
D. Entrance Hall*
E. Library
F. Vermeil Room
G. China Room
H. Diplomatic Reception Room
I. Map Room
J. Blue Room*

*Open to the public

Ground Floor Corridor*: Contains portaits of first ladies.

CHRISTOPHER SMITH / Staff

White House: Every family adds tree, bloom

➤ Continued from C1

National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, 52, is in charge of the security briefing. A longtime friend, he met Clinton when both worked on George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign.

The briefing takes place beneath the embossed presidential seal on the white ceiling of the Oval Office. Behind Clinton's desk, a table displays pictures of his wife and his daughter, Chelsea, and his collection of political campaign buttons. On his desk are busts of FDR and Harry Truman. On the floor nearby are an African drum and a drum made by Native Americans to commemorate the North American Free Trade Agreement — showing the shared American Indian heritage of Mexico, the United States and Canada.

A rocking chair sits in the adjoining private study. The president's computer is there, too, connected to the Internet — though aides won't say whether Clinton ever surfs through cyberspace. There is no TV.

From her adjoining office, Nancy Hernreich helps keep Clinton on schedule. As director of Oval Office operations, Hernreich, 52, is one of the "meanies" whom Monica Lewinsky complained was trying to keep her away from the president. A longtime loyalist, she was Clinton's scheduler in the Arkansas governor's office. Divorced and a diligent runner, Hernreich dotes on her daughter, Ashley, a student at Duke University.

Hernreich is the gatekeeper — regulating who gets in to see the president and, to some extent, when they leave. However, it is up to the president to decide when a meeting ends.

Phillip Caplan, assistant to the president and staff secretary, manages the flow of presidential paperwork — moving color-coded binders on and off Clinton's desk. Green for action. Pink for correspondence. Blue for information. Red for classified.

CULINARY CREATIVITY

By midmorning, White House kitchens are bustling. The holiday season is approaching, and 120,000 cookies and pieces of cake will be baked for a panoply of parties.

Chef Walter Scheib, an imposing figure nearly 7 feet tall from the top of his traditional toque to the toes of his shined shoes, is responsible for all meals served in the White House. A graduate of the Culinary Institute of America in Hyde Park, N.Y., Scheib was chef at the Greenbrier Resort in West Virginia when he was hired by Hillary Rodham Clinton in 1993.

The first lady was looking for an American cuisine chef with a light touch, and Scheib has worked hard at reducing the fat in the White House fare without sacrificing flavor, texture or appearance. Cooking oil is kept in spray bottles, for instance, and misted onto pans rather than being poured or brushed.

Scheib, 43, grew up in the nearby suburb of Bethesda, Md., and remembers watching his mother cook the dishes Julia Child demonstrated on TV. His wife, Jean, also is a chef, and the two cooked together at the Boca Raton Resort and Club in Florida before moving on to the Greenbrier.

The first family pays for its own food, which Scheib orders from nearby wholesalers and from suppliers all around the nation. He searches for the best ingredients — buffalo milk mozzarella from upstate New York, Michigan blueberries, Virginia ham — and the nation's food merchants eagerly solicit his business.

Food bound for the White House is detoured to another facility, where it is checked by the Secret Service before being transported in secure trucks to Scheib's pantries, refrigerators and freezers. Scheib's staff includes two assistant chefs, a kitchen steward and two assistant stewards. For state dinners and other major events, this culinary force is augmented by chefs from local restaurants.

Cooking separately in a tiny kitchen jammed between the state floor and the family quarters is pastry chef Roland Mesnier and his longtime assistant, Franette McCulloch.

Mesnier was born in a French village in 1944 on the day American soldiers liberated the community from Nazi occupation. At 14, he left school and began an apprenticeship at a village bakery. He created pastries in kitchens in Paris, London and Bermuda and was cooking at the Greenbrier in 1980 when Rosalynn Carter hired him for the White House.

Mesnier's themed desserts have become the sweet stuff of legend. At a luncheon for Egyptian officials, he created a pistachio mousse pyramid flanked by two edible palm trees and a marzipan camel. One Christmas, he made gingerbread and chocolate reproductions of the president's boyhood home in Hot Springs, Ark., and the suburban house where Hillary Rodham grew up in Park Ridge, Ill.

For Chelsea's 16th birthday, Mesnier decorated her cake with a replica of her new driver's license, complete with color photo, and a car with a license tag reading "Sweet 16."

"Sometimes, after 18 years, it's hard to come up with ideas," Mesnier said. "Two days before the birthday, I was driving to work listening to the radio and the announcer said, 'Chelsea will soon be getting her driver's license.' Then, boom! It hit me. Chocolate car and license."

TOURISTS TEEM

Shortly after noon, the last of one day's 6,000 or so tourists — more than a million visit the White House each year — stops for a final photo of the North Portico before leaving the compound and stepping onto the sidewalk along Pennsylvania Avenue. The mansion's ground floor and second story are part museum, open to visitors from 10 a.m. to noon Tuesdays through Saturdays. The busiest times are in the summer and December; the slowest are January and February.

Tourists enter on the east side and proceed through the library; the Vermeil Room, featuring portraits of recent first ladies; the China Room; the East Room, where presidential news conferences are held; the Green Room; the Blue Room, where the White House Christmas tree will be placed; the Red Room; and the State Dining Room.

Melinda Bates, 52, director of the Office of Tourism, is a longtime friend of Clinton's. She took him to his first Judy Collins concert in 1964. When Collins visited the White House three decades later, Clinton returned the favor by introducing Bates to the singer.

The White House is a trove of antiques, art and oddities. Original Norman Rockwell drawings adorn the walls of an out-of-the-way West Wing waiting area, for instance. In another reception area, a handsome clock made entirely of wood keeps visitors aware of the time. Historic portraits are everywhere. A photo on an end table shows Calvin Coolidge with the original Boston Celtics.

Curator Betty Monkman, who has worked at the White House for three decades, is responsible for displaying and maintaining the artifacts, furnishings and art.

A job whose title belies its importance is the social secre-

tary — responsible for every event inside the White House and on the grounds. From state dinners to the annual Easter Egg Roll, social secretary Capricia Marshall juggles VIPs and R.S.V.P.s and myriad details concerning protocol and logistics.

Three to 10 events take place every week at the White House. More than 60,000 people are entertained annually at official functions.

A Cleveland native and law school graduate, Marshall joined the Clinton presidential campaign in Ohio in 1991 and came to the White House as a special assistant to the first lady after Clinton's initial election. In 1997, at 33, she was appointed social secretary. Marshall made an immediate impact in her new post by posing in Vogue magazine wearing a backless Donna Karan gown.

MAIL FOR BUDDY, SOCKS

It's midafternoon, and Clinton is standing in a sunny Rose Garden promoting his proposals for health care. Irv Williams is concerned about reporters' stomping on the grass.

For more than four decades, chief horticulturist Williams has tended the trees, grass and shrubbery of the White House grounds.

The groundskeepers work for the National Park Service. Williams helped Jacqueline Kennedy redesign the First Lady's Garden, next to the formal Rose Garden, where speeches are given and treaties are signed.

Every first lady leaves her own special bloom in the garden — a peach-colored rose for Rosalynn Carter, a yellow rose for Betty Ford, red for Nancy Reagan.

Every president plants a tree on the grounds before leaving. The oldest surviving presidential trees are three magnolias given root by Andrew Jackson. Clinton has planted several trees, including an American elm, a willow oak and a linden.

The gently rolling South Lawn, brightened by flower beds and partly shielded by trees, is the first family's back yard.

In the southwest corner are a tennis court and an outdoor pool. A short chip shot from the Oval Office is a putting green laid out by Dwight Eisenhower in 1954. It was removed in 1971 by Richard Nixon, who built a bowling alley in the White House basement. The green was reinstalled in 1995 by Clinton, who also added a padded jogging track around the South Lawn driveway and subtracted the horseshoe pits dug by George Bush.

While the president is speaking in the sunshine, Dan Burkhardt is managing messages deep inside the Old Executive Office Building — a massive, foreboding gray building across West Executive Avenue from the West Wing. The prime parking spaces for key staffers are between the "OEOB" and the West Wing.

A political appointee from California, Burkhardt is director of correspondence and presidential messages. The White House receives about 10,000 letters a day at the 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. mailing address.

These are sorted by subject and assigned to volunteers for replies. On a weekday, 100 to 250 volunteers are handling mail. The replies are checked by one of Burkhardt's 70 full-time staffers, who oversee everything from the processing of presidential gifts to responding to the 2,000 or so e-mails the president receives every day to handling incoming calls on 20 phone lines.

In addition to the OEOB operation, there is an auxiliary White House mail room at the Soldiers and Airmen's Home near Capitol Hill. Military retirees process letters addressed to presidential pets — currently Socks the cat and Buddy the dog.

Many offices in the Old EOB are spacious, with high ceilings and fireplaces. They are not as eagerly sought as the cramped quarters in the West Wing; proximity to the president is prized above all other perks in the White House complex.

Aide Sidney Blumenthal's office, for instance, is a converted barbershop but is coveted by many because it is downstairs from the Oval Office.

The Old EOB houses the staffs of many top advisers whose offices are in the West Wing. It also has a bank, a post office, a cafeteria and a medical unit for staffers. In the main White House is another medical unit for the first family. On the bottom floor of the West Wing, senior staffers can dine in or carry out from the White House Mess, which is operated by Navy cooks.

FILMS FOR FIRST FAMILY

Around 7 p.m., Clinton walks down the colonnade, headed to the White House's top two floors, which are the home of the first family.

He has likened this lifestyle to the way average Americans lived in bygone decades: residing above their stores or on family farms, with their jobs and homes melded. Here, though, White House staffers zealously guard the upstairs private lives of presidential families.

Gary Walters, a discreet former Secret Service agent with the unimposing title of chief usher, is the supervisor of all who serve the first family in their home. With a staff of about 90 to direct and the ultimate responsibility for everything from state dinners to overflowing toilets, Walters has filled this historically powerful post since 1986.

Eight chief ushers have served in the nearly 200-year history of the White House. The improbably named Ike Hoover served the longest — 42 years beginning in 1891 — and managed the care and comfort of 10 presidents and their families.

The Clintons are movie fans and regularly invite friends over for films in the 51-seat theater off the East Wing portico. Facing the screen are rows of four to six beige overstuffed armchairs — the rows rising in tiers toward the rear of the room. When the Clintons show movies, tables stocked with popcorn, soft drinks and other snacks are set up outside the theater.

Many nights, though, Clinton takes memos upstairs to read late into the night, aides say, working even as Susanna McGuire arrives to start another day in the life of the White House.

WHITE HOUSE WORK FORCE

A total of 1,500 people are employed in the Executive Office of the President — posts that range from seven speech writers to four physicians. About 400 work in the White House, including about 90 on the executive residence staff.

The full-time force is augmented by 1,010 volunteers who work at least 16 hours a month — mostly in the correspondence office. The Clinton administration says these volunteers save taxpayers about $1.2 million in wages per year.

This year, about $8.5 million is budgeted for care, heating and lighting of the historic residence and for official entertainment expenses of the president.

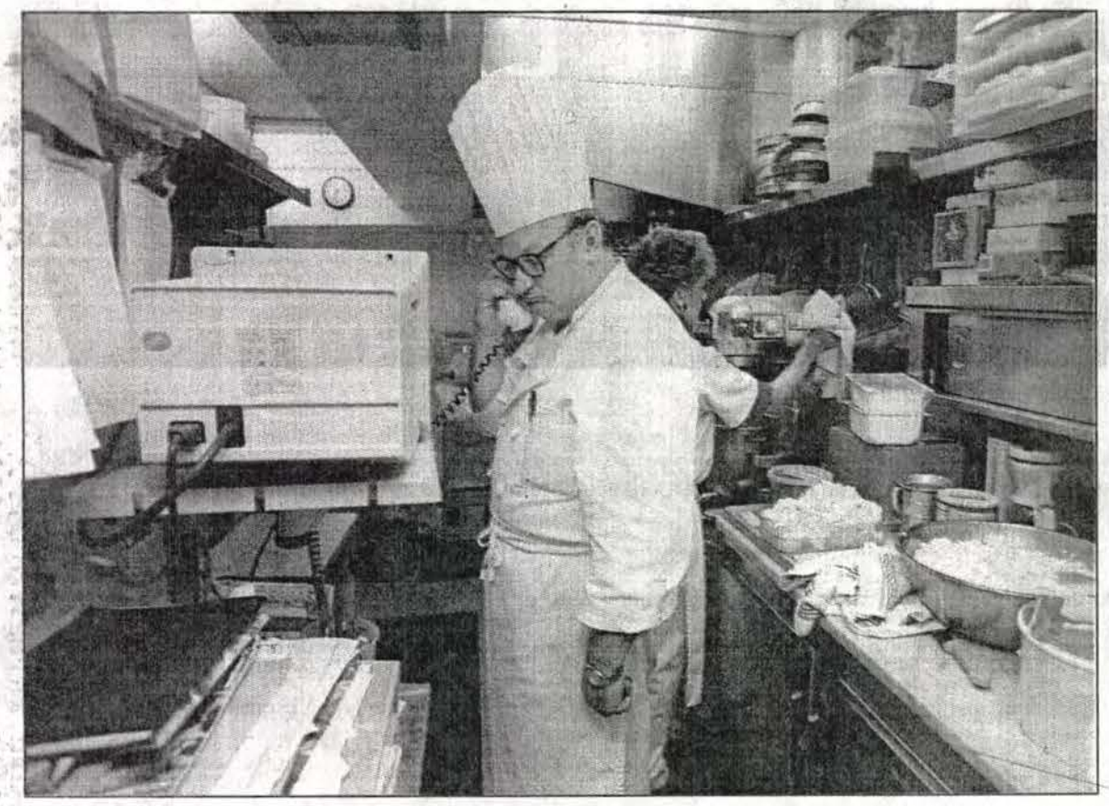
THE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE

The presidential mansion, with its familiar columns and porticos, was designed by James Hoban, an Irish-born architect selected by George Washington. The cornerstone was laid Oct. 13, 1792. Eight years later, John Adams moved in, the first president to live there. Built of Virginia sandstone, the central mansion has six floors, including a basement and sub-basement, about 67,200 square feet of floor space, 132 rooms including 34 bathrooms, three mezzanines, 147 windows, 412 doors, 12 chimneys, three elevators, two dumbwaiters and seven staircases.

A WHITE (HOUSE) CHRISTMAS

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will unveil the 1998 Christmas theme and decorations at the White House on Monday, kicking off the traditional round of seasonal tours and parties at the presidential home.

During the following three weeks, about 15,000 guests will marvel at Christmas trees laden with 50,000 lights and handmade ornaments from across America.



RICK McKAY / Washington Bureau

Pastry chef Roland Mesnier labors to create new and different treats. A luncheon for Egyptian officials featured a pistachio mousse pyramid flanked by two edible palm trees and a marzipan camel. Chelsea's 16th birthday cake had a replica of her new driver's license, complete with color photo.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1998

KEEPERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE

Around the clock with the legion of aides the White House is built on

By Bob Dart
American-Statesman Washington Staff

WASHINGTON — A day in the life of the White House begins an hour before midnight when Susanna McGuire rubs her coded photo ID across the electronic scanner at a wrought-iron gate, punches in a personal number, then enters under the gaze of a uniformed Secret Service agent.

An ambitious young press aide who will spend the night clipping papers for President Clinton's morning news summary, McGuire is one of hundreds of human cogs who make the White House a perpetual motion machine — running day after day, decade after decade, president after president.

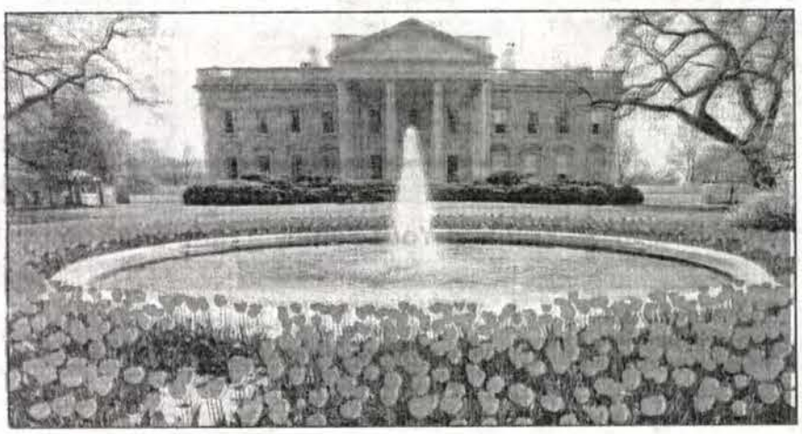
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See Who, A6



Rick McCay/AA-S Washington Bureau



What does it take to make the White House work? Of the 1,500-person full-time work force in the Executive Office of the President, about 400 work in the White House, including about 90 on the executive residence staff. Among them are White House florists Bob Scanlan, above left, and Wendy Elsasser, who design arrangements in a flower shop in the basement. About $8.5 million is budgeted this year for care of the most famous address on Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue.

Who keeps the president's peace — and how

Continued from A1

miraculous.

Until he recently fell ill, for instance, 78-year-old John Muffler continued to wind the 85 or so clocks in the White House every Friday — a routine he had followed for half a century. Now semi-retired, the courtly electrician's tasks have ranged from changing light bulbs for Harry Truman to programming a VCR for Hillary Rodham Clinton.

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Rick McKay/AA-S Washington Bureau

Pastry chef Roland Mesnier stops to take a call while working in a small kitchen near the Clintons' quarters. Mesnier's elaborate desserts compliment meals for both foreign dignitaries and family celebrations.

Getting started

At 8 a.m. chief of staff John Podesta convenes the daily meeting of senior presidential staffers in the Roosevelt Room of the West Wing. The photocopied news summary begun by Susanna McGuire already has been distributed to their desks. All are stapled except the one bound for the Oval Office. A senior adviser shuffles that summary to prioritize presidential reading.

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The day's agenda is set at the senior staff meeting, which usually lasts less than an hour. Afterward attendees scatter to preside over daily meetings of their departments. Press Secretary Joe Lockhart, for instance, holds a communications staff meeting at 8:45 or so.

By then, the president is usually in the Oval Office. Awakened by a call from a steward, Clinton has breakfast — often coffee and fruit — in an upstairs family kitchen decorated with cheerful fruit-pattern wallpaper. The Clintons converted a butler's pantry into this "ordinary" room shortly after they arrived in 1993.

Most mornings, a national security briefing is an early order of presidential business. The data comes from the top-secret, high-tech Situation Room on the floor below the Oval Office.

The West Wing has three levels, with staffers' offices on floors both above and below the Oval Office. The Situation Room is staffed 24 hours a day by experts monitoring trouble spots around the world.

National Security Adviser Samuel "Sandy" Berger, 52, is in charge of the security briefing. He met Clinton when both worked on George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign and the two became friends.

The briefing takes place beneath the embossed presidential seal on the white ceiling of the Oval Office. Behind Clinton's desk, a table displays pictures of his wife and his daughter, Chelsea, and his collection of political campaign buttons. On his desk are busts of FDR and Harry Truman. On the floor nearby are an African drum and a drum made by Native Americans to commemorate the North American Free Trade Agreement — showing the shared American Indian heritage of Mexico, the United States and Canada.

A rocking chair sits in the adjoining private study. The president's computer is there, too, connected to the Internet — though aides won't say whether Clinton ever surfs through cyberspace. There is no TV.

From her adjoining office, Nancy Hernreich helps keep Clinton on schedule. As director of Oval Office operations, Hernreich, 52, is one of the "meanies" whom Lewinsky complained was trying to keep her from the president. The longtime loyalist was Clinton's scheduler in the Arkansas governor's office. Divorced, Hernreich dotes on her daughter, Ashley, a student at Duke University.

Hernreich is the gatekeeper — regulating who gets in to see the president and, to some extent, when they leave. However, it is up to the president to decide when a meeting ends.

Phillip Caplan, assistant to the president and staff secretary, manages the flow of presidential paperwork — moving color-coded binders on and off Clinton's desk. Green for action. Pink for correspondence. Blue for information. Red for classified.

Behind the cupboards

By midmorning, White House kitchens are bustling. The holiday season is approaching, and 120,000 cookies and pieces of cake will be baked for a panoply of parties.

Chef Walter Scheib, an imposing figure nearly 7 feet tall from the top of his traditional toque blanche to the toes of his well-shined shoes, is responsible for all meals served in the White House. A graduate of the Culinary Institute of America in Hyde Park, N.Y., Scheib was chef at the Greenbrier Resort in West Virginia when hired by Hillary Clinton in 1993.

The first lady was looking for an American cuisine chef with a light touch, and Scheib has worked hard at reducing the fat in the White House fare without sacrificing flavor, texture or appearance. Cooking oil is kept in spray bottles, for instance, and misted onto pans rather than being poured or brushed.

Now 43, Scheib grew up in the nearby suburb of Bethesda, Md., and remembers watching his mother cook the dishes Julia Child demonstrated on TV. His wife, Jean, also is a chef, and the two cooked together at the Boca Raton Resort and Club in Florida before moving on to the Greenbrier.

The first family pays for its own food, which Scheib orders from nearby wholesalers and from suppliers all around the nation. He searches for the best ingredients — buffalo milk mozzarella from upstate New York, Michigan blueberries, Virginia ham — and the nation's food merchants eagerly solicit his business.

Food bound for the White House is detoured to another facility where it is checked by the Secret

See What, Next page

What goes on in a house that doesn't sleep



Rick McKay/AA-S Washington Bureau

President Clinton talks with National Sercurity Adviser Sandy Berger after recent Mideast peace talks at the Wye plantation. Berger, who met Clinton in 1972, leads morning security briefings at the White House.

Continued from previous page

Service before being sent in secure trucks to Scheib's pantries, refrigerators and freezers. Scheib's staff includes two assistant chefs, a kitchen steward and two assistant stewards. For state dinners and other major events, this culinary force is augmented by chefs from local restaurants.

Cooking separately in a tiny kitchen jammed between the state floor and the family quarters is pastry chef Roland Mesnier and his longtime assistant, Franette McCulloch.

Mesnier was born in a French village in 1944 on the very day American soldiers liberated the community from Nazi occupation. At 14 he left school and began an apprenticeship at a village bakery. He created pastries in kitchens in Paris, London and Bermuda and was cooking at the Greenbrier in 1980 when Rosalynn Carter hired him for the White House.

Mesnier's theme desserts have become the sweet stuff of legend. At a luncheon for Egyptian officials, he created a pistachio mousse pyramid flanked by two edible palm trees and a marzipan camel. One Christmas he made gingerbread and chocolate reproductions of the president's boyhood home in Hot Springs, Ark., and the suburban house where Hillary Rodham grew up in Park Ridge, Ill.

For Chelsea's 16th birthday, Mesnier decorated her cake with a replica of her new driver's license, complete with color photo, and a car with a license tag reading "Sweet 16."

"Sometimes, after 18 years, it's hard to come up with ideas," said Mesnier. "Two days before the birthday I was driving to work listening to the radio and the announcer said, 'Chelsea will soon be getting her driver's license.' Then, Boom! It hit me. Chocolate car and license."

Who pencils them in

Shortly after noon, the last of this day's 6,000 or so tourists — more than a million visit the White House each year — stops for a final photo of the North Portico before leaving the compound and stepping onto the sidewalk along Pennsylvania AVenue. The mansion's ground floor and second story are part museum, qpen to visitors from 10 a.m. to noon Tuesdays through Saturdays. The busiest times are the summer months and December; the slowest are January and February.

Tourists enter on the east side and proceed through the library, the Vermeil Room with its portraits of recent first ladies, the China Room, the East Room, where presidential news conferences are held, the Green Room, the Blue Room, where the White House Christmas tree will be, the Red Room and the State Dining Room.

Melinda Bates, 52, director of the Office of Tourism, is a longtime friend of President Clinton. She took him to his first Judy Collins concert in 1964. When Collins visited the White House three decades later, Clinton returned the favor by introducing the singer to Bates.

The White House is a treasure trove of antiques, art and oddities. Original Norman Rockwell drawings adorn the walls of an out-of-the-way West Wing waiting area, for instance. In another reception area, a handsome clock made of wood, inside and out, keeps visitors aware of the time. Historic portraits are everywhere. A photo on an end table shows Calvin Coolidge with the original Boston Celtics.

Curator Betty Monkman, who has worked at the White House for three decades, is responsible for displaying and maintaining the artifacts, furnishings and art.

A job whose title belies its importance is the social secretary — responsible for every event inside the White House and on the grounds. From state dinners to the annual Easter Egg Roll, Social Secretary Capricia Marshall juggles VIPs and RSVPs and a myriad of details of protocol and logistics.

Three to 10 events take place every week at the White House. More than 60,000 people are entertained annually at official functions.

A Cleveland native and law school graduate, Marshall joined the Clinton presidential campaign in Ohio in 1991 and came to the White House as a special assistant to the first lady after Clinton's initial election. In 1997, at 33, she was appointed social secretary. Marshall made an immediate impact in her new post by posing in Vogue magazine wearing a backless Donna Karan gown.

More executive privileges

It's midafternoon, and President Clinton is standing in a sunny Rose Garden promoting his proposals for health-care reform. Irv Williams is concerned about reporters stomping on the grass.

For more than four decades, chief horticulturist Williams has tended the 19 acres of trees, grass and shrubbery that compose the White House grounds.

The groundskeepers work for the National Park Service. Williams helped Jacqueline Kennedy redesign the First Lady's Garden, next to the formal Rose Garden where speeches are staged and treaties signed.

Every first lady leaves her own special bloom in the garden — a peach-color rose for Rosalynn Carter, a yellow rose for Betty Ford, red for Nancy Reagan.

Every president plants a tree on the grounds before leaving. The oldest surviving presidential trees are three magnolias given root by Andrew Jackson. Clinton has planted several trees, including an American elm, a willow oak and a linden.

The gently rolling South Lawn, brightened by flower beds and partly shielded by trees, is the first family's back yard.

In the southwest corner are a tennis court and an outdoor pool. A short chip shot from the Oval Office is a putting green laid out by President Eisenhower in 1954. It was removed in 1971 by the non-golfing Richard Nixon, who built a bowling alley in the White House basement. The green was reinstalled in 1995 by Clinton, who also added a padded jogging track around the South Lawn driveway and subtracted the horseshoe pits dug by George Bush.

Guardians of privacy

Around 7 p.m., President Clinton walks down the colonnade, headed to the top two floors of the White House that are the home of the first family.

He has likened this lifestyle to the way average Americans lived in bygone decades — residing above their stores or on their family farms, with their jobs and homes practically melded. Here, though, White House staffers zealously guard the upstairs private lives of presidential families.

Gary Walters, an aggressive but discreet former Secret Service agent with the unimposing title of chief usher, is the supervisor of all who serve the first family in their home. With a staff of about 90 to direct and the ultimate responsibility for everything from state dinners to overflowing toilets, Walters has filled this historically powerful post since 1986.

Eight chief ushers have served in the nearly 200-year history of the White House. The improbably named Ike Hoover served the longest — 42 years beginning in 1891 — and managed the care and comfort of 10 presidents and their families.

The Clintons are movie fans and regularly invite friends over for films in the 51-seat movie theater off the East Wing portico. Facing the screen are rows of four to six beige overstuffed armchairs — the rows rising on tiers toward the rear of the room. When the Clintons show movies, tables stocked with popcorn, soft drinks and other snacks are set up outside the theater.

Many nights, though, Clinton takes memos upstairs to read late into the night, aides say, working even as Susanna McGuire arrives to start another day in the life of the White House.

BOOK REPORT *By David Streitfeld*

Publisher's Pet Peeve

The first lady, we are routinely assured by pollsters and the media, is beloved by the vast majority of the American public. She is even being touted as a New York senatorial candidate. But when it comes to voting with their pocketbooks, the public is shying away.

Dear Socks, Dear Buddy, a collection of children's letters to the first pets edited by Hillary Rodham Clinton, was one of the big busts of the holiday season. Simon & Schuster had announced a printing of a half-million copies, scaled that back to 300,000 or so when it came time to actually order the books, and then didn't sell many of those.

"The book continues to sell well, but perhaps not with the velocity we would like," maintains a diplomatic David Rosenthal, S&S publisher. He refused to give sales figures. Others estimate that the book, which made no bestseller lists, will sell 100,000 copies at best. *It Takes a Village*, the first lady's first book, on the other hand, sold nearly 400,000 copies in hardcover.

What went wrong? Perhaps the intended audience didn't know it was there. Clinton could do little publicity for the tome, because interviewers might have asked pesky questions about impeachment. And it's possible that potential bookbuyers never realized the book was by her. There is no photo of the first lady on the cover.

It's not that political books aren't selling. James Carville's attack on Ken Starr did better than expected. William Bennett's attack on President Clinton hit No. 1. And even Bob Dole's collection of jokes—*Great Political Wit: Laughing (Almost) All the Way to the White House*—exceeded its modest initial sales estimates by a factor of four.

End Notes

Trent Lott was on **Hillary Rodham Clinton's** turf, and it showed yesterday on the applause-o-meter. The Senate majority leader and first lady each spoke to the U.S. Conference of Mayors at the White House, neither one of them mentioning impeachment. Lott's speech met with only a smattering of clapping, even when he said Washington lawmakers didn't have all the answers to local problems, a welcome message to mayors. Mrs. Clinton received two standing ovations before she uttered a word . . . The truck driver who stole **Elizabeth Taylor's** heart, for a few years, was critically injured in a fall Thursday at his California home. **Larry Fortensky,** 46, who married Taylor in 1991, was in a coma and on life support yesterday after falling down a flight of stairs at his condominium, 50 miles south of Los Angeles. Taylor met Fortensky at the Betty Ford Clinic. They divorced in 1996 . . . In case she bombs "The Star-Spangled Banner" before tomorrow's Super Bowl, **Cher** already has an explanation: "I'm really not a great singer. Really I'm not. **Celine Dion** is a great singer. I'm a mediocre singer with a really interesting style."

—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Janelle Erlichman

Extending support after foster care

Clinton budget includes money for services

By Amy Oakes
SUN STAFF

While a junior at Northeastern State University in Oklahoma last year, Terri Faye Yaden faced a common college crisis: She needed a car for student teaching.

As one of thousands of young people over 18 who have exceeded the age of those allowed to stay in foster care, Yaden had no family to call on for help. So she called on the Orphan Foundation of America, which stepped in with money to help her buy a car and automotive advice.

The Virginia-based foundation was one of several recognized yesterday at a White House gathering to promote support for young people leaving the foster care system. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announced that President Clinton's budget for 2000 includes $280 million over five years to boost support for older foster care children. It's not clear how Maryland will benefit.

"It marks another step forward in our efforts to make life better for our children," Mrs. Clinton told the crowd of about 100 foster care advocates.

The president's proposals include; increasing funds for a training and housing program for older foster care children by 50 percent and the transitional living program by $5 million, offering emergency financial support, and raising the age through which foster care children are eligible for Medicaid from 18 to 21.

Though she thinks it won't be enough, Yaden said she's relieved that people are taking notice.

"There's a vast majority who are falling through the cracks," Yaden said outside the White House. "But, we're just excited that there is an awareness taking place."

Since Yaden graduated from high school in 1995 and left the Cookson Hills orphanage in Oklahoma, she said, the orphan foundation has given her scholarships and guidance.

"They've helped me financially and with decision making," said Yaden, 21, who lives in North Baltimore and plans to attend Towson University this summer. "But, the No. 1 thing they did was believe in me."

Yaden and nine others who grew up in foster care around the country attended the ceremony yesterday. Each represented a success story of making the transition from foster care to adulthood with the help of support services.

"After you leave foster care, the truth is you're nobody's priority," Yaden said. "We need normal, everyday people to volunteer to just take an interest in us."

Each year, 20,000 young people are forced to leave foster care programs because they "age out" when they reach 18 or receive their high school diploma, Mrs. Clinton said during her 10-minute address in the East Room.

When Terry Harrak, 19, of Alexandria, Va., turned 18, she found herself homeless after having to leave a foster care family home. She stayed with friends and teachers and slept in subway stations. "Everything I was used to shut down," Harrak said.

After sleeping a night in a hospital emergency room, Harrak made a pact with herself to get a college degree.

She entered a transitional living program for homeless youths where she learned life skills and received help with schoolwork and finding college scholarships. She graduated high school and is attending a community college.

A year before he outgrew the foster care system, Rico Shaw, 18, began laying the groundwork for his future. Shaw enrolled in the United Parcel Service's School-to-Career Partnership for Maryland Youth in Foster Care.

Shaw has an apartment in Prince George's County and is studying for his high school diploma while working part time as a loader for UPS in Washington. He said he keeps in touch with his mentor at the school-to-career partnership.

"The program has helped shape me in many different ways," Shaw said.

Clinton Proposes $280 Million In Aid for Former Foster Children

By BARBARA VOBEJDA
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton has included $280 million in his next federal budget to help teenagers who are pushed out of the nation's foster care system simply because they hit their 18th birthday.

The program, to be announced today by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, would fund state programs that work with teenagers as they leave foster care by providing training, health insurance, limited financial help and housing to help them live on their own.

Roughly 20,000 children are moved out of foster care each year at age 18, often without families or relatives to provide a home or financial support. While a fraction remain with foster families, most must fend for themselves because the state and federal funding that has supported them ends by law when they turn 18.

That means they must find a job and a place to live, sometimes before they have finished high school.

"We need to do much more to help young people who have spent their whole lives in foster care make it on their own," said Bruce Reed, White House domestic policy adviser.

A Washington Post report last year drew attention to the plight of these young people, a quarter of whom spend at least some time homeless after they are "emancipated" from the foster system, the bureaucratic label for the process. Studies by University of Wisconsin researcher Mark Courtney found that 12 to 18 months after they left foster care, just half of the ex-foster children were employed, one-third were on welfare, one-fifth of the girls had given birth and more than one-quarter of the boys had been imprisoned.

"We're very pleased the president has supported this underserved population," said Robin Nixon, director of youth services for the Child Welfare League of America. She said her organization and others would push for even broader legislation—extending the foster care entitlement to age 21, a change that would cost $500 million over five years.

But while congressional Republicans had signaled their support for the president's initiative, she said, it would be more difficult to secure approval for extending an entitlement, which guarantees funding to any eligible child.

The president's proposal would increase federal spending for the first time since 1992 for the Independent Living Program, a state-run program that encourages young people to finish high school and get training and teaches them how to budget, find apartments and plan for careers. That effort would receive $175 million over five years.

The budget also includes $50 million over four years to provide financial support for housing and other needs while the youths finish education or training they need to find jobs. It adds $50 million over five years to allow former foster children to receive Medicaid until they are 21.

And it includes $25 million over five years to provide housing and training to homeless adolescents between the ages of 16 to 21.

Congress created the Independent Living Program in 1986 after researchers noticed that many of the nation's homeless were former foster children. The funding for that program now stands at $70 million a year, a figure that was based on the foster care population in the mid-1980s. Since then, the number of children in the system has more than doubled, to about 500,000.

In some states, the programs amount to short seminars on how to budget and find a job. In other programs, young people are placed in subsidized apartments and given job training and entry-level work.

Stella's capital clothes encounters include one with Hillary Clinton

McLEAN, Va. — **Stella McCartney** toured the White House Thursday before appearing at a Nordstom department store to show her line of Chloe clothes.

Mrs. Clinton, says McCartney, 27, was "really sweet. We had a little chat. My mum had written to **Chelsea** because Chelsea's a vegetarian, so there was already a little family bonding thing."



By James Kegley for USA TODAY

McCartney: *Hillary Clinton was 'really cool.'*

She and the first lady talked about **Linda McCartney,** who died last year of cancer. "She asked, 'Can I hug you?' And it made me feel like crying. It was just like my mum, she's quite motherly. She's really cool."

Asked about the last year, McCartney sighs. "How long have you got? I can't begin to answer that."

And at this point in her career, she says she doesn't think being **Paul McCartney**'s daughter hurts or helps. "All the journalists ask, 'It must be really hard with your last name,' and I say, 'Then why are you asking me? Stop asking and it will go away!'

"I don't have a problem with it; everyone else does. I'm cool with it."

Among the shoppers browsing through suits, camisoles and frilly dresses: 12-year-old Theresa Bowman, who was playing hooky from Washington's private Sidwell Friends school. "She's Stella-crazy," said her mom, Bonnie Brownell. "Actually, I love *Chloe*," said Bowman.

Among her purchases: a $100 air-brushed T-shirt.

By Ann Oldenburg

NAMES & FACES

BY CAROL BEGGY AND BETH CARNEY

Hillary hands out praise and awards

"NOVA" executive producer **Paula Apsell** received a compliment yesterday from first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, after a six-minute segment of the upcoming show "Surviving AIDS" was shown during an awards ceremony in Washington. Clinton called it "a powerful and important piece of work" during the ceremony at the National Press Club. She also gave Elizabeth Glaser Scientist Awards to four of the country's leading researchers in pediatric HIV/AIDS, including **Paul Johnson** of Harvard Medical School and **Philip Goulder** of Massachusetts General Hospital.

Clinton Targets Childhood Asthma

Associated Press

President Clinton will ask Congress for $68 million to attack childhood asthma and $40 million to subsidize the training of pediatricians by children's hospitals, according to the White House.

Both initiatives will be included in the proposed fiscal 2000 federal budget Clinton will submit next week, said the official, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

The asthma plan, to be announced today at the White House, was billed as the "first-ever comprehensive, administration-wide strategy" to fight the disease. Most of the money—$50 million—would be used for competitive state grants to identify and treat poor children who have asthma and are served by Medicaid.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was scheduled to unveil the proposed new subsidies for training pediatricians in a speech at the National Press Club.

The government helps pay for the training doctors receive by reimbursing hospitals through the Medicare program for the elderly. But that system is based on the number of Medicare patients a hospital sees, creating a disadvantage for hospitals that mainly treat children.

Children's hospitals lose money each year, more so than other teaching hospitals partly because of this inequity, the administration contends. The $40 million would come through an existing grant program and would amount to about $9,380 per resident. The average hospital would receive $689,000.

New York

Clinton, Giuliani Both See Encouraging Polls

If first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** (D) was looking for encouragement to enter New York's open-seat Senate race in 2000, she found it in a recent poll that showed her leading New York City Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** (R) in the race to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).

A Marist College poll taken of 513 registered voters on Jan. 24 showed Clinton topping Giuliani, 53 to 42 percent, in a general election matchup, with 6 percent of respondents undecided. The first lady led Giuliani by the biggest margin — 35 points — in New York City, demonstrating why Democrats are eager to lure her into the race.

Clinton also beat Giuliani upstate and in the New York City suburbs. But Giuliani was more popular among men, with 51 percent of males polled saying they would support the mayor in a Senate bid against the first lady. Clinton topped Giuliani among women, 58 to 34 percent.

But another survey taken just days earlier showed the first lady, who is being heavily courted by New York Democrats to become a Senate candidate, trailing the Big Apple's mayor.

The Zogby International poll, taken Jan. 20 to 21 of 706 adults, showed Giuliani ahead of Clinton, 47 to 39 percent. That poll showed the first lady getting a bounce from the unpopular Senate trial, with the largest segment of respondents — 37 percent — stating they wanted an end to the trial without punishment for the President. Only 22 percent of those polled want the President to be censured.

But New York voters believe the President and Republicans deserve a roughly equal share of the blame for the scandal, according to Zogby's numbers. Thirty-eight percent of those polled blame the GOP for the scandal, while 36 percent blame President Clinton.

Giuliani has set up three political action committees and is clearly interested in running for Senate. Mrs. Clinton has told Democratic supporters that she won't contemplate a Senate run until the impeachment proceedings have concluded. **Rep. Nita Lowey** (D) is also considering a bid for Moynihan's seat.

— **Rachel Van Dongen**

Helping Secure the Future for Women

A crucial issue for females, benefits can serve as a shield from poverty.



'There is even more we can do, there are inequities that can be fixed.'

Hillary Clinton

Speaking to audiences watching a teleconference on women and Social Security

BY ROBERT A. ROSENBLATT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—When you go to the supermarket, or attend religious services, look closely at the faces of older women, Hillary Clinton was saying.

"Every other woman you see who is over 65 would be living in poverty" without the economic lifeline provided by Social Security, the first lady told audiences watching from Los Angeles and nine other cities Saturday in a special teleconference on women and Social Security.

Benefits are far from lavish—women get an average of $676 a month from Social Security—but the checks are a shield against destitution. The poverty rate among women over 65 is about 14%. Take away Social Security and another 39% of this group would fall below the poverty line.

The future of the biggest of all government programs becomes a vital issue for all Americans of retirement age but is particularly pressing for women. They tend to earn less than men, are less likely to get a pension, and when they do get one it tends to be smaller because they generally have taken more years out of the work force to care for children or older relatives.

Only 26% of women over 65 receive a pension, compared to 46% of men. And their pensions are an average of $6,684 a year, compared to $11,460 for men, according to the Employee Benefit Research Institute.

"The face of America is changing. She is growing older," according to Terrie Wetle, deputy director of the National Institute on Aging. Women typically outlive their husbands, and then their savings.

But, fortunately, nobody outlives a Social Security check, with its automatic adjustment each year to protect against inflation. In fact, the first person who ever received a Social Security check—Ida May Fuller of Vermont—began drawing benefits in 1940, and when she died 35 years later, at 100, she had collected $22,888. It was a great deal for her—she had paid a total of $24.75 in payroll taxes from 1937 through 1939.

But future generations won't enjoy that kind of financial windfall. Instead, they face the problem of a maturing system with fewer workers to carry the financial burden of paying for retirees.

Boomers' Retirement Presents a Problem

Bill Clinton, the first baby-boomer president, is trying to figure out a way to keep the system going for his generation, the horde of Americans born between 1946 and 1964. In just 12 years, the leading edge of the baby boomers will be eligible for full retirement benefits. (These "old boomers," who are at least 50, include Bill and Hillary Clinton, Al and Tipper Gore, Cher, Susan Sarandon, Donald Trump, Farrah Fawcett, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Ozzy Osbourne, Cheryl Tiegs, Donna Karan and Donna Summer.)

The big debate deals with keeping Social Security solvent so baby boomers can get their checks. The crisis year is 2032, when Social Security will have consumed its surplus, and payroll taxes will be sufficient to pay only 75% of benefits promised under current law.

Neither Clinton nor members of Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, have any enthusiasm for closing that 25% funding gap with higher taxes, reduced benefits or by raising the retirement age.

Instead, the president's plan calls for reserving 62% of anticipated future budget surpluses—some $2.7 trillion over 15 years—to help Social Security. It's an indirect approach: The surpluses will be used to reduce the national debt. As the debt is reduced, it will be easier to find the funds to finance the growing burden of Social Security benefits.

Republicans say the president is just delaying the day of reckoning. Many of them want to let workers keep a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes (12.4% on salary up to $72,500, equally divided between worker and employer) for investment in personal stock accounts. This would enable Americans to build nest eggs and to depend less on Social Security.

"Younger employees should have the chance to increase the quality of their life" through individual accounts, Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-Wash.) said at the Saturday conference, where she was co-chair along with Hillary Clinton.

But the accounts could be risky for women, according to some critics. Social Security now is a family benefit with protections especially significant for women. At retirement, a woman can choose between a benefit based on her earnings or an amount equal to 50% of her husband's benefit, whichever is larger. For two-thirds of women, the spousal benefit is a better deal.

(A woman who was married for at least 10 years has the right to a sum equal to 50% of her ex-husband's retirement check. This is true no matter how many wives he had. The marriage may have lasted no more than 10 years, but the benefit goes on forever.)

Individual accounts, however, would be personal, private property. Will a woman "have access to the private account of her husband, or will he leave it to his girlfriend when he dies?" asked Heidi Hartmann, president of the Institute for Women's Policy Research, another speaker at the conference.

In addition to debating the merits of personal accounts and arguing the best way to assure Social Security's solvency, President Clinton and Congress have an opportunity this year to place long-ignored women's issues on the agenda of reform.

"As much as Social Security does for poor women, it doesn't do enough," said Hartmann. And the oldest women are the poorest. "Elderly women who are widowed have very few resources," Jane Ross, deputy commissioner for policy at the Social Security Administration, told the conference, called "What Every Woman Should Know About Social Security." It was sponsored by Americans Discuss Social Security, a project of the Pew Charitable Trusts. Couples may be relatively prosperous at age 65. But by age 80, the husband has died and the wife is existing on a comparatively meager income.

Take the imaginary Jane and John Doe. They retire, John receives a Social Security benefit of $1,000 a month, and Jane gets $500 (the spousal 50% share). When he dies, she foregoes the spousal benefit and receives an amount equal to his full benefit—$1,000. Several ideas are floating around to put more cash in Jane's pocketbook:

- The survivor's benefit could be boosted to guarantee Jane 75% of the total family income while John was alive—$1,500—or $1,125 a month.
- Congress could authorize a special boost in benefits at age 80 or 85, a stage of life when women far outnumber men.
- The system could be revamped to give Jane some earning credits for the years she was out of the work force when her children were young, or when she quit her job to help her mother through a serious illness. Currently, Social Security benefits are pegged to 35 years of earnings, and many women have a number of "zero" years when they did not work outside the home.

Specific measures to help elderly women have never received serious attention in committees of Congress. They could have a fighting chance this year to be included as part of a Social Security deal between President Clinton and Congress.

"There is even more we can do, there are inequities that can be fixed," Hillary Clinton reminded the viewers at Saturday's teleconference.

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√ Fit to be front-runners

Clinton, Dole lead readers' picks of women for president

BY SCOTT FORNEK
POLITICAL REPORTER

Looking for some fresh faces in the 2000 presidential election?

How about a Clinton-Dole battle?

Not Bill and Bob. Hillary and Elizabeth.

The two women were the top choices among Chicago Sun-Times readers who responded to the newspaper's invitation to select the five women they would most like to see elected the first woman president.

But if Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth Hanford Dole should decide to square off, the outcome might mirror the 1996 matchup between their husbands—at least if Sun-Times readers have their say.

For them, this is Hillary Country.

"I wish I could vote for her more than once," one reader wrote.

This being Chicago, several others did just that, choosing Mrs. Clinton for all five spots on their lists.

What prompted the survey was a feminist organization's effort to promote women as presidential timber and ultimately put one in the Oval Office by 2008.

The group, calling itself the White House Project, released a list of 20 women who could be president in September and asked people to select their top five choices. They plan to release the results in early February.

The Sun-Times conducted its own smaller survey and is releasing the results now because the issue is back on the front burner.

Just weeks ago, Dole quit her job



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE-ASSOCIATED PRESS

Local favorite Hillary Rodham Clinton has stated no interest in the presidency or other political office.



DOUG MILLS-ASSOCIATED PRESS

Elizabeth Dole, who resigned as chief of the American Red Cross, is considering a presidential run.

is considering a bid for president in 2000.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has voiced no interest in the presidency or any other political office.

Among Sun-Times readers, Clinton, 51, was far and away the winner—with or without the handful of readers who voted early and often.

The first lady was the first choice of 40 percent, more than any other candidate. And two-thirds of the readers put her somewhere on their lists.

Dole, 62, was the No. 1 choice of 15 percent. Overall, she won a place on the lists of 38 percent.



Mae Jemison
Readers' No. 3 choice

Rounding readers' top five were former astronaut Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) and Army Gen. Claudia Kennedy.

Jemison, 42, was the No. 1 pick of 6 percent and was placed somewhere on the list by 38 percent. Feinstein, 65, was selected for first place by 4 percent and placed on the list by 34 percent. Kennedy, 51, ranked first among 3 percent and was placed on the list by 29 percent.

The results were hardly scientific, merely reflecting the opinions of the 66 readers who chose to participate.

Obviously, the results were somewhat skewed by Clinton's and Jemison's status as favorite daughters. Jemison, who in 1992 was the first African-American woman to fly in space, graduated from Morgan Park High School. Clinton was born on the North Side and grew up in Park Ridge.

Gender generally transcended partisanship, with many readers selecting Democrats Clinton and Feinstein alongside Republicans Whitman and Dole.

Marci Oser, 25, a Ravenswood resident who works for an online encyclopedia, wrote that Dole, who has been both Transportation and Labor secretary, was "absolutely" her first choice.

"With all that has happened in the Clinton administration, I believe that the country is up for a change of pace," Oser wrote. "Elizabeth Dole would help that along nicely!"

That did not stop her from making Mrs. Clinton her second choice and adding, "I'll put Bill in his

READERS' PICKS

Here is how the 20 women on the White House Project's list fared among Sun-Times readers. Rank reflects the sum of all the votes each woman received, with votes weighted to reflect the position on each specific reader's list

1. Hillary Rodham Clinton, 51, first lady.

2. Elizabeth Dole, 62, former Cabinet official.

3. Mae C. Jemison, 42, physician, former astronaut

4. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, 65, California Democrat.

5. Claudia Kennedy, 51, three-star Army general.

6. Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, 52, New Jersey Republican.

7. Marian Wright Edelman, 59, children's advocate.

8. Sen. Mary Landrieu, 43, Louisiana Democrat.

9. Donna Shalala, 57, Clinton Cabinet official.

10. Wilma Mankiller, 53, Cherokee Nation chief.

11. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison, 55, Texas Republican.

12. Linda Chavez-Thompson, 54, labor leader

13. Angela Oh, 43, human rights activist.

13. Ann Fudge, 47, Maxwell House president.

15. Bernadine Healy, 54, medical school dean.

16. Sen. Olympia J. Snowe, 51, Maine Republican.

17. Carol Browner, 43, EPA Cabinet head.

18. Carol Bellamy, 56, UNICEF chief.

18. Maria Echaveste, White House official.

20. Judith Rodin, 54 university president

■ *Disenfranchised until 1920, women have achieved much in the area of politics during the last century. These 15 Chicagoans are among those who have made a significant difference, writes political columnist* ***Steve Neal.***

Women of the century

It has been a century of accomplishment for Chicago's political women.

At the beginning of the 20th century, women couldn't even vote.

But as a result of the activism of pioneers such as Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells, the rules were changed. It took decades and generations for women to achieve major gains.

Women nationally won the right to vote in 1920 but only after a long struggle. Illinois was admitted to the union in 1818 but didn't elect a woman to statewide executive office until 1990. Earlier this month, Corinne Wood of Lake Forest was sworn in as the state's first female lieutenant governor. State Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka, a Chicago native, in the 1998 election became the first of her sex to win back-to-back terms in statewide executive office.

The Illinois Constitution of 1970 included an equal-rights provision. But although 35 states ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Illinois legislators effectively killed the ERA in 1982.

Even so, Chicago's political women have achieved a great deal in the 20th century. These 15 made a significant difference:

Jane Addams (1860-1935): When the founder of Hull House delivered the seconding speech for Theodore Roosevelt at the 1912 Progressive convention, it marked the entrance of women into national politics. A year later, Illinois became the first state east of the Mississippi to grant women the right to vote. Addams also played important roles in the enactment of the state's first factory inspection laws, the Child Labor law of 1903, and the city's first juvenile court. She became active in the peace movement, and her views were unpopular during World War I. But she was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Jane M. Byrne (1934-): Elected in 1979 as Chicago's first female mayor, Byrne opened the city's books, balanced the budget and did much to promote this town as a world-class city. She embarked on a $1 billion expansion project at O'Hare Airport, proposed the redevelopment of Navy Pier and a lakefront park campus that were carried out by her successors. When Byrne launched a campaign against gang crime, she moved into Cabrini-Green. Though elected as an independent, she hurt herself by making accommodation with pols that she had denounced as an "evil cabal." That cost her re-election in 1983.

Hillary Rodham Clinton (1947-): A native of Chicago's North Side who grew up in suburban Park Ridge, she was a National Merit Scholarship finalist and member of student government in high school. She was voted "Most Likely to Succeed" by her classmates at Maine South High School in 1965. She fulfilled that promise when she was named as one of the nation's top lawyers. As President Clinton's wife, she has had more influence on policy than any other presidential spouse. She has maintained close ties to the Chicago area.

Emily Taft Douglas (1899-1994): Her election as a Democratic congresswoman at large in 1944 over an incumbent Republican incumbent showed that Midwestern attitudes about America's role in the world were changing. Douglas, who served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was among the first public officials to suggest a plan for American economic aid to help rebuild Europe in the wake of World War II. It would be called the Marshall Plan. She was the first woman in Congress to precede her husband. The late Sen. Paul H. Douglas followed her to Washington, D.C., in 1948.

Nancy B. Jefferson (1923-1992): A powerful voice for civil rights and community empowerment, Jefferson showed that private citizens can have more impact than government officials. As the leader of the Midwest Community Council for three decades, she organized more than 100 block organizations on the West Side and galvanized the black independent movement. A close ally of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s in the 1960s, Jefferson encouraged Harold Washington to run for mayor in 1983 and helped elect him.

Lynn M. Martin (1939-): The first woman to win a senior slot in the GOP's congressional leadership, Martin represented northwestern Illinois in the U.S. House during the 1980s. After losing a 1990 U.S. Senate bid, Martin was appointed by President Bush as secretary of labor. In that role, Martin promoted the retraining of workers for the 21st century and sought to help break the glass ceiling that kept women and minorities out of top management.

Ruth Hanna McCormick (1880-1944): An early campaigner for women's rights, McCormick in 1928 became the first woman in the United States to win a statewide election when she was elected to one of the state's two at-large congressional seats. Two years later, McCormick became the first woman nominated by a major party for the U.S. Senate when she upset Republican incumbent Charles Deneen in the primary. But she lost the general election.

Carol Moseley-Braun (1947-): The first black woman elected to the U.S. Senate, she delivered an impassioned speech and won a showdown with Jesse Helms over the Confederate flag by persuading colleagues to change their votes and kill the renewal of a design patent that included the flag. Moseley-Braun was a strong proponent of federal aid to help rebuild crumbling schools. But because her tenure was plagued by controversy, she lost her '98 re-election bid.

Dawn Clark Netsch (1926-): The North Sider's election in 1990 as Illinois state comptroller made her the first woman to win statewide executive office. Four years later, she achieved another historic first by winning the Democratic nomination for governor but lost the general election. As a delegate to the 1970 Illinois Constitutional Convention, she wrote the provision in the Constitution that declares that the state has the primary responsibility for funding public education.

Nancy Davis Reagan (1921-): Her earliest political involvement was as the class president at the Latin School. But she would play a larger role as Ronald Reagan's wife and confidante. She showed him the path to power. It has been suggested that she transformed the office of first lady into an associate presidency. She influenced her husband's approach to the Soviet Union and was the only person whom President Reagan consulted about his decision to seek re-election.

Ilana D. Rovner (1938-): At every stage of her career, Rovner has been a trailblazer. The first woman to serve on the U.S. Court of Appeals bench, she was previously the first of her sex to head a division in the U.S. attorney's office for northern Illinois and the first to serve as deputy governor, in the administration of James R. Thompson.

Lois Weisberg (1925-): As commissioner of cultural affairs for a decade, the indefatigable Weisberg sparked a local renaissance that has gained international acclaim. She previously served as director of special events in the late Mayor Washington's administration. Before going into government, she was among Chicago's more effective civic activists as a founder of the Friends of the Parks and as executive director of the Chicago Council of Lawyers.

Ida B. Wells (1862-1931): She made an unsuccessful race for the Illinois Senate in 1930 but had enduring impact as a social reformer. Wells was the organizer and first president of the Negro Fellowship League in 1908 and a year later was among the organizers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Paula Wolff (1945-): A key adviser to three Republican governors in the last 20 years, Wolff has had a distinguished career in higher education and public service. As the chairwoman of Gov. Jim Edgar's Commission on the Status of Women, she developed a blueprint to help women achieve more economic independence. She is now president of Governors State University.

Elizabeth Wood (1899-1993): A public housing pioneer, she was the founding executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority, serving from 1937 until 1954. It was her goal to achieve racial and economic integration.



Dawn Clark Netsch



Hillary Rodham Clinton
Maintains ties with Chicago



Ruth Hanna McCormick



Paula Wolff



Ida B. Wells



Lois Weisberg



Nancy B. Jefferson
Led Midwest Community Council



Lynn M. Martin



Jane Addams



Elizabeth Wood
Pioneer in public housing



Carol Moseley-Braun
First black woman elected to U.S. Senate



Nancy Davis Reagan
Transformed role of first lady



Ilana D. Rovner



Jane M. Byrne



Emily Taft Douglas

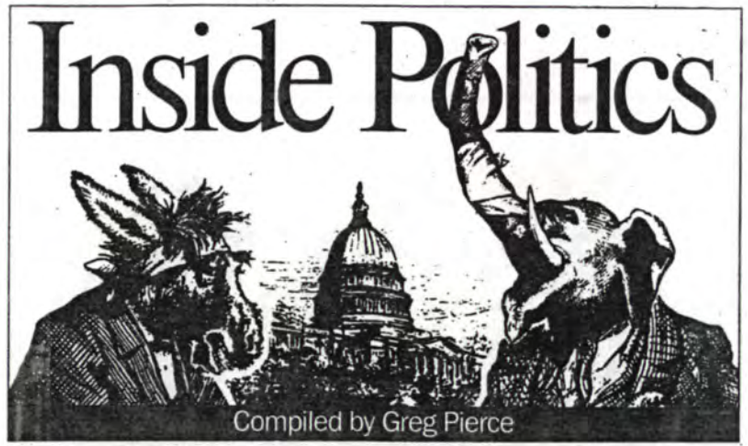
THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart

■ Our inquiries into a meeting at which Sen. **Robert Torricelli** (D-N.J.) was said to have brandished positive polling data and urged first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** to run for the Senate from New York brought this cryptic statement from Torricelli's office: "As Chair of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, one of my tasks is to identify and recruit good Democratic candidates for the U.S. Senate. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will certainly have a number of options when she leaves The White House . . . and she would be a very formidable candidate if she chooses to run."

Clinton's press secretary, **Marsha Berry,** said her boss and Torricelli have not met. But the first lady remains coy about any aspirations to elected office. Few think she'll run, many hope she will, and other would-be senators, like Rep. **Nita Lowey** (D-N.Y.), remain publicly polite.

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

Virtual tie

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani would be in a virtual tie for the U.S. Senate seat in New York in 2000 if the vote were held now, according to a poll by SurveyUSA of Verona, N.J.

A survey of 1,000 registered New York voters gave Mrs. Clinton 49 percent and Mr. Giuliani 47 percent of the vote, a statistical tie given the survey's margin of error of plus or minus 3.2 percent.

Still, neither potential candidate received majority support to run in the first place, Bloomberg News reports. Only 48 percent of those surveyed said Mrs. Clinton should even run for retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat in 2000, and just 49 percent said Mr. Giuliani should run.

Twenty-three percent of Republicans said they would cross over and vote for Mrs. Clinton, while 30 percent of Democrats would vote for Mr. Giuliani, the survey found.

Neither Mrs. Clinton nor Mr. Giuliani has publicly expressed intent to run for a Senate seat. The telephone survey was conducted Thursday and Friday.

Social Security crucial for women, first lady says

By Eun-Kyung Kim
Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Most Americans first heard about Social Security as they registered for their cards to help them get their first jobs as teen-agers. But most people — women in particular — are only beginning to understand how the system benefits them, Hillary Rodham Clinton said Saturday.

"The future of Social Security is, without a doubt, one of the most important issues facing our country and facing women in America today," the first lady said. "Yet many of us are just beginning to get involved in the debate, and we're just starting to learn about how Social Security affects us as women."



Associated Press

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, right, greets Rep. Jennifer Dunn, R-Wash., left, as Rebecca Rimel, president of the Pew Charitable Trusts, looks on.

Clinton's comments opened the teleconference "What Every Woman Should Know About Social Security." The gathering linked Washington to 10 major cities across the nation. It was intended to stress the significance of preserving the retirement program and explain how Americans, particularly women, benefit from it.

More than half of all elderly women would fall below the poverty level without Social Security, Clinton said. Currently, she said, Social Security is the only income one in four women receives.

"When you go to the supermarket, when you go to church or to synagogue, when you're walking down the street, I want you to think that every other woman you see who is over 65 would be living below the poverty line if it were not for Social Security," she said.

Women have "unique life patterns," because they live longer then men, Clinton said. They also make lower lifetime earnings and, therefore, reach retirement with smaller pensions and other financial assets.

Speaking after the first lady, Rep. Jennifer Dunn, R-Wash., said the Social Security system must be preserved "at least at the current level so that women will have peace of mind that Social Security will be there for them as they move into retirement."

Dunn said if nothing is done to the current system, Social Security will be able to pay only 73 percent of current benefits when her oldest child reaches retirement age in 2032.

"As the mother of two sons, I know that the last thing a woman wants to be is a burden on their family," she said. "Preserving Social Security will help women who are growing older to have the freedom and independence that comes with knowing that their future retirement is secure."

House Republicans have accepted President Clinton's suggestion to reserve 62 percent of the budget surplus until an agreement on Social Security is reached. The first lady praised the decision and urged lawmakers to reserve more of the surplus to protect Medicare, the health insurance program for the elderly and disabled that, like Social Security, is in danger of being financially overwhelmed by aging baby boomers.

"Health security and retirement security should go hand in hand," she said.

Dunn said lawmakers want to work quickly to ensure Social Security's future.

"We're always going to be looking for areas in which we can agree to make the system better for all of us," she said.

First lady unveils clinic security plan

Announcement comes on Roe anniversary

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON—Announcing an administration plan to counter abortion clinic violence, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said Friday that President Clinton plans to seek $4.5 million for alarm systems and closed-circuit camera systems to protect the clinics.

Across town, meanwhile, thousands swayed, sang and prayed for the government to make abortions illegal again.

On the 26th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade, the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion nationwide, Hillary Clinton told an abortion rights group of the administration's proposal, under which clinics would buy security devices—which also include motion detectors, bulletproof windows and improved lighting—with federal money. The money also would be used to determine which clinics were most at risk.

She said the president will include the plan in his budget proposal for the next fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

"Violence, harassment and intimidation have no place in our health-care system or in this debate," she told members of the National Abortion Rights Action League. NARAL was celebrating its 30th anniversary at a Washington hotel.

The first lady also saluted Dr. Barnett Slepian of Amherst, N.Y., an obstetrician shot to death by a sniper in October in the kitchen of his home. Investigators suspect he was killed by an abortion protester.

At the NARAL meeting, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists honored Slepian's widow, Lynn, with a plaque honoring her husband's service.

An appropriate way to honor him, Mrs. Clinton said, is to "make sure doctors are trained and available to provide safe and comprehensive health care to women all over our nation."

"In the last 10 years, there have been seven murders, 38 bombings, 146 cases of arson and 733 cases of vandalism" that were abortion-related, she added.

A law-enforcement official said Friday that preliminary DNA tests link a missing anti-abortion activist to a strand of hair found near where a sniper shot and killed Slepian.

The first round of DNA tests by the FBI established a high probability that the hair came from the same person as a hair found in a New Jersey home where James C. Kopp, a 44-year-old abortion protester, lived last year, the official said.

Kopp has eluded authorities since they obtained a warrant for him as a material witness in the Slepian killing.

Clinton also emphasized the importance of making contraceptives and health counseling available to young women and men to avoid teen pregnancies.

"After years of moving in the wrong direction, we are finally seeing teen pregnancies and teen sexual activities going down," she said.



Reuters photo

Abortion foes march to the Supreme Court Friday, the 26th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade.

As the first lady spoke, hundreds of anti-abortion activists gathered on a muddy park within shouting distance of the White House for speeches, songs, prayers and a march to the Supreme Court and the Capitol.

This was the 26th year in a row that the group March for Life has organized a rally just south of the White House to mark the anniversary of Roe vs. Wade.

Participants waved dozens of colorful signs—some hand-lettered, some professionally printed—with slogans and graphic pictures of aborted fetuses.

National news briefs A4

Nation

First lady unveils $4.5m plan to protect clinics

Abortion foes mark 26th anniversary of Roe v. Wade with vow to continue battle

By Cassandra Burrell
ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON – Hillary Rodham Clinton announced yesterday that President Clinton plans to seek $4.5 million for alarm systems and closed-circuit camera systems to protect clinics where abortions are performed. Across town, thousands swayed, sang, and prayed for the government to make abortions illegal again.

On the 26th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion nationwide, Mrs. Clinton told an abortion rights group of the administration proposal. Clinics would buy security devices – which also include motion detectors, bulletproof windows, and improved lighting – with federal money under a White House plan to counter clinic violence. The money also would be used determine which clinics were most at risk.

She said the president will include the plan in his budget proposal for the next fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

"Violence, harassment, and intimidation have no place in our health care system or in this debate," she told members of the National Abortion Rights Action League. NARAL was celebrating its 30th anniversary at a Washington hotel.

Mrs. Clinton also saluted Dr. Barnett Slepian, an obstetrician who was shot to death by a sniper last October in the kitchen of his home in Amherst, N.Y., a Buffalo suburb. Investigators suspect he was killed by an antiabortion protester.

A law enforcement official said yesterday that preliminary DNA tests link the protester to a strand of hair found near Slepian's house.

The first round of DNA tests on the hair at the FBI Laboratory in Washington established a high probability that it came from the same person as a hair found in a New Jersey home where James C. Kopp, a 44-year-old antiabortion protester, lived last year, the official said.

An appropriate way to honor Slepian is to "make sure doctors are trained and available to provide safe and comprehensive health care to women all over our nation," Mrs. Clinton said.

"In the last 10 years there have been seven murders, 38 bombings, 146 cases of arson, and 733 cases of vandalism," she said. When doctors are killed or clinics are bombed, she said, "this is not free expression. This is domestic terrorism and it must stop."

She also emphasized the importance of making contraceptives and health counseling available to young women and men to avoid teen pregnancies.

The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists presented Slepian's widow, Lynn, with a plaque honoring the doctor's service at the NARAL meeting. The crowd in the ballroom gave her a standing ovation.

As Mrs. Clinton spoke, hundreds of antiabortion activists gathered on a muddy park near the White House for speeches, songs, prayers, and a march to the Supreme Court and the Capitol.

This was the 26th straight year that the group March for Life has organized a massive rally on the Ellipse, just south of the White House, to mark the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. Many participants said they would never tire of returning to Washington year after year to demand that the government outlaw abortion.

"We're still here. For 26 years!" rally organizer Nellie Gray said to enthusiastic applause. "We stay here for personhood, for the babies."

Many protesters came on buses from states as far away as Wisconsin, Ohio, Missouri, and Iowa.

Participants waved dozens of colorful signs – some hand lettered, some professionally printed – that shouted slogans and carried pictures of aborted fetuses.

"The Natural CHOICE is LIFE," said one. "Hey Pres, read that Bible," said another.

One couple waived a sign that protested so-called partial-birth abortion by featuring a syringe jabbed into the back of a doll's head against the background of a US flag.

"Abortion means violent, painful death to little children," Representative Christopher Smith, a New Jersey Republican, told the crowd.

Gray said antiabortion groups would push Congress again this year to pass a law against what she called partial-birth abortions. A measure was passed last year but vetoed by the president.



REUTERS PHOTO

Abortion opponents, marking the 26th anniversary of the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision, marched in Washington yesterday.

Clinton seeks security for medical clinics

Plan comes on anniversary of Roe vs. Wade decision

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton announced yesterday that President Clinton plans to seek $4.5 million for alarm systems and closed-circuit camera systems to protect clinics that provide abortions. Across town, thousands sang and prayed for the government to make abortions illegal again.

On the 26th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade, the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion nationwide, Mrs. Clinton told an abortion rights group about the plan to counter clinic violence. Clinics would buy security devices — which also include motion detectors, bulletproof windows and improved lighting — with federal money. The government would also help to determine which clinics were most at risk.

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Many participants said they intended to return to Washington each year to demand that the government outlaw abortion.

"We're still here. For 26 years!" rally organizer Nellie Gray said to applause. "We stay here for personhood, for the babies."

"Public opinion is changing," said Richard Miranti, a dentist from Toms River, N.J. "The reality of the cruelty and violence is becoming more apparent."

Protesters snarled traffic even before they started marching as they walked to the Ellipse for the rally.

Many came on buses from as far away as Wisconsin, Ohio, Missouri and Iowa.

"Abortion means violent, painful death to little children," Rep. Christopher Smith, a New Jersey Republican, told the crowd.

Gray said anti-abortion groups would push Congress again this year to pass a law against a late-term procedure that opponents call "partial-birth" abortions. A measure was passed last year but vetoed by the president.

W.Va. governor urges taxing chewing tobacco

ASSOCIATED PRESS

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — In the state that leads the nation in chewing tobacco use, the governor is proposing to capitalize on the habit by taxing it.

Republican Gov. Cecil Underwood, a former board member of the American Cancer Society, sees it as a health issue. He wants $5 million of the anticipated $7 million revenue from the tax to pay the state's share of a program for children without health insurance.

He has opposition: Republicans oppose increasing taxes, and many Democrats say chewing tobacco is a part of West Virginia's culture, something that grew in popularity in part because smoking is banned in the coal mines.

"My father always told me, if you know a person who chews tobacco or carries a pocket knife, you'll find he's a pretty good fellow," said Senate Majority Leader Truman Chafin, a Democrat.

West Virginia has the nation's highest percentage of men who chew tobacco — 18.4 percent, compared with the national average of 7.2 percent. In one county, 54 percent of men chew.

Underwood has proposed a 25 percent tax; anti-tobacco lobbyists want it to be 50 percent.

Incredibly Rare Find—If Real

By BILL MCALLISTER
Washington Post Staff Writer

It has to be one of the ugliest stamps ever produced. But for decades the poorly-printed, magenta octagonal from British Guiana has been considered the world's rarest stamp, a 1-cent stamp that last sold for $935,000 in 1980.

Now Stamp Collector, a philatelic newspaper, is reporting that there may be a second copy of the stamp. The new discovery is undergoing tests by the Royal Philatelic Society in Great Britain to determine if it is genuine.

If those tests, expected to take several more months, uphold the stamp's validity it could be "the major stamp story of the decade," says Stamp Collector publisher Wayne L. Youngblood. The second copy is as badly damaged as the first copy, but it supposedly has better color than the first.

The 1-cent British Guiana was hurriedly produced in the South American British colony by a local newspaper printer after the local post office in British Guiana ran out of 1- and 4-cent stamps printed in England. That was 1856, and a small number of the stamps were printed and used on letters.

While several 4-cent stamps have appeared, only one 1-cent stamp has ever been located. That stamp is owned by multimillionaire murderer John E. du Pont, who was sentenced to prison for shooting an Olympic wrestler who lived on his Pennsylvania estate.

The new discovery is supposedly owned by a German stamp dealer who purchased it from a Romanian dancer in the mid-1980s. She had inherited it from her father, a Russian nobleman, according to Stamp Collector.

If the stamp is found to be genuine, Swiss auctioneer David Feldman is planning to sell the stamp. "This stamp has puzzled a number of the experts in the field," he told Stamp Collector. "It's definitely not a black-and-white case."

■ WHEN RICHARD MOE, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, wanted a way to promote sales of the new Dolley Madison commemorative silver dollar last week, he needed to look no further than Madison's old Washington address.

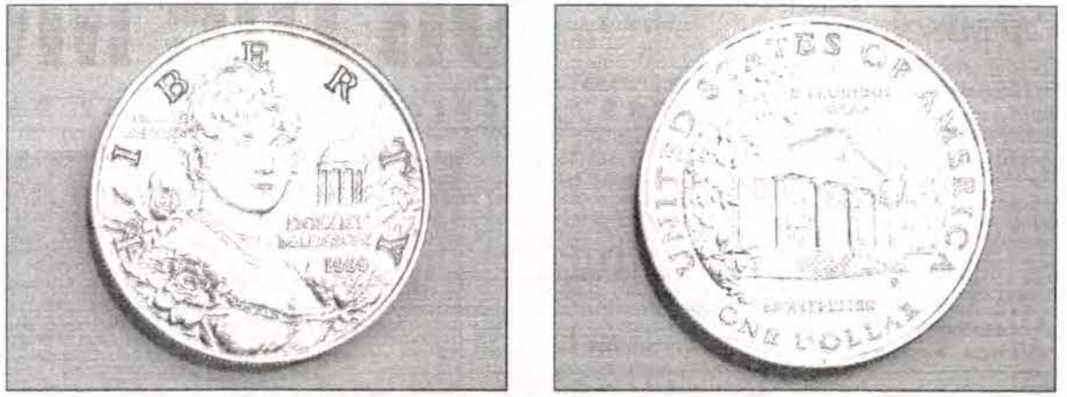
There he found first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has made preservation of historic sites one of her top goals. And because Clinton last summer had cited Montpelier, James and Dolley Madison's home near Orange, Va., as one of the historic homes that should be preserved, her promotion of the first coin to depict a first lady seemed natural.

The coin features a portrait of a young Dolley Madison surrounded by Cape Jasmine gardenias and the Ice House temple at Montpelier. The reverse features a view of the front entrance to the mansion, which the National Trust acquired in 1983.

The price of each coin includes a $10 surcharge that will be given to the Trust for preservation of the Virginia estate. The coin is being sold in proof and uncirculated condition for $33 and $30 each respectively through Feb. 8; then the prices will rise to $37 and $32.

Standing in front of the Gilbert Stuart painting that Dolley Madison saved from being torched by the British in 1814, Clinton last week hailed the wife of President James Madison as "one of our first ladies for all time."

Moe praised Clinton as a "kindred spirt" of Madison, saying that each had "helped shape the role of the first lady in her own time, in her own way."



The new Dolley Madison silver dollar got a promotional boost recently from first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The Madison silver dollar is the first U.S. coin to bear the trademark of a commercial firm. Each side of the new coin carries the tiny letters "T&Co," the mark of Tiffany & Co. The New York jewelry company, in an unusual arrangement, designed the coin for the National Trust. Most U.S. coins are created by the Mint's staff or in a contest conducted by the agency.

Mint employees engraved the coins, which were struck at the Mint in Philadelphia, Dolley Madison's hometown.

■ NOW THAT the rush for 33-cent stamps and 1-cent stamps has abated, the U.S. Postal Service is releasing its latest "Love" stamps and envelope at the new higher rates. All go on sale Wednesday in Loveland, Colo., and are the latest additions to the popular "Love" stamp series than began in 1973.

The 33-cent and 55-cent self-adhesive "Love" stamps are the first die-cut stamps the Postal Service has ever issued, each peels off a sheet in the shape of a Victorian-era Valentine's heart. The Postal Service has printed 1.5 billion of the 33-cent stamps and 300 million of the 55-cent stamps. The higher valued stamps are for use on wedding invitations that weigh two ounces.

■ THE NORTHERN VIRGINIA Coin Club's quarterly stamp and coin show will be held at the Northern Virginia Community College Cultural Center, 8333 Little River Turnpike (Rte. 236), Annandale, on Saturday from 10 to 6 and Sunday from 10 to 5. Admission is free. Call 703/532-6640.

INFORMATION on the Dolley Madison coins is available from the U.S. Mint. Call 800/646-8872.

INDIVIDUALS seeking first-day cancellations of the love stamps or envelopes should purchase the stamps and envelopes at their local post office. The stamps should be placed on addressed envelopes. These should be mailed in a larger envelope to: Love Stamps, Postmaster, 446 E. 29th St., Loveland, CO 80538-9991. Requests should be postmarked by Feb. 27.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEEKEND/FRIDAY, Jan. 22, 1999

A ROAD TRIP

Clintons and Gores seize 'the moment'

By Roger Simon
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

BUFFALO—Rarely in the past several months did the White House staff allow the public to see President Clinton in person. Unless you were a Democratic contributor with a big bank account or a Democratic stalwart with a lucky ticket, Clinton was a television show only.

But Wednesday, with his State of the Union speech behind him, his poll numbers in the stratosphere and his impeachment trial at least two states away, Clinton went on a road trip to Buffalo, where nearly 22,000 people braved more than 4 feet of snow and subfreezing temperatures to cheer themselves hoarse.

It was a four-ring circus and a rare gathering: Bill, Hillary, Al and Tipper all together and all giving speeches from the same stage.

"We're sort of like a big family," Clinton said. "We like going places together."

But before Tipper Gore spoke about mental health, before First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made what could be the beginning of her New York Senate campaign and before Vice President Al Gore growled in what was certainly part of his presidential campaign, there was Rev. Bennett Smith, who turned toward Clinton on the stage in the Marine Midland Arena and said: "We have kept you and your administration in our prayers. You have been the greatest president for our people in all times."

Each member of the White House "big family" got up and emphasized the same thing: Although Clinton's presidency is ending in two years (or less, if 67 senators decide to pull the plug), he intends to make the time count.

"I am very, very proud that my husband has never, ever taken his eyes off the fundamental goals," Hillary Clinton said. "We heard a new agenda last night. We have to make sure that the promise of America is available to everyone."

As she spoke, she faced handmade signs that said "Hillary for NY Senator." A seat will be open in 2000 when Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) retires.

Vice President Gore got up and tried out the gravel-throated, tent-revival, "Preacher Al" speaking style he debuted in Champaign-Urbana on the day after the State of the Union last year.

"We've got the LEAD-er-ship! Last night we were given the ag-EN-da! We have the VIS-ion," he rasped. "When anybody brings about as much POS-i-tive change in such a short period of time as President Bill Clinton has brought, it's bound to dis-com-BOB-u-late some people! It's bound to SHAKE them up."



AP photo

President Clinton, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (left) and local guests react to remarks by Vice President Al Gore in Buffalo, N.Y., where the Clintons and Gores touted the administration agenda on Wednesday.

Clinton draws strength from big crowds. He gets energized by their applause and laughter and likes to try out lines on them. And when he stood up Wednesday he got a 2-minute-25-second standing ovation, which would have gone on longer had he not asked the people to stop.

He bashed Republicans for trying to bankrupt the nation with tax cuts and rob future generations of prosperity. "It may sound good if somebody says, 'This is your surplus and we ought to give it back to you,' " Clinton said. "But you ought to ask yourself, 'What's America going to look like 10, 20, 30 years from now? How are all the families going to deal with the retirement of the Baby Boom generation?' "

The whole day, from the applause to the introductions to the speeches, had one underlying message: Scandal? What scandal?

On the same day that White House special counsel Greg Craig was arguing in his defense before the Senate, Clinton felt confident enough to make some veiled references to his problems:

Earlier, Gore had said that the president reminded him of Dominic Hasek, the goalie for the Buffalo Sabres, because Clinton always had to keep knocking away bad things.

A few minutes later, Clinton said: "You know, he kept talking about how I was swatting away those flying hockey pucks in Washington. I was flattered, but I thought: I just wish one day they would give me a mask and a few pads when I dodge that stuff!"

What Clinton does have is continuing good poll numbers: Surveys taken after his Tuesday night State of the Union address showed an increase in his job-approval rating.

ABC News had him rising 3 percentage points to 66 percent, and CBS News had him up 5 percentage points to 72 percent.

Wednesday marked the sixth anniversary of Clinton's inauguration and he noted the date by saying, "It seems impossible to me that those six years have flown by. They have been, to put it mildly, quite eventful."

"We've had a lot of fun today," Clinton said after presenting a detailed defense of his Social Security plan. "But I want you to think about this: We cannot afford to squander this moment. . . . We have to make the most of it."

Clinton made the most of his moments all day, pressing the flesh with the crowds in Buffalo and later in the day in Norristown, Pa.

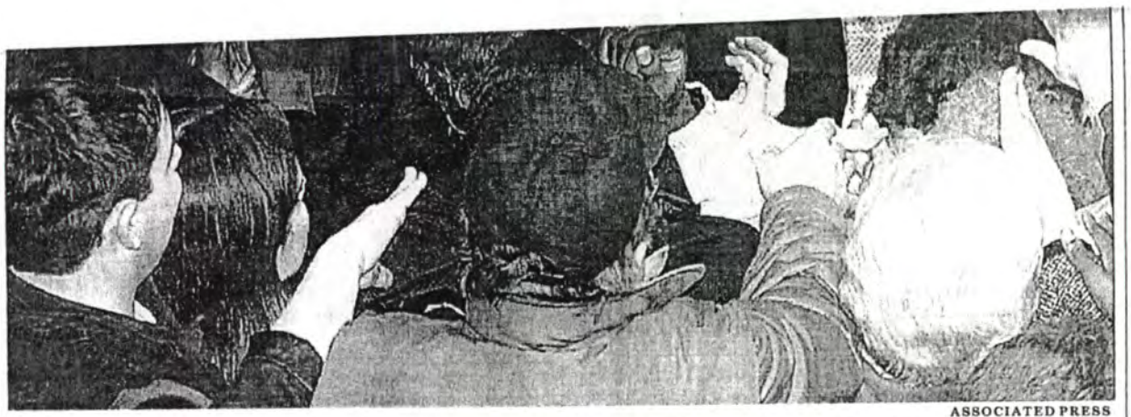
THE NATION



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Greeting well-wishers: *Hillary Rodham Clinton (upper left) photographs President Clinton as he greets enthusiastic supporters at a rally yesterday at Marine Midland Arena in Buffalo, N.Y.*

Baltimore Sun, 1/21/99



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Greeting well-wishers: *Hillary Rodham Clinton (upper left) photographs President Clinton as he greets enthusiastic supporters at a rally yesterday at Marine Midland Arena in Buffalo, N.Y.*

President goes on road, pushes plan to save surplus for Social Security

His approval ratings rise after State of the Union

ASSOCIATED PRESS

BUFFALO, N.Y. — Riding a bump in the polls, President Clinton argued vigorously yesterday for his plan to save the budget surplus for protecting Social Security, saying it would give the nation stronger economic footing "long after I'm gone from the White House."

At his first public rally since being impeached Dec. 19, the president promoted the agenda unveiled Tuesday night in his State of the Union address. Clinton was joined at the rally by the vice president and their wives.

Clinton said he is ready for a clash with Congress over whether about 60 percent of the federal surplus he expects — $4 trillion over 15 years — should be reserved for shoring up Social Security or go for a tax cut.

"We're going to have a big argument about this, and we should," he said. "It may sound good if somebody says, 'This is your surplus and we ought to give it back to you.' What I'm trying to do is give you a way to maximize the chances that we will have a strong economy" in the future, he said.

Later, at a rally in Norristown, Pa., Clinton said he did not oppose tax cuts, as long as they are targeted. "Yes, we ought to give some tax cuts. But they ought to be the right kind," he said.

If his Social Security plan is approved, Clinton said, the nation will continue to prosper. "And long after I'm gone from the White House, you would have ... a better future."

The president's job approval rating got a lift after Tuesday night's speech and ranged from 66 percent to 76 percent, according to several network polls. His personal approval ratings also rose.

Barnstorming by "all four principals," as the Clintons and Gores are known among White House staff, is unusual. Except for big-ticket party fund-raisers and personal outings, the foursome has seldom traveled and appeared together since the 1996 campaign.

A crowd of more than 20,000 greeted the visitors from Washington at Marine Midland Arena in Buffalo. The White House said it was the largest group Clinton has addressed since last year's post-State of the Union appearance in LaCrosse, Wis.

Clinton has made several public appearances since he was impeached, but before smaller audiences.

Noting the financial upheaval abroad, Clinton said a tax cut now could hurt efforts to sustain surpluses. Avoiding debt now, he said, means "you would be somewhat more protected."

The Republicans are calling for a 10 percent tax cut.

Clinton said he believes Congress ultimately will see his side after debate and negotiation involving lawmakers, the White House and the American people.

"I ask you to talk to your friends and neighbors about it," Clinton told the crowd. "When people come out and disagree with my approach, listen to them, sit down and have a discussion about it."

The president, the vice president and their wives lingered to greet well-wishers. Clinton leapt to slap hands with a little girl straining through the bars to greet him.

Vice President Al Gore underscored the uphill battle Clinton's proposals face in Congress.

"Last night was a turning point for our country," Gore said, raising his voice. "Are you going to fight for his agenda? That's what it's going to take!" The crowd responded enthusiastically.

'My Fellow Americans . . . State of Our Union is Strong'

Excerpts:

When the first lady and Tipper Gore visited the region, they saw thousands of our troops and thousands of American volunteers. In the Dominican Republic, Hillary helped to rededicate a hospital that had been rebuilt by Dominicans and Americans working side by side. With her was some one else who has been very important to the relief efforts. You know sports records are made and sooner or later, they're broken. But making other people's lives better and showing our children the true meaning of brotherhood, that lasts forever. So for far more than baseball, Sammy Sosa, you're a hero in two countries tonight. Thank you.

So I say to all of you, if we do these things, if we pursue peace, fight terrorism, increase our strength, renew our alliances, we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to build a stronger 21st century America in a freer, more peaceful world.



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton talks to baseball star Sammy Sosa of the Chicago Cubs during State of the Union. President Clinton singled out Sosa for his work in providing aid to hurricane victims.

You know, barely more than 300 days from now we will cross that bridge into the new millennium. This is a moment, as the first lady has said, to honor the past and imagine the future.

I'd like to take just a minute to honor her, for leading our Millennium Project, for all she's done for our children. For all she has done in her historic role to serve our nation and our best ideals at home and abroad, I honor her.

Last year—last year I called on Congress and every citizen to mark the millennium by saving America's treasures. Hillary's traveled all across the country to inspire recognition and support for saving places like Thomas Edison's invention factory or Harriet Tubman's home.

Now we have to preserve our treasures in every community. And tonight, before I close, I want to invite every town, every city, every community to become a nationally recognized millennium community by launching projects that save our history, promote our arts and humanities, prepare our children for the 21st century.

Already the response has been remarkable. And I want to say a special word of thanks to our private sector partners and to members in Congress of both parties for their support. Just one example. Because of you, the Star Spangled Banner will be preserved for the ages.

In ways large and small, as we look to the millennium, we are keeping alive what George Washington called the sacred fire of liberty.

President takes stand before Congress, nation



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

Special guests: Hillary Rodham Clinton is joined by, from left, Capt. Jeffery Taliaferro, Vietnamese refugee Loc Truong, baseball player Sammy Sosa, Tipper Gore and civil rights pioneer Rosa Parks.

New York Report

TUESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1999

The New York Times

Tentative Bid To Succeed Moynihan

Lowey, a Democrat, Is Gauging Support

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Amid growing concern among New York Democrats over finding a candidate to run for the Senate in 2000, Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester said yesterday that she was considering a race for the seat and that she had begun calling Democrats and contributors to measure potential support.

As things now stand, Ms. Lowey, 61, would have the field essentially to herself if she sought the job held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, even though she is barely known statewide. Many Democrats said yesterday that the thin ranks of potential candidates pointed to a troubling weakness in the party as it approached the 2000 election.

Several prospective candidates — including the State Comptroller, H. Carl McCall, and Andrew M. Cuomo, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development — have ruled out the contest, leaving Democratic leaders worried that potential candidates are being scared off by the possible Republican candidacy of Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York.

Some state Democratic leaders have urged Hillary Rodham Clinton, the First Lady, to move to New York next year and run for the Senate. Ms. Lowey said yesterday she would immediately abandon her prospective campaign if Ms. Clinton ran. Mrs. Clinton has not publicly ruled out the idea, although her friends describe it as highly unlikely.

In an interview yesterday, Ms. Lowey said she had spent the day calling Democratic leaders and contributors to measure how well she would do in lining up support. She also said she would spend the next few months traveling the state to discuss her prospective candidacy.

"I'm seriously, actively exploring the Senate race," she said. "I'm going to make a definitive decision in the spring."

Mr. Moynihan's decision not to seek a fifth term in 2000, which he announced three days after the election of Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat and former Representative, to the Senate, has underlined the absence of formidable statewide candidates in the party.



Nita M. Lowey of Westchester

The party's inability to recruit a strong candidate has been chilled as well by the prospective candidacy of Mr. Giuliani. The two-term Mayor presumably would have no trouble drawing Democratic votes in New York City and raising the money needed for the contest.

But the vacuum in the Democratic Party has, it seems, created an opportunity for Ms. Lowey, a five-term member of Congress who is barely known outside her district, which includes parts of Westchester, the Bronx and Queens. Several Democrats said that she would, if by default, be the front-runner if she decided to run.

Ms. Lowey's aides said yesterday that she had $800,000 in her campaign account that could go toward the race. Ms. Lowey said that a Senate race would be expensive, but she said she did not believe she would have any difficulty financing a campaign. "You have to raise a huge amount of money, and I think I can do it — I think between $15 million and $20 million," she said.

The main promoter of a Clinton candidacy in New York, Representative Charles B. Rangel of Manhattan, said yesterday he would welcome Ms. Lowey into the race if Mrs. Clinton ultimately decided not to run.

"I think outside of Clinton, she would be the most outstanding candidate that we have," Mr. Rangel said. "If Hillary Clinton doesn't run, I cannot think of any candidate who has a better chance to win, who is better qualified, than Nita Lowey."

Mr. Schumer also said he believed that Ms. Lowey would be "a strong candidate" and that "she has a strong record in Congress." The new Democratic Senator said he did not believe that Mr. Giuliani was necessarily as a fearsome political force as many Democrats have suggested.

"Giuliani is not a pushover," Mr. Schumer said. "But we're a long way away from the election. I had 1 percent in the polls at about this time, and no one thought I could win the primary, let alone beat D'Amato."

If Ms. Lowey decides against running, the field as of now would include Representative Carolyn B. Maloney and the Rev. Al Sharpton.

No Elbow Room at the White House

Park Service Plans $300 Million Overhaul to Ease Congestion

By STEPHEN C. FEHR
Washington Post Staff Writer

A walk through the White House begins in the wood-paneled East Wing lobby and continues on to the elegant Ground Floor Corridor, with its vaulted ceiling, bronze-and-crystal chandeliers, marble walls and floors, portraits of first ladies and bronze busts of famous Americans.

"This is sort of the *good* view of the White House," said Ann Smith, a National Park Service planner. "It looks very formal, very special."

But open a nearby door that's off-limits and you come to a narrow, crowded corridor through which everyone and everything must pass to go between the East and West wings.

On any given day, up to 3,000 people work at the White House complex, attending hundreds of meetings, delivering mail and packages and picking up food or supplies that require them to navigate the 11-foot-wide hall a floor below the North Portico. As many as 600 deliveries a week are made to the White House, and many cross at this spot. "Everything converges here," said Gary J. Walters, chief usher at the White House.

Worsening congestion and strain are evident at the president's home, office and 82-acre grounds, the Park Service says, and that has prompted the agency to propose a 20-year, $300 million overhaul of the 200-year-old complex.

In a rare, two-hour backstage tour last week, the Park Service presented its view of the depth of

See WHITE HOUSE, *A4, Col. 1*

At the White House, Planning to Expand

WHITE HOUSE, *From A1*

the problems. Storage space is so scarce that items for holiday decorations and the yearly Easter egg roll are kept elsewhere. And the China Room, where the presidential china is on display, doubles as a coat room for state dinners.

The White House is more to Washington than a symbol of the power of the presidency. Part residence, museum, office building and park, what happens there has a direct impact on the surrounding neighborhood, especially on traffic circulation and downtown parking. Any renovation also would affect the 5,000 tourists who come there every day and who make the White House the most visited home in America.

Though not always visible to people on those tours, the building's needs aren't being met, the Park Service says, even as the number of meetings and events there increases. The historic state rooms are now being used for business meetings because there's no space elsewhere. Parking is so tight that cars are parked next to fire hydrants and in crosswalks. Heightened security demands longer and more frequent motorcades, which tie up traffic on outside streets and inside the gate.

On the day a reporter and photographer glimpsed the White House underbelly, President Clinton was welcoming Argentine President Carlos Menem for the first state visit of 1999, adding to the foot traffic inside and vehicles

In the corridor between the East and West wings, White House staffers carried lattes and muffins from the cafeteria to their offices, outside visitors came and went to meetings and Secret Service personnel moved about. The Coke man pushed a dolly stacked with cases of beverages. A carpenter passed by carrying a bucket of sawdust headed for the trash.

Meantime, the White House florist, Nancy Clarke, was nervous because the shipment of flowers she needed for the state dinner hadn't arrived. When they were delivered, "that's when we really have a problem because there's very little space for us to work," Clarke said.

The florists were forced to open boxes of flowers on a table set up in the corridor.

The hallway also doubles as an open storage closet for tablecloths, wall coverings, choral risers, tables and chairs used for special events. The ice machines are there, too.

And when storage space is scarce inside, materials sometimes are taken outside to the service drives on either side of the North Portico, an eyesore hidden from tourists that includes construction work space and the White House recycling bins. Walters pointed out three rented racks for food tray storage sitting outside in the cold "because we don't have any place to store them."

Most items for special events—Christmas decorations and Easter egg rolls—must be packed and stored at a warehouse in the College Park area, then brought back each season, each time going through a complicated security check. For diplomatic receptions—which can number five a week—the Park Service has to set up and take down the tables, chairs and stages, all of which come from the warehouse.

The items not put up in the warehouse are tucked into every available space in the White House, much like anyone's crowded family basement or garage. Even the president's basement bowling alley—a single lane, flanked by walls—is used for storage. If someone wants to play, the clutter has to be removed.

That collection of problems drove the Park Service to recommend changes to the complex. "Inadequate storage space requires frequent deliveries, often within view of those working at, coming to or visiting the site," the Park Service said in a report. "The result is traffic congestion, delays, unsafe conditions . . . and an incompatible visual setting."

Walters, who has worked in the White House since 1970, said there has been a noticeable rise in the number of functions at the White House, spurred in part by security concerns about having the president leave the grounds too frequently.

The arrival of a limousine carrying Vice President Gore demonstrated how congested the White House confines can become, particularly on days when there are multiple events.

The limo pul led up on West Executive Avem ue, a main street serving the Whit e House that also serves as a parki ng lot for staff, a delivery drive for trucks, a pedestrian crossing b etween the Old Executive Office Building and the West Wing and a staging area for motorcades. Vehi cles often double-park, and there isn't much room for motorcades to turn around.

"The number o f functions along West Executive D rive has maxed out," Smith said.

Closer to the North Portico, delivery trucks co uld not pull up to unload for the stat e dinner because the driveway was blocked by TV reporters giving li ve reports about the president's imp eachment trial.

Gore was on his way to the arrival ceremony fo r Menem, which had to be moved in doors because of chilly weather—cr eating another logistical demand. Risers, chairs, a canopy and other m aterials that had been brought in by truck and set up on the South La wn had to be removed or brougl t inside to the north entrance, an d then a stage had to be built there .

"In many ways, this building is like a theater, with the sets changing all the time dep ending on the event," said James I . McDaniel, the Park Service's liaisc n to the White House.

Walters consider s himself the choreographer, ar ranging the movements of the st aff and outsiders as precisely as p ossible so they don't collide. But the re can be near misses.

The band for the a rrival ceremony, driven indoors, set up in the largest space close to the new ceremony site—which ha ppened to be the State Dining Ro om, the same place where 150 pec ple would be gathering for dinne r that night. That meant the tables and chairs for the dinner couldn't be arranged until the ceremony wa s over.

"Usually, we'd set up the dining room in the morning, but because the band was there we had to wait," Walters said. "And we had to put up and take down red screens behind the b and because we didn't want the g uests to see the unkempt dining ro om."

Nearby, the Fam ily Dining Room had been transf rmed into a catering and storage area for the state dinner, with s ome tables stored against a marb le fireplace under a Louis XVI mar tel made in France in the 1770s.

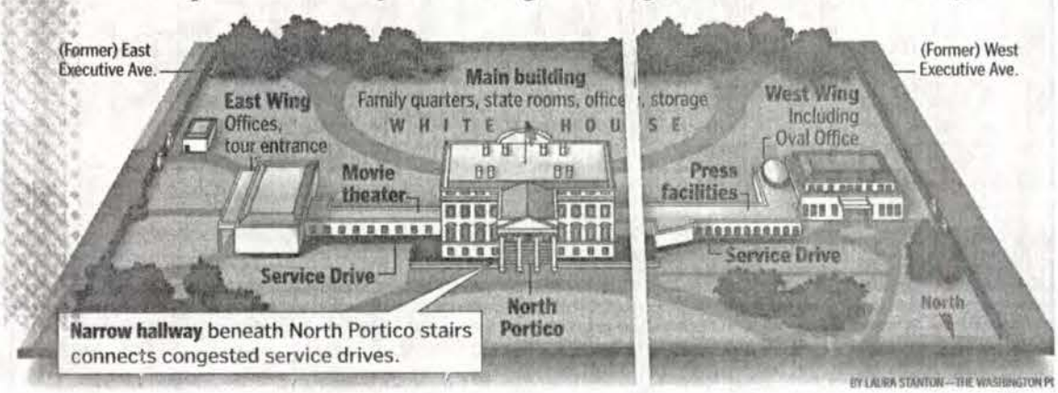
A floor below, Wh ite House Executive Chef Walter Scheib was beginning to prepare th e dinner in a 30-foot-by-20-foot kit chen, small by professional kitchen standards. Food deliveries to the l kitchen are limited—the staff can't shop for a week's groceries at a time—because of the limited stor age space. The fish for the state d linner was brought in that day, but t the vegetables were delivered a few days earlier.

"We don't really hav e a wine cellar, either," said Wal lters, who often has to turn down vintners' recommendations to buy cases of a particularly exquisite wir e.

The Park Service plan does not cover everything—the kitchen space can't be expande d, for instance. But if Congress approves the money, the plan woul d remake the mansion and grour nds in a dramatic way.

Remaking President's Park

Plans by the National Park Service for a $300 million pro ject to remake parts of the White House grounds and the surrounding 82 acres of parkland kno wn as "President's Park" are being considered to help alleviate some of the crowding and co ngestion within the house itself.



For the first family, a 3,000-square-foot rec room woul d be added, directly accessible to tl he executive residence, providing private space in which to relax. E: xcept for a small theater, the presic lent and his family do not have th at now. The congestion on West E xecutive would be eliminated by bu ilding a parking garage under Penn sylvania Avenue, where motorcade staging, staff parking and 2,000 squ are feet of storage would be provided.

Separate tunnels for pedestrians and deliveries also would be built, improving foot and vehicle circulation. Deliveries would be made through the New Executive Office Building and distributed by light vehicles traveling in underground service corridors. Meeting space would be carved out beneath West Executive Avenue, and the news media would be housed in larger, subterranean facilities.

Elsewhere, the roadways on the Ellipse would be closed to vehicles; staff vehicles would park in a new garage below the Ellipse. Tourists would start the revamped tour in a roomier visitors' center.

Park Service officials have scheduled a public forum on the plan from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Jan. 27 and 28 at the center, 1450 Pennsylvania Ave. South.

The plan's future is uncertain; a dozen federal and local agencies must clear it before construction can begin. Park Service officials are planning to take lawmakers on similar behind-the-scenes tours in the hope they'll be persuaded.

The Park Service anticipates that the cost of the proposal will raise the strongest objections. The White House has undergone piecemeal renovations before, and the plan does not call for changes that would alter the facade of the mansion: Most additions are underground, and the rec room would be added without changing the house's exterior.

The plan, if fully executed, would be the most comprehensive renovation of the White House in its history.

"What I'd hope they'd see is that this is a plan that protects a historical residence while providing the services and facilities needed by both the presidency and the people," Smith said.



PHOTOS BY RICK BOWMER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Part-time butlers work in the Family Dining Room, used as a catering and storage area for state dinners because there is no room elsewhere.



A staff person wheels a coat rack outside the China Room, where the presidential china is on display. It doubles as a coat room for state dinners.



Nancy Clarke, White House florist, uses a table set up in a busy corridor to prepare flowers. Clarke said, "There's very little space for us to work."

NEWS

Just add Ms.

Dole and Clinton could be big names again in 2000 election campaigns

By Mary Leonard
BOSTON GLOBE

WASHINGTON — Dole and Clinton could be the big campaign names of 2000, just as they were in 1996. The significant difference, however, would be watching Bob and Bill play the supporting-spouse roles to their star-candidate wives.

Republican Elizabeth Dole said recently she is considering a run for president in 2000, the same job her husband pursued in 1996. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has not hushed, nor has she confirmed, rumors that she will seek the Senate seat of retiring New York Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

"I kind of think he feels he'd make a great first spouse," Dole, the retiring head of the American Red Cross, said of her husband on the "Today" show in early January. As for President Clinton, many believe his character and behavior have created opportunities for credentialed and disciplined women candidates like Dole and even his wife.

Marie Wilson, president of the White House Project, an 8-month-old effort aimed at electing a woman president by 2008, said a year of scandal in Washington had changed the political climate so that being different -- in voice, vision, leadership style and gender -- is a plus and a reason for excitement.

"Women who ran for president or vice president before — Margaret Chase Smith, Shirley Chisholm, Geraldine Ferraro, and Patricia Schroeder — stepped into a climate where people laughed and said, 'You're different,' " said Wilson, who heads the Ms. Foundation for Women in Manhattan. "Nobody was snickering at Mrs. Dole because today voters are dying for someone who is different."

In a poll done for the White House Project, 76 percent of Americans said they would vote for a woman president. But there would be high hurdles for Dole in a national race and Clinton in a statewide contest. Neither of them has ever run for public office, and Dole was not tested on policy issues during her Red Cross tenure. Clinton could turn out to be as polarizing as candidate as she once was in the White House, and she has never been a resident of New York.

Still, Dole and Clinton are taken as serious contenders because they are, in their own right, nationally known, tireless campaigners, excellent fundraisers, articulate and experienced public policy advocates. Dole has been a Cabinet secretary in two administrations and is credited, in her eight-year tenure, with performing a rescue operation on the faltering Red Cross. Clinton came off the 1998 congressional campaigns as the Democratic Party's most effective spokeswoman.

They also are spouses admired for standing by their husbands in their darkest days. Dole was viewed as a better campaigner than her husband during his bid for the White House in 1996. Clinton's popularity has soared this year as she took a traditional role of defending the president and enduring the most withering public humiliations of a sex scandal and impeachment.

In a recent Vanity Fair magazine article, Clinton and Dole, along with Tipper Gore, topped the list of female "Legends, Leaders, and Trailblazers." A USA Today poll last June found that Dole would soundly defeat the first lady in a presidential matchup and be tied with Vice President Al Gore.

"In the past, wives of politicians came to power over their dead husbands' bodies," said Debbie Walsh, associate director of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University. "What we're experiencing here is a historic moment when a different kind of political wife moves ahead on her own to forge an independent career."

Walsh, whose center tracks the progress of women in public office, said Dole and Clinton are viable candidates. "We know that when women are competitive, they do win," she said.

"This isn't about her being vice president," said Linda DiVall, a Republican pollster. "This is about a woman with class, stature and impeccable professional and personal credentials making a serious commitment to a presidential campaign."

Timing is everything in politics, and Dole is expected to take cues from an electorate that says it is more interested in issues like education, health care and Social Security than in balancing the budget or commanding the military. "The issues in ascendency are ones where women are seen as having expertise and credibility," Wilson said.

Dole, who highlighted her compassion, Christianity and conservatism in a farewell address at the Red Cross on Jan. 4, also has the potential to unite the often warring Republican factions behind a presidential candidacy, analysts said. Because of her personal accomplishments, she also could attract Democratic and independent women voters and close the gender gap that hurts Republicans in national and statewide races, GOP activist Ann Stone said.

"Obviously, just being a woman isn't going to be enough to succeed," said Charles Cook, a political commentator, noting that female candidates need to "perform very, very well."

Dole will have a chance to perform in New Hampshire on Feb. 8, when the Greater Manchester Chamber of Commerce honors her as its citizen of the year. With an expected audience of 800, the event might be a prime moment for her to announce a presidential candidacy in the first-primary state.

"I think she would be received quite well, and she would be considered a serious candidate," said Thomas Schwieger, the chamber president. New Hampshire has a woman governor, Democrat Jeanne Shaheen, and a woman House speaker, Republican Donna Sytek.

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From The Wall Street Journal's Capital Bureau

HILLARY-FOR-SENATE talk churns Democratic plans for next year's New York race.

"I think she wants to run for national office," says one Clintonite who has talked to the first lady, and, as New York senator, "she'd be a national figure." Her office says only that "she has no plans" to become a New Yorker and seek retiring Sen. Moynihan's seat. But "Hillary hasn't ruled it out, and I think that's significant," says former Democratic state chairman John Marino.

Republicans, and some Democrats, say the buzz makes Democrats look desperate. "It's borderline hilarious," says GOP campaign spokesman Stuart Roy. The timing of talk started by New Jersey Sen. Torricelli vexes backers of HUD Secretary Cuomo, who afterward decided not to run. They say polls showed that Cuomo could beat the GOP favorite, New York Mayor Giuliani.

Now, says political analyst Charles Cook, the first lady is "arguably the only Democrat who could do it against Giuliani."

National news briefs A13

Nation



AP PHOT

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Dr. Donna Shirley, former director of the Mars Pathfinder Project, talked with students yesterday at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum. Some New York Democrats hope the first lady will seek Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat.

New York Democrats pine for a Clinton

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK – President Clinton is planning to come to town today, but as far as many New York Democrats are concerned, it's the wrong Clinton.

Certainly the president is popular here, more so than in nearly any other state. But the Clinton some Democrats really want is the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and not just to visit but to stay – and to run for the US Senate.

For months, ever since the state's senior Senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, announced that he would not seek reelection in the year 2000, Democratic chieftains have been daydreaming Hillary. And the longing has intensified since the speculation that followed the recent prediction by Senator Robert Torricelli of New Jersey that Mrs. Clinton would enter the Senate race.

It was a prediction for which Torricelli admitted he had not a shred of evidence. But among the Hillary hopeful, evidence is not the issue.

"She's wonderful, it would be wonderful if she ran," gushed Hank Sheinkopf, a Democratic political consultant. "People love her, admire her, respect her. She would win big time in the city, win with women, win with minorities."

Judith Hope, the state's Democratic Party chairwoman, has been floating rumors of a Hillary-for-Senate race everywhere she goes.

Meanwhile, her husband's impeachment trial, which seems only to have boosted the president's popularity, seems likely to work in Hillary Clinton's favor, too. "Every day the Republicans keep banging the president, that's another 100 votes for Hillary," Sheinkopf said, adding carefully, "should she choose to run."

There's the rub. The object of desire has shown not the slightest flicker of a hint that she wants the job in question.

Then again, she hasn't kicked her suitors out the door, either. She hasn't said a firm and simple "No." So hope springs eternal.

For New York's Democrats have a problem. With Moynihan's retirement, they are risking a long-held Senate seat – and they have no one to

Ever since Daniel Patrick Moynihan announced that he would not seek re-election in 2000, chieftains have been daydreaming Hillary.

The "A" list of possible replacements – Robert Kennedy Jr., Andrew Cuomo, state comptroller Carl McCall – have all declined to run.

Those who say they might have a go at it – Congresswomen Nita Lowey of Westchester County, Carolyn Maloney of Manhattan, and Louise Slaughter of Rochester – are not widely viewed as obvious winners.

Few think any of them would have much of a chance against the person who seems more and more likely to be the Republican nominee – Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Giuliani has been running for *something* these past several months, gallivanting across the country, telling the New York City success story to hushed Republican crowds, forming a political action committee, and raising piles of money.

In New York politics these days, Republicans are so strong in the suburbs and upstate that if they don't lose the city too badly, victory in a statewide contest is almost certain. And against most Democrats, Giuliani would not lose the city too badly, and might even win it.

The one Democrat who could put a high hurdle in Giuliani's path to glory might be Hillary Rodham Clinton.

A statewide survey, taken last month by the pollster John Zogby, found that she would crush any and all opponents in the Democratic primary, and would run neck-and-neck with Giuliani in the general election, beating the mayor in his own city and tying him upstate.

Last fall, she came here four times to campaign against the Republican incumbent, Alfonse M. D'Amato. Her speeches, at corporate luncheons and union rallies alike, were smash hits.

Technically, there is nothing stopping the first lady from running. She would not have to move out of the White House, since New York laws do not require candidates to live here.

"New York is not averse to welcoming outsiders," noted Maurice Carroll, head of the Quinnipiac Polling Institute.

Robert F. Kennedy, after all, successfully ran for Senate here, though he had to fend off the tag of "carpet bagger." James Buckley did so without abandoning his home in Connecticut.

Like them, Hillary Rodham Clinton would have to establish residency upon taking office.

But, again, will she run? Her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, waved off such talk as "speculation," though she has not ruled it out of hand.

One Democrat with connections dismissed the notion completely. "After she leaves the White House," the Democrat said, "she has no interest in doing anything that involves the press or other politicians. She's sick of the whole thing."

She might move to New York, the Democrat added, but more likely to become a lawyer again or to run a corporation or foundation.

According to author Gail Sheehy, who is writing a biography of Hillary Clinton, the idea of a Senate-run may have originated with the president. Last August, when the Clintons were in the Hamptons, the first lady was greeted with such enthusiasm that the president turned and said, "Maybe she should run for office from here."

That's about as solid as the signposts get. Hope, who was among the first to float the rumor, told the Daily News last week that the first lady recently asked her not to do it anymore, calling them "a distraction."

The fuel for the story's persistence may simply be its pipedream appeal. New York Times columnist Bob Herbert stated it most baldly last November. "I have found nothing to substantiate the rumor that Hillary Rodham Clinton is interested in running for Mr. Moynihan's seat," he wrote. "But the idea of a Senate race between Mrs. Clinton and Rudy Giuliani is such a splendid one that

Chicago Tribune, Thursday, January 14, 1999



Tribune photo by Jose M. Osorio

Hillary Rodham Clinton enjoys a "flower dance" presented by students in the Lighthouse program at Haines Elementary School.

Visiting first lady targets epilepsy, after-school care

By Diane Struzzi
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Chicago on Wednesday to boost funding for epilepsy research and to unveil the president's proposal to triple next year's federal budget for after-school programs.

She praised Mayor Richard Daley for his commitment to the city's schools and even indulged in the topic of the day—Michael Jordan's retirement—calling it "the most important event" happening in the country Wednesday.

But one topic was off-limits: her husband's pending impeachment trial before the Senate. As she entered the first of her public events, a roundtable discussion on epilepsy, she ignored a reporter's question on how she felt on the eve of that occasion. Without skipping a beat, Mrs. Clinton eased into her chair, a broad smile on her face.

"I'm delighted to be with all of you," she said, facing the group gathered at Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's to discuss epilepsy and stereotypes surrounding the disease. "I think this [is an] opportunity to bring to the public attention the issues that surround epilepsy, which too long in my opinion have been either ignored, or overlooked, or run away from."

She listened to the firsthand stories of epileptics who had lost jobs, friends and health insurance and whose symptoms often were mistaken for drunkenness.

Mrs. Clinton also was on hand to dedicate a six-room monitoring unit at the hospital's epilepsy center. Afterward, she announced a series of initiatives that include a meeting next year to gather 150 experts on the disease.

Afterward, she attended a gathering at Haines School in Chinatown, where she lauded the city's after-school Lighthouse program, which provides tutoring and recreation classes for children. She called it a model for the nation and announced President Clinton's proposal to increase funding for after-school programs to $600 million.

The first lady also appeared at a Wednesday night fundraiser at the Drake Hotel that was expected to garner more than $300,000 for epilepsy research, according to Susan Axelrod, founder of Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy, which sponsored the benefit. CURE is a Chicago-based group of parents of epileptic children who seek an increase in research and a cure for the disease.

Chicago Tribune, Thursday, January 14, 1999 CHICAGOLAND



Tribune photos by Jose M. Osorio

Hillary Rodham Clinton enjoys a "flower dance" presented Wednesday by students in the Lighthouse program at Chinatown's Haines School. She praised the after-school instruction as a model for the nation.

First lady's visit targets epilepsy

Clinton also unveils after-school initiative

By Diane Struzzi
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

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Suzanna So, 9, a 3rd grader at Haines, shows the first lady a project created during participation in the Lighthouse program, which provides tutuoring and recreation classes.

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First lady hangs tough during visit to Chicago

BY SCOTT FORNEK
AND ADRIENNE DRELL
STAFF REPORTERS

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Chicago on Wednesday to help raise awareness about epilepsy, push for federal funds for after-school programs, mingle with grammar school students and pay tribute to Michael Jordan.

The busy day came on the eve of her husband's impeachment trial.

"You know something?" she said. "It's hard to walk away, but it's the right thing to do."

Clinton was not talking about the events in Washington. She was talking to third-graders about how to resolve conflicts peacefully. Her advice came during a visit to an after-school program at Haines Elementary School in the Armour Square neighborhood.

But the first lady did walk away from reporters' questions about the perjury and obstruction of justice charges her husband faces.

"I am delighted to be here with all of you to discuss this very important disease," Clinton told participants in a round-table discussion on epilepsy at Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's Medical Center, moments after a reporter shouted a question about the impeachment.



JIM FROST/SUN-TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton chats with students at Haines Elementary. She visited here on the eve of her husband's impeachment trial.

She did weigh in on Jordan, calling it "a sad day for Bulls fans."

Later, in a speech at Haines, Clinton called for an additional $460 million for after-school programs. She said the money would help other cities mimic Chicago's Lighthouse program, which provides a mix of study help, recreational activities and warm meals to 170,000 students.

But the impeachment hung like a cloud over her visit.

A group of eighth-graders Clinton visited at Haines had plenty to say to reporters before the first lady entered the room.

"I don't think he should have been impeached; because it's his business what he does behind closed doors," said Arkesha Green, 14, who lives in Chatham.

Arkesha said she admires how the first lady is handling the situation, although she would do it differently. "It would have been a divorce—quick, fast and hard," she said.

Late Wednesday, Clinton spoke at a benefit at the Drake Hotel that raised more than $300,000 for Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy.

Refering to Jordan's retirement, she said, "Nobody in this room will ever play professional basketball, but there are champions among us—children who suffer but do the best they can every day, and family members who watch their champion children struggling."

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First lady offers condolences to officer's widow

January 14, 1999

BY MICHAEL SNEED SUN-TIMES COLUMNIST



Sneed hears first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** briefly postponed her entry into a private reception at the Drake Hotel on Wednesday night in order to telephone at home **Joan Knight,** the widow of slain Chicago Patrol Officer John C. **Knight.** ``The first lady told Mrs. Knight how proud she was of her husband and how sorry she felt about what happened to him," a Clinton source said.

. . . Hillary: Our hope for Senate

By LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN

WITH TODAY'S OPENING arguments in the impeachment trial, the countdown begins. Either the President's term will end prematurely in disgrace or the Comeback Kid will have the last laugh.

Whatever his fate, it's time to turn from the ghost of Clinton past to the hope of Clinton future. Hillary may turn out to be Bill Clinton's greatest legacy.

There are at least five compelling reasons she should be the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate from New York in 2000. (Ditch the old carpetbagger residency critique — Sens. Robert F. Kennedy and James Buckley put that to rest long ago. And forget about potential scandal. If Ken Starr and Al D'Amato couldn't hang anything on Hillary, local pols will have slim pickings.)

Reason one: She deserves it. Not because she's been Wonder Wife, but because she would be a terrific candidate, one with solid professional credentials, a life-long record of public service and a unique connection between head and heart.

She graduated from Yale Law School. Worked for the Children's Defense Fund and the Watergate impeachment inquiry staff (surely one of life's scrap ironies). Taught law school. Wrote seminal articles on women's and children's rights. Developed expertise on rural health care, infant mortality, educational standards, retraining of American workers. Practiced law. Is listed in Best Lawyers in America.

She served on boards of several volunteer organizations. Gained global prominence as First Lady speaking out on children's issues, human rights and economic development. Turned skeptics from Beijing to Bosnia into converts who now ask, "Can she be President?"

The fact is, she's brilliant. Her capacity for complex policy analysis is legendary. She's known to ask tough questions and absorb vast quantities of information, and to speak eloquently and persuasively on a host of subjects — usually without a note. And, believe it or not, she has a great sense of humor.

The First Lady and New York – perfect together

Second, the issues she cares about most are the issues that affect the largest number of New Yorkers — health care, education, legal services, child care and economic security for working families. As senator, she could translate her long-term commitments into national policy and shine a special spotlight on the problems facing women and children. Whether her health care plan was mishandled or misguided, she combines genuine empathy with a hard-won understanding of the need for consensus — ideal tools with which to fine-tune health care reform in the future.

Third, if she jumps in early, we might avoid the self-immolation known as the Democratic primary. Carl McCall and Andrew Cuomo already have bowed out. If Hillary runs, Nita Lowey and Donna Shalala say they won't. The power of a Clinton candidacy might discourage other longshots from declaring, attacking one another and making the Republicans' job easier.

New York Democrats should draft her quickly, before Illinois does. She's far and away the Democrat with the best chance to beat Rudy Giuliani, the presumptive Republican nominee. You have only to contrast her compassion with his vindictiveness; her grasp of national and international affairs with his five-borough perspective; her commitment to a broad spectrum of human and economic issues with his narrow focus on crime, reducing welfare rolls and protecting his personal power.

Fourth, were such an extraordinary public personality to be elected from New York, she would command far more collegial deference and media attention than the average junior senator, bringing high visibility to our state's needs and initiatives.

Last, but certainly not least, it's time for New York to elect a woman. I know, I know, gender shouldn't matter, but it does, since we've been picking talent from only half the pool.

Still, it's not about running a woman, but running this woman — Hillary Rodham Clinton, a woman who will do us proud, a woman who can win.

Pogrebin, a founding editor of Ms. and president of the Authors' Guild, often writes about women and politics.

N.Y. Daily News, Thurs, Jan 14, 1999

The Washington Times

R ★ WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1999 / PAGE A13

WORLD

Embassy Row

By James Morrison

'Lady Zu' a no-show

Washington was preparing to be dazzled by her beauty and watch how President Clinton reacted to the 27-year-old daughter of Argentine President Carlos Menem.

But Zulema Eva Menem, who became a media star in black leather miniskirts on her father's trip to Britain in November, skipped the state visit to Washington this week.

Her reasons remain a mystery.

The White House said she had the flu.

A well-connected Hispanic leader in Washington said the "rumor" making the rounds was that she was angry that the White House snubbed the wives of four Cabinet ministers traveling with Mr. Menem by leaving them off the guest list for the state dinner Monday night.



Zulema Menem

Argentina's leading newspaper, El Clarin, said there was no official explanation for her absence.

It suggested she may have wanted to avoid the cold weather in Washington, saying she decided to stay on vacation in the jet-set resort of Punta Del Este in Uruguay.

The newspaper called her cancellation a "tremendous blow" to the White House, which had scheduled her for a tea with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

La Nacion, another Argentine newspaper, said the Argentine Embassy had difficulty explaining Miss Menem's absence.

An embassy source told the newspaper, "She had a commitment to her mother." Her mother, also named Zulema, divorced from Mr. Menem in 1991.

Whatever the reason for the cancellation of her visit, the embassy was clearly taken by surprise. As late as Friday, the embassy had Miss Menem scheduled for two appearances with her father.

She was to have attended the opening ceremony Monday on the White House lawn and the state dinner that evening.

When she accompanied her father on his state visit to London, Miss Menem attracted a pack of reporters who followed her everywhere. The British tabloids spread rumors of a romance with Prince Andrew.

No tango for Madonna

Another famous lady missing from the Argentine president's state visit was pop diva Madonna.

The Argentine Embassy was expecting her to attend the White House dinner and dance the tango with actor and tango aficionado Robert Duvall. But she did not show, and no explanation was offered.

President Carlos Menem yesterday spoke of the tango, his country's national dance, when he met reporters at Blair House.

He danced with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton after Monday night's White House state dinner.

"Hillary is a very good dancer," he said.

Asked about President Clinton, who also took a swing at the tango, Mr. Menem was diplomatic.

"I did not follow his tango dancing because I was dancing with Hillary at the time," Mr. Menem said. "But I know he likes the tango and will learn it."

A note to the White House: Mr. Duvall gives lessons at the Argentine Embassy.

NAMES & FACES

BY CAROL BEGGY AND BETH CARNEY

Hillary checks back in

First lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** was apparently impressed last month by her visit to the Franciscan Children's Hospital in Brighton. This week, hospital president **Paul Della Rocco** received a check for $10,000 from Clinton from the proceeds of her book "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us." ... Harvard Kennedy School lecturer **Elaine Kamarck** is in Washington this week teaming up with her former boss, Vice President **Al Gore**, hosting a global conference on reinventing government.



KUP'S COLUMN

Irv Kupcinet

WELCOME TO FIRST LADY Hillary Rodham Clinton, who comes to the Drake Hotel today to address the Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy. Piano star **Stanley Paul** will perform at the event. . . . Memories of the City News Bureau, scheduled to close in March, will be related by newspaper veterans **Bernie Judge, Pam Zekman, Ellen Warren** and **Bob Wiedrich** at a Como Inn luncheon today.



Michael

SNEED

Scoopsville . . .

Sneed has learned voter registration in Chicago has jumped 95,000-plus in the past *two* months (since the Nov. 3 election, when 1,363,957 voters were registered).

■ Fact: Aimed at the Feb. 23 municipal elections, it's the biggest voter registration push since **Harold Washington** ran for mayor in 1983, according to Sneed's sources.

■ Behind the scenes: Although mayoral contender **Bobby Rush**'s 2nd Ward had a 3,000 voter increase recently to 31,000 from 28,000 . . . **Mayor Daley**'s minions have been the busiest.

■ The shocker: Although the vote gains are citywide, the lakefront wards are in the forefront, with outgoing Ald. **Charles Bernardini**'s 43rd Ward alone experiencing a 5,000-voter increase in the last few months.

■ Stats: The current registration of 1,459,289 voters is even higher than for the November, 1996, presidential election, when there were 1,428,795 registered voters.

■ The kicker: There are 13 more days of intensive voter registration; the last two weeks are always the biggest push, and 311 locations citywide will be open Jan. 23 for voter registration.

Hillaryville . . .

So how popular is first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton?** Tickets for the Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy dinner at the Drake Hotel tonight became so hot, organizers had to close sales Monday.

The Washington Post

Style

TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1999

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4 Style Plus: *Going beyond the G rating*
5 Backstage: *Setting the mood*



PHOTOS BY GERALD MARTINEAU—THE WASHINGTON POST

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton dances with Argentine President Carlos Menem at last night's state dinner, a sharp departure from the day's impeachment proceedings.

The Washington Tango

At State Dinner for Argentina, Only the Bold Step Out

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
and LONNAE O'NEAL PARKER
Washington Post Staff Writers

This is what normal looks like these days in Washington: Yesterday afternoon the White House responded to the articles of impeachment and last night several senators arrived at the executive mansion wearing tuxedos and wide grins as the Clintons hosted a state dinner for Argentine President Carlos Menem.

"It is unusual in that we're about to begin an impeachment trial," said Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.), sworn in just five days ago as a juror. "But he is the president of the United States and he's conducting the business of this country. And I'm delighted to be here."

Dorgan, who was seated at the president's table, was among the seven senators on the guest list. Actor and tango fanatic Robert Duvall and actress Salma Hayek provided the star power, Roger Clinton supplied brotherly love, and the rest of the 170 guests were a supportive and appreciative audience for the tribute to all things Argentine—especially the tango exhibition after dinner.

"Well, we'll watch and see how it goes," said Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.). "I'm not ruling it out."

He could have been talking impeachment, but he was actually talking about doing the tango. It was hard to tell the difference.

See DINNER, *C9. Col. 1*



Tango buff Robert Duvall and fiancee Luciana Pedraza glide in to dinner and, eventually, the dance floor.





PHOTOS BY GERALD MARTINEAU—THE WASHINGTON POST

President Clinton dances last night with Amanda Fernandez, wife of Argentina's minister of economy and public services. Actress Salma Hayek, right, smiles after greeting first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Argentina's Menem to Clinton: Tango Very Much

DINNER. *From C1*

Conventional wisdom, at least this week's version, is that the Senate is unlikely to muster the votes to force Clinton from the presidency. So last night the impeachment process felt more like a painful and chronic backache than a critical injury.

"The president, obviously, will not be run out of office," said former House Democratic whip Tony Coelho. "The Republicans realize the American people have rejected the right-wing paranoia." Look at Clinton's approval ratings, he said: "House members don't pay attention to polls, but senators do."

Which means that the president can focus on other things, such as foreign relations.

Clinton, who spoke of the friendship between the United States and Argentina, opted for a light tone in his toast. "There are certain disputes that will be never be resolved," he said. "Like which country has the better beef, or whose cooks have better mastered the ancient art of barbecue."

Menem echoed the ties of friendship but struck a more serious note. "Mr. President, I would like to publicly show you my full solidarity," he said. "I hope the American citizens will come to recognize that they are not the only ones who need you still here. . . . Your leadership is needed, Mr. President, all over the world."



Clinton has a smile for guests in the receiving line.

The White House did not hold the traditional joint news conference yesterday, so Menem missed an opportunity to defend his U.S. counterpart to reporters. But he did voice his support throughout the day. "I want you to know you have in me a true friend," he said at the welcoming ceremony.

Clinton paid a state visit to Buenos Aires in October 1997, and Menem was invited here to talk about trade, peace in Bosnia and Iraq, and unrestricted air routes.

The 68-year-old Argentine president, who is celebrating 10 years in office, is credited with reforming his country's economy and ending unbelievable inflation: 5,000 percent in 1989, down to 1.1 percent now. Yesterday, Argentine trade unions announced plans for a massive march to urge him to run for a third consecutive term this year, despite a constitutional ban against it.

Last night's dinner was a low-key affair. Menem, who is divorced, attended without his daughter, who usually accompanies him on state visits.

The meal, served hours early by Argentine standards, began with lemon chicken and vegetable risotto, then moved on to striped sea bass with sauteed morels and sweet potato and a salad of winter greens. Dessert featured frozen dulce de leche with baked pineapple, caramel walnuts and coconut snowballs.

The highlight of the night was Argentina's most famous export: tango.

Argentine and American dancers—led by Duvall, his fiancee, Luciana Pedraza, and Pablo Veron, star of "The Tango Lesson"—performed the intricate moves in the East Room. Duvall has made repeated trips to Argentina to perfect the traditional version of the classic love dance and recently agreed to become the chairman of the U.S. Tango Academy.

"The best Argentine ambassador of the night was Robert Duvall," said Diego Ramiro Guelar, the official ambassador to the United States who was quite happy to play second fiddle for one night.

Clinton was also impressed. "I will never look at you quite the same way," he told the actor.

Then both presidents took the floor in a more restrained but competent version of the tango: Menem with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the president with Amanda Fernandez, wife of Argentina's economic minister. Emboldened, several other guests—including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.)—joined in.

"*Marvellosa!*" Dodd shouted. "That says it all. That's my official senatorial judgment."

Although composer and conductor Lalo Schifrin, an Argentine native, composed the music for the upcoming movie "Tango" and spoke passionately about the dance, he declined to actually perform it.

Tango is difficult for the best of dancers; most of the guests last night—including the politicians—hedged when asked if they would give it a turn. Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) teased that she might slip out before the entertainment. "I'm not much of a tangoer," demurred Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.).

Smart move, according to Schifrin. "A man should know his limitations," he said seriously.

The guest list for last night's state dinner:

Vice President and Tipper Gore

Carlos Saul Menem, president of Argentina

Guido Di Tella, minister of foreign affairs, international trade and worship

Diego Ramiro Guelar, ambassador of Argentina, and Diana Custodio de Guelar

Carlos V. Corach, minister of the interior

Raul Granillo Ocampo, minister of justice

Jorge Dominguez, minister of defense

Roque Fernandez, minister of economy and public works and services

Alberto Kohan, secretary general of the presidency

Carlos Mario Zabala, head of the joint chiefs of staff

Hugo Anzorreguy, secretary of state intelligence

Francisco Mayorga, secretary of tourism

Raul Delgado, secretary of media and information

Maria Julia Alsogaray, secretary for natural resources and sustainable development

German Kammerath, secretary of communications

Victor Alderete, secretary for the senior citizens

Ana Kessler, secretary for small and medium-size business

Jorge Castro Mongan, secretary for strategic planning

Antonio Cafiero, national senator, vice president of the senate

Juan Manuel Vazquez, chief of the president's military house

Alejandro Tfeli, president's private physician

Ramon Hernandez, president's private secretary

Mario Falak

Duane Ackerman, chairman & CEO, BellSouth Corp., and Katherine Ackerman

Madeleine K. Albright, secretary of state, and David Andrews, legal adviser, Department of State

Mari Carmen Aponte, attorney, Aponte & Associates, and Jose E. Ferraioli, president, Latin America, Results International Inc.

Keith Bailey, chairman, president and CEO, Williams Cos., and Pat Bailey

Gato Barbieri, musician and composer, and Laura Barbieri, physical therapist

Leonard Barrack, national finance chairman, Democratic National Committee, and Lynne Barrack

Charlene Barshefsky, United States trade representative, and Edward B. Cohen, deputy solicitor, Department of the Interior

Melinda Naumann Bates, special assistant to the president and director, White House Visitors Office, and Metin Yazir, tango instructor

Samuel R. Berger, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Susan Berger

Donald S. Beyer Jr., former lieutenant governor of Virginia, and Megan Beyer, freelance journalist and co-chair, 1999 Wolf Trap ball saluting Argentina

Lanny A. Breuer, special counsel to the president, and Nancy Robinson Breuer, associate general counsel, National Gallery of Art

Norman Brownstein, chairman, Brownstein Hyatt Farber & Strickland, and Helen Brownstein

Sen. Richard H. Bryan (D-Nev.) and Bonnie Bryan

James R. Cheek, ambassador in residence, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, and Carol Cheek

Anthony L. Coelho, chairman, LoanNet, and Phyllis Coelho

William Daley, secretary of commerce

Richard Danzig, secretary of the Navy, and Andrea Danzig

James F. Dobbins, special assistant to the president and senior director for Inter-American affairs, National Security Council, and Toril Dobbins

Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) and Jackie Clegg, vice chair, Import-Export Bank of the United States

Sen. Byron L. Dorgan (D-N.D.) and Kimberly Dorgan

Patti Solis Doyle, deputy assistant to the president and director of scheduling for the first lady, and James Doyle, deputy chief of staff, Department of Commerce

Robert Duvall, actor-director and chairman of the board, U.S. Tango Academy, and Luciana Pedraza

Maria Echaveste, assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff

Alfonso Fanjul, chairman and CEO, Florida Crystals Corp., and Lourdes Gutierrez

Susan Feeney, White House correspondent, Dallas Morning News, and Steve Hirsh, director of special events, Fox News Channel

Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) and Richard Blum, Richard C. Blum & Associates

Fernando Ferrer, borough president of the Bronx

James C. Free, president and CEO, the Smith-Free Group, and Ann Todd Free

Mary Mel French, U.S. chief of protocol, and Julie McVicker, Fit for the Future

Richard Fuisz, chairman, Fuisz Technologies, and Lorraine Fuisz

Armando Gutierrez, president, A. Gutierrez & Associates, and Dora A. Garcia

Salma Hayek, actress, and Edward Atterton

Steve Holland, White House correspondent, Reuters, and Lucie Holland

Raul Jaurena, master of bandoneon, and Marga Mitchell, singer

Sen. Timothy Johnson (D-S.D.) and Barbara Johnson

Alan C. Kessler, attorney, Buchanan Ingersoll P.C., and Gail Kessler

Rep. Dale E. Kildee (D-Mich.) and Gayle Kildee

Rep. Peter T. King (R-N.Y.) and Rosemary King

Lewis H. Lapham, editor, Harper's magazine, and Libby Handros, senior producer, "Inside Story"

Anthony Lewis, columnist, New York Times, and Margaret Marshall, justice, Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts

Joseph Lockhart, press secretary to the president, and Laura Logan

Frank E. Loy, undersecretary of state for global affairs, and Dale Loy, artist

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) and Charlene Lugar

Barry R. McCaffrey, director, Office of National Drug Control Policy, and Jill McCaffrey, national chairman, Armed Forces Emergency Service, American Red Cross

Thomas F. McLarty III, chairman, McLarty International LLC, and Donna McLarty

Henrique de Campos Meirelles, president and COO, BankBoston, and Lucia Lazzaro

Lars-Erik Nelson, New York Daily News, and Mary Nelson, American University

Hassan Nemazee, president and CEO, Nemazee Capital Corp., and Shelia Nemazee

Martin Ornelas-Quintero, executive director, National Latino/Latina Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Organization, and Adolfo Mata, director of Migrant Health Services Health Resources and Services Administration

Federico F. Pena, senior adviser, Vestar Capital Partners

Thomas Pickering, undersecretary of state for political affairs, and Alice Pickering

John D. Podesta, chief of staff to the president, and Mary Podesta

Bill Press, co-host, CNN's "Crossfire," and Carol Press, artist-weaver

Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.) and Landra Reid

William Richardson, secretary of energy, and Barbara Richardson

Victor Manuel Rocha, charge d'affairs to Argentina, and Karla Wittkop Rocha

Peter F. Romero, acting assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, and Ruth Espey-Romero, attorney, Perkins Coie LLP

Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-Calif.) and Edward T. Allard III, businessman

Ronald Scheman, president, Museum of the Americas Foundation, and Lynn Cutler, deputy assistant to the president for intergovernmental affairs

Lalo Schifrin, composer, conductor and pianist, and Donna Schifrin, president of Aleph Records

Mark L. Schneider, assistant administrator, Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean Agency for International Development, and Susan Schneider

Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Carolyn Shelton

Daniel Solis, alderman for the 25th Ward, Chicago, and John Buschner, manager of governmental affairs, United Airlines

Douglas B. Sosnik, counselor to the president, and Fabina Jorge, director of Latin American affairs, Verner, Liipfert, Bernard, McPherson and Hand

James Steinberg, deputy national security adviser and deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Sherburne Abbott

Art Torres, chairman, California Democratic Party, and Joaquin Torres

Pablo Veron, choreographer-dancer, and Anne Monty

Victoria Vieyra, dancer

Antonio Villaraigosa, speaker of the California State Assembly, and Corina Villaraigosa

Melvin I. Weiss, international chair, Hatikva Memorial Project for Buenos Aires Israeli Embassy Site, and Saul Rotsztain, international committee member for the project

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

NOW YOU KNOW . . .



BY KEVIN LAMARQUE—REUTERS

First firsts: The first lady holds a coin of Dolley Madison, first first lady and the first to grace a coin.

■ Boy wonder businessman **Daniel M. Snyder** and his wife and another couple were celebrating The Big Purchase (Capital Area Football Team: $800 million) quietly enough at Morton's in Georgetown Sunday night with dinner and a bottle of Cristal champagne.

And then the cell phone rang.

The quartet immediately repaired to the bar, where they high-fived over television news accounts of Snyder's and real estate mogul **Howard Milstein's** successful team bid.

But does Snyder have enough red meat in him to take on the hurly-burly of the NFL? He and his wife split the filet.

■ Tough times for a Terps fan: After the Maryland-N.C. State basketball game Sunday afternoon, columnist **Bob Novak** slipped on ice outside Cole Field House and broke his hip. He was undergoing surgery at Sibley Hospital last night.

■ An immature eagle landed on a tree just outside the 17th and E streets office of Red Cross President **Elizabeth Hanford Dole** yesterday. A sign from the political gods? Or just a confused bird looking for good Republican hair in which to nest?

The eagle stayed in the tree from 8 a.m. until about 3 p.m, when it took off—perhaps to pay a visit to **Dan Quayle.**

■ First there were the cakes. Now, there's a coin. **Dolley Madison,** the first presidential wife to be called first lady, has her face on a commemorative silver dollar. Our brave-faced first lady, **Hillary Rodham Clinton,** unveiled it yesterday. The two "really are, indeed, kindred spirits," said **Richard Moe,** president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation at a ceremony lauding Mrs. Madison's bravery in saving White House treasures before the British burned the place down in 1814. "Both have helped to shape the role."

At White House, bopping to tango

Dinner serves up Argentine treats

By Ann Geracimos
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

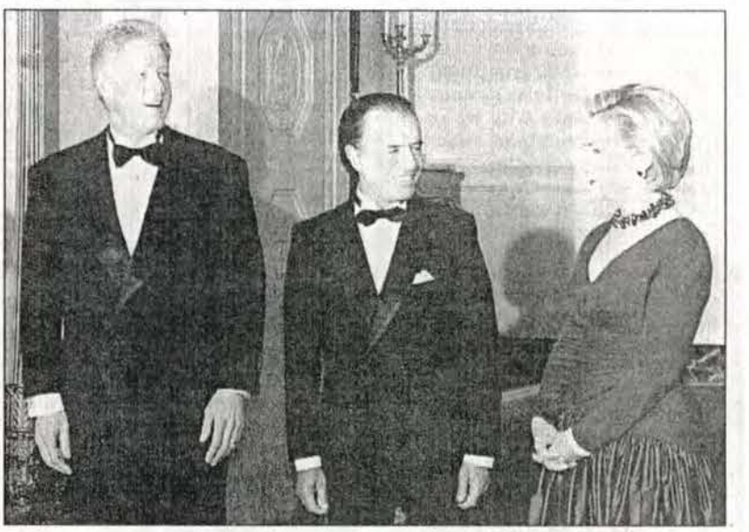


Photo by James R. Brantley/The Washington Times

President Clinton and Argentine President Carlos Menem smile at Mrs. Clinton as they wait to receive guests at the state dinner.

The White House bent over backward to honor visiting Argentine President Carlos Menem and his official party at dinner last night.

The tango with its fevered rhythms and athletic dips and bends was the featured entertainment. And the guest list included an unusually large number of Senators: six Democrats and one Republican.

"We're delighted to be invited by our president," said Sen. Richard G. Lugar, Indiana Republican, when asked how it felt to be a juror for one's host.

"We're serving the country [at the dinner], as is the president," said Mr. Lugar, who joined Sen. Byron L. Dorgan, North Dakota Democrat, at the president's table.

Asked the same question, Rep. Peter T. King, New York Republican, replied — in jest — "I'm just going to try and stay sober."

Also among about 170 guests were leading administration officials involved in Latin American trade and diplomacy and former Virginia Lt. Gov. Donald S. Beyer Jr.

A noticeably subdued Mr. Clinton managed a mild jest in his toast after praising "the friendship between our two people [that] goes back to the earliest days of our republics."

"There are certain disputes we will never resolve," he said. "Like which country has the better beef. Or whose cooks have mastered the ancient art of barbecue."

He praised Mr. Menem personally, saying, "A great deal of the credit for South America's achievements belong to the man here this evening."

In his own toast, Mr. Menem then told Mr. Clinton, "Your leadership is needed, Mr. President, all over the world."

Earlier in his comments, the visiting president praised Robert Duvall, the actor who has become a leading exponent of what may be Argentina's most enduring export, the tango.

Mr. Menem called Mr. Duvall "an excellent actor and now an excellent dancer," and cited his role as chairman of the Academy of Tango.

The sultry dance and equally sultry musical accompaniment at last night's dinner proved the perfect diversion for a week in which Mr. Clinton impeachment trial begins.

Mr. Duvall, who owns a farm in Middleburg and sponsors tango lessons at the Argentine Embassy here, performed along with his friend, acclaimed dancer Pablo Veron, who has a company in Buenos Aires and has starred in films such as "Evita" and "The Tango Lesson."

QuinTango, a Washington chamber ensemble, and bandoneon expert Raul Jaurena also were featured.

It was also the first time a dinner was held in the newly refurbished State Dining Room. To accommodate more guests than expected, tables also were set up in the adjoining Red Room. The custom to split up the crowd had been done during President Kennedy's time but this was the first for the Clinton administration.

"We didn't have as many regrets as we anticipated," said White House Social Secretary Capricia Marshall. And the Argentine delegation was larger than usual, she noted. Mr. Menem's daughter, Zulema, who was to have accompanied, him was kept at home with the flu.

The menu echoed the exuberant approach with "a heavy dominance of earthy flavors," chef Walter Scheib explained. The first course featured chickens custom-raised by Amish farmers in Lancaster, Pa. The entree was striped bass that Mr. Scheib said were "the last ones of the season."

Mr. Menem was said to have wanted to try something other than his national specialty of beef, but gave in to another Argentine specialty, dulce de leche, a sweet, rich ice cream made from milk and caramel. Pastry chef Roland Mesnier added a dramatic touch of his own: two tango statuettes, made entirely of chocolate.

The presentation, he said, showed "dancing under the moon by the palm trees — very romantic."

Lowey's future

U.S. Rep. Nita M. Lowey of New York is emerging as the most likely Democrat to run in 2000 for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but only if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton decides not to seek the office.

The congresswoman said she asked Mrs. Clinton a few weeks ago whether she was serious about running.

"She just smiled. . . . She's very noncommittal," Mrs. Lowey said.

"If Hillary Clinton gets into the race, the entire state party would be behind her and I would, too."

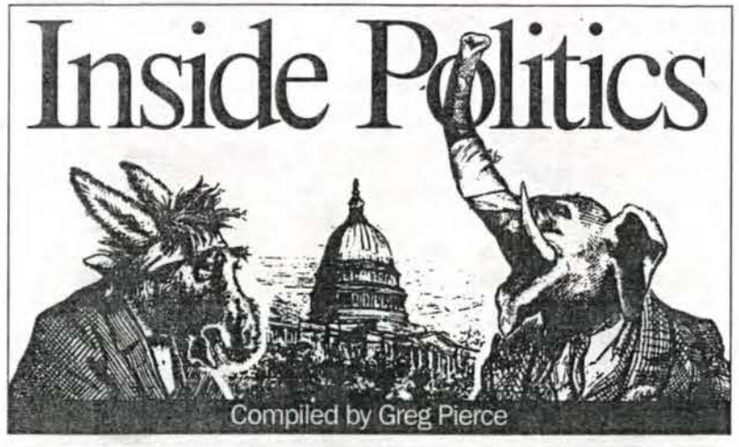
Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, after conferring with President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, announced last week that he will not enter the contest to succeed Mr. Moynihan. Earlier, state Comptroller Carl McCall declined an invitation from Mr. Moynihan and announced he will not seek the seat.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is considered the most likely Republican to run for the seat, although he has made no announcement yet.

presidential nominee Bob Dole will become one of the front-runners overnight. Even if she does not win the nomination, she will be a strong prospect for the vice presidential slot.

"A Dole run also may force Democrats to put a women in the vice presidential slot on their 2000 ticket. Prospects include California Sen. Dianne Feinstein, who has twice won statewide races in the nation's most populous state."

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce



AP PHOTO

DOLLY'S DOLLAR – *Hillary Rodham Clinton displayed the new silver dollar coin commemorating another first lady, Dolly Madison, yesterday at the White House.*

THE NATION



AGENCE FRANCE—PRESSE

Commemorative coin

Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence Summers applauds as Hillary Rodham Clinton displays a new silver dollar commemorating the achievements of Dolley Madison, wife of President James Madison. This year is the 150th anniversary of her death.

Chicago Sun-Times Tuesday, January 12, 1999

WASHINGTON, D.C.



Reuters photo

Dolly Madison dollar: First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton displays a book on White House history featuring a cover with a painting of Dolly Madison at a White House ceremony Monday unveiling a commemorative silver dollar honoring the wife of the fourth president. The coin is the first to feature the likeness of a first lady.

First lady to attend epilepsy fund-raiser

Hillary Rodham Clinton is scheduled to visit Chicago Wednesday to raise money for epilepsy research. The first lady will attend a fund-raiser for Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy. CURE president Susan Axelrod and her husband, David, a Democratic consultant, are the parents of a 17-year-old daughter who has epilepsy.

Suburban moms persuade first lady to speak at fund-raiser for epilepsy

BY KIM CONTE
Daily Herald Staff Writer

To snag first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as guest speaker for a first-ever fund-raising event is any volunteer organizer's dream.

It's a dream come true for Debbie Flader, a Hanover Park mother, and two other moms who founded Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy.

At their invitation, the first lady will speak Wednesday at a private dinner as part of a fund-raiser for their organization at the Drake Hotel in Chicago. The event is expected to raise $250,000 for epilepsy research.

Clinton also will tour the epilepsy wing of Rush-Presbyterian Memorial Hospital and moderate a round-table discussion on epilepsy with doctors, parents and children.

The suburban women reached out to Clinton in hopes of helping their children and others who have intractable epilepsy, a devastating disease that causes uncontrolled seizures and brain damage and doesn't respond to medication, surgery or special diets.

> "We are so fortunate to be able to bring in someone of Hillary's stature, especially at a first fund-raising event."
>
> — Debbie Flader, co-founder of Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy

"We are looking for a new approach and trying to get ourselves on the map," said Susan Axelrod of Burr Ridge whose 17-year-old daughter, Lauren, has intractable epilepsy. "Having Hillary will give us great credibility."

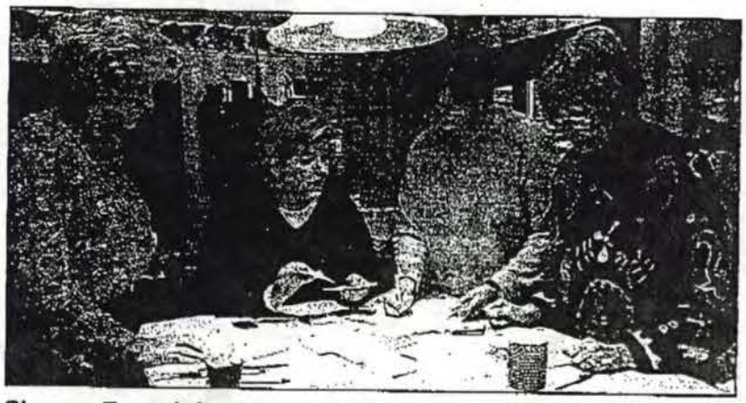
Axelrod's husband is noted political consultant David Axelrod, who got in touch with a Clinton staff member to enlist her assistance. As it turned out, Clinton was moved by the Axelrods' experience with the disease and agreed to attend, Susan Axelrod said.

"We hope that this will make an incredible difference in children's lives," said Flader, whose 15-year-old daughter, Noel, has intractable epilepsy. "We are so fortunate to be able to bring in someone of Hillary's stature, especially at a first fundraising event."

The organization is a volunteer group of parents with children who have intractable epilepsy.

Axelrod said she, along with Flad-

See MOMS on Page 4



Shawna Egan, left, of Cary, Nancy Monica of Lake in the Hills, Debbie Flader of Hanover Park and Mary Ellen Magrini of Oak Brook plan a fund-raiser featuring Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Daily Herald Photo/Marcelle Bright

MOMS: Group expects to raise $250,000 for epilepsy research

Continued from Page 1

der and Nancy Monica of Lake in the Hills, started the group in September to raise money to find a cure and not just a new method of treatment.

The three women visited Washington last year as part of Advocates for Epilepsy, a national organization, to ask that more attention be given to epilepsy. Although they were successful in generating publicity, Flader said they decided to start CURE to raise money privately and have some control over the advocacy movement themselves.

"We are very honored that she is coming," said Monica, whose 4-year-old daughter, Megan, also has the disease. "We need to have more hope for the kids."

Daily Herald staff writer Bill O'Brien contributed to this report.

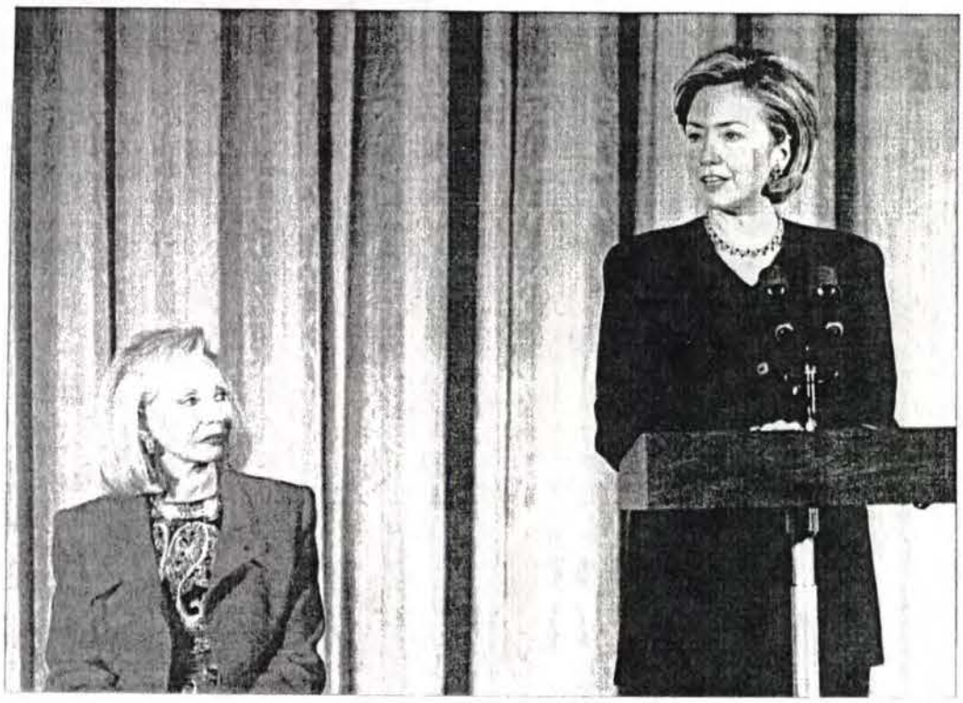
MULTIMEDIA

A PET'S LIFE

DEAR SOCKS, DEAR BUDDY

By Hillary Rodham Clinton, Simon & Schuster Audio, approximately 1 ½ hours, abridged, $12.

As you listen to these letters written to First Pets Socks and Buddy, you can almost hear Art Linkletter reminding you that "Kids say the darndest things." Indeed they do. And the messages they have written to these two famous animals are a glimmer of the hope and innocence that all children possess. Read by children from the Littleton School in Parsippany, N.J., many of these letters go beyond basic inquiries about Socks and Buddy; they show a deep inquisitiveness about the world and the people who run it. In between letters, Hillary Rodham Clinton offers a history lesson about pets in the White House, which have included FDR's Scottish terrier, Fala; Caroline Kennedy's pony, Macaroni; and Amy Carter's cat, Misty. Says Mrs. Clinton: "Together Socks and Buddy have received more than 300,000 letters and e-mails, including admirers from England, Bangladesh and nearly 50 other countries who have written asking for celebrity shots and pawtographs. By comparison, Thomas Jefferson, one of the most prolific correspondents of his day, received an average of 137 letters a month while he was president."



Iris Cantor (left) and Hillary Rodham Clinton. George Segal's *Standing in Nature*, 1976 (below).

Lucky Strike

Regaling her audience at the ceremony for the National Medal of Arts and the National Humanities Medal in the capital this fall with one of her favorite stories, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** aimed to shed light not only on her husband's renowned persistence but also on her own interest in art in general and sculpture in particular. In the process, she took a political risk and let on that **Bill Clinton** had once crossed a picket line.

The occasion of the anecdote was the First Couple's first date, at the Yale Art Gallery when both were in law school. They'd gone to see a Mark Rothko exhibition in the museum and a Henry Moore sculpture in the garden. The only problem was that the gallery was closed due to a labor strike.

"But in a manner of persuasiveness that I saw for the first time that day, and have seen every day in the last 27 years," the First Lady laughed, "Bill Clinton was able to persuade the museum curators and watchman that if we picked up the trash that had accumulated in front of the museum, we could go in."

So they did.

As the president went on to note, only days after the Democratic successes of last November's elections, "I just realized that at the moment of greatest unity for my political party in many years, my wife has told the president of the AFL-CIO that I crossed a picket line. But it's true."

The day following the awards, Mrs. Clinton presided over the inauguration of "Exhibition VII: Inspired by Rodin"—the newest in a series of shows begun in 1994, headed "Twentieth-Century American Sculpture at the White House" and installed in the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden. The First Lady gratefully saluted collector and philanthropist **Iris Cantor**.

"Although dozens of museums have been involved in choosing and lending appropriate pieces for the exhibition," Mrs. Clinton said, "none could have underwritten the expense of mounting such a series alone. For that, we turned to one of this country's most important arts patrons, Iris Cantor, who, along with her late husband, **B. Gerald Cantor**, and the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation, agreed not only to underwrite



the expense of the exhibits but also to lend the two centerpieces of the current show—castings of Rodin's *The Three Shades* and *The Thinker*."

She also reminded visitors that a cast of *The Thinker* had been placed in the Oval Office on Inauguration Day. "It was Bernie's prized piece and it had never traveled until it was placed there."

For this show, 12 works by artists as diverse as **Louise Bourgeois**, **Bryan Hunt**, **George Segal**, and **William Zorach** were selected from public art collections throughout the Northeast.

The garden stands as the First Lady's unique contribution to art in the White House. Since opportunities for adding contemporary art to the historic residence are few—by law, any art on public display can't have been done within the past 25 years, or be by a living artist—the garden offers a refreshing expressive outlet. The shows are put together by museum curatorsin consultation with White House curator **Betty Monkman**, Mrs. Clinton, and decorator **Kaki Hockersmith**, and with the support of the Preservation Committee and **J. Carter Brown**.

If anyone thinks it's easy to put together a show, consider such thorny matters as these: social and political diversity (regional, racial, gender representation), security, and logistics. One exhibition included a Donald Lipski sculpture of two spheres that Hockersmith says "looked like underwater mines"—they had to be X-rayed to ensure that they contained no explosives.

Hockersmith also recalls the installation of a large Calder. "A marine helicopter landed," she laughs, "and the sculpture started doing its thing and spinning around. The marines were really astonished, thinking the machines would take off."

What will happen when the Clinton term is over and the last of the rotating shows is closed? Will the garden be reclaimed by nature? "It's perfectly landscaped for sculpture," notes Hockersmith, but it's also difficult to get material from public collections. "There is only a finite quantity of sculptures available in public museums. You begin to repeat yourself."

—*Barbara A. MacAdam*

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Campaign Update

Winter 1999

First Lady Praises Efforts of National Campaign and Media Leaders



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses the issue of teen pregnancy at a luncheon for the National Campaign.

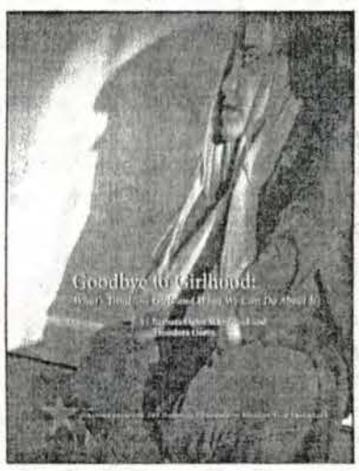
Calling teen pregnancy "a one-way ticket, not just to a dream deferred, but to the ending of a dream," First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton applauded the efforts of the National Campaign and called on media and business leaders to become more involved in preventing teen pregnancies.

At a New York luncheon hosted for the National Campaign by Ann Moore, President of the *People* Division of Time Warner, and Pat Fili-Krushel, President of the ABC Television Network, Mrs. Clinton noted that the country is at a "turning point in the struggle against teen pregnancy," but cautioned against complacency. While noting the decline in teen pregnancies and births—particularly among African-Americans—the First Lady sounded a warning about the rates among Hispanic teens. "For the first time in history, Hispanic youngsters have the highest teenage birth rate in the nation," said Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton praised the National Campaign as a "partnership model" that attempts to bring together the public and private sectors as well as those with profound and differing views on how best to prevent teen pregnancy. The First Lady also applauded the efforts of *People* and *Teen People* magazines for continuing editorial coverage of the issue, ABC television for its ongoing teen pregnancy storyline in the daytime drama *One Life to Live* and its attendant public services announcements, and Black Entertainment Television for its *Teen Summit* programs on teen sexuality. "Imagine what we could do if more of the media did these types of things on a regular basis," said Mrs. Clinton. "The more the media can portray the gritty reality" of teen pregnancy, the more likely we are to prevent teens from becoming pregnant, she added.

The December 1 luncheon was attended by media celebrities, media executives, business leaders, and others concerned with preventing teen pregnancy. Among those representing the media were

Continued on page 8



Now Available from the National Campaign. *Goodbye to Girlhood: What's Troubling Girls and What We Can Do About It*, by Barbara Dafoe Whitehead and Theodora Ooms. *See Page 11 for details*

First Lady Praises the Efforts of the Campaign

continued from cover

Barbara Walters, Lesley Stahl, Christina Saralegui, Star Jones, and Deborah Norville, as well as such executives as Norm Pearlstine, Editor-in-Chief of Time Inc., Mike Klingensmith, President of *Sports Illustrated*, Herb Scannell, President of the Nickelodeon cable network, Ellen Levine, Editor-in-Chief of *Good Housekeeping*, and Janet Chan, Managing Editor of *Parenting* and *Baby Talk* magazines. Business leaders included Kathy Dwyer, President of Revlon, Val Azzoli, President of Atlantic Recording Corporation, Dan Brestle, President of Estee Lauder, and Jane Fonda of the Turner Foundation.

Christina Ferrari, Editor-in-Chief of *Teen People* magazine—which reaches over one million readers—also announced a contest to be held in collaboration with the National Campaign. Appearing in the February 1999 issue, the contest will encourage readers to create their own teen pregnancy prevention public service advertisements (see page 3 for details).

Two youth development organizations were given money raised at the luncheon: Girls Inc., a national program that encourages young women to be "strong, smart, and bold," and Inwood House's "Boys to Men" program, a New York-based program designed to help young men from the South Bronx pass safely through adolescence.



(from left to right) Jane Fonda, Isabel Stewart, National Executive Director, Girls Inc. and Campaign Board Member, Regina Montoya, President, Girls Inc., First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Girls Inc. member Melody Gonzalez.



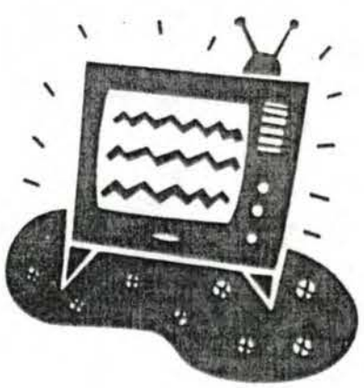
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton congratulates Brandon Mercado of Inwood House while Gladys Carrion, Executive Director of that organization, looks on.

Baby Love — The Voices of Teen Mothers

Baby Love, a telling video created by filmmaker Carol Cassidy in association with the Independent Television Service, provides a startling look at the realities of teen motherhood. From their hopes and dreams to their day-to-day struggles as parents, teen mothers from a variety of social, racial, and economic backgrounds talk openly on camera about what happens when children have children.

Baby Love touches on a variety of issues related to teen sex, relationships, and motherhood, including the search for love; sexual decision-making; the often-stormy and short-lived relationship with the baby's father; the challenge to finish high school, get a job, and provide for your child; missed opportunities; family relationships; and plans for the future. Designed to be used as an educational tool, the video comes with a study guide to facilitate group discussion on teen pregnancy and parenthood.

For more information about this video, please contact Direct Cinema Limited, P.O. Box 10003, Santa Monica, CA 90410; phone: 800-525-0000; e-mail: directcinema@attmail.com.



Mayors Applaud President and His Urban Proposals

By MICHAEL JANOFSKY

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 — President Clinton took advantage of a meeting with mayors from more than 200 cities today to announce that he is seeking a hefty raise for the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. Clinton's proposed increase of $2.5 billion would give the agency a record $28 billion at a time the Administration was using every bit of good news to draw attention from the impeachment trial in the Senate.

In a meeting that lasted more than an hour in the East Room of the White House, the President thanked the mayors for their role in helping drive down crime rates, expand job growth and improve the living conditions for many low-income Americans. But he emphasized that more work remained.

"The present prosperity is an opportunity and a responsibility to make sure that opportunity and prosperity reaches every person in every corner of this country, into every neighborhood in every city of this country," he said. "If we cannot do this now with what some people believe is the strongest overall economy in our history, believe me, we will never get around to doing the job."

Mr. Clinton's address was the first of several the mayors heard here on the third and last day of the winter meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors. Over lunch in a hotel ballroom, they listened to speeches on different urban issues by Senator Trent Lott, the Mississippi Republican who is the majority leader; Attorney General Janet Reno, and the President's wife, Hillary.

The original speaking schedule included only Mr. Lott and Mrs. Clinton, a plan that left open the possibility that Mrs. Clinton would share a dais with the man who is controlling the impeachment proceedings against her husband.

But other commitments assured that the two would not even be in the hotel at the same time. Mr. Lott, who spoke for 25 minutes, finished at 12:10 and quickly returned to Capitol Hill for meetings. Mrs. Clinton arrived shortly before 1:30 and spoke for half an hour. An aide to the mayoral conference said she had asked to speak last and had told officials that she could not arrive any earlier.

Joined by members of his Cabinet, Mr. Clinton used much of his time with the mayors highlighting aspects of the urban agenda he discussed in his State of the Union address last week. He said the housing increase would help pay for a second round of community empowerment grants to 20 cities, which were announced two weeks ago, and for 100,000 new vouchers for poor and low-income people.

A spokesman for Representative Rick A. Lazio, the Suffolk County Republican who heads the House subcommittee on housing, said the Administration was certain only to get an increase of $2 billion and faced a fight for the remaining $500 million.

After his remarks, Mr. Clinton took questions. Mayor Linda Lawrence of Wausau, Wis., a Democrat, rose and took aim at the impeachment trial, saying, "I want you to know what on behalf of everybody I know, especially my parents who are so damn conservative that I had an 11 P.M. curfew all my life, that they want Congress to stop this to allow you to get on with the business of the country."



Associated Press

With more than 200 mayors gathered in Washington for their winter conference, events yesterday included a meeting with President Clinton at the White House and, below, hearing Trent Lott at a hotel ballroom.

A proposed increase would give the Housing Department a record budget.



Shana Raab for The New York Times

At that point, Mayor Lawrence said later, the other mayors stood to applaud, "and I couldn't finish."

Mr. Lott's appearance before the mayors was his first after two previous invitations. Assuring the mayors that the Senate was eager to get busy on a spectrum of issues that affected cities, he made only veiled references to the impeachment trial, saying he was grateful to be away from the Capitol, where he has been "tethered to the floor" of the Senate for three weeks.

"This year we have a particularly difficult responsibility, given to us under the Constitution, to carry out, and we're going to carry out that responsibility," Mr. Lott added. "But it will come to a conclusion, and when it does, it's important that we have a burst of activity to work on those problems that Americans really do care about."

Mr. Lott won respectful applause before and after his remarks. But it was nothing like the ovation showered upon Mrs. Clinton as she walked down the ballroom aisle toward the dais. The mayors stood and clapped loudly; some cheered.

Mrs. Clinton spent the first half of her speech reviewing Administration programs that she portrayed as "tools this President has provided" to help cities and urging the mayors to build support for the President's next budget.

She closed by promoting the Millennium Communities Program, an effort by the White House to encourage communities to plan celebrations that "honor the past and imagine the future."